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Haspelmath
A Grammar of Lezgian

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Martin Haspelmath

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*Meinen Eltern
und meinen Schwestern*

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Table of Contents

Preliminaries

Abbreviations.....	xix
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. The Lezgian language and its genetic affiliation.....	1
1.2. An overview of Lezgian grammar.....	2
1.2.1. Phonology and morphophonemics.....	2
1.2.2. Morphology.....	4
1.2.3. Syntax.....	5
1.3. A user's guide to this grammar.....	8
1.3.1. User-friendly features.....	8
1.3.2. Structure of the grammar.....	9
1.3.3. Grammatical terminology.....	10
1.3.4. Example sentences.....	11
1.3.5. Notational conventions for morphemic glosses.....	13
2. Lezgian and its speakers.....	16
2.1. The Lezgians.....	16
2.1.1. Population figures.....	16
2.1.2. Geographical location.....	17
2.1.3. Some remarks on Lezgian history.....	17
2.1.4. The ethnonym <i>Lezgian</i>	19
2.2. Lezgian dialects.....	20
2.2.1. Dialect division.....	20
2.2.2. Some salient divergent features of the dialects.....	21
2.3. The status of Lezgian and the standard language.....	23
2.4. The effect of language contact on Lezgian.....	25

Phonology

3. Segmental phonological units.....	28
3.1. Orthography and transliteration.....	28
3.1.1. Comments on Table 2.....	29
3.1.2. Deviations from phonemic spelling.....	30
3.2. Vowels.....	31
3.2.1. Vowel inventory.....	31
3.2.2. Allophonic variation.....	32
3.3. Consonants.....	33
3.3.1. Consonant inventory.....	33
3.3.2. Allophonic variation.....	35

4. Phonotactics	36
4.1. Vowel syncope.....	36
4.1.1. Pretonic High Vowel Syncope.....	36
4.1.2. Post-tonic Vowel Syncope.....	38
4.2. Syllable structure.....	40
4.2.1. Pre-syncope CV-structure.....	40
4.2.2. Pre-syncope morpheme-internal consonant clusters.....	41
4.2.3. Post-syncope syllable structure.....	46
4.3. Restrictions on the cooccurrence of consonants.....	47
4.4. Vowel harmony.....	48
4.4.1. Palatal Vowel Harmony.....	48
4.4.2. Labial Vowel Harmony.....	49
4.5. Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony.....	50
4.6. Neutralization of Obstruent Labialization.....	50
5. Phonological and morphophonemic alternations	52
5.1. Pre-ejective Ejective Aspiration.....	52
5.2. Word-final Unaspirated Voicing.....	53
5.3. Post-obstruent Aspirated Deaspiration.....	55
5.4. Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration.....	55
5.5. Vowel harmony alternations.....	56
5.6. High Vowel Loss.....	58
5.7. Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony alternations.....	59
5.8. Metathesis of Labialization.....	59
5.9. Word-final Ejective Aspiration.....	60
5.10. Word-final Ejective Voicing.....	61
5.11. Unstressed Vowel Heightening.....	61
5.12. Loss of /s/.....	62
5.13. Affricate Assimilation.....	63
5.14. Dissimilatory loss of /r/.....	63
6. Word stress	64
6.1. Stress of roots.....	64
6.1.1. Verbal roots.....	64
6.1.2. Non-verbal roots.....	65
6.2. Stress properties of suffixes.....	67
6.2.1. Stress-attracting suffixes.....	67
6.2.2. Stress-neutral suffixes.....	68
6.3. Stress in post-syncope Lezgian.....	70

Morphology

7. Noun morphology	71
7.1. Nominal inflection.....	71
7.1.1. Plural formation.....	71
7.1.2. Case formation.....	74
7.1.3. Alternations.....	79
7.1.4. Irregularities.....	80
7.1.5. Illustrative paradigms.....	80

7.2. Functions of nominal inflectional categories.....	81
7.2.1. Functions of the plural.....	81
7.2.2. Functions of the cases.....	83
7.3. Nominal derivation.....	105
7.3.1. Derivational suffixes.....	105
7.3.2. Nominal compounding.....	107
7.3.3. Conversion from adjectives.....	109
7.3.4. Echo compounds.....	109
8. Adjective morphology.....	110
8.1. Adjectival inflection.....	110
8.1.1. Substantivization.....	110
8.1.2. Adjectival adverbs.....	113
8.1.3. Predicative suffixes on adjectives.....	116
8.1.4. Nationality words.....	118
8.2. Adjectival derivation.....	120
8.2.1. Derivational suffixes.....	120
8.2.2. Derivational prefix.....	121
9. Verbal inflection.....	122
9.1. Introduction.....	122
9.2. The three stems of strong verbs.....	122
9.3. Verbal inflectional categories.....	127
9.3.1. Forms derived from the Masdar stem.....	128
9.3.2. Forms derived from the Imperfective stem.....	130
9.3.3. Forms derived from the Aorist stem.....	131
9.3.4. Secondary verbal categories.....	132
9.3.5. Prefixal negation and the Periphrasis forms.....	133
9.4. Illustrative partial paradigms.....	135
9.5. Irregular verbs.....	136
9.5.1. The copulas.....	136
9.5.2. Verbs lacking a Masdar and Aorist stem.....	137
9.5.3. Verbs with a root in <i>-ä(ğ)-</i>	139
9.6. Functions of basic tense-aspect categories.....	140
9.6.1. Imperfective.....	140
9.6.2. Future.....	141
9.6.3. Aorist.....	142
9.6.4. Perfect.....	143
9.6.5. Continuative Imperfective and Continuative Perfect.....	145
9.6.6. Past.....	146
9.7. Periphrastic tense-aspect categories.....	146
9.7.1. Periphrastic Habitual.....	146
9.7.2. Periphrastic Future.....	147
9.7.3. Hearsay Evidential.....	148
9.8. Functions of non-indicative finite verb forms.....	149
9.8.1. Imperative.....	149
9.8.2. Prohibitive.....	149
9.8.3. Hortative.....	150
9.8.4. Optative.....	151
9.8.5. Conditional.....	152
9.8.6. Interrogative.....	153

9.9. Functions of non-finite verb forms.....	153
9.9.1. Masdar.....	153
9.9.2. Participle.....	155
9.9.3. Infinitive (Imperfective converb).....	156
9.9.4. Aorist converb.....	157
9.9.5. Specialized converbs.....	158
9.10. Archaic verb forms.....	158
9.10.1. Archaic Preterit.....	158
9.10.2. Archaic Future.....	159
9.10.3. Archaic Past Future.....	160
9.10.4. Archaic Imperfective participle.....	161
10. Verbal derivation.....	163
10.1. The causative.....	163
10.2. The anticausative.....	165
10.3. Preverbs.....	167
10.3.1. The forms of the preverbs.....	167
10.3.2. The syntax of verbs with preverbs.....	168
10.3.3. A list of preverb verbs.....	170
10.4. The Repetitive.....	174
10.4.1. Forms of the Repetitive.....	174
10.4.2. Meaning of the Repetitive.....	176
10.5. The <i>-lamiš</i> -form.....	177
10.6. Verbal compounds.....	178
10.6.1. Full and reduced <i>awun</i> -compounds.....	178
10.6.2. Types of noun-verb compounds.....	180
10.6.3. Adjective-verb compounds.....	183
11. Pronouns.....	184
11.1. Personal pronouns.....	184
11.2. Reflexive pronouns.....	184
11.3. Correlations between demonstratives, interrogatives and indefinites.....	187
11.4. Demonstratives.....	190
11.5. Interrogative pronouns.....	192
11.6. Indefinite pronouns.....	194
11.6.1. Ordinary indefinite pronouns.....	194
11.6.2. Free-choice indefinite pronouns.....	195
11.6.3. Specific indefinite pronouns.....	197
11.6.4. Negative indefinite pronouns.....	197
11.7. Other determiners.....	200
11.7.1. The universal quantifier <i>wiri</i> 'all'.....	200
11.7.2. The universal quantifier <i>har</i> 'every'.....	202
11.7.3. 'Other'.....	204
12. Adverbs and postpositions.....	205
12.1. Adverbs.....	205
12.1.1. Spatial adverbs.....	205
12.1.2. Temporal adverbs.....	207
12.1.3. Causal adverbs.....	211
12.1.4. Degree adverbs.....	211

12.1.5. Other adverbs.....	212
12.2. Postpositions.....	213
12.2.1. Postpositions that are identical to spatial adverbs.....	213
12.2.2. Postpositions based on spatial nouns.....	219
12.2.3. Postpositions derived from converbs.....	224
12.2.4. Synchronically non-derived postpositions.....	227
13. Numerals and particles.....	230
13.1. Numerals.....	230
13.1.1. Cardinal numbers.....	230
13.1.2. Substantivized cardinal numbers.....	232
13.1.3. Ordinal numbers.....	233
13.1.4. Fractions.....	234
13.1.5. Inclusive numerals.....	234
13.1.6. Multiplicative numerals.....	234
13.1.7. Distributive numerals.....	235
13.1.8. Approximate numeral expressions.....	235
13.2. Focus particles.....	237
13.2.1. Additive focus particles.....	237
13.2.2. Restrictive focus particles.....	238
13.2.3. The particles <i>mad</i> 'still' and <i>hele</i> 'already'.....	239
13.3. Discourse particles.....	241
13.4. The negative particle <i>wa?</i>	245
13.5. Other particles.....	246
13.6. Interjections.....	249

Syntax

14. The noun phrase and the adjective phrase.....	251
14.1. General properties of the noun phrase.....	251
14.2. Quantifiers.....	253
14.2.1. Scalar quantifiers.....	253
14.2.2. Partitive phrases.....	254
14.2.3. Quantifier float in existential sentences.....	255
14.3. Apposition.....	256
14.4. Word order in the noun phrase.....	259
14.4.1. The position of the Genitive noun phrase.....	260
14.4.2. The position of the relative clause.....	261
14.4.3. The position of demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals....	262
14.5. The adjective phrase.....	264
14.5.1. Adjectival valence.....	264
14.5.2. Adjuncts in the adjective phrase.....	266
14.5.3. Predicative-only adjectives.....	266
14.5.4. Different-subject adjectives.....	267

15. Verbal valence	268
15.1. Valence patterns: introduction.....	268
15.2. General characteristics of verbal valence patterns.....	268
15.3. Standard valence patterns.....	271
15.3.1. Valence patterns with only an Absolutive argument.....	271
15.3.2. Valence patterns with a Dative argument.....	271
15.3.3. Valence patterns with an Adessive argument.....	272
15.3.4. Valence patterns with an Adelative argument.....	273
15.3.5. Valence patterns with a Postessive argument.....	274
15.3.6. Valence patterns with a Postelative argument.....	275
15.3.7. Valence patterns with a Subessive argument.....	275
15.3.8. Valence patterns with a Subelative argument.....	276
15.3.9. Valence patterns with a Superessive argument.....	277
15.3.10. Valence patterns with a Superrelative argument.....	277
15.3.11. Valence patterns with a Superdirective argument.....	278
15.3.12. Valence patterns with an Inessive argument.....	278
15.3.13. Valence patterns with an Inelative argument.....	279
15.3.14. Valence patterns with an adverbial argument.....	279
15.3.15. "Genitive arguments" in verbal idioms.....	279
15.4. Non-standard valence patterns.....	280
15.4.1. Valence patterns with a Dative subject argument.....	280
15.4.2. Valence patterns of noun + <i>awun</i> / <i>ʔun</i> compounds.....	284
15.5. Free omission of arguments.....	287
15.6. Labile verbs.....	289
15.6.1. The argument from the scope of negation.....	290
15.6.2. The argument from Imperatives.....	290
15.6.3. The argument from the Involuntary Agent Construction.....	291
16. Syntax of the clause	294
16.1. Grammatical relations: the notion of subject.....	294
16.1.1. Subject properties.....	294
16.1.2. Evidence from coreferential constructions.....	295
16.1.3. Evidence from switch-reference with 'want'.....	297
16.2. Word order at the clause level.....	298
16.2.1. Position of the verb.....	299
16.2.2. Position of the arguments.....	300
16.2.3. Position of the adjuncts.....	302
16.2.4. Discontinuous constituents?.....	303
16.3. Clausal adjuncts.....	303
16.3.1. Spatial adverbials.....	303
16.3.2. Temporal adverbials.....	304
16.3.3. Other predication adverbials.....	306
16.3.4. Sentence adverbials.....	307
16.3.5. Conjunctive adverbials.....	309
17. Copular clauses	311
17.1. Copular clauses with a predicative noun phrase.....	311
17.2. Copular clauses with a predicative adjective phrase.....	312
17.3. Subjectless copular clauses.....	314
17.4. 'Become' and 'remain'.....	315
17.5. Transitive copular clauses.....	316

17.6. Local copular clauses.....	317
17.6.1. The local copula <i>awa</i> 'be in'.....	317
17.6.2. The local copula <i>gwa</i> 'be at'.....	318
17.6.3. The local copula <i>gala</i> 'be behind'.....	319
17.6.4. The local copula <i>kwa</i> 'be under'.....	320
17.6.5. The local copula <i>ala</i> 'be on'.....	321
17.6.6. Continuative forms of the local copulas.....	322
17.7. Predicative adverbial phrases with the standard copula.....	325
17.8. A copular construction for indicating age.....	325
18. Coordination.....	327
18.1. Conjunction.....	327
18.1.1. The conjoining coordinator <i>-ni</i>	327
18.1.2. <i>-ni</i> as a focus marker.....	328
18.1.3. Conjunction with <i>wa</i> 'and'.....	329
18.1.4. Minor types of conjunction	330
18.2. Disjunction.....	331
18.2.1. Disjunction with <i>ja</i> 'or'.....	331
18.2.2. Disjunction with <i>taʔajt'a</i> 'if it is not'.....	332
18.2.3. Disjunction with <i>gah...gah</i> 'now...now'.....	333
18.2.4. Negative disjunction <i>ja...ja</i> 'neither...nor'.....	334
18.2.5. A minor type of disjunction.....	335
18.3. Clause coordination.....	335
18.3.1. Coordinators.....	335
18.3.2. Coreferential omission in coordination.....	337
19. Relative clauses.....	340
19.1. Non-finite (participial) relative clauses.....	340
19.1.1. Attributive relative clauses.....	340
19.1.2. Headless relative clauses.....	342
19.1.3. Non-restrictive relative clauses.....	343
19.1.4. Relativization into subordinate clauses.....	344
19.2. Finite (correlative) relative clauses.....	345
19.3. Predicative relative clauses.....	347
19.3.1. The nominal predicative substantivized participle.....	348
19.3.2. The verbal predicative substantivized participle.....	349
19.4. Cleft sentences.....	352
20. Complement clauses.....	354
20.1. The zero strategy: direct speech.....	354
20.2. The Infinitive.....	355
20.2.1. Subject-controlled irrealis-prospective complements.....	356
20.2.2. Subject-controlled irrealis-potential complements.....	357
20.2.3. Subject-controlled realis complements.....	358
20.2.4. Object-controlled complements.....	358
20.2.5. Non-controlled complements.....	359
20.3. The Masdar.....	359
20.3.1. Complements to modal predicates.....	360
20.3.2. Complements to manipulative verbs.....	360
20.3.3. Complements to phasal verbs.....	361
20.3.4. The Absolutive Masdar with other verbs.....	362

