Events, locations and situations

On the interaction of negation and finiteness in Avar

Pavel Rudnev
University of Groningen

This paper documents a number of restrictions on negation marking in Avar, a Northeast Caucasian language, and presents a tentative analysis of the observed morphosyntactic facts as having a semantic basis. The two different negation markers are analysed, based on the proposal in (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014), as taking complements of a different semantic type.

Keywords: syntax, syntax–semantics interface, negation, Caucasian languages, finiteness

1. Introduction

This paper has two goals. One is to introduce a peculiar example of the interaction between negation and finiteness in the Northeast Caucasian language Avar, where negation marking varies depending on tense. The other goal is to offer a tentative analysis capturing the observed distribution.

Avar makes a three-way distinction as far as synthetic tense forms are concerned: in the affirmative it distinguishes between the present (1), future (2) and past (3) tenses, all of which feature a dedicated affix expressing the temporal information.[1]

(1) murad   w–ač'-una
     Murad.ABS M–come-PRS
     'Murad is coming.'

---

[1]. The following abbreviations are used in the glosses: 1 = First person, 2 = Second person, ABS = absolutive, CM = class marker, COP = copula, CVB = converb, ERG = ergative, FUT = future, GEN = genitive, INF = infinitive, LAT = lative, LOC = locative, M = masculine, MSD = masdar, N = neuter, NEG = negative, OBL = oblique, PL = plural, PRS = present, PST = past, SG = singular, SUPEL = superelative. The *en*-dash is used to separate the agreement marker from the rest of the morphological word.

The synthetic form of the verb *wač'una* in (1) consists of the masculine noun class marker *w–*, the root *-ač'-* 'come' and the present tense morpheme *-una*. Future tense in Avar typically only differs from the present tense in having *-i* as the thematic vowel, as evidenced by (2) below.

(2) murad   w–ač'-ina
     Murad.ABS M–come-FUT
     'Murad will come.'

The past tense, sometimes also referred to as aorist (Forker in preparation[a],[c]), is also marked synthetically:

(3) murad   w–ač'-ana
     Murad.ABS M–come-PST
     'Murad has come.'

Turning to the negated counterparts of (1), (2) and (3) above, the following pattern is observed. To negate (1), the tensed verb adopts a negation suffix *-ro*, as shown in (4) below.

(4) murad   w–ač'-una-ro
     Murad.ABS M–come-PRS-NEG
     'Murad is not coming.'

A quick comparison of the affirmative and negative present-tense forms of the verb reveals that the only difference between them concerns the presence of *-ro* in the negation context. In a similar vein, the negative form of a verb in the future tense is built on the basis of the affirmative form, as is illustrated in (5).

(5) murad   w–ač'-ina-ro
     Murad.ABS M–come-FUT-NEG
     'Murad will not come.'

The same method of forming a negated form does not work with the past tense (von Uslar 1889). First, the combination of the past-tense verb and *-ro* is judged unacceptable (6). Second, in order to negate a past verb, a distinct marker, *-č'o*, must be used (7).

(6) * murad   w–ač'-ana-ro
     Murad.ABS M–come-PST-NEG
     ('Murad hasn't come.')

(7) murad   w–ač'-**in-č'o**
     Murad.ABS M–come-MSD-NEG
     'Murad hasn't come.'

The verb *wač'ana* 'come.PST' in (6) cannot combine with *-ro*, the usual negation marker for the other tenses, and in order to express the desired meaning a separate form *wač'inč'o* must be used, which is visibly decomposable into *wač'in*, a component corresponding to a masdar and another negation marker *-č'o*.[2]

In the rest of this paper, I analyse the cooccurrence of *-č'o* and the nominalised form of the verb as well as the absence of past tense marking on the verb as an existential construction built around the negative copula *heč'o*, one of whose dependants is an event nominalisation, or *masdar*, to use the term from the tradition of Caucasian linguistics. I leave the issue of *-ro*'s incompatibility with past tense marking for future research.

