

This is a survey of the basic inflectional morphology of 27 simple verbs of Kina Rutul. Simple verbs are understood as verbs in which the negative prefixes (prohibitive m- and non-finite negation J-) are placed word initially. Below I try to preliminary cover class agreement, aspectual stem derivation, **infinitives, imperatives and prohibitives**.

As an outlook on the morphology of simple verbs:

- two classes of verbal roots show special behavior, palatal roots and labial roots
- most verbs have a weak initial consonant, /h/ or /j/, that is supplemented by class prefixes
- two series of class markers are distinguished, prefixes and infixes
- prefixes distinguish four classes in the singular and two in the plural (with the first, masculine class identical to the fourth)
- infixes distinguish three classes in the singular
- some verbs additionally mark animate plural (as opposed to inanimate, unmarked)

1. Morphophonological classes of verbal roots

In terms of their anlaut, simple verbs may be classified into vowel initial and consonant initial. 16 verbs are vowel initial, with the initial vowel /h/ (for /a/ or /u/ in the root) or /j/ (for /e/ and /i/ in the root).

Not all verbs can be accounted for in terms of the latter rule. Two simple verbs have stem initial /j/ followed by a back vowel $j\alpha\chi$ as ‘run’ and $j\dot{\chi}i^c$ s ‘hit’ (and possible ‘come/bring’).

In terms of their auslaut, two special subclasses can be isolated. There are five *palatal* verbs (‘cry’, ‘die’, ‘carry away’, ‘pull’ and ‘copulate’). It is probable that palatalization results from progressive assimilation with the root /i/ or /e/ vowel spreading to the (non-coronal) final consonant. Palatal verbs have the imperative in -e instead of -a (at least as an attested variant), perfective converb in -ir and imperfective converb in -er, which seem to be regular realizations of [i] and [a], respectively. It seems that imperatives of the palatal verbs palatalize the final consonant even if not attested with the full imperative in -e. Morphophonologically, a feasible analysis would be to count -i in the perfective as part of the root:

Perfective converb: $j\dot{i}q'ir < j\dot{i}q'i-r$

Imperfective converb: $j\dot{i}q'er < j\dot{i}q'i-ar$

Infinitive: $j\dot{i}q'es < j\dot{i}q'i-as$

Imperative: *jiq'(e)*

Another morphophonologically relevant class of verbs are labial verbs, which have /u/ as their root vowel. Labial verbs have /u/ in the perfective, alternate with /u"/ in animate plural forms, and sometimes, rarely and apparently optionally, labialize their final consonant when followed by /a/ in the imperative or the imperfective.

STEM STRUCTURE TO BE DESCRIBED HERE

Two verbs have unspecified root vowel. The verb *_Vʔ-* 'pull, 4' is a palatal verb and thus has i in the perfective (*diʔir*) and e in the imperfective (*deʔer*), imperative (*deʔ*) and infinitive (*deʔes*). Similarly, the verb *hVʔ-* 'do' forms *hiʔir* Pfv - *haʔar* lpfv - *haʔas* Inf - *haʔa* Imp. (One verb may be further considered in this connection, *ruʔ-* 'go, ipfv', but the morphophonology here is unclear.)

2. Derivational stems

Multiple different analyses are available, but in all of them at least two stems are distinguished: the perfective, primary base; and the derived imperfective stem. For most verbs, the two stems are identical. In those cases when they are not, imperfective stem is used in the prohibitive (eat), in the imperfective converb (-a-r),

3. Animate plural

Labial roots show an alternation of the root vowel /u/ with /u"/ in human and animate plural classes. If the alternation occurs, /y/ and /a/ in the affixes are fronted to /u"/ and /e/ (not /a"/? in one case /a/ is fronted to /u"/)

Incidentally, this is the only case where non-human animates and inanimates are distinguished - so in terms of class marking non-human plural may be collapsed.

3. Class exponence

Two series of prefixes are distinguished. Series 2 is mostly infixing and occurs in perfective forms of three verbs (*jiɁir* 'wash', *jiɁir* 'come, bring' and *haɁɁiɁr* 'leave'). Series 2 is mostly prefixing and is only available in the imperfective of all verbs except one and is, with two exceptions, prefixing.

	Series 1	Series21	
	Pfv/lpfv, prefixing	Pfv only, infixing	

H	-	r	1
	r	r	2
3	w	b	3
4	-	d	4
PL	d	d	HPL
	-	d	NPL

The exceptions include:

- (a) *b-eʔes* 'pull' which uses Series 2 as prefixes
- (b) *jiʕ<w>χiʕs* 'hit' which uses the infixing Series 2 also in the imperfective (*jiwxar*)
- (c) *liʔir* 'eat' which infixes Series 1 (probably interpreting *li-* as a prefix?)

4. Additional morphophonological processes

(a) **Devoicing**: /b/, /d/ realize as [p], [t] when followed by a voiceless fricative; but these may in principle be fully devoiced unaspirated (thus voiced?); devoicing of these markers when followed by voiceless stop is contradictory.

(b) **Syncope**: in some cases, the surface form may be explained by syncope of the root vowel; cf.:

riʔara 'wash (F)' < *ri-rʔ-* < *ri-rʔ-* < *rV-rʔ-* (imperfective stem *-rʔ-*);

diʔq'ira 'they died' < *di-riq'-ir-* < *dV-riq'-ir-*

rurura 'go (F)' < *ru-r-* < *ru-rʔ-* < *ru-ruʔ-* < *rV-ruʔ-* (imperfective stem *-ruʔ-*)

(c) **l>r**: in stems with //l/, the latter is assimilated by the prefix of the second class; cf.:

hulqur (1) but *rurqur* (2), 'play'

halgir (1) but *rargir* (2), 'talk'

malic' (1) but *marirc'* (2), 'do not give'

5. Irregular verbs

The verb 'die' is irregular in the relation between the singular and the plural. The singular stem is palatal while non-palatal (i.e. default, regular) in the plural (inanimate plural is not available). Additionally, the plural imperfective form is a partial reduplication from the singular. Cf.:

	Sg	Pl
Perfective	<i>wiq'i-r</i>	<i>riq'-ir</i>
Imperfective	<i>wiq'-er</i>	<i>q'i~riq'-ar (q'i~riq'-ar)</i>

Interestingly, the prohibitive does not show reduplication, but the imperative does: *madiq'*, but *diq'irq'a*.

The verb 'eat' infixes Series 1 prefixes in the perfective stem *li?*- (*li?ir*, *liwir*), but prefixes them to the imperfective stem *?il* (*iler*, *wi?iler*). The imperative is formed from the perfective and the prohibitive from the imperfective stem.

The verb 'give' has formally unrelated perfective (*_iw*), imperfective (*[_f]wilt'-/[_f]wilt'-/*) and imperative (*_aka*) stems. The prohibitive is based on a stem related to the imperfective stem *-lic'/-lit'*.