20.3.5. The oblique Masdar in situation complements.....	362
20.3.6. The oblique Masdar in factive complements.....	364
20.4. The substantivized participle.....	365
20.5. The <i>luhun</i> strategy.....	367
20.5.1. Direct and indirect speech.....	367
20.5.2. Verbs of thinking.....	368
20.5.3. Emotional complement-taking predicates.....	368
20.5.4. Other complement-taking predicates.....	369
20.6. The converb strategy.....	369
20.6.1. Different-subject complements to <i>k'an</i>	369
20.6.2. Situation complements to <i>akun</i>	370
20.7. The <i>xi</i> strategy.....	370
20.7.1. Cognitive complement-taking predicates.....	371
20.7.2. Verbs of thinking.....	371
20.7.3. Verbs of saying.....	372
20.7.4. Evaluative predicates.....	372
20.8. Minor strategies.....	372
20.8.1. The <i>-wal</i> form.....	372
20.8.2. The <i>čal</i> strategy.....	373
20.9. Complement clauses in noun phrases.....	373
21. Adverbial clauses.....	375
21.1. Adverbial clauses with the Aorist converb.....	376
21.2. Adverbial clauses with the Imperfective converb.....	378
21.3. Adverbial clauses with the Secondary Imperf. converbs.....	381
21.3.1. The secondary Imperfective converb of the Perfect.....	381
21.3.2. The secondary Imperfective converb of the Imperfect.....	382
21.4. Temporal clauses.....	382
21.4.1. The Temporal converb	382
21.4.2. The Posterior converbs	384
21.4.3. The Immediate-Anterior converbs.....	385
21.4.4. The Gradulative converb	387
21.4.5. The postpositions.....	387
21.4.6. The relative clause heads <i>čawuz</i> , <i>waxtunda</i> , <i>arada</i>	388
21.4.7. The relative clause head <i>q'wan</i>	388
21.5. Causal clauses.....	389
21.5.1. The postposition <i>kiligna</i> 'because of'.....	389
21.5.2. The Causal converb	390
21.5.3. Causal clauses marked by <i>luhuz / lahana</i>	390
21.5.4. Other causal clauses.....	391
21.6. Purpose clauses.....	391
21.6.1. The postposition <i>patal</i> 'in order to'.....	391
21.6.2. The Infinitive.....	392
21.6.3. The Purpose/Manner converb.....	392
21.6.4. Purpose clauses with <i>luhuz / lahana</i> + Optative.....	393
21.7. Conditional clauses.....	394
21.7.1. Ordinary conditionals.....	394
21.7.2. Counterfactual conditionals.....	395
21.8. Concessive clauses.....	396
21.8.1. Concessive clauses proper.....	396
21.8.2. Concessive conditional clauses.....	397

21.8.3. Alternative concessive conditional clauses.....	398
21.8.4. Parametric concessive-conditional clauses.....	398
21.9. 'As' clauses.....	400
21.9.1. Purpose/Manner clauses as epistemic qualifications.....	400
21.9.2. Purpose/Manner clauses expressing conformity of action.....	400
21.9.3. Purpose/Manner clauses expressing comparison.....	400
22. Coreference.....	401
22.1. Pronominal anaphora and pronoun dropping.....	401
22.2. Controller and target of omission in adverbial clauses.....	404
22.3. Controller and target of omission in complement clauses.....	407
22.4. Reflexivization.....	408
22.4.1. Syntactic function of the antecedent.....	408
22.4.2. Position of the reflexive pronoun.....	412
22.4.3. Special uses of the reflexive pronouns.....	414
22.5. Reciprocalization.....	415
23. Questions.....	417
23.1. Polar questions.....	417
23.1.1. Ordinary polar questions.....	417
23.1.2. Polar questions with a focused constituent.....	418
23.1.3. Alternative questions.....	418
23.1.4. Tag questions.....	419
23.1.5. Answers to polar questions.....	420
23.2. Parametric questions.....	421
23.2.1. Questioning constituents of the clause.....	421
23.2.2. Questioning constituents of the noun phrase.....	423
23.2.3. Questioning constituents of subordinate clauses.....	423
23.2.4. Cleft parametric questions.....	424
23.2.5. Multiple parametric questions.....	425
23.3. Indirect questions.....	425
23.3.1. Ordinary indirect questions.....	425
23.3.2. "Indirect questions" used as independent sentences.....	427
23.4. Echo questions.....	428
23.5. Question particles.....	428
23.6. Question-like exclamations.....	431
23.7. Non-indicative questions.....	431
24. Comparison.....	432
24.1. Comparison of inequality.....	432
24.1.1. The comparative degree.....	432
24.1.2. The comparative clause.....	433
24.1.3. Expressing degrees of inequality.....	434
24.1.4. The superlative.....	436
24.2. Comparison of equality.....	436
24.2.1. <i>xiiz</i> 'like'.....	436
24.2.2. <i>xtin</i> 'like'.....	439
24.2.3. <i>q'wan</i> 'as much as'.....	439
24.3. Excessive degree.....	441

Appendices

25. Texts	442
25.1. The Nightingale.....	443
25.2. Who is Stealing the Melons?.....	445
25.3. The Magpie and the Wolf.....	452
25.4. The Flower from Russia.....	457
25.5. Congress in Belič.....	470
25.6. An early text in the Latin script.....	477
26. Lezgian-English vocabulary	479
27. English-Lezgian vocabulary	515
Cross-references to additional examples.....	530
References.....	539
Index of affixes.....	557
Subject Index.....	560

Abbreviations

Abbreviated category labels used in morpheme-by-morpheme glosses (see 1.3.5. for further notational conventions in glosses):

ABS	Absolutive case
ABST	Abstract noun
ADDR	Addirective case
ADEL	Adelative case
ADESS	Adessive case
ADV	adverbializer
AFUT	Archaic Future
AIMPP	Archaic Imperfective participle
ANTIC	anticausative
AOC	Aorist converb
AOP	Aorist participle
AOR	Aorist
APRET	Archaic Preterit
CAUS	Causal converb
CND	Conditional
CONT	Continuative
COP	copula
DAT	Dative case
EVID	Hearsay Evidential
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive case
GRAD	Graduative converb
ERG	Ergative case
HORT	Hortative
IMC	Imperfective converb
IMMANT	Immediate-Anterior converb
IMPF	Imperfective
IMPV	Imperative
INDEF	indefiniteness marker (on indefinite pronouns)
INESS	Inessive case
INEL	Inelative case
INF	Infinitive
INTJ	Interjection
MAN	Purpose/Manner converb
MSD	Masdar
NEG	negation
OPT	Optative
ORD	marker of ordinal numerals
PER	Periphrasis form
PL	plural
PODIR	Postdirective case
POEL	Postelative case
POESS	Postessive case
POSTR	Posterior converb
PRED	predicative suffix

xx Abbreviations

PRF	Perfect
PROHIB	Prohibitive
PST	Past
PT	particle
PTP	participle
PURP	Purpose/Manner converb
Q	question marker
REPET	Repetitive
SBDIR	Subdirective case
SBEL	Subrelative case
SBESS	Subessive case
SBST	substantivizer
SRDIR	Superdirective case
SREL	Superrelative case
SRESS	Superessive case
TEMP	Temporal converb

Other abbreviations that are used occasionally:

A.	Arabic
Ch.	chapter
intr.	intransitive
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
lit.	literally
N	noun
NP	noun phrase
obl.	oblique stem
P.	Persian
T.	Turkic
tr.	transitive
V	verb

A and *U* also represent archiphonemes:
A stands for a low vowel, *U* stands for a high vowel.

Capital letters are sometimes used to represent NP arguments, sometimes with a subscript indicating case, e.g. A, T, E_{DAT}, L_{POESS}. Like mathematical variables, these letters are strictly speaking meaningless. However, as a mnemonic help for the reader, non-arbitrary letters were often chosen that can be thought of as standing for certain semantic roles:

A:	"agent"
T:	"theme"
E:	"experiencer"
S:	"stimulus"
L:	"location"
R:	"recipient"

See 1.3.4. for abbreviations of the sources of the example sentences.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The Lezgian language and its genetic affiliation

Lezgian is spoken by about 400,000 people in southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan in the eastern Caucasus. (See 2.1. for details on Lezgian speakers.) Lezgian has been written since 1928, first in the Latin alphabet, from 1938 onward in the Cyrillic alphabet. This grammar describes the standard language, which is based on the lowland Güne dialect. (See 2.2. for more on Lezgian dialects, and 2.3. for more information on the status of Lezgian and the standard language.)

Lezgian is a member of the Lezxic branch of the Nakho-Daghestanian family of languages. The family tree of Nakho-Daghestanian is shown in (1) (following Hewitt 1981a:197).

(1) Nakho-Daghestanian languages

Nakh languages

Chechen, Ingush, Tsova-Tush (Bats)

Daghestanian languages

Avaric languages

Avar

Andic languages

Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Akhvakh, Bagvalal,
Tindi, Chamalal

Tsezic languages

Tsez, Khvarshi, Hinukh, Bezhta, Hunzib

Lakic languages

Lak, Dargwa

Lezxic languages

Lezgian, Archi, Tabasaran, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur,
Budukh, Kryz, Khinalug, Udi

Comparative studies on Nakho-Daghestanian languages include Bokarev (1961), Giginėjšvili (1977), Kibrik & Kodzasov (1988), (1990). Comparative studies of the Lezxic languages include Alekseev (1980) and Schulze (1983).

The Nakho-Daghestanian family is also sometimes called "North-East Caucasian" or "East Caucasian". Such terms are avoided here because they could strengthen the still widespread misconception (see, e.g., Voegelin & Voegelin 1966, Ruhlen 1987) that the Nakho-Daghestanian family is part of a larger "Caucasian" family, comprising also the Kartvelian ("South Caucasian") family and the Abkhazo-Adyghean ("North-West Caucasian") family. However, the main feature that these families have in common, besides being spoken in the Caucasus region, is that they are not related to any

of the neighboring larger families (Indo-European, Turkic, Afro-Asiatic), although they also share a few typological features (ergativity, ejective consonants). Of course, it cannot be excluded that the Nakho-Daghestanian, Kartvelian, and Abkhazo-Adyghean languages will some day turn out to be related after all, but so far a genetic relationship has not been proved.

1.2. An overview of Lezgian grammar

This section is an introduction to the typologically most striking features of Lezgian. Detailed information on each topic can be found in later chapters.

1.2.1. Phonology and morphophonemics

Lezgian has six phonemic vowels which form an asymmetric system which is typologically rather unusual. Distinctive length of /a/ and /æ/ is marginal.

i	y	u
e		
æ		a

With its 54 members, the Lezgian consonant inventory is quite rich. There are 34 occlusives, in six places of articulation (labial, dental, dental sibilant, postalveolar sibilant, velar, uvular) and four series (voiced, voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiceless ejective). Dental, velar, and uvular obstruents have a labialized and a non-labialized variant.

b	d				g	g ^w			
p ^h	t ^h	t ^{hw}	ʈ ^h	ʈ ^{hw}	ʧ ^h	k ^h	k ^{hw}	q ^h	q ^{hw}
p	t	t ^w	ʈs	ʈs ^w	ʧ	k	k ^w	q	q ^w
p'	t'	t' ^w	ʈs'	ʈs' ^w	ʧ'	k'	k' ^w	q'	q' ^w
			z	z ^w	ʒ		ʁ	ʁ ^w	
f			s	s ^w	ʃ	x		χ	χ ^w
m	n								
	l								
	r								
w					j			h	ʔ

Until recently, Lezgian had only syllables of the structure CV, CVC, and CVCC. The last type occurs only at the end of a morpheme (e.g. /wertʃ^h/ 'hen', /halt^h-zawa/ 'meets'), and morpheme-internal consonant clusters (CVC-CV...) are restricted to a few types in native words.

Quite recently Lezgian has undergone a sound change of vowel syncope that eliminated high vowels in pretonic position between voiceless obstruents, e.g.

/ʧ ^h u'χun/	>	/ʧ ^h χun/	'comb'
/sy'pek ^h /	>	/spek ^h /	'mulberry'
/k ^h i'ʧ'ε/	>	/k ^h ʃ'ε/	'afraid'
/sit ^h χa/	>	/st ^h χa/	'brother'

As a result of this change, which lacks uniformity and is apparently still in progress, a large number of new morpheme-initial consonant clusters has arisen. In addition, the syncopated vowels often leave the preceding consonant labialized (in the case of syncopated /u/) or palatalized (in the case of /i/) or both (in the case of /y/), so that a whole new class of palatalized and labialized-palatalized voiceless obstruents has come into being. This change complicates the description of Lezgian phonology considerably.

Another prominent feature of Lezgian is the occurrence of various consonant alternations in nouns. The Absolutive Singular form, which ends in zero, often differs from the other forms, e.g.

Word-final Ejective Aspiration

/ne't'er/	'lice'	/net ^h /	'louse'
-----------	--------	---------------------	---------

Word-final Ejective Voicing

/t'a'p'uni/	'block (Erg.)'	/t'ab/	'block (Abs.)'
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Word-final Unaspirated Voicing

/tse'k ^w er/	'ants'	/tseg ^w /	'ant'
-------------------------	--------	----------------------	-------

Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration

/tsyk ^h /	'flower'	/ts ^h uk ^w er/	'flowers'
----------------------	----------	--------------------------------------	-----------

Lezgian also shows palatal (/e, i, y/ vs. /a, u/) and labial (/u, y/ vs. /i/) vowel harmony, but only in the first two syllables of a word. For instance, the oblique stem suffix *-Uni* has the alternants /-ini/, /-uni/, /-yni/:

<i>ric'</i>	<i>ric'-ini</i>	'bowstring'
<i>leq'</i>	<i>leq'-ini</i>	'liver'
<i>q'ük</i>	<i>q'ük-üni</i>	'pitchfork'
<i>zarb</i>	<i>zarb-uni</i>	'speed'
<i>tur</i>	<i>tur-uni</i>	'sword'

Word stress is generally on the second syllable of the root. Loanwords from Arabic may also be stressed on the third syllable.

<i>ak'ázarun</i>	'bow'
<i>čubáruk</i>	'swallow'
<i>hukumát</i>	'government' (< Arabic <i>hukuumat</i>)

Suffixes are of two types: stress-neutral and stress-attracting. Stress-neutral suffixes do not bear stress. Since roots are commonly monosyllabic and quite a few stress-neutral suffixes may follow a root, polysyllabic words stressed on the first syllable are not uncommon, e.g.

<i>šéš-zawa</i>	'is crying'
<i>hált-nawa-j-bur-u-kaj</i>	'about those who have met'

Most stress-attracting suffixes can follow only monosyllabic roots, resulting in words stressed on the second syllable.

<i>sir-ér</i>	'secrets'
<i>wirt'-édi</i>	'honey (Ergative case)'
<i>fe-jí</i>	'having gone'

1.2.2. Morphology

Lezgian morphology is overwhelmingly suffixing and agglutinating. Nouns, adjectives, and verbs can be easily distinguished by morphological criteria.

Nouns are inflected for number (Singular, Plural), case (Absolute, Ergative, Genitive, Dative, Essive, Elative, Directive), and localization (Ad, Sub, Post, Super, In). The locative cases Essive, Elative, and Directive occur in combination with the localizations (Ad-essive, Sub-elative, Super-directive, etc.). All cases other than the Absolute are based on a special oblique stem whose suffix is idiosyncratic for many nouns. An example (*hül* 'sea'):

	Singular	Plural
Absolute	<i>hül</i>	<i>hül-er</i>
Ergative	<i>hül-i</i>	<i>hül-er-i</i>
Genitive	<i>hül-i-n</i>	<i>hül-er-i-n</i>
Dative	<i>hül-i-z</i>	<i>hül-er-i-z</i>
Adessive	<i>hül-i-w</i>	<i>hül-er-i-w</i>
Adelative	<i>hül-i-waj</i>	<i>hül-er-i-waj</i>
Addirective	<i>hül-i-wdi</i>	<i>hül-er-i-wdi</i>
Subessive	<i>hül-i-k</i>	<i>hül-er-i-k</i>
Subelative	<i>hül-i-kaj</i>	<i>hül-er-i-kaj</i>
Subdirective	<i>hül-i-kdi</i>	<i>hül-er-i-kdi</i>
Postessive	<i>hül-i-q^h</i>	<i>hül-er-i-q^h</i>
Postelative	<i>hül-i-q^haj</i>	<i>hül-er-i-q^haj</i>
Postdirective	<i>hül-i-q^hdi</i>	<i>hül-er-i-q^hdi</i>
Supernessive	<i>hül-e-l</i>	<i>hül-er-a-l</i>
Superelative	<i>hül-e-laj</i>	<i>hül-er-i-laj</i>
Superdirective	<i>hül-e-ldi</i>	<i>hül-er-a-ldi</i>
Inessive	<i>hül-e</i>	<i>hül-er-a</i>
Inelative	<i>hül-äj</i>	<i>hül-er-aj</i>

The locative cases in combination with the localizations can express various local relations. However, local relations are more often expressed by postpositions, and noun inflections tend to express more abstract relations.