2.   Towards an analysis

As has been shown in the introduction, Avar negation marking raises at least two distinct, albeit connected, puzzles: on the one hand, we are dealing with two distinct negation *markers*. On the other hand, the two markers attach to two distinct kinds of *stems* that differ in the presence of overt tense morphology.

Just as there are at least two distinct problems, two very different analytic options present themselves, neither being in principle incompatible with the other. One possibility is that a *morphotactic* constraint either removes the tense features from the negated past tense form or blocks their pronunciation (cf. Arregi & Nevins' 2012 morphotactic approach to Basque auxiliaries).

For the purposes of this paper, however, I choose to pursue the view whereby the observed morphosyntactic pattern has a semantic basis and hypothesise that an existential structure underlies the derivation of the negated past tense form. The proposal bears a certain resemblance to Salanova's (2007) analysis of similar facts in the Jê language Mebengokre.

A natural question is, therefore, whether the elements constituting the negated past tense form in Avar can be used independently of one another. Put differently, do both *wač'in* and *-č'o* have independently attested uses?

---

2. The distribution of the two negation markers in Avar bears a certain resemblance to, but also differs significantly from, the distribution of negation markers in Bengali (Ramchand 2004). Whether Ramchand's (2004) analysis of Bengali negation can be extended to Avar data will have to be evaluated on another occasion.
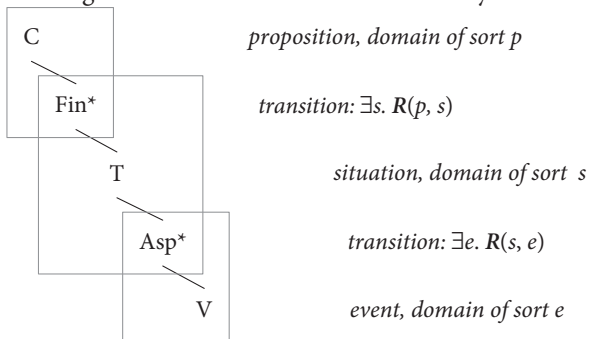
2.1 The framework

For the purposes of this paper I follow Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) in adopting the view that the partitioning of a clause into, roughly, a thematic domain, an inflectional domain and a discourse-sensitive domain, has semantic underpinnings.[3]

Put concisely, Ramchand & Svenonius' (2014) proposal is that vP is the domain in which the structure of an event is built from various pieces, resulting in vP denoting a set of *events*. Another ontological primitive invoked by Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) is that of a *situation*, which is what is created and interpreted in TP. Finally, the CP-layer is where *propositions* come into play.

Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) propose further that in addition to the three domains – the vP, the TP and the CP – there are points in the derivation where the content of one domain becomes inaccessible to the operators in the following, higher, domain. This set-up is illustrated in (8) below, where the boxes around the three domains in question indicate operator accessibility.

(8) Ontological basis for the functional hierarchy

C	*proposition, domain of sort p*
Fin*	*transition:* $\exists s.\ R(p, s)$
T	*situation, domain of sort s*
Asp*	*transition:* $\exists e.\ R(s, e)$
V	*event, domain of sort e*

Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) claim that these transition points, which for the clausal domain correspond to Asp* and Fin* nodes in the syntactic structure, make the following contributions to how the syntactic structure is interpreted.[4]

First, they existentially bind the relevant variables introduced in the complement so that, in the case of Asp* and its complement vP, the event variable introduced inside the vP is existentially bound by a quantifier inherent in the lexical entry for Asp*, and is therefore inaccessible to operators higher in the structure. A

---

3. The rest of this paper presupposes familiarity with the notions of event, situation and proposition.

4. I use the same asterisk diacritic as Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) to make a notational distinction between functional elements inside a domain and the transition points from one domain to the next.

consequence of this is that the operators introduced by T can never manipulate the event variable. Fin*, in turn, existentially closes the situation variable.