The only inflections of adjectives are the substantivizing suffix *-di* (e.g. *c'iji* 'new', *c'iji-di* 'new one') the adverbial suffixes *-(di)z* / *-dakaz* (e.g. *jawaš* 'slow', *jawaš-diz* 'slowly').

Verbs are inflected for tense-aspect, negation, several mood forms and various non-finite forms. There are no person-number agreement forms. The most important inflected verb forms are (from *gun* 'give'):

	non-negated	negated
Imperfective	<i>gu-zwa</i>	<i>gu-zwa-č</i>
Past Imperfective	<i>gu-zwa-j</i>	<i>gu-zwa-č-ir</i>
Future	<i>gu-da</i>	<i>gu-da-č</i>
Past Future	<i>gu-da-j</i>	<i>gu-da-č-ir</i>
Aorist	<i>ga-na</i>	<i>ga-na-č</i>
Past Aorist	<i>ga-na-j</i>	<i>ga-na-č-ir</i>
Perfect	<i>ga-nwa</i>	<i>ga-nwa-č</i>
Past Perfect	<i>ga-nwa-j</i>	<i>ga-nwa-č-ir</i>
Imperative	<i>ce /c^he/</i>	—
Prohibitive	—	<i>gu-mir</i>
Optative	<i>gu-raj</i>	<i>ta-gu-raj</i>
Hortative	<i>gu-n</i>	<i>ta-gu-n</i>
Masdar	<i>gu-n</i>	<i>ta-gu-n</i>
Infinitive	<i>gu-z</i>	<i>ta-gu-z</i>
Imperfective participle	<i>gu-zwa-j</i>	<i>ta-gu-zwa-j</i>
Future participle	<i>gu-da-j</i>	<i>ta-gu-da-j</i>
Perfect participle	<i>ga-nwa-j</i>	<i>ta-ga-nwa-j</i>
Aorist participle	<i>ga-jl</i>	<i>ta-ga-j</i>
Aorist converb	<i>ga-na</i>	<i>ta-ga-na</i>
Posterior converb	<i>gu-daldi</i>	—
Temporal converb	<i>ga-ji-la</i>	<i>ta-ga-j-la</i>

There is little derivational morphology in Lezgian. The most important nominal derivational suffix is the abstract suffix *-wal* (*c'iji-wal* 'new-ness'). Verbs can be derived from verbs by means of the causative suffix *-(a)r* (*ačwaz-un* 'stop (intr.)', *ačwaz-ar-un* 'stop (tr.)'). Some derivational affixes have been borrowed along with loanwords and are so common that they must be considered Lezgian affixes, e.g. nominal *-či* (e.g. *lawğa-či* 'proud person'), adjectival *-lu*, *-suz* (e.g. *mešreblu* 'pleasant', *mešrebsuz* 'unpleasant'), verbal *-lamišun* (e.g. *leke-lamišun* 'stain, soil').

1.2.3. Syntax

Word order patterns in Lezgian are overwhelmingly head-final. This order is obligatory in noun phrases (Genitive-noun, adjective-noun, numeral-noun, demonstrative-noun, etc.), adjective phrases, and postpositional phrases, and it is preferred for clauses. However, alongside SOV order other orders are also possible, especially in the spoken language.

The case-marking patterns in clauses is uniformly ergative, as shown in (2) (for notational conventions used in example sentences, see 1.3.4.-5.).

- (2) a. *Stxa k'wal.i-z xta-na.*
 brother(ABS) house-DAT return-AOR

'The brother came back home.'

6 1. Introduction

- b. *Wax.a stxa k'wal.i-z raqur-na.*
sister(ERG) brother(ABS) house-DAT send-AOR

'The sister sent the brother home.'

Dative subjects occur with some experiential verbs, e.g.

- (3) *Wax.a-z stxa aku-na.*
sister-DAT brother(ABS) see-AOR

'The sister saw the brother.'

There is no agreement in Lezgian, neither in noun phrases nor on finite verbs. Personal pronouns are normally used if there are no full noun phrase arguments. (However, these may be omitted if they can be recovered from the context.)

- (4) *Ada abur k'wal.i-z raqur-na.*
she(ERG) they(ABS) house-DAT send-AOR

'She sent them home.'

Lezgian has practically no rules that change grammatical relations. There is only a derivational suffix *-(a)r* (causative) which turns intransitive verbs into transitive verbs.

Subordinate clauses are normally non-finite, i.e. marked by special subordinating verb forms, and they generally precede the superordinate clause.

Relative clauses make use of the participles, which have no inherent orientation and can therefore be used to relativize almost any constituent.

- (5) a. *gada k'wal.i-z raqur-aj ruš*
[boy house-DAT send-AOP] girl

'the girl who sent the boy home.'

- b. *ruš.a k'wal.i-z raqur-aj gada*
[girl(ERG) house-DAT send-AOP] boy

'the boy whom the girl sent home'

- c. *ruš.a gada raqur-aj k'wal*
[girl(ERG) boy send-AOP] house

'the house to which the girl sent the boy'

Complement clauses are of three major types: Masdar (verbal noun) complements (6), Infinitival complements (7), and participial complements (8).

- (6) *Ča-z tamaša student-r.i-z qalur-un teklif-na.* (S88:155)
we-DAT [play student-PL-DAT show-MSD] propose-AOR

'They proposed to us to perform the play in front of the students.'

- (7) *Abur.u-z cl.a-n gazet.di-z sa ġweč'i maqala kxi-z*
 they-DAT [wall-GEN paper-DAT one little article write-INF]
k'an-zawa. (M83:55)
 want-IMPF
 'They want to write a little article for the wall newspaper.'
- (8) *Škola.di č'exi rol' quğwa-zwa-j-di za inkar iji-zwa-č.*
 [school(ERG) big role play-IMP-PTP-SBST] I:ERG denial do-IMP-NEG
 'I don't deny that the school plays an important role.' (DD77,6:15)

Although it is possible to conjoin clauses with the conjunction *wa* 'and', this is avoided in favor of constructions using converbs (non-finite verb forms used for adverbial subordination), e.g.

- (9) a. *Ruš elqwe-na q'uluq^hdi kilig-na.* (S88:35)
 girl [turn-AOC] back look-AOR
 'The girl turned around and looked back.'
 (Lit. 'The girl, having turned around, looked back.')
- b. *Sual-r.i-z sa fikir-ni ta-gu-z, muhman-r.i anžax*
 [question-PL-DAT one thought-even NEG-give-INF] guest-PL(ERG) only
žawab-ar tkrar-zawa-j. (Q81:112)
 answer-PL repeat-IMP-PTST
 'The guests did not pay attention to the questions and only repeated the answer.' (Or: 'Not paying attention to the questions,...')

Specialized converbs are used for adverbial clauses, e.g.

- (10) *Sabir xkwe-daldi čaj hazur že-da.* (Š83:61)
 [Sabir return-POSTR] tea ready be-FUT
 'The tea will be ready before Sabir comes back.'
- (11) *Mäden ačux q^huwu-r-la, ča-z wiri-d.a-z*
 [mine open(PER) REPET-AOP-TEMP] we-DAT all-SBST.SG-DAT
xür-e k'walax že-da. (HQ89:8)
 village-INESS work be-FUT
 'When the mine is reopened, there will be work in the village for all of us.'
- (12) *Zun k'wal-äj fe-ji-waldi, Ahmed ata-na.* (G63:13)
 [I:ABS house-INEL go-AOP-IMMANT] Ahmed come-AOR
 'As soon as I left the house, Ahmed came.'

Polar questions are marked by the interrogative verb suffix *-ni*, as in (13).

- (13) *Farid ata-na-ni?*
 Farid come-AOR-Q
 'Has Farid come?'

In parametric questions, the interrogative pronoun is normally in situ and no interrogative verb suffix is used.

- (14) *Farid mus ata-na?*
 Farid when come-AOR
 'When did Farid come?'

Comparison of inequality is expressed by marking the standard of comparison in the Superrelative case. The adjective is not specifically marked.

- (15) *Awar č'al lezgi č'al.a-laj četin ja.*
 Avar language Lezgian language-SREL difficult COP
 'Avar is more difficult than Lezgian.'

1.3. A user's guide to this grammar

This book is intended as a reference grammar of Lezgian for linguists who wish to learn more about Lezgian grammar as a whole or about particular aspects of it.

Since it was written for linguists, the grammar presupposes familiarity with a large number of fundamental grammatical notions which greatly facilitate the concise formulation of grammatical regularities. However, it contains no framework-specific jargon, idiosyncratic formalisms, or other unnecessary obstacles.

1.3.1. User-friendly features

An attempt has been made to make this grammar maximally user-friendly even for readers who need a particular piece of information (e.g. for a cross-linguistic investigation) and have no time to wade through the whole grammar. This grammar has the following features that make it easy to use as a reference work:

(A) Morpheme-by-morpheme glosses with brackets marking subordinate clauses for better readability (cf. 1.3.5.).

(B) A detailed subject index which, in addition to normal entries referring to places in the book, contains entries that do not occur elsewhere in the book. Such entries are names of grammatical phenomena that do not occur in the language. Thus, looking up the subject index suffices to find out that Lezgian has no passive, no dual, no tones. There are of course no negative statements about these categories in the grammar, and since the mere absence of a category in the index proves nothing, the negative information in the index might be useful.

(C) An index to the example sentences. Since the examples (most of which were taken from original Lezgian texts) usually show other interesting phenomena in addition to the point which they illustrate in the particular place in the text, such an index makes a lot of additional information available. By looking up the number of an example in the index, the reader

can find up to twenty more examples elsewhere in the grammar that illustrate the same point.

(D) A more or less complete bibliography of scholarly works on Lezgian. Most of these are not mentioned in the text, but a reader who is interested in further information or different points of view is given the chance to look them up. The subject index simultaneously serves as an index to the bibliography. This step was taken so as not to clutter the text with references that few readers will find useful because most of the publications are difficult to get outside of Daghestan.

(E) An index to the grammatical morphemes of Lezgian.

1.3.2. Structure of the grammar

The structure of this grammar follows the well-established traditional order: phonology — morphology — syntax — texts. This ensures that the amount of information that is presupposed in a given section but comes later in the book is minimized.

The morphological chapters deal with the form and the meaning of the grammatical items of the language. For inflectional categories, the inflection as a whole is first described, followed by a description of the meanings of the individual inflectional categories. For derivational categories, form and meaning are treated together.

While the morphology takes the analytical perspective (from form to function), the syntax takes the synthetic perspective (from function to form), with chapter topics such as coordination, relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, coreference, questions, and comparison. All these are taken as functional notions. For example, participial relative clauses and correlative relative clauses show no formal similarities, but they are treated together in Ch. 19 because of their similar function.

Thus, this grammar to some extent fulfills the theoretical requirement to present the grammatical information both from an analytical and from a synthetic perspective (von der Gabelentz 1901, Lehmann 1980). For example, the functions of the Dative case are described twice: First from an analytical perspective in the chapter on nominal inflection (7.2.2.4.); and then from a synthetic perspective in the sections on verbal valence (15.3.2., 15.4.1.), on adjectival valence (14.5.1.1.), and on spatial and temporal adverbials (16.3.1.1., 16.3.2.1.). Similarly, the functions of the Aorist converb are described twice: First in the chapter on verbal inflection (9.9.4.), and then in the sections on adverbial clauses (21.1.) and on complement clauses (20.6.1.-2.). Sometimes only cross-references are made to avoid unnecessary repetitions.

However, this grammar, too, has an analytical bias. Not everything is described from a synthetic point of view. For example, there is no function-to-form treatment of tense meanings, or of number meanings. For such phenomena, the form-to-function description must suffice.

1.3.3. Grammatical terminology

Another feature that contributes to the user-friendliness of this grammar is the avoidance of opaque grammatical category labels such as "5th Elative case" or "3rd Past tense". Instead, grammatical labels with some mnemonic descriptive content have been chosen, such as "Superrelative case" and "Past Perfect". This meant that traditional Lezgian terminology had to be abandoned in several cases. However, the traditional terminology itself is by no means uniform. For example, Gajdarov's (1987a) textbook differs substantially from the earlier standard accounts of Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) and Mejlanova (1967). Other works such as Žirkov (1941) and Moor (1985) use still different terms.

The following table is a comparative list of the most important terms that are most widespread in Russian-language studies of Lezgian and of the terminology used in this grammar (my terminology is closest to Mel'čuk's 1988a).

Table 1. *Comparative list of terminology*

Terminology as in Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) and Mejlanova (1967)	cases	Terminology in this grammar
imenitel'nyj		Absolutive
èrgativnyj		Ergative
roditel'nyj		Genitive
datel'nyj		Dative
mestnyj I		Adessive
isxoditel'nyj I		Adelative
napravitel'nyj I		Addirective
mestnyj II		Postessive
isxoditel'nyj II		Postelative
napravitel'nyj II		Postdirective
mestnyj III		Subessive
isxoditel'nyj III		Subelative
napravitel'nyj III		Subdirective
mestnyj IV		Inessive
isxoditel'nyj IV		Inelative
mestnyj V		Superessive
isxoditel'nyj V		Superrelative
napravitel'nyj V		Superdirective

verbal categories

nastoljašče I		Imperfective
nastoljašče II		Continuative Imperfective
budušče		Future
prošedše nesoveršennoe I		Past Imperfective
prošedše nesoveršennoe II		Continuative Past Imperfective
prošedše nesoveršennoe III		Past Future
budušče predpoločitel'noe I		Archaic Future
budušče predpoločitel'noe II		Archaic Past Future
prošedše I		Aorist
prošedše II		Archaic Preterit
prošedše III		Perfect
davnoprošedše I		Past Aorist
davnoprošedše II		Past Perfect
celevaja forma		Infinitive/Imperfective converb
povelitel'noe nakl.	1st person	Hortative
	2nd person	Imperative
	3rd person	Optative
masdar		Masdar

Note that I follow Comrie's (1976) convention of capitalizing language-particular morphological categories such as Ergative case or Past Future tense, whereas universal or purely semantic categories are not capitalized.

1.3.4. Example sentences

This grammar provides rich exemplification of the covered material. The purpose of this is to make as many data as possible available to the reader. The reader may not agree with the proposed analyses and some of the descriptions may turn out to be incorrect, but the example sentences will not lose their usefulness.

Each example that has a number of its own illustrates a point in the description. When several examples illustrate the same point, they are distinguished by the letters (a), (b), (c), etc.

The overwhelming majority of example sentences were taken from original Lezgian texts and thus represent "real language". The source of each text example is indicated in parentheses following the example. (The number following the colon is the page number.) Example sentences where no source is indicated were elicited from native speakers (see the acknowledgments).

The following abbreviations of the sources of the examples have been used:

Books:

- A55: Ağaev, Ahd. 1955. *St'al Sulejman*. Maxačkala: Dagknigoizdat. [Sulejman Stal'skij]
- A76: Iskenderov, Abdullah. 1976. *Samur*. 3-ktab. C'iji ümür. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Samur. Vol. 3. New life]
- A90: Ahmedov, Ibrahim. 1990. *K'ewi dustar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Close friends]
- AM87: Akimov, Q.X. & Musanabieva, B.S. (ed.) 1987. *Literaturadin xrestomatija*. 5-klass. 11-izdanie. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Chrestomathy of literature. 5th grade. 11th edition]
- D57: Gor'kij, Maksim. 1957. *Dide*. Maxačkala: Dağustandin ktabin izdatel'stvo. [The mother. Translated from Russian by Magomed M. Gadžiev]
- E56: Efendiev, Zijaudin. 1956. *Jark'izuwan ruš*. Maxačkala: Dagknigoizdat. [The Jark'i girl]
- G54: Gadžiev (1954) (see bibliography)
- G57: Gadžiev, Magomed M. 1957. *Lezgi čalan grammatika*. 2 lahaj paj. Sintaksis. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Grammar of the Lezgian language. Part 2. Syntax]
- G63: Gadžiev (1963) (see bibliography)
- G82: Gjul'magomedov (1982) (see bibliography)
- H63: Hajdarov (1963) (see bibliography)
- H77: Haži, Rasim. 1977. *Zi irid stxa*. Povest'. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [My seven brothers. Short novel]
- H82: Hajdarov (1982) (see bibliography)
- HQ89: Qurban, Hakim. 1989. *Jaru mäden*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [The red mine]
- J84: Isaev, Šamsudin. 1984. *Rexi qwan*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [The grey stone]
- J89: Jaraliev, Jaq'ub. 1989. *Alamatdin Uruž*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Marvelous Uruž]
- K57: Kononov, A. 1957. *Leninakaj rasskazar*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Stories about Lenin]
- M79: Minhažev, Serker. 1979. *Laxta taxaj iwi*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Uncurled blood]
- M83: Mežidov, Qijas. 1983. *Qeni qunšijar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Good neighbors]
- M90: Mahmudov, Abdulbari. 1990. *C'iji q'ilelej bašlamiša*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Begin anew]
- N88: Šixnabiev, Naxmudin. 1988. *Meq^her*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [The wedding]
- Q81: Qurban, Hakim. 1989. *Quj hamiša` rağ xuraj*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Let there always be sun]
- R66: Rizvanov, Zabit. 1966. *Garčülda žeda*. Baky: Azerbajžandin gosudarstvodin izdatel'stvo.
- S88: Salimov, Bajram. 1988. *Zaman buba*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Father Zaman]
- Š77: Šixverdiev, Muradxan. 1977. *Ekv jarğaj akwada*. Maxačkala: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [The light is seen from far]

- Š83: Šixverdiev, Muradxan. 1983. *Pakaman jarar*. Maxačkala: Dages-tanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo. [Dawn]
 TG66: Talibov & Gadžiev (1966) (see bibliography)
 X89: Gašarov, G.G. & Ganieva, M.B. (eds.) *Lezgi xalq'din maxar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Lezgian folktales]

Journals:

(first number after the abbreviation = year, second number = issue)

- Du: *Dustwal*. Maxačkala. [Friendship]
 DD: *Dağustandin dišehli*. Maxačkala. [Daghestanian woman]
 K: *Kard*. Maxačkala. [The Falcon]
 L: *Literaturadin Dağustan*. Maxačkala. [Literary Daghestan]

Newspapers:

(first number = year, second number = month, third number = day)

- Ko: *Kommunist*. (KPSS-din obkomdin, DASSR-din verxovnyj sovetdin wa ministrrin sovetdin organ) Maxačkala. [Communist]
 Q: *Gyzyl Gusar/Qizil Qusar*. (Organ kusarskogo rajonnogo komiteta KP Azerbajdžana i rajonnogo soveta narodnyx deputatov) Qusar/Kusary. [Golden Qusar (Kusary, Gusar)]

1.3.5. Notational conventions for morpheme-by-morpheme glosses

1.3.5.1. General rules. In example sentences, all inflectional affixes are separated by hyphens from their adjacent affix(es) or the stem. Derivational affixes are separated only in the relevant sections of the morphology. Each morpheme separated by a hyphen in the Lezgian text corresponds to an element in the morphemic gloss. Stems are translated by English words, affixes by abbreviated category labels.

(i) When one Lezgian morpheme must be translated by two gloss elements (English words or category labels), these are separated by a period, e.g.

<i>eqeč'-un</i>	<i>jaru-bur</i>
go.out-MSD	red-SBST.PL

(ii) When a category is expressed, but is not expressed by a separable morpheme, it is separated in the gloss by a colon.

<i>wuna</i>	(<i>w-una?</i> <i>wu-na?</i> <i>wun-a?</i>)
you:ERG	

<i>zi</i>	(<i>z-i?</i> <i>zi-Ø?</i>)
I:GEN	

(iii) When a category is expressed by zero, its category label is put in parentheses.

kilig! instead of: *kilig-Ø*
look(IMPV) look-IMPV

1.3.5.2. Zero. Categories that are always expressed by zero are not shown in the morphemic glosses for economy, e.g.

ktab-ar instead of: *ktab-ar* or: *ktab-ar-Ø*
book-PL book-PL(ABS) book-PL-ABS

k'el-zawa instead of: *k'el-zawa* or: *k'el-zawa-Ø*
read-IMPF read-IMPF(NONPAST) read-IMPF-NONPAST

1.3.5.3. Oblique stem suffix. A period in nouns separates the stem from the (semantically empty) oblique stem suffix. Thus,

dide.di-z instead of: *dide-di-z*
mother-DAT mother-OBL-DAT

tar-ar.i-kaj instead of: *tar-ar-i-kaj*
tree-PL-SBEL tree-PL-OBL-SBEL

The Ergative case is marked by zero (like the Absolutive), but since the Ergative case is formed from the oblique stem, it is always clearly distinct from the Absolutive. It is therefore also shown in the morphemic glosses, as an exception to 1.3.5.2. above.

dide.di instead of: *dide.di* or: *dide-di-Ø*
mother(ERG) mother mother-OBL-ERG
(by 1.3.5.2.) (by 1.3.5.1.)

(4) In personal pronouns (including reflexive pronouns), the oblique stem suffix is not even shown by a period, again for reasons of economy.

za-waj instead of: *z.a-waj* or: *z-a-waj*
I-ADEL I-ADEL I-OBL-ADEL
(by 1.3.5.3.) (by 1.3.5.1.)

čpi-n instead of: *čp.i-n* or: *čp-i-n*
selves-GEN selves-GEN selves-OBL-GEN

In third person pronouns (which are based on demonstratives), also the substantivizer and the plural affixes are ignored by the gloss. The same rules apply to the demonstrative pronoun *im* 'this (one)'.
(The same rules apply to the demonstrative pronoun *im* 'this (one)'.)

ada instead of: *ad.a* or: *a-d.a*
s/he(ERG) s/he(ERG) that-SBST.SG(ERG)
or: *a-d-a*
that-SBST.SG-OBL(ERG)

abur.u instead of: *a-bur.u*
 they(ERG) that-SBST.PL(ERG)

or: *a-bur-u*
 that-SBST.PL-OBL(ERG)

The Ergative and Absolutive cases of personal pronouns are treated as un-analyzable.

zun instead of: *z-un*
 I:ABS I-ABS

am instead of: *a-m*
 s/he:ABS that-SBST.SG.ABS

1.3.5.5. Subordinate clauses. The boundaries of subordinate clauses are shown in the gloss by brackets ([...]) to facilitate the understanding of more complex examples.

1.3.5.6. Hyphen. When the Lezgian text contains a hyphen (e.g. in compounds), this is rendered by an equals sign (=) so as to avoid confusion with the hyphens that separate morphemes:

эвер-гъарай
ewer=haraj
 call=shout

Chapter 2

Lezgian and its speakers

2.1. The Lezgians

The Lezgians live in an area of about 5000 km² in southern Daghestan and northern Azerbaijan, in the high mountain area of the eastern Caucasus and in the plains between the mountains and the Caspian sea. In addition, there is a sizable Lezgian diaspora in many major cities of the former Soviet Union.

According to the 1989 census, there were 466 000 Lezgians in the Soviet Union. Since the rate of language retention for the Lezgians is around 90 percent, the number of speakers of Lezgian must be well over 400 000.

Most Lezgians live in villages where they make a living out of agriculture (especially in the plains) and stockbreeding (especially in the mountains). The Lezgians have traditionally been Sunni Muslims, and until the incorporation of Daghestan and Azerbaijan into the Russian empire in the 19th century, their further cultural contacts were mainly with the Ottoman empire and with Persia. Both the older contacts with the Oriental world and the more recent contacts with Russia are reflected by large numbers of loans in the Lezgian language.

2.1.1. Population figures

The population figures from various censuses are as follows:

	number of Lezgians in the Russian empire/the USSR	number of Lezgian speakers
1907	159 000	
1926	134 536	
1959	220 000	
1970	323 829	304 087 (93.9%)
1979	382 611	347 556 (90.8%)
1989	466 006	

The language retention rate is 100 % in the Lezgian villages of Daghestan, but in the Daghestanian cities (especially Maxačkala) and in the diaspora the language tends to be lost in favor of the dominating Russian by younger people.

The main potential inaccuracy in the census data concerns the Lezgians in Azerbaijan. They have been undergoing a process of (apparently sometimes forced) assimilation to the Azerbaijanis, and since identification as Lezgian can be disadvantageous in Azerbaijan, it is possible that many Lezgians were counted as Azerbaijanis. The number of Daghestanian Lezgians is somewhat higher than the number of Lezgians in Azerbaijan:

	Daghestan	Azerbaijan
1979	188 804 (49.3%)	158 057 (41.3%)
1989	204 400 (43.8%)	171 395 (36.7%)

According to the 1989 census, 52 900 Lezgians (11.4%) live in the Russian Federation outside of Daghestan, 13 905 (3.0%) live in Kazakhstan, and 10 425 Lezgians (2.2%) live in Turkmenia.

More detailed figures are available for the 1979 census (CSU 1984). In 1979, 347 556 Lezgians (90.8%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 18 069 (4.7%) gave Russian as their native language, and 16 986 (4.4%) gave some other native language (mainly Azerbaijani, cf. below). 3 452 Lezgians said they speak Lezgian in addition to their (non-Lezgian) native language (9.8% of those whose native language is not Lezgian). 181 969 Lezgians (47.6%) said they know Russian.

Within Daghestan, 185 563 of the 188 804 Lezgians (98.3%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 1922 (1.0%) gave Russian, and 1190 (0.6%) gave another Daghestanian language as their native language. 121 486 Daghestanian Lezgians (64.3%) know Russian, and 489 Daghestanian Lezgians (0.3%) know another Daghestanian language.

Within Azerbaijan, 134 873 of the 158 057 Lezgians (85.3%) gave Lezgian as their native language, 14 426 (9.1%) gave Azerbaijani, and 8571 (5.4%) gave Russian. 73 613 Azerbaijanian Lezgians (46.6%) know Azerbaijani, and 37 184 (23.5%) know Russian.

2.1.2. Geographical location

Lezgian is spoken in an area of about 5 000 km² in southern Daghestan and in northern Azerbaijan ("Lezgistan").

In Daghestan, the Kuraxskij, Sulejman-Stal'skij (formerly Kasumkent-skij), Magaramkentskij, and Axtynskij rayons are completely occupied by Lezgians. Some Lezgians also live in the adjacent Rutul'skij and Xivskij rayons. In Azerbaijan, the Lezgians live in the Kusarskij, Kubinskij, Xudatskij, Kutkašenskij and Kunaxkentskij rayons.

Further geographical details can be found on the map on the following page (adapted from Mejlanova 1964).

2.1.3. Some remarks on Lezgian history

References to a Daghestanian people *Legoi*, *Lekoi* or *Geloi* can be found in several ancient writers (Herodotus, Strabo, Pliny the Elder). This probably refers to the Daghestanian peoples in general. Arab authors of the 9th and 10th centuries mention a kingdom *Lakz* in southern Daghestan.

In the 7th and 8th centuries Daghestan was conquered by the Arabs. As a consequence of this, the Daghestanian population was converted to Islam in the following centuries.

In the 18th century, feudal relations replaced the older free peasant communities in many places. Lezgians became part of the Quba khanate in the southeast, of the Derbent khanate in the northeast, and of the Kazikumux khanate in the northwest. In 1812 the Küre khanate was founded in the

valley of the Q'urah-čaj (Kurax-čaj) river and the lower reaches of the Samur river (with the administrative center in Q'urah/Kurax). The southeastern areas (along the valley of the middle Samur river) did not belong to a feudal territory, but consisted of associations of independent peasant communities (vol'nye obščestva, 'free communities') such as Axy-para, Alty-para, Doquz-para, and Rutul.

The incorporation of Daghestan into the Russian empire began in the early 19th century. Because of the fierce resistance of part of the population, it was not until the 1860s that all of Daghestan was under Russian control. After the defeat of the Daghestanian resistance, many Lezgians were forced to emigrate and settled in Turkey (cf. Moor 1985 on Lezgian villages in Turkey).

The Küre khanate was transformed into the Kjurinskij okrug of the Daghestanian oblast' (center in Q'asumxür/Kasumkent). The free communities along the middle Samur became the Samurskij okrug. The Quba khanate became the Kubinskij uezd of the Baku gubernija.

The economy of the Lezgians has traditionally been based on agriculture and stockbreeding. Agriculture is most widespread in the eastern plains region, whereas the western mountain region supports practically only sheepbreeding (cf. Agaširinova (1978: Ch. 1) on the traditional Lezgian economy).

In the late 1920s, a standard written language was introduced, and teaching of Lezgian in schools and regular publication activities in Lezgian began (cf. 2.3.).

After 1929 agriculture in Daghestan was collectivized. By the 1960s, electricity was brought to most of the villages. Several mountain villages were resettled in more accessible places, some of them quite distant from their original location (e.g. the village Kuruš in the Axtynskij rayon was resettled in the Xasavjurtovskij rayon, 300 km from the original location).

The liberalization of the Gorbachev years led to a revival of Lezgian national self-awareness. The Lezgian national movement *Sadwal* ("Unity") was founded in 1990. Lezgians living far from Lezgistan are increasingly interested in preserving their national heritage. The territorial division of Lezgistan between Daghestan and Azerbaijan is seen as a big problem by many Lezgians.

After the breakup of the Soviet Union in 1991/92, the Lezgians found themselves in two different countries: Russia (of which Daghestan is a part) and Azerbaijan.

2.1.4. The ethnonym *Lezgian*

The word *Lezgian* corresponds to the Lezgian self-designation *lezgi* 'Lezgian' (Russian *lezginskij*, *lezgin*). This term has been used in the present sense since the 1920s. Before that, the term *Lezgian* had been used to refer to all non-Turkic mountain peoples of Daghestan, while the term *Küre* (or *Küri*, Russian *kjurinskij*) was used for the people and the language that are now called Lezgian (cf. Uslar 1896). (*Küre* is more properly the name of the Lezgian dialect spoken in the eastern plains, the region most accessible to outsiders.)

Various spelling variants of *Lezgian* have been used in English (*Lezghian*, *Lezgi*, *Lesghian*, *Lezgin*, etc.). The variant *Lezgian* is chosen

here because it is close to Lezgian *lezgi* and because it has been used by other linguists working on Lezgian (Mel'čuk 1988a, Moor 1984, Job 1985).

2.2. Lezgian dialects

In contrast to some of the other major Daghestanian languages (especially Dargwa and Avar), Lezgian shows relatively little internal dialectal variation. Divergences from the standard language (which is described in this grammar) are relatively minor, and all dialects are mutually intelligible. This section gives a brief overview of the dialect division of Lezgian and some of the more salient divergences from the standard language.