The other important contribution made by Asp* and Fin* is to establish a relation – notated as R in the syntactic representation above – between the variables in the higher and lower domains. The relevant relation in the case of Asp* is $R(s,e)$, which is a relation between a set of events and a set of situations to which the event description can be anchored. Fin*, on the other hand, establishes a relation between a situation and a proposition.[5]

The following subsections apply Ramchand & Svenonius' (2014) framework to derive the restrictions on the complements of Avar negation markers.

2.2 Analysing the stems

We have seen above that the two negation markers (i.e., *-ro* for non-past tenses and *-č'o* for the past tense) attach to two distinct stems. Whilst the stem hosting *-ro* is quite uncontroversially the finite present or future form, which in hierarchical terms corresponds to at least TP, the stem *-č'o* attaches to, lexicalises a smaller portion of clausal structure.

(9)   murad   w–ač'-**in**-**č'o**
      Murad.ABS M–come-MSD-NEG
      'Murad hasn't come.'

The tradition of Caucasian linguistics uses the Arabic term *masdar* to refer to verbal forms such as *wač'in* in (9), repeated from before. Masdars are deverbal nominals, or nominalisations – the term I choose for the purposes of this paper.[6]

Because nominalisations typically have both verbal and nominal properties, we expect Avar root-based nominalisations to be able to appear in argument positions, an expectation that is borne out. Example (10) features a masdar clause in an oblique case.[7]

---

5. According to Ramchand & Svenonius (2014), the manner in which the syntactic structure is built and ultimately interpreted is constrained by the principle of Compositional Coherence:

(i)   **Compositional Coherence**: If X embeds YP, then the denotation of XP is a monotonically coherent elaboration of the denotation of YP. Compositional Coherence ensures, therefore, that a situation description created by Asp* and T is built on the basis of the event description corresponding to the semantic value of the vP.

6. In addition to root-based nominalisations Avar has clausal nominalisations, which are discussed in some detail in Rudnev (2015: §2). In this paper I limit myself to root-based nominalisations, since it is they that participate in negation marking in the past tense.

7. Masdar clauses in argument positions appear in this section inside brackets.

(10) [mun   w–ač'-in-aldasa]   rak'   b–oχana   dir
      2SG:ABS M–come-MSD-SUPEL heart.ABS N–rejoice.PST 1SG:GEN
      'Your arrival has made me happy.'

The argument structure of the verb in (10) is as follows: the verb *boχana* 'rejoice.'
is a three-place predicate taking an absolutive-marked argument, syntactically its
subject, a genitive-marked experiencer and an oblique argument. The oblique ar-
gument in (10) above is realised as a masdar clause with an absolutive subject of
its own, and a more literal translation of the sentence would be 'My heart rejoiced
at your arrival.'

Root-based nominalisations can also appear as ergative-marked subjects in
transitive clauses, as shown in (11) below.

(11) kinaldago   ł'abi   š:ʷezab-una daran-bazaralde [nił
      everyone.LOC blow.ABS deliver-PST trade.LAT   1PL:ABS
      r–ač'-in-ał]
      PL–come-MSD-ERG
      'Our shift to market economy gave everyone a blow.' (http://карата.рф/
      ?p=1288)

Finally, root-based nominalisations are also the preferred form for a variety of
complement clauses (Rudnev 2015):

(12) dos-da   łala   [kaγat   heresijab b–uk'-in]
      he-LOC know.PRS letter.ABS fake.N   N–be-MSD
   'He knows that the letter is fake.'

I therefore take it as uncontroversial that negated equivalents of past tense forms
contain a root-based nominalisation.

2.2.1 *Structure of Avar nominalisations*

Following Polinsky et al. 2014 and Rudnev (2015), I take Avar root-based nomi-
nalisations to be vP-level nominalisations.[8] This entails that all arguments are in-
troduced inside the nominalisation, and both case assignment and agreement are
also licensed internally to it. As far as their semantic interpretation is concerned,
Avar root-based nominalisations are event descriptions.

To stay with a familiar example, the nominalisation *murad wač'in* has the syn-
tax in (13) and the semantics in (14).