2.2.1. Dialect division

Although some details are disputed, there is broad agreement among Lezgian dialectologists that the main subdivision of dialects is threefold: the Küre dialect group, the Axceh dialect group, and the Quba dialect group (cf. Gajdarov 1963, Mejlanova 1964).

The Küre dialect group is located in what used to be the Kjurinskij okrug with its capital Kasumkent/Q'asumxür (and before that the Küre khanate with its capital Kurax/Q'urah), i.e. the present Magaramkentskij, Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij), Kuraxskij, and Xivskij rayons. According to Mejlanova (1964), the Küre dialect group is subdivided into the Güne, Q'urah and Jark'i dialects. The Jark'i dialect is spoken in what used to be the Jarkinskij učastok in the northeast of the former Kjurinskij okrug, now the southern part of the Xivskij rayon and the northern part of the Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij) rayon. A variety belonging to the Jark'i dialect was described by Petr K. Uslar in his ground-breaking Lezgian grammar (1896).

The Q'urah dialect is spoken in what used to be the Kuraxskij učastok of the Kjurinskij okrug, now the Kuraxskij rayon.

The Güne dialect is spoken in what used to be the Gjunejskij učastok of the Kjurinskij okrug, now the southern part of the Sulejman-Stal'skij (Kasumkentskij) rayon and the Magaramkentskij rayon. The Güne dialect served as the basis for the standard language (cf. Mejlanova 1957, 1959, 1970).

The Axceh dialect group is located in what used to be the Samurskij okrug with its capital Axtj/Axceh, now the Axtynskij rayon. Mejlanova (1964) calls it the Samur dialect group and subdivides it into the Axceh dialect and the Doquzpara dialect. The Axceh dialect is spoken in the western part of the Axtynskij rayon and in adjacent parts of the Rutul'skij rayon (cf. Genko 1926, Gajdarov 1961). The Doquzpara dialect is spoken in the former Dokuzparinskij učastok of the Samurskij okrug; now the eastern part of the Axtynskij rayon.

The Quba dialect group is located in what used to be the Kubinskij uezd of the Baku gubernija (province), now several rayons in northern Azerbaijan. See Genko (1929), Gadžiev (1957a), Saadiev (1961), Gjul'magomedov (1966), (1967), (1968), Mejlanova (1981) for several studies of the Quba dialects.

Furthermore, several authors set up various smaller "mixed" dialects that have a special status and do not strictly belong to one of the major di-

lects, e. g. the Fij dialect (Mejlanova 1964:386-394, Abdulžamalov 1965), the Čeper (Džaba) dialect (Ganieva 1972a, b, 1981, 1983, 1985), the Quruš dialect (Mejlanova 1964:395-399), the Gilig dialect (Mejlanova 1964:353-358), and the Gelxen dialect (Mejlanova 1964:358-365).

2.2.2. Some salient divergent features of the dialects

2.2.2.1. Phonology. The vowel inventory:

Besides the vowels of the standard language, several dialects (especially of the Axceh dialect group) have the high back unrounded vowel /ɨ/. In these dialects, the relation between /ɨ/ and /u/ is similar to the relation between /i/ and /y/ in the standard language (cf. 4.5.). E.g.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Gajdarov 1961:15)
q'in	q'un	(q'un) 'he-goat'
ts'id	ts'ud	(c'ud) 'ten'
tsiri	tsuru	(curu) 'sour'
tsiwın	ʃ'ugun	(č'ugun) 'pull'
hinbir	ibur	(ibur) 'these'

Furthermore, pharyngealization of vowels is widespread in several dialects, especially in the environment of uvular obstruents and pharyngeal consonants. According to Ganieva (1972a:209), The Čeper (Džaba) dialect has the front rounded vowel /ø/, e.g. /mørtʰ/ 'barberry', /søʎ/ 'downpour'.

The consonant inventory:

Several dialects have the pharyngeal fricatives /ħ/ (voiceless) and /ʕ/ (voiced). They mostly occur in Arabic loanwords, but sometimes also in native words, e.g.

Quba dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1981)
ʃymyr	ymyr	(ümür) 'life'
ʃajib	ajib	(ajib) 'shame'
saʃatʰ	sætʰ	(sät) 'hour'

Čeper (Džaba) dialect	standard	(Ganieva 1972a:212)
hazirwal	hazurwal	(hazurwal) 'readiness'
wahji	wahʃi	(wahši) 'wild'
tʰemäh	tʰemäh	(temäh) 'desire'

Q'urah dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1964:135)
ʃyr	ɣyr	(ğür) 'flour'
ʃaʃ'i	ɣweʃ'i	(ğweč'i) 'small'
q'yʃyr	q'yɣyr	(q'üğür) 'hedgehog'

Several dialects have the postalveolar labialized obstruents /ʃʷ/, /ʒʰʷ/, /ʃʷ/, /ʒʷ/, e.g.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1964:270)
ʃ ^w al	ts ^w al (<i>cwal</i>)	'seam'
ʒ ^w al	z ^w al (<i>zwal</i>)	'boiling'
ʃ ^w eh	ts ^w eh (<i>c'weh</i>)	'whey'

According to Mejlanova (1964:387-389), the Fij dialect also has a series of special dento-labialized obstruents (of the type that is found in Tabasaran and Abkhaz).

The voiced velar fricative /ɣ/ occurs in the Jark'i dialect, and the uvular voiced stop /g/ occurs in the Güne dialect.

Jark'i dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1964:68)
ɣam	gam (<i>gam</i>)	'carpet'
ɣ ^w al	z ^w al (<i>zwal</i>)	'boiling'
ɣæl	gel (<i>gel</i>)	'trace'

Güne dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1970:38)
gaɣ ^h un	qaɣ ^h un (<i>qa čun</i>)	'take'
guts ^h ar	kuts ^h ar (<i>ğucar</i>)	'god'

Some of the consonantal alternations (cf. 5.1.-5.4, 5.9-5.10.) are different in some dialects. For example, instead of the alternation ejective/aspirated (5.9.), the Axceh dialect has the alternation unaspirated/aspirated.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Talibov 1980:71-72)
neker / nek ^h	nek'er / nek ^h	'milk'
metar / met ^h	met'er / met ^h	'knee'
reger / req ^h	req'er / req ^h	'way'

2.2.2.2. Morphology. The most striking morphological feature of the Axceh dialect is the affix /-zi/-za/ instead of standard /-di/-da/ in various functions: Directive case, oblique stem, substantivizer, Future tense.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Gajdarov 1961)
tsew-e-l-zi	tsaw-a-l-di (<i>cawaldi</i>)	'with the sky'
zaman-zi	zaman-di (<i>zamandi</i>)	'time (Erg.)'
ts'iji-zi	ts'iji-di (<i>c'ijidi</i>)	'new one'
gi-za	gu-da (<i>guda</i>)	'will give'
gaji-walzi	gaji-waldi (<i>gajiwaldi</i>)	'as soon as ... gave'

The suffix of the Elative cases is /-aɣ/ in the Quba dialect group.

Quba dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1964:405)
sik'-ra-k ^h -aɣ	sik'-re-k ^h -aj (<i>sik'rekaj</i>)	'about the fox'
xyræɣ	xyræj (<i>xüräj</i>)	'from the village'

The negative suffix is /-f/ (rather than /-fʰ/) in several dialects.

Axceh dialect	standard	(Mejlanova 1964:305)
fi-za-f	fi-da-fʰ (<i>fidač</i>)	'will not go'
amuq'-nawa-f	amuq'-nawa-fʰ (<i>amuq'nawač</i>)	'has not remained'

The prohibitive is often formed by means of a prefix /m-/ and a suffix /-r/, rather than a suffix /-mir/:

Axceh dialect	standard	(Gajdarov 1961:96)
me-qʷa-r	qʷe-mir (<i>qʷemir</i>)	'don't come'
ma-gu-r	gu-mir (<i>gumir</i>)	'don't give'

The Migrağ subdialect of the Doquzpara dialect has a special Comparative case in /-ad/:

Migrağ subdialect	(standard equivalent)	(Mejlanova 1964:241)
sik'-ad	(<i>sik' xiz</i>)	'like a fox'
čganawir-ad	(<i>žanawur xiz</i>)	'like a wolf'
fik'-ad	(<i>hik'</i>)	'how?'

2.3. The status of Lezgian and the standard language

Until the second half of the 19th century, Lezgian was only used in speech and oral literature. The language of religion, bureaucracy, jurisdiction (shariah), and inscriptions (especially on houses and gravestones) was Arabic, as in all of Daghestan. When Daghestan and Azerbaijan became part of the Russian empire, Russian replaced Arabic as the language of government.

In the second half of the 19th century, poets such as Jetim Emin (a classic whose poetry is still widely read), Jetim Melik, Said Kočürskij began to write down their poetry, using the Arabic script.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the Russian general staff officer Baron Petr Karlovič Uslar, in what is perhaps the greatest military achievement in history, laid the foundations of Nakho-Daghestanian and Abkhazo-Adyghean linguistics by producing excellent descriptions of seven languages of the northern Caucasus, among them Lezgian (Uslar 1896). Uslar created an alphabet for Lezgian on the basis of the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. His Lezgian informant, Kazanfar-beg, tried to spread the knowledge of this alphabet among the Lezgians. A textbook was produced (Kazanfar-Beg 1871, reedited by A. Mamedov 1911), but these attempts at establishing a written language were not successful.

After the Bolsheviks took power in the early 1920s, the official language policy at first favored the use of Turkic (Azerbaijani) in Daghestan. But in the second half of the 1920s, it was decided to provide several Daghestanian languages with written standards, among them Lezgian. The Lezgian alphabet, which was officially introduced in 1928, was based on the Latin alphabet,

like the alphabets of the other newly written languages of the Soviet Union. Particularly active in this early phase of the standard language were Gadžibek Gadžibekov (or Hežibegen Hežibeg; cf. Gadžibekov 1932, hažibegov 1928, Hažibegov 1934, hežibegen 1931, hežibegov 1931; the spelling variants of Gadžibekov's name show the lack of standardization at that time) and Abdulkadir Alkadarskij (cf. Alq'adarskij 1934, 1939-41, Alkadarskij 1932).

The new standard language was based on the Küre dialect (or, more specifically, on the Güne dialect of the Küre dialect group). According to Gajdarov (1962), there were three reasons for choosing this dialect: First, this dialect is spoken by the largest number of speakers; second, it was well-known through the work of the famous poets Jetim Emin and St'al Sulejman (Sulejman Stal'skij), who were speakers of that dialect; and third, the only linguistic description of Lezgian available at that time, Uslar's (1896) grammar, was based on a dialect of the Küre dialect group. One might add that the Küre dialect is spoken in the geographically more accessible lowlands and was therefore more likely to be known by speakers from the high-mountain areas than vice versa.

In 1938, the official alphabet was replaced by a new alphabet based on the Cyrillic alphabet, in line with a decision taken in Moscow for all the new written languages of the Soviet Union. Rules for Lezgian spelling were published for the first time in 1938 (Gadžiev & Alkadarskij 1938), and the first orthographic dictionary was published in 1941 (Gadžiev 1941). Magomed Gadžiev's comprehensive Russian-Lezgian dictionary (Gadžiev 1950) had an enormous influence on the development of the written language.

Since the Lezgian standard language was officially introduced, Lezgian has been taught at several levels of education, including higher education (at the Chair of Daghestanian Languages of the Daghestanian State University in Maxačkala). Publications in Lezgian include textbooks on Lezgian grammar and literature, children's literature, poetry, fiction, several journals and newspapers. There is also some radio broadcasting in Lezgian, and there is a Lezgian-language theater in Derbent.

Despite these relatively favorable conditions, there are clear signs of the decline of Lezgian (cf. also the retention figures in 2.1.1.). Where parents have the possibility to choose between Lezgian-language instruction in school and Russian-language instruction, many have been choosing Russian as the language that opens up greater possibilities for their children. The medium of instruction in the city schools is exclusively Russian, and the Daghestanian languages are not even taught as a subject. In Maxačkala, Russian is the dominating language outside of the home, and it is increasingly used even at home by the younger generation, not only in families with linguistically mixed marriages.

The resurgence of national self-awareness in the wake of the liberation from the totalitarian regime in the late 1980s has recently created some new interest in the native languages (as well as Arabic), but it remains to be seen whether it will lead to a reversal of the pattern of slow decline of Lezgian. However, there is no threat whatever in the rural areas of Lezgistan, where until today quite a few speakers (mainly women) are monolingual. As long as the Lezgians remain in their traditional settlement areas, Lezgian is not an endangered language.

2.4. The effect of language contact on Lezgian

The most important contact languages in the historical period have been Turkic (in particular, Azerbaijani), Arabic, Persian, and Russian. Only Russian and Azerbaijani contacts are still in effect today. Contact with Arabic and Persian came to a halt in the 1920s with the Sovietization of Daghestan and Azerbaijan.

As in many languages of traditionally Muslim populations, Arabic loanwords play an eminent role in the Lezgian vocabulary. Not only most religious terms, but also many abstract and intellectual words are of Arabic origin, e.g.

(16) <i>Allah</i>	'God'	< <i>ʔallaah</i>
<i>düa</i>	'prayer'	< <i>duʔaaʔ</i>
<i>rehmet</i>	'forgiveness'	< <i>rahmat</i>
<i>šejt'an</i>	'shaytan, devil'	< <i>šaytaan</i>
<i>žennet</i>	'paradise'	< <i>jannat</i>
<i>zıjara</i>	'pilgrimage'	< <i>ziyaarat</i>
(17) <i>mašhur</i>	'well-known'	< <i>mašhuur</i>
<i>tažub</i>	'amazing'	< <i>taʔajjub</i>
<i>länet</i>	'curse'	< <i>laʔnat</i>
<i>namus</i>	'honor'	< <i>naamuus</i>
<i>hukumat</i>	'government'	< <i>hukuumat</i>
<i>ilim</i>	'science'	< <i>ʔilm</i>
<i>ištirak</i>	'participation'	< <i>ʔištiraak</i>
<i>žürʔet</i>	'boldness'	< <i>jurʔat</i>

Some Arabic loanwords have become part of the everyday vocabulary, e.g.

(18) <i>lazim</i>	'necessary'	< <i>laazim</i>
<i>mumkin</i>	'possible'	< <i>mumkin</i>
<i>sät</i>	'hour; clock'	< <i>saʔat</i>
<i>waxt</i>	'time'	< <i>waqt</i>
<i>insan</i>	'human being'	< <i>ʔinsaʔan</i>
<i>q'adar</i>	'amount, quantity'	< <i>qadr</i>
<i>žawab</i>	'answer'	< <i>jawaab</i>
<i>hajwan</i>	'animal'	< <i>ħayawaan</i>
<i>xabar</i>	'news'	< <i>xabar</i>

The conjunction *wa* (18.1.3.) is also ultimately from Arabic.

Since the other main Oriental contact language, Turkic, is also full of Arabic loans, it is often difficult or impossible to establish whether a loanword of ultimate Arabic origin was borrowed directly from Arabic by the few Lezgians who knew Arabic or via Turkic. Since the knowledge of Turkic has always been significantly more widespread among the Lezgians than the knowledge of Arabic, and Arabic was only used as a written and ceremonial language, everyday words such as those in (18) are more likely to have been borrowed via Turkic.

Persian loanwords belong to the same semantic types, but are much less numerous than Arabic loanwords. Since Turkic also has many Persian loanwords, again the immediate source is not always easy to establish. E.g.