---

8. I prefer to remain agnostic as to whether root-based nominalisations are formed by the vP
being selected by a nominalising functional head such as *n* or whether a type-shifting operation
takes place at the interface once the entire vP with all of the arguments has been shipped off for
interpretation.

(13)

np

vp n
  $-in$

DP $\bar{v}$
murad

V v
wač'-
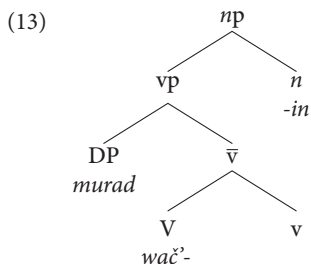
As far as the syntax is concerned, I follow the spirit, if not the letter of Larson (1988); Hale & Keyser (2002); Ramchand (2008) in viewing the vP as consisting of a number of distinct functional elements, some of those elements – like the little v – introducing the verb's arguments.[9]

Semantically speaking, root-based nominalisations are event descriptions, and the vPs on which they are built are sets of events (Davidson 1967; Kratzer 2012; Ramchand 2008; Champollion 2014).

(14) $[\![$Murad wač'in$]\!] = \lambda e.$ come$'$ (m, e)

Based on the syntax in (13), I postulate the following semantic composition:

(15) $[\![$Murad$]\!] = $ m
 $[\![$wač'$]\!] = \lambda x. \lambda e.$ come$'$ (x,e)
 $[\![$Murad wač'$]\!] = \lambda x. \lambda e.$ come$'$ (x,e) (m)
 $ = \lambda e.$ come$'$ (m,e)

The semantic value of the vP, as can be seen in (15), is a set of coming events in which Murad is the comer. I argue later on that it is this set of events that is taken as an argument by the negative copula *heč'o* with the result that the existence of such an event (or the state resulting from it) is negated.[10]

---

9. It goes without saying that the internal structure of vP can be more articulated than what I have represented here consisting of subevents related by, for instance, a leads-to relation (cf. Ramchand 2008 for an explicit implementation). What matters is that the resulting structure is invariably interpreted as a set of events.

10. Depending on one's favourite analysis of nominalisations there are at least two views regarding the semantic contribution of a nominalisation operation. If, on the one hand, one takes all nominalisation operations to be performed by a dedicated functional head (like *n*), then *n*'s semantic contribution is vacuous: just as the vP denotes a set of events, so does its nominalised version denote a set of events, the distinction between vP and *n*P only being significant for the (morpho)syntax (cf. Moulton 2014). It is also not inconceivable, on the other hand, that the nominalisation operation taking place at the interface is only non-vacuous on the morphosyntactic side.

2.3 Analysing negation markers

Now that we have established what stems the two negation markers attach to we are in a position to analyse the markers themselves. I address -*č'o* first.

2.3.1   -*č'o is a copula*
Even though -*č'o* has no independent uses besides being the negation marker for the past tense, it bears a certain resemblance to *heč'o*, the negative copula/auxiliary in the present tense.[11] I illustrate the auxiliary use in (16), and the copular uses in (17) and (18).

(16)   amma niłe-ca žaq'a hał-ul   b–ic-ine   heč'o
       but   1PL-ERG today this.OBL-GEN N–speak-INF COP:NEG:PRS
       'But we are not going to discuss this today.' (http://maarulal.ru/2009/12/26/)

The analytic form in question — the prospective future in (15) above — consists of an infinitive and the auxiliary –*uk'*- '–be-' in the general tense. Because in Avar the negated auxiliary form in the present tense is suppletive, the negative prospective future contains the negative form *heč'o* rather than any other form of –*uk'*- '–be-'. Other analytic tense forms such as the perfect or the progressive also make use of *heč'o* as the negative form of the auxiliary.

The same lexical item *heč'o* features in (17), where its rôle is that of a negative locative copula.

(17)   rasul   šahar-al-da **heč'o**
       Rasul.ABS city-OBL-LOC **COP:NEG:PRS**
       'Rasul is not in town.'