(19) <i>pejgambar</i>	'prophet'	< <i>peyyambær</i>
<i>baxt</i>	'happiness, luck'	< <i>bæxt</i>
<i>fend</i>	'trick'	< <i>fænd</i>
<i>šeher</i>	'city'	< <i>šæhr</i>
<i>tamašun</i>	'look'	< <i>tæmaša</i>
<i>rang</i>	'color'	< <i>ræng</i>
<i>zur</i>	'violence'	< <i>zur</i>

The particle *xi*, or at least its use as a quasi-complementizer (20.7.), and the conditional particle *eger* (21.7.1.) are also ultimately from Persian.

The classical poetry of poets such as Jetim Emin is full of Persian and Arabic loanwords. Many words such as the following are exclusively poetic today:

(20) Arabic loanwords		
<i>žasad</i>	'body'	< <i>jasad</i>
<i>muʔmin</i>	'pious'	< <i>muʔmiin</i>
<i>riwajat</i>	'story'	< <i>riwaayat</i>
(21) Persian loanwords		
<i>bed</i>	'bad'	< <i>bæd</i>
<i>bejadalat</i>	'unjust'	< <i>bi-ædalæt</i>

The strongest influence on Lezgian over the past couple of centuries has been Turkic. The Turkic influence on Daghestanian languages has two sources. On the one hand, the Turkic language Kumyk is spoken in some key areas of Daghestan, including the area of the old Daghestanian capital Temir-Xan-Šura (later renamed Bujnaks) and the present capital Maxačkala (formerly Port-Petrovsk), and it used to serve as a language of interethnic communication in most of Daghestan (cf. Džidalæv 1990). On the other hand, and even more importantly, the Lezgians have long been living in immediate contact with the Azerbaijani population to the south of the Lezgian-speaking areas. Several villages even have a mixed Lezgian-Azerbaijani population.

The influence of Turkic on Lezgian is stronger than on most other Daghestanian languages to the north. Only languages like Tsakhur, Kryz, Budukh, and Khinalug, which are in part or totally spoken in Azerbaijan, show a comparable degree of Turkic influence. In addition to the many Turkic loanwords, one might attribute phonological characteristics such as vowel harmony (4.4.) and stress (Ch. 6; contrasting with the tonal systems found in many other Daghestanian languages) to the influence of Turkic.

Turkic loanwords come from all areas of the vocabulary, including concrete words like names of animals and plants, e.g.

(22) <i>baluḡ</i>	'fish'
<i>čaḡal</i>	'jackal'
<i>ḡarpuz</i>	'water melon'
<i>üzüm</i>	'grapes'
<i>texil</i>	'grain'

In the last couple of decades, the influence from Russian has been stronger than from any other language. This is quite natural because of the overwhelming significance of Russian in Soviet society. It is quite difficult to establish the extent to which Russian loanwords have entered Lezgian because a large number of Lezgian speakers (especially in Daghestan) also know Russian and ad hoc borrowings are very common.

In several cases, Oriental loanwords that were formerly in use have been replaced by Russian loanwords that are now standard (cf. Gjul'magomedov 1982b:114-115). Such cases can perhaps be taken as evidence for deliberate Russification of Lezgian.

(23) Oriental loanword	Russian loanword	
<i>edebijat</i>	<i>literatura</i>	'literature'
<i>sijasat</i>	<i>politika</i>	'politics'
<i>taržuma</i>	<i>perevod</i>	'translation'
<i>inḡilab</i>	<i>revoljucija</i>	'revolution'
<i>sinif</i>	<i>klass</i>	'class'

The influence of Russian syntax on Lezgian is probably more significant in the written language (especially, of course, in translations from Russian) than in the spoken language. Syntactic constructions that are apparently due to Russian influence are noted at several points in this grammar.

Chapter 3 Segmental phonological units

3.1. Orthography and transliteration

Lezgian is written in a version of the Cyrillic alphabet. The Lezgian alphabet includes all the letters used in Russian, plus the additional letter I and twelve digraphs. The additional letter <I> is used only in digraphs to indicate the ejective nature of stop consonants.

The four columns of Table 2 show the Lezgian Cyrillic alphabet, the transliteration in this grammar, the phonetic value, and the corresponding letters of the Latin alphabet which was used between 1928 and 1938.

Table 2. Lezgian alphabets, transliteration and pronunciation (IPA)

modern alphabet	transliteration	IPA	Latin alphabet 1928-38	modern alphabet	transliteration	IPA	Latin alphabet 1928-38
а	a	a	a	р	r	r	r
б	b	b	b	с	s	s	s
в	w	w	v	т	t	t, t ^h	t
г	g	g	g	тI	t	t'	t̚
гъ	g̊	ɣ	q	у	u	u	u
гь	h	h	h	уь	ü	y	y
д	d	d	d	ф	f	f	f
е	e, je	e, je	e, je	х	x	χ	x
ё	(R.)	-	-	хъ	q ^h	q ^h	ʁ
ж	ž	ʒ	z	хь	ʒ	x	χ
з	z	z	z	ц	c	ts	ʂ
и	i	i	i	цI	c'	ts'	z
й	j	j	j	ч	č	tʃ	ç
к	k	k, k ^h	k	чI	č'	tʃ'	ç
къ	q̊	q	q	ш	š	ʃ	ʂ
къ	q'	q'	q	щ	(R.)	-	-
кI	k'	k'	k̚	ь	ʔ	ʔ	ʔ
л	l	l	l	ы	(R.)	-	-
м	m	m	m	ь	(R.)	-	-
н	n	n	n	э	ʔe, e	ʔe, e	e, 'e
о	(R.)	-	-	ю	ju	ju	ju
п	p	p, p ^h	p	я	ä, ja	æ, ja	e', ja
пI	p'	p'	p̚				

3.1.1. Comments on Table 2

3.1.1.1. <e> is transliterated as *je* at the beginning of a word and after a vowel (e.g. <етим> *jetim* 'orphan'; <иеси> *ijesi* 'owner'), and as *e* after a consonant (e.g. <сес> *ses* 'sound').

3.1.1.2. <э> is transliterated as *e* at the beginning of a word (e.g. <экв> *ekw* 'light'), and as *ʒe* after a consonant (e.g. <шейэр> *s'ejʒer* 'things', <месэла> *mesʒela* 'question').

3.1.1.3. <я> is transliterated as *ja* at the beginning of a word and after a vowel (e.g. <яд> *jad* 'water', <стхаяр> *stxajar* 'brothers') and as *ä* after a consonant. There is only one Lezgian word where /ja/ occurs after a consonant: <дунья> *dünja* 'world' (this word is also unique in that it is the only non-Russian word where <ь> is used, omitted in the transliteration here).

3.1.1.4. Of the 45 Lezgian letters, five (<ё, о, щ, ы, ь>) are only used in unassimilated Russian loanwords, which are always spelled as in Russian. In this grammar, such loanwords are transliterated according to the standard linguistic transliteration of Russian, which differs from the Lezgian transliteration adopted here in several minor points:

	transcription of Russian	transcription of Lezgian
<в>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>
<ь>	'	—
<ъ>	"	—
<э>	<i>è</i>	<i>e, ʒe</i>
<е>	<i>e</i> (always)	<i>je, e</i>
<я>	<i>ja</i> (always)	<i>ja, ä</i>

E.g. Lezgian <Махачкъаладин вокзал> <i>Махачқалadin vokzal</i> 'Махачкала's railroad station'	<художественный эсер> <i>xudožestvennyj eser</i> 'work of art'
---	--

3.1.1.5. The present orthographic rules have been in force since 1962. In 1962 the four digraphs <кк>, <пп>, <тт>, <чч> were abolished and replaced with the corresponding single letter. They had been used in some cases to represent non-aspirated voiceless stops, especially when near-homonyms with aspirated stops exist, e.g.

<ччил> /tʃil/ 'earth'	vs.	<чил> /tʃ ^h il/ 'net'
<ттар> /tar/ 'tree'	vs.	<тар> /t ^h ar/ 'tara (musical instrument)'

(Gadžiev & Alkadarskij (1938:13, 50) list 19 such words.) As a result of the 1962 change of the orthography, such minimal pairs are now homographs.

3.1.2. Deviations from phonemic spelling

The Lezgian orthography (and its transliteration used in this grammar) comes reasonably close to a representation of the phonemic value of the Lezgian words. It deviates only in the following points:

3.1.2.1. The labialization in the phonemes /g^w, ɣ^w, z^w, k^w, k^{hw}, k^ʷ, q^w, q^{hw}, q^ʷ, t^w, t^{hw}, t^ʷ, s, χ^w, ts^w, ts^{hw}, ts^{wʰ}/ is represented in the orthography by the additional letter <в> *w*, e.g.

<ГВ>	<i>gw</i>
<ГЬВВ>	<i>ǰw</i>
<ЗВ>	<i>zw</i>
<КВ>	<i>kw</i> , etc.

This is not a serious shortcoming of the spelling because contrast between monophonemic /C^w/ and biphonemic /Cw/ is very rare within a morpheme. An example of the latter is <жизви> /ʒizwi/. But even here no ambiguity arises, because */ʒizwi/ is not possible (an /i/ must be rounded in the vicinity of a labialized consonant, cf. 4.5.). Since suffixes beginning with /w/ are not uncommon, /Cw/ does occur at morpheme boundaries, e.g. *pis-wal* /p^hiswal/ 'badness', *gata-z-wa* /ga^thazwa/ 'beats'.

3.1.2.2. The contrast aspirated vs. non-aspirated in the following phonemes is not reflected in the spelling:

/t/ : /t ^h /	/t ^w / : /t ^{hw} /	/ts/ : /ts ^h /	/ts ^w / : /ts ^{hw} /
/k/ : /k ^h /	/k ^w / : /k ^{hw} /	/tʃ/ : /tʃ ^h /	/p/ : /p ^h /

This contrast is reflected in the spelling only in two cases:

/q/ : /q ^h /	<КЪ> : <ХЪ>
/q ^w / : /q ^{hw} /	<КЬВВ> : <ХЬВВ>

3.1.2.3. The effect of the recent sound change of vowel syncope is only very inconsistently reflected in the spelling. Most high vowels that were lost by vowel syncope are still written in the orthography. For details, see 4.1.

Since the spelling comes close to being phonemic, it is also widely used throughout the phonological and morphological chapters of this grammar. Whenever distinctions that are not made by the spelling are relevant, the IPA transcription is of course added.

3.2. Vowels

3.2.1. Vowel inventory

	front		back	
	non-rounded	rounded	non-rounded	rounded
high	/a/	/y/ (ü)		/u/
mid	/e/			
low	/æ/, /æ:/ (ä)		/ɑ/, /ɑ:/	

In addition, several dialects have the high back non-rounded vowel /ɨ/.

Only /æ/, /æ:/, and /ɑ/ require additional comments.

3.2.1.1. The status of the phoneme /æ/. In the standard language /æ/ is comparatively rare in stems and occurs only in one suffix (-*äj*, the Inelative of front-vowel stems). In many dialects it is more frequent and is pharyngealized to a greater or lesser degree (Kodzasov 1986:33-34, Mejlanova 1964). Most roots in which it occurs are loans of Arabic origin with an Arabic pharyngeal consonant (ʕ or ħ), e.g.:

(24)	<i>sät</i>	'hour; clock'	Arabic:	<i>saʕʕat</i>
	<i>t'äm</i>	'taste'		<i>taʕʕm</i>
	<i>mähle</i>	'street'		<i>maħħalla(t)</i>
	<i>länet</i>	'curse, damnation'		<i>laʕʕnat</i>
	<i>däwe</i>	'war'		<i>daʕʕwat</i>
	<i>bäzi</i>	'some'		<i>baʕʕdu</i>
	<i>menfät</i>	'profit'		<i>manfaʕʕat</i>

/æ/ does not occur at the beginning of words in the standard language. This may be due to the spelling system (/æ/ is represented by the Cyrillic letter <я>, which at the beginning of a word has the value /ja/, see 3.1.1.3.). All words that begin with /æ/ in the Güne dialect begin with /e/ in the standard language (Mejlanova 1970:22), e.g.:

(25)	<i>elqün</i>	/el'qyn/	'turn'	Güne dialect:	/æ'l'qyn/
	<i>exun</i>	/eχun/	'suffer'		/æχun/

However, even in the standard language /æ/ occurs in a couple of words that seem to be native, e.g.:

(26)	<i>näni</i>	/næni/	'evening'
	<i>härq'ü</i>	/hæ'r'q'y/	'wide'

/æ/ also occurs in a group of verbs ending in *-äg'un* (combinations of different preverbs with the verb *jağun* 'hit', cf. 10.3.):

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (27) | <i>käg'un</i> | /k ^h ækun/ | 'touch' |
| | <i>eläg'un</i> | /e'lækun/ | 'take off' |
| | <i>geläg'un</i> | /ge'lækun/ | 'take off, hit' |
| | <i>xkäg'un</i> | /'χkækun/ | 'choose; elect' |
| | <i>ek'äg'un</i> | /e'k'ækun/ | 'pour' |

3.2.1.2. The long vowels /æ:/ and /a:/. These two phonemes have a rather marginal status. They occur in those forms of the verbs *jağun* 'hit' and the verbs in *-äg'un* in (27) which lose the /κ/ before suffixes beginning with a consonant (see below 5.12.). The long vowels are thus the result of compensatory lengthening.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (28) | <i>jağun</i> | /'jakun/ | 'hit' | |
| | <i>ja-zawa</i> | /'ja:zawa/ | 'is hitting' | (< */jakzawa/) |
| | <i>ja-nawa</i> | /'janawa/ | 'has hit' | (< */jannawa/) |
| | <i>xkäg'un</i> | /'χkækun/ | 'choose' | |
| | <i>xkä-zawa</i> | /'χkæ:zawa/ | 'is choosing' | (< */χkæzawa/) |
| | <i>xkä-nawa</i> | /'χkæ:nawa/ | 'has chosen' | (< */χkænnawa/) |

Furthermore, *-aj* and *-äj* in suffixes are often pronounced as /a:/ and /æ:/ respectively (Gajdarov 1960:249, Mejlanova 1964), e.g.

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|---|--------------------|
| (29) | <i>fizwaj</i> | /'fizwa:/ | 'was going' |
| | <i>kardikaj</i> | /'k ^h ardik ^h a:/ | 'about the matter' |
| | <i>atajla</i> | /'a:ta:la/ | 'when...came' |
| | <i>rik'äj</i> | /'ri'k'æ:/ | 'out of the heart' |

However, this pronunciation is not obligatory, and a pronunciation closer to the spelling is also possible, especially in careful speech.

3.2.2. Allophonic variation

3.2.2.1. /a/ has two main allophones which are perceived as rather different by the speakers: the mid [ʌ] and the low [a]. The low [a] occurs before uvulars and /t/ in closed syllables, and [ʌ] occurs elsewhere (Kodzasov 1990:341). However, the precise phonological conditions for [a] are more complex and have not been completely determined yet; thus, [a] also appears in many cases before non-uvular voiceless stops, e.g. *lap* 'very' [lap^h], *zak* [zak^h] 'under me'. After labialized consonants /a/ is very often rounded, e.g. *k'wač* 'foot' [k'wɔʃ^h] or [k'ɔʃ^h].

3.2.2.2. /e/ is pronounced as [ɛ] in stressed syllables and as [e] or [i] in pre-stress syllables, especially when followed by /i/ in the next syllable. This variation is the cause of some variation in the spelling: *ixtibár* ~ *extibár* 'confidence'; *ecıgun* ~ *icıgun* 'put; build'; etc. In the environment of labialized consonants /e/ is often pronounced as [ø, œ], e.g. *ekw* 'light' [œk^h].

3.3. Consonants

3.3.1. Consonant inventory

See Table 3 on the next page.

In addition to the consonants of the standard language (as given in Table 3), many dialects have some of the following consonants:

- the voiced alveolar and postalveolar affricates /d͡z/, /d͡zʷ/, and /d͡ʒ/;
- the postalveolar labialized obstruents /t͡ʃʷ/, /t͡ʃʰʷ/, /t͡ʃʷ/, /ʃʷ/, /ʒʷ/, /d͡ʒʷ/. These are characteristic of the Samur dialect group. There is even one word in the standard language with such a consonant: *maʒw* /ma͡d͡ʒʷ/, plural *macʒwar* /maʃʷar/ ‘astragal’, as well as the sound-symbolic words *čʒwäqʒäq* ‘click’ (Mejlanova 1964:387);
- the voiced uvular stop /g/;
- the voiced velar fricative /ɣ/;
- the epiglottal fricatives /ʕ/ and /ħ/.

The aspirated labialized alveolar affricate /t͡ʃʰʷ/ is part of the system but is extremely rare (Mejlanova 1970:40). It occurs at least in the Güne dialect form /ryʔʃʰwer/ ‘grass snakes’ (standard *rücer* /ryʔʃʰer/).

The alveolar affricates /d͡z/ and /d͡ʒ/ occur in the Küre dialect group, but in the other dialects they mostly fell together with /z/ and /ʒ/, respectively. According to Mejlanova (1970:38) /z, d͡z/ and /ʒ, d͡ʒ/ are not distinguished in the standard pronunciation. Here it is not quite clear what the orthoepic norm is. As in the case of /æ/ above, the orthography, which only uses <ж> ž and <з> z, apparently has an effect on what is considered the standard pronunciation. In those dialects where /z/ and /d͡z/ are distinguished, there are rather few words containing /d͡z/ (Mejlanova 1970:37), e.g.

(30)	/lad͡z/	‘white clay’	standard:	<i>laz</i>	/laz/
	/qad͡z/	‘underwood’		<i>qaz</i>	/qaz/
	/ward͡z/	‘month; moon’		<i>warz</i>	/warz/
	/med͡z/	‘tongue’		<i>mez</i>	/mez/
	/murd͡z/	‘flame; edge’		<i>murz</i>	/murz/
	/d͡zakam/	‘shrub’		<i>zağam</i>	/zakam/

In contrast, /d͡ʒ/ is quite frequent as it occurs in numerous Arabic and Turkic loanwords.

The recent phonological change of Pretonic High Vowel Syncope has led to the emergence of quite a few obstruents that are distinctively palatalized (cf. 4.1.1.). They are not included in the consonant inventory here because the change is quite recent and all its implications have yet to be worked out—this is a fruitful area for further research.

Table 3. *Inventory of consonants*

	labial	dental		dental		post-alveolar		velar		uvular	
		non-labialized	labialized								
occlusive	voiced	/d/							/g/		
	aspirated	/b/	/tʰ/	/tʰw/	/tʰ/ (c)	/tʰ/ (č)	/kʰ/ (k)	/kʰw/ (kw)	/q/	/qʰ/ (qʰ)	/qʰw/ (qʰw)
		unaspirated	/p/	/tʰw/	/tʰ/ (c)	/tʰ/ (č)	/k/	/kw/	/q/	/qʰ/	/qʰw/
	ejective	/pʼ/	/tʰw/	/tʰ/ (cʼ)	/tʰ/ (čʼ)			/kʼ/	/kʼw/	/qʼ/	/qʼw/
fricative	voiced			/z/		/ʒ/	/ʒw/			/s/	/sw/ (šw)
	voiceless	/f/		/s/		/ʃ/	/ʃw/	/x/ (x)		/χ/	/χw/ (xw)

nasals	/m/	/n/
liquids	l/	r/
glides	j/	w/
laryngeals	h/	l/

3.3.2. Allophonic variation

3.3.2.1. The labialized consonants may lose their labialization if the following vowel is rounded under their influence, e.g. *k'wač* [k'ɔʃ^h] (cf. 3.2.2.1.). In many dialects the labialization has been completely lost (Gjul'magomedov 1974).

3.3.2.2. The phoneme /l/ is back (velarized) after a back vowel at the end of a syllable, and "clear" at the beginning of a syllable and at the end of a syllable after a front vowel.

3.3.2.3. The phoneme /w/ is often pronounced as a bilabial [β] or a labiodental [v] fricative.

3.3.2.4. In the sequence /Vn/ (i.e. vowel plus /n/), if it is not followed by a vowel, the [n] is often deleted with accompanying nasalization of the vowel, e.g. *zun* 'T': [zun] ~ [zũ] *žins* 'kind; gender': [ʒins] ~ [ʒĩs] (Gajdarov 1960:248).

3.3.2.5. In a sequence /nC/ where C is a velar or uvular obstruent, the phoneme /n/ (if not deleted, cf. 3.3.2.4.) has the same point of articulation as C, e.g. *rang* [rang] 'color'; *lanq^hun* [lanq^hun] 'slam'. Note that the phonemes /m/ and /n/ are kept apart before labials, e.g. *šənp'i* 'kitten' vs. *hambar* 'heap'.

3.3.2.6. The phoneme *r* is voiceless between two voiceless obstruents, e.g. *krčar* 'horns' [k^hrʃar].

Chapter 4 Phonotactics

4.1. Vowel syncope

4.1.1. Pretonic High Vowel Syncope

Apparently quite recently a phonological change has taken place in many dialects (including the dialect on which the standard language is based) which radically altered the phonotactics of the language: Loss of pretonic high vowels after voiceless obstruents. This vowel syncope is largely ignored by the standard orthography (thus presumably facilitating its use by speakers of non-syncope dialects). I will sometimes use the term "pre-syncope" here to refer to the state of the language before the loss of the pretonic high vowels.

In quite a few cases the spelling vacillates — sometimes the high vowel is written and sometimes it is omitted. In the following examples, the non-standard (but occurring) spelling is marked by an asterisk (*).

(31) syncope reflected in the spelling	syncope not reflected in the spelling		
<i>kligun*</i>	<i>kiligun</i>	/k ^h ligun/	'look'
<i>šmud*</i>	<i>šumud</i>	/ʃmud/	'how many'
<i>xkwezwa</i>	<i>xükwezwa*</i>	/x ^h k ^w ezwa/	'is returning'
<i>kk'lam</i>	<i>kik'lam*</i>	/k ^h k'lam/	'tick, mite'
<i>xzan</i>	<i>xizan*</i>	/xzan/	'family'
<i>tfeng</i>	<i>tüfeng*</i>	/t ^h feng/	'rifle'
<i>kfir</i>	<i>kifir*</i>	/k ^h fir/	'dirty, slovenly'
<i>kxin</i>	<i>kixin*</i>	/k ^h xin/	'write'
<i>šq'ünt</i>	<i>šüq'ünt*</i>	/ʃq'ynt ^h /	'snail'
<i>spek</i>	<i>süpek*</i>	/spek ^h /	'mulberry'
<i>kxunun*</i>	<i>kuxunun</i>	/k ^h xunun/	'tremble'

In other cases the pre-syncope forms are only found in the early description of Uslar (1896), e.g.:

(32) modern spelling	Uslar (1896)	
<i>xper</i>	/x ^h per/	<i>xiper</i> 'sheep (pl.)'
<i>čka</i>	/t ^h ka/	<i>č^hika</i> 'place'
<i>stxa</i>	/st ^h xa/	<i>sit^hxa</i> 'brother'
<i>ktab</i>	/k ^h tab/	<i>k^hitab</i> 'book'
<i>q^hsan</i>	/q ^h san/	<i>q^hisen</i> 'good'

As can be seen from the above examples, the resulting complicated word-initial consonant clusters have not prevented the syncope. Here are more examples of resulting CC- and CCC- clusters that do appear in the spelling:

- (33) *CC-*
- | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|--------------|
| <i>kpul</i> | /k ^h pul/ | 'rheumatism' |
| <i>ptul</i> | /p ^h tul/ | 'grandchild' |
| <i>psi</i> | /p ^h si/ | 'pussy' |
- (34) *CCC-*
- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>čxra</i> | /t ^h χra/ | 'spinning wheel' |
| <i>kstax</i> | /k ^h stax/ | 'spoiled (child)' |
| <i>ktkana</i> | /k ^h t ^h kana/ | 'got used' |
| <i>št kana</i> | /ʃt ^h kana/ | 'swept' |
| <i>krčargan</i> | /k ^h rčargan/ | 'rein' |

In the pronunciation, the syncope occurs much more often than in the spelling. It occurs regularly when the high vowel is in a position between two obstruents, even in the structure *CVrC*, i.e. when an *r* intervenes between the high vowel and the second obstruent. A number of examples are given in (35).

- (35)
- | | | |
|------------------|---|---------------|
| <i>šikil</i> | /ʃkil/ | 'picture' |
| <i>šutq'únun</i> | /ʃw ^t h ^q 'unun/ | 'press out' |
| <i>šük'ü</i> | /ʃk'y/ | 'thin' |
| <i>sik'er</i> | /sɪk'er/ | 'foxes' |
| <i>cifer</i> | /t ^h ɪfer/ | 'clouds' |
| <i>cic'ib</i> | /t ^h ɪts'ib/ | 'chicken' |
| <i>cükwer</i> | /t ^h ɪkw ^{er} / | 'flowers' |
| <i>čirkin</i> | /t ^h ɪrkin/ | 'dirty' |
| <i>čič'ek</i> | /t ^h ɪt ^h ek ^h / | 'onion' |
| <i>čuk'ul</i> | /t ^h ɪwk'ul/ | 'knife' |
| <i>čüq'wézwa</i> | /t ^h ɪw ^q 'wezwa/ | 'is pressing' |
| <i>čüxwer</i> | /t ^h ɪw ^χ wer/ | 'pear' |
| <i>kise</i> | /k ^h ɪse/ | 'purse' |
| <i>kifer</i> | /k ^h ɪfer/ | 'plaits' |
| <i>kic'er</i> | /k ^h ɪts'er/ | 'dogs' |
| <i>tükwen</i> | /t ^h ɪkw ^{en} / | 'store' |
| <i>tuxúzwa</i> | /t ^h w ^χ uzwa/ | 'is carrying' |
| <i>tup'al</i> | /t ^h w ^p 'al/ | 'ring' |
| <i>pirpil</i> | /p ^h ɪrpil/ | 'catkins' |

The fact that syncopated /i/, /y/, and /u/ are often preserved in the spelling may be due to the fact that in many cases the relevant contrasts do not disappear together with the vowels, being preserved as secondary articulations of the preceding obstruent. For instance, the word *kifer* 'plaits' is pronounced /k^hɪfer/, without the /i/, but with a palatalized preceding consonant (indicated here by superscript *ɟ*). Likewise, syncopated /u/ is still reflected in the labialization of the preceding consonant, e.g. *tup'al* 'ring': /t^hw^p'al/; and syncopated /y/ is still reflected in simultaneous palatalization and labialization of the preceding consonant (indicated here by superscript *ɟ*), e.g. *küče* 'street': /k^hɪt^hɟe/ (this description is due to Kodzasov 1990:341-42). However, retention of residual secondary articulations is not very regular, or its conditions are obscure.

The preservation of palatalization and labialization after vowel syncope means that theoretically one would have to add more than a dozen palatalized and labialized-palatalized obstruent phonemes to the consonant inventory. This is not done here because the change of vowel syncope is very recent and more research is needed to determine precisely all its implications.

However, this preservation of the high vowel contrasts is not possible in all environments. Distinctive labialization is possible only on consonants which can be phonemically labialized (see 3.3.1.), and distinctive palatalization is impossible on postalveolar consonants.

The hypothesis that *i*, *u*, and *ü* in the spelling can reflect these residual secondary articulations (Sandro Kodzasov, p.c.) could also explain a curious paradox in Uslar (1896), involving the interaction of syncope and Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration (see 5.4.).

But clearly another factor involved is analogy: Pretonic high vowels are preserved in the pronunciation and in the spelling much more regularly in words having a non-syncopeated alternant (i.e. in monosyllabic nouns) than in non-alternating environments. Thus, *kic'er* 'dogs' and *tup'ar* 'fingers' regularly have palatalization/labialization and are spelled with the vowels because of their singulars (*kic'* and *t'ub*) without syncope. Words with syncope in a non-alternating syllable, like *ktab* 'book', *tüfeng/tfeng* 'rifle', *sufra* 'tablecloth', tend to lose the palatalization/labialization in the pronunciation and the vowel letters in the spelling even when the phonological environment would favor their retention.

Between two fricatives, high vowels are not in general syncopeated:

(36)	<i>šüşe</i>	/ʃyʃe/	'glass; bottle'
	<i>sühür</i>	/sy'hyr/	'magic'
	<i>sifte</i>	/sift'e/	'first'

When the high vowel comes between an obstruent and a sonorant (followed by a stressed vowel), the vowel may or may not be syncopeated.

(37)	<i>čimi</i>	/tʃ ^h imi/ ~ /tʃ ^h mi/	'warm'
	<i>činéba</i>	/tʃ ^h i'neba/ ~ /tʃ ^h neba/	'secretly'
	<i>küleg</i>	/ky'leg/ ~ /k ^h leg/	'key'
	<i>kümek</i>	/k ^h y'mek ^h / ~ /k ^h mek ^h /	'help'
	<i>t'imil</i>	/t'i'mil/ ~ /t'i'mil/	'(a) little'

Thus, it appears that the change is still going on and has not yet worked its way through all environments and lexical items. The rather recent date of this change seems to justify the strategy (adopted in sections 4.2.1.-2., 6.1.-2.) of ignoring it for certain purposes.

4.1.2. Post-tonic Vowel Syncope

There is also a tendency for post-tonic vowels in non-final syllables to be syncopeated if they are followed by only one consonant. However, the precise phonological conditions for this syncope are even more difficult to identify than for pretonic syncope. Again, the high vowels seem to be most prone to

syncope, but syncope of /a/ occurs as well. Post-tonic Vowel Syncope seems to be restricted to inflectional suffixes (but cf. 4.1.2.4.).

In this section I will mention mainly the cases that result in alternations and the cases that showed spelling vacillations before the definitive standardization of the spelling in the 1960s.

4.1.2.1. Post-tonic Vowel Syncope resulted in the alternation between the Imperfective suffixes *-zawa* and *-zwa* (9.3.2.2.), and the Perfect suffixes *-nawa* and *-nwa* (9.3.3.3.) (as well as the corresponding Continuative suffixes *-zama* / *-zma*, *-nama* / *-nma*). The Imperfective and the Perfect go back to periphrastic constructions with the auxiliary verb *awa* (locative copula, cf. 17.6.1.), which are still described as periphrastic constructions in Uslar (1896).

The Imperfective converb plus *awa* yielded the Imperfective, and the Aorist converb plus *awa* yielded the Perfect (the Continuative tenses are due to combination with *ama* 'is still'):

(38) Imperfective	<i>raxá-z awa</i>	>	<i>raxá-zwa</i>	'is speaking'
	<i>šéx-iz awa</i>	>	<i>šéx-zawa</i>	'is crying'
Perfect	<i>raxá-na awa</i>	>	<i>raxá-nwa</i>	'has spoken'
	<i>šéx-na awa</i>	>	<i>šéx-nawa</i>	'has cried'

In these cases, the conditions for syncope are clear: /a/ drops in a medial post-tonic syllable if preceded by no more than one consonant (*raxázwa*), otherwise it is preserved (*šéxnawa*). If there are two medial vowels in succession (/i/ - /a/ in *šéxiz awa*), the first vowel is dropped, even if this results in a three-consonant cluster, as in (39).

(39) <i>hált-iz awa</i>	>	<i>hált-zawa</i>	'is meeting'
-------------------------	---	------------------	--------------

However, in some varieties of the language, the /a/ has been syncopated in this environment. Forms like (40) are sometimes found in writing (especially in older texts).