The following sentence, (18), despite also demonstrating a copular use, differs from (17) in interpretation: rather than negating a locative statement, it is negating a possession construction.[12]

(18)   rasuli-l ładi   **heč'o**
       Ali-GEN wife.ABS **COP:NEG:PRS**
       'Ali hasn't got a wife.'

---

11. There is a complication regarding the description of *heč'o* as *the* present tense negative copula, which resides in the fact that *heč'o* is barred from certain types of copular clauses such as predicational and characterisational clauses (Kalinina 1993; Rudnev 2015), where the marker of constituent negation *guro* must be used in its place.

12. Avar lacks a lexical item meaning *have*, and possession, as is typologically relatively common, is expressed via a copular construction.

In what follows I put forth a proposal as to how the two constitutive parts of a negated past tense form of an Avar verb are put together to express a negated past event whilst not displaying any tense marking altogether.

2.4 Negation in Avar non-past tenses

Let us suppose with Ramchand & Svenonius (2014) that sentences with finite verbs in the present tense are Fin*Ps, which makes them denote sets of propositions. The transition from situations to propositions effected by Fin* can be seen from the denotation in (19), borrowed from Ramchand & Svenonius (2014).

(19) $[\![\text{Fin}^*_{\text{pres}}]\!] = \lambda R.\, \lambda p.\, p = \text{Assertion}(\exists s.\, R(s) \wedge s_t = s^*_t)$

The λR argument of Fin* is a situation description corresponding to the TP with which Fin* is merged, and the semantic value of Fin*P is a set of propositions such that it is asserted that the situation described by the TP exists and is anchored to the moment of utterance.

Given the denotation in (19), the affirmative sentence in (1) with the verb in the present tense will be interpreted as in (20).

(20) $[\![\text{murad wač'una}]\!] = \lambda p.\, p = \text{Assertion}(\exists s.\, \text{come}'\,(m,s) \wedge s_t = s^*_t)$

Recall from the foregoing discussion that negating a non-past sentence in Avar involves adding the negation marker *-ro* to the finite form of the verb:

(21)   murad   w–ač'-una-ro
       Murad.ABS M–come-PRS-NEG
       'Murad is not coming.'

Because there is no reason for negation to change the semantic type of a non-negated clause, let us further suppose that the sentential negation marker *-ro* is an identity function of type $\langle\langle st, t\rangle, \langle st, t\rangle\rangle$ combining with the denotation of Fin*P — a set of propositions to return a set of negated propositions:[13] [14]

(22) $[\![\text{-ro}]\!] = \lambda P.\, \lambda p.\, \neg\, P(p)$

If situation semantics is parallel to event semantics regarding its interaction with negation, it is advisable to treat *-ro* as taking widest scope with respect to existential

---

13. An alternative would be to have *-ro* combine with a syntactic object smaller than a Fin*P such as a TP. What is crucial is that *-ro* should be unable to compose with an object smaller than a TP.

14. I use *P* as a variable over sets of propositions, and the semantic value of *-ro* is based on Champollion's (2014) analysis of *not* in English.

closure, regardless of whether the existentially closed element is the situation or the proposition variable (cf. Champollion 2014: §3 for an analysis of negation in event semantics).[15] I defer the elaboration of this analysis to future work.

2.5 Negated past tense isn't past tense

Simplifying somewhat, I take -*č'o* in a sentence like (23) to be an allomorph of the negative copula *heč'o* in the *present* tense.

> (23) murad   w–ač'-**in-č'o**
>   Murad.ABS M–come-MSD-NEG
>   'Murad hasn't come.'

I make a further simplifying assumption that besides negation the negative copula's only semantic contribution is the present tense.[16]

The sentence in (23) will have the LF in (24) and the interpretation will proceed as sketched in (25).[17]

> (24) [murad w–ač'-in] -č'o

> (25) ⟦murad wač'in⟧ = $\lambda e.$ come′ (m, e)
>   ⟦-č'o⟧ = $\lambda P. \neg\exists e. P(e)$
>   ⟦-č'o⟧ (⟦murad wač'in⟧) = $\neg\exists e.$ come′ (m, e)

Analysing -*č'o* as a present tense negative copula has the additional advantage of being able to explain the lack of tense marking of any kind on the negated verb: because -*č'o* already contains temporal information, that information would result in a contradiction if -*č'o* combined with a past-tense verb form.

If negated past tense is in fact present tense, the question of how it receives the interpretation of the past tense is a legitimate one to pose. Let us suppose that Avar masdars denote states (or results) of the event description denoted by the vP. The semantic value of (24) would then be paraphrased as *it is not the case that the result of a coming event in which Murad is the comer exists at the moment of utter-*

---

15. I am grateful to Jakub Dotlačil (p.c.) for pointing this out to me.

16. Depending on the analysis of the present tense, this temporal contribution might be vacuous (cf. Sauerland 2002), in which case the negative copula only contributes negation to the interpretation of the sentence.

17. The semantic value of the past tense negation marker as a negative existential copula is based on the one in Davis (2005) but differs from it in that Avar nominalisations, as has been shown above, denote sets of events rather than propositions. Reducing situations to minimal situations is therefore not necessary.

ance. More work is required before it can be established whether this is an accurate interpretation of the past tense in Avar irrespective of the presence of negation.

2.6 Negation markers and their complements

Earlier on I have made a tentative proposal regarding the nature of the differences involved in the syntactic and semantic restrictions on *-ro* and *-č'o*, the two negation markers in Avar. If both negation markers come with distinct subcategorisation requirements, and if those requirements indeed have a semantic motivation, such that *-ro* operates on a situation (description) whereas *-č'o* takes as an argument a set of events, the following prediction can be formulated:

(26)   Neither *-ro* nor *-č'o* can combine with an object both bigger than vP and smaller than finite TP.

On the plausible assumption that infinitives lexicalise a larger piece of structure than a vP but smaller than a full FinP the prediction in (26) is confirmed for Avar, as shown in the examples below.

(27)   insuca   w–ič-ana dun   školal-de   inč'ogo   w–uk'-ine
       father.ERG M–let-PST 1SG:ABS school.OBL-LAT go.CVB.NEG M–be-INF
       'Father allowed me not to go to school.' (Rudnev 2015: 47)

In the sentence above, *w–uk'-ine* 'CM–be-INF' is negated by a converbial form *inč'ogo* corresponding to a temporal adverbial clause, effectively in an instance of event, or situation, modification. The form itself is visibly a derivative of *inč'o*, the masdar-plus-copula form postulated above for the negated past tense. The empirical observation that simply combining the infinitival form *ine* with either *-ro* or *-č'o* is impossible, as shown in (28) and (29), has to the best of my knowledge gone unnoticed in the literature until now.

(28) *insuca   w–ič-ana dun   školal-de   ine-ro
       father.ERG M–let-PST 1SG:ABS school.OBL-LAT go.INF-NEG

(29) *insuca   w–ič-ana dun   školal-de   ine-č'o
       father.ERG M–let-PST 1SG:ABS school.OBL-LAT go.INF-NEG
       ('Father allowed me not to go to school.')

The unacceptability of (28) and (29) can be interpreted as following from the semantic restrictions on the arguments of both *-ro* and *-č'o*: if *-ro* operates on situation descriptions and *-č'o* on event descriptions, and if Avar infinitives denote neither of these, the restriction follows straightforwardly.

3.   Concluding remarks

In this note I have described a number of restrictions on the expression and interpretation of negation in Avar. In particular, I have shown that the two negation markers attested in Avar differ in the type of semantic object they can compose with: for the present and future tenses *-ro* combines with a Fin*P denoting a set of propositions whereas past-tense negation consists of a negative copula *-č'o* and an event nominalisation.

We have seen how the combination of a nominalisation and *-č'o* can be derived and interpreted but the question why past tense forms cannot combine with *-ro* has remained unanswered. It remains to be seen whether the proposal made for *-č'o* can be made compatible with the use of *heč'o* as the auxiliary in analytic verb forms.

References

Arregi, Karlos & Andrew Nevins. 2012. *Morphotactics: Basque Auxiliaries and the Structure of Spellout*. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 86. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-007-3889-8

Champollion, Lucas. 2014. "The interaction of compositional semantics and event semantics". *Linguistics and Philosophy* 38:1. 31–66. DOI: 10.1007/s10988-014-9162-8

Davidson, Donald. 1967. "The logical form of action sentences". *The logic of decision and action* ed. by Nicholas Rescher, 81–95. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. DOI: 10.1093/0199246270.003.0006

Davis, Henry. 2005. "On the syntax and semantics of negation in Salish". *International Journal of American Linguistics* 71:1. 1–55. DOI: 10.1086/430577

Forker, Diana. in preparation[a]. "The semantics of evidentiality and epistemic modality in Avar". *The semantics of verbal categories in Nakh-Daghestanian* ed. by Diana Forker. Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture. Leiden: Brill.

Forker, Diana. ed. in preparation[b]. *The semantics of verbal categories in Nakh-Daghestanian. Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture*. Leiden: Brill.

Forker, Diana. in preparation[c]. "The semantics of verbal categories in Nakh-Daghestanian languages: Tense, aspect, evidentiality, mood/modality". *The semantics of verbal categories in Nakh-Daghestanian* ed. by Diana Forker. Brill's Studies in Language, Cognition and Culture. Leiden: Brill.

Hale, Ken & Samuel Jay Keyser. 2002. *Prolegomenon to a theory of argument structure*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Kalinina, Elena J. 1993. "Sentences with non-verbal predicates in the Sogratl dialect of Avar". *The noun phrase in the Andalal dialect of Avar as spoken at Sogratl'* ed. by Aleksandr E. Kibrik, 90–104. Eurotyp / Working papers / Theme 7. Strasbourg: Eurotyp Working Papers.

Kratzer, Angelika. 2012. *Modals and conditionals: New and revised perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199234684.001.0001

Larson, Richard. 1988. "On the double object construction". *Linguistic Inquiry* 19:3. 335–392.

Moulton, Keir. 2014. "Simple event nominalizations: Roots and their interpretation". *Cross-linguistic investigations of nominalization patterns* ed. by Ileana Paul, 119–144. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. DOI: 10.1075/la.210.05mou

Polinsky, Maria, Nina Radkevich & Marina Chumakina. 2014. *'Agreement between arguments? Not really'*. Unpublished ms., Harvard University/University of York/University of Surrey.

Ramchand, Gillian. 2004. "Two types of negation in Bengali". *Clause structure in South Asian languages* ed. by Veneeta Dayal and Anoop Mahajan, 39–66. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 61. Dordrecht: Springer Science + Business Media.
DOI: 10.1007/978-1-4020-2719-2_2

Ramchand, Gillian. 2008. *Verb meaning and the lexicon: a first phase syntax*. Cambridge Studies in Linguistics 116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
DOI: 10.1017/CBO9780511486319

Ramchand, Gillian & Peter Svenonius. 2014. "Deriving the functional hierarchy". *Language Sciences* 46B. 152–174. DOI: 10.1016/j.langsci.2014.06.013

Rudnev, Pavel. 2015. Dependency and discourse-configurationality: A study of Avar. PhD thesis. University of Groningen.

Salanova, Andrés Pablo. 2007. Nominalizations and aspect. PhD thesis. Massachusetts Institute of Technology. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/1721.1/41697.

Sauerland, Uli. 2002. "The present tense is vacuous". *Snippets* 6. 12–13.

von Uslar, Petr K. 1889. *Аварскій языкъ* [The Avar language] (Этнографія Кавказа. Языкознаніе. III). Тифлисъ [Tiflis]: Изданіе Управленія Кавказскаго Учебнаго Округа [The Caucasian Academic District Office Printing House].

Author's address

Pavel Rudnev
Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
Faculteit der Letteren,
Algemene Taalwetenschap
Oude Kijk in t Jatstraat 26
9712 EK Groningen
Netherlands

pasha.rudnev@gmail.com