(40) <i>šéx-izwa</i>	'is crying'
----------------------	-------------

4.1.2.2. Another alternation resulting from Post-tonic Vowel Syncope is that between *-ar* and *-r* in the plural (cf. 7.1.1.). In Uslar (1896), the /a/ is still present in these cases.

(41) Absolute	Ergative		(Uslar)
<i>balk'án-ar</i>	<i>balk'án-r-i</i>	<	<i>balk'án-ar-i</i> 'horses'
<i>didé-jar</i>	<i>didé-jr-i</i>	<	<i>didé-jar-i</i> 'mothers'

The /u/ of the plural substantivizer *-bur* is preserved in the spelling but not generally in the pronunciation, which leads to spelling variations, especially in older texts.

(42) Absolute	Ergative		
<i>qácú-bur</i>	<i>qácú-bur-u</i>	also:	<i>qácúbru</i> 'green ones'

4.1.2.3. Unstressed thematic vowels in Elative cases (especially in the Superlative) are sometimes syncopated, though not in the standard spelling.

(43) *didédilaj* also: *didédlaj* 'from mother'

4.1.2.4. Disyllabic verbs ending in unstressed *-ar* sometimes lose the vowel of this final element of the root when a vowel-initial suffix follows.

(44) *gádar-un* also: *gádr-un* 'throwing (Masdar)'
gádar-zawa but not: **gádr-zawa* 'is throwing'

4.2. Syllable structure

4.2.1. Pre-syncope CV-structure

The syllable structure of Lezgian words was considerably changed by the rather recent change of Pretonic High Vowel Syncope (4.1.1.). The first two subsections of this section describe the syllable structure of pre-syncope Lezgian, and 4.2.3. then describes the present, post-syncope situation.

In pre-syncope Lezgian, only syllables of the type *CV*, *CVC*, and *CVCC* occur. At the beginning of words the consonant may be lacking (*#V*, *#VC*, *#VCC*). Syllables with a final consonant cluster occur only at the end of a root morpheme. In the following examples, syllable boundaries are marked with "*=*". The exemplifying syllables are underlined.

- (45) (C)V
- | | |
|---------------------|---------|
| <u><i>wa</i></u> | 'and' |
| <i>haf=te</i> | 'week' |
| <u><i>a</i></u> | 'that' |
| <u><i>ü=züm</i></u> | 'grape' |
- (46) (C)VC
- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| <u><i>saf</i></u> | 'sieve' |
| <i>q̄u=šar</i> | 'birds' |
| <u><i>im</i></u> | 'this one' |
| <i>er=č'i</i> | 'right hand' |
- (47) (C)VCC
- | | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| <u><i>kard</i></u> | 'falcon' |
| <u><i>q̄ast</i></u> | 'intention' |
| <u><i>amp</i></u> | 'barking' |

Thus, within a morpheme only biconsonantal clusters occur. (There are a handful of exceptions to this generalization, e.g. *čigirtma* 'kind of dish', *ülčme* 'measure', *artmišun* 'increase'; these are Turkic loanwords containing the Turkic suffixes *-mA* and *-mUš*, so that etymologically there is a morpheme boundary between them.)

Triconsonantal clusters within a word result when a consonant-initial suffix is attached to a root ending in *-CC*, e.g.:

(48)	<i>baxt-suz</i>	'unhappy'
	<i>baxt-lu</i>	'happy'
	<i>halt-zawa</i>	'is meeting'
	<i>halt-na</i>	'met'
	<i>park-d-a</i>	'in the park'

More than three consonants in a cluster do not occur in Lezgian, since there are no suffixes beginning with more than one consonant. (The suffixes *-zwa*, *-zma* do occur after stems ending in a vowel, but after stems ending in one or two consonants their allomorphs *-zawa*, *-zama* are used, 4.1.2.1.).

In general, all non-initial syllables begin with exactly one consonant. However, there are a few Arabic loanwords like *düa* 'prayer', *šair* 'poet', in which there are vowel-initial medial syllables. These may be pronounced with a glottal stop /dyʔa/, /ʃaʔir/, but the glottal stop may also be omitted.

4.2.2. Pre-syncope morpheme-internal consonant clusters

In this subsection the following abbreviatory conventions are adopted:

- T stands for an obstruent
- L stands for a liquid /l, r/
- N stands for a nasal /m, n/
- W stands for a glide /m, n/
- R stands for a sonorant (L, N, W)
- H stands for a laryngeal /h, ʔ/

In this subsection possible morpheme-internal consonant clusters are described. There are no restrictions on consonant clusters at morpheme boundaries: Any consonant-initial suffix can attach easily to any consonant-final stem, without any restrictions or morphophonemic alternations.

The restrictions on possible morpheme-internal consonant clusters are very different in native Lezgian words and in loanwords. Although most loanwords are well-integrated and it would not be possible to exclude them from a phonological description of the language, it seems useful to describe first the possible consonant clusters of native, Nakho-Daghestanian words.

4.2.2.1. Consonant clusters in native words. The only type of consonant cluster that is common in native words is */-rT-/*, i.e. /r/ plus obstruent, e.g.

(49)	/r ^h /	<i>wirt</i>	'honey'
	/rd/	<i>kard</i>	'falcon'
	/rg/	<i>serg</i>	'garlic'
	/rz/	<i>murz</i>	'edge'
	/rqʔ/	<i>q'erqʔ</i>	'mail (armor)'
	/rf/	<i>kirf</i>	'elder (tree)'
	/rk ^{hw} /	<i>tarkw</i>	'pestle'
	/rs/	<i>qarsun</i>	'shake, shiver'

Clusters of the type /-IT-/ also occur in native words, but these are apparently all verbs with the preverbs *Al-*, *hAl-*, *gAl-*, etc. (10.3.). So these cases are not originally morpheme-internal, even though it is in many cases impossible to identify two separate constituent meanings corresponding to the preverb and the root.

- (50) /lk'/ *alk'un* 'stick (on)
 /ltʰ/ *haltun* 'meet'
 /ld/ *acaldun* 'fill'
 /lq/ *gelqün* 'care for'

Other clusters occur much more rarely. A particularly interesting type is represented by /-T₁T₂-/ clusters consisting of alveolar stop plus velar/uvular stop or fricative:

- (51) /dq/ *c'idga* 'slanting, oblique'
 /dsʷ/ *düdğwer* 'butter'
 ğudğunun 'shiver'
 /t'k'/ *gat'k'un* 'strike off'
 /tʰk/ *qatkun* 'lie down'
 /t'q'/ *qʰit'q'inun* 'burst'
 /tʰq'/ *šütq'ün* 'wither'
 /tʰχ/ *c'utxunun* 'scurry'
 stxa 'brother' (< *sitxa*)

The cluster /tʰf/ in *gatfar* /gatʰfar/ 'spring' also goes back to this type: Uslar (1896) reports the older form /gatʰχʷar/ (> /gatʰfar/).

Clusters of the type /-NT-/ occur in onomatopoeic words:

- (52) /nqʰ/ *lanqʰun* 'slap'
 /mpʰ/ *amp* 'barking'
 dump 'beating'
 /nh/ *anhe* 'voila'

Clusters that do not fall into any of these categories occur only in a few words, cf. (53). These words are perhaps old loanwords, or they may be old compounds.

- (53) /ʒb/ *ležber* 'peasant'
 /zɡ/ *lezgi* 'Lezgian'
 /zw/ *žizwi* 'little'
 /χts/ *müxc* 'barn, granary'
 /ʁs/ *ağsaqal* 'venerable old man'
 /ʃt'/ *k'ašt'i* 'a sort of plums'
 /k'V/ *k(i)k'lam* 'tick, mite'

4.2.2.2. Consonant clusters in loanwords. Which consonant clusters occur in loanwords is not so much determined by Lezgian grammar as by Arabic, Turkic, and Persian grammar. For instance, the non-existence of the clusters */hʀ/ and */ʀh/ in Lezgian is almost certainly due to the non-existence of such clusters in Arabic. Nevertheless, all the loanwords discussed here are inte-

grated into the language, and a full synchronic description must include them as well. (Russian loanwords, however, are not included because the almost universal Lezgian-Russian bilingualism makes it very hard to determine which words are integrated and which words are used in their Russian form.) Furthermore, not all clusters allowed in Arabic are allowed in Lezgian: For instance, Arabic words ending in a cluster of the type *TR*, e.g. *sabr* 'patience' cannot appear as such in Lezgian (**sabr*), and a vowel must be inserted: *sabur*. (However, it may be that the necessary adjustments have been made in the mediating Turkic language, cf. Turkish *sabır*; it seems that there are no consonant clusters in Turkic that are impermissible in Lezgian.)

There are very few restrictions on morpheme-internal clusters in loanwords. In the following I give one example for each cluster that is attested.

(A) -RX- clusters

-RT-

-LB- see above (49-50); such clusters are of course also allowed in loanwords;

-WB-	/jg/	<i>pajgar</i>	'stable'
	/jɓ/	<i>hejbat</i>	'grandeur'
	/jd/	<i>qejd</i>	'remark'
	/jɤ/	<i>qajǧu</i>	'worry'
	/wb/	<i>nawbahar</i>	'first fruit harvest'
	/wɤʃ ^h /	<i>kawča</i>	'scoop'
	/wɤx/	<i>kawxa</i>	'old man'
	/wɤʃ/	<i>benewš</i>	'violet'

-NB-	/nf/	<i>qenfet</i>	'candy'
	/nɤ/	<i>anžax</i>	'only'
	/nɔ/	<i>heweng</i>	'mortar'

-RH-	/rɪ/	<i>žürlet</i>	'boldness'
	/rh/	<i>serhät</i>	'boundary'
	/lh/	<i>melhem</i>	'balsam'
	/jʃ/	<i>šejter</i>	'things'
	/jh/	<i>ajhana</i>	'if by chance'
	/wh/	<i>žewher</i>	'jewel'

-R₁R₂-

-LR-	/rɪm/	<i>hürmet</i>	'honor'
	/rɪn/	<i>zürne</i>	'zurna (musical instrument)'
	/rɪw/	<i>karwan</i>	'caravan'
	/rɪ/	<i>jerli</i>	'at all'

-NR-	/rɪml/	<i>memlekat</i>	'people'
	/rɪmr/	<i>gumrah</i>	'cheerful'
	/rɪnj/	<i>dünja</i>	'world'
	/rɪnm/	<i>qanmaz</i>	'dumb'

-WR-	/rɪj/	<i>ğejri</i>	'except'
	/rɪjɪ/	<i>sejli</i>	'well-known, respected'
	/rɪwr/	<i>qewrah</i>	'lively'
	/rɪjn/	<i>ejni</i>	'same'

	/jw/	<i>hajwan</i>	'animal'
(B) -HX- clusters			
-HT-	/hb/	<i>sühbet</i>	'conversation'
	/hf/	<i>mahfe</i>	'bier'
	/ht/	<i>mähtel</i>	'amazing'
	/hk/	<i>mähkem</i>	'strong'
	/hj/	<i>wahši</i>	'wild'
	/hz/	<i>lehze</i>	'moment'
-HR-	/ʎ/	<i>taʎir</i>	'delay'
	/hn/	<i>dehne</i>	'depth'
	/hm/	<i>rehmet</i>	'forgiveness'
	/hr/	<i>wahram</i>	'club'
	/hl/	<i>dehliz</i>	'corridor'
	/hw/	<i>ahwal</i>	'wealth'
	/ʎm/	<i>muʎmin</i>	'godly'

(C) -TX- clusters. Among -T₁T₂- clusters, most common are clusters with a fricative as the first element, e.g.

/ʒd/	<i>wiʒdan</i>	'conscience'
/ʒʁ/	<i>biʒger</i>	'piece of cloth'
/ʒʁ/	<i>qiʒgin</i>	'hot'
/ʒp/	<i>düʒperi</i>	'dumplings'
/st/	<i>bustan</i>	'garden'
/ʒk/	<i>düʒkün</i>	'thin, sickly'
/sk/	<i>misk'in</i>	'mosque'
/sq/	<i>misq'i</i>	'stingy'
/ʒq/	<i>aʒqi</i>	'inspiration'
/ʒʁ/	<i>maʒgul</i>	'occupied'
/ft/	<i>hafte</i>	'week'
/fʁ/	<i>afgan</i>	'Afghan'
/fs/	<i>nefs</i>	'thirst, desire'
/ʒp/	<i>maxpur</i>	'velvet'
/ʒʃ/	<i>baxš</i>	'dedication'
/ʒs/	<i>saxsi</i>	'tile'
/ʒz/	<i>ağzur</i>	'a thousand'
/ʒd/	<i>haʒibuğda</i>	'corn, maize'

The combinations of stop plus obstruents are rarer:

	/q't'/	<i>nuq't'a</i>	'dot, period'
	/q's/	<i>nuq'san</i>	'defect'
	/k ^h s/	<i>aksi</i>	'against'
	/k ^h t/	<i>mekteb</i>	'school'
	/t ^h k/	<i>sečkijar</i>	'elections'
	/t ^h ʎ/	<i>q'wečxel</i>	'branching'
	/bg/	<i>nebget</i>	'disaster'
-TR-			
-TN-	/ʒm/	<i>mežmä</i>	'copper tray'
	/sm/	<i>istismar</i>	'exploitation'
	/fn/	<i>afni</i>	'cucumber'

	/χn/	<i>rexne</i>	'defect'
	/xn/	<i>deχne</i>	'recently'
	/χm/	<i>dexme</i>	'hut'
	/q'm/	<i>luq'man</i>	'miracle worker'
	/q'n/	<i>miq'nat'is</i>	'magnet'
	/k ^{hm} /	<i>čekme</i>	'boot'
	/km/	<i>buğma</i>	'croup (disease)'
-TL-	/sl/	<i>meslät</i>	'advice'
	/zl/	<i>mezlis</i>	'dancing party'
	/zl/	<i>duzlax</i>	'salt-mine'
	/ql/	<i>igleš</i>	'delay'
	/t ^h l/	<i>metleb</i>	'desire, goal'
	/t'l/	<i>mut'laq'</i>	'stingy'
	/bl/	<i>iblis</i>	'devil'
	/zr/	<i>azrail</i>	'angel of death'
	/zr/	<i>hižran</i>	'sorrow'
	/ʃr/	<i>kišran</i>	'ceruse'
	/gr/	<i>zigring</i>	'jingle'
	/dr/	<i>qudrat</i>	'force'
	/kr/	<i>duğri</i>	'right'
-TW-	/jw/	<i>rišwet</i>	'bribe'
	/dw/	<i>madwar</i>	'device for regulating millstone'
-TH-	/jh/	<i>ma šhur</i>	'well-known'
	/sʔ/	<i>mesʔela</i>	'question'
	/tʔ/	<i>q'etʔ</i>	'decision'
(D) -X ₁ X ₁ - clusters			
-T ₁ T ₁ -	/tt/	<i>hatta</i>	'even'
		<i>ittifaq'</i>	'unanimity'
	/dd/	<i>haddi</i>	'boldness'
		<i>muddat</i>	'time, period'
	/ss/	<i>hiss</i>	'feeling'
	/bb/	<i>lebbe</i>	(acrobat's interjection)
-R ₁ R ₁ -	/ll/	<i>gülle</i>	'bullet'
		<i>dallaj</i>	'quarrel'
	/nn/	<i>sünnet</i>	'circumcision'
		<i>žennet</i>	'paradise'
	/rr/	<i>sarraf</i>	'specialist for jewels'
	/jj/	<i>sajjad</i>	'hunter'

Thus, although most of these clusters occur only in a few lexical items, there do not seem to be any significant restrictions on what consonant types can occur in a two-consonant cluster. The two consonants do not even have to agree in voicing, cf. the following examples:

/zq'/	<i>rizq'i</i>	'food, subsistence'
/ʃk/	<i>ma šğul</i>	'occupied'
/ks/	<i>ağsaqal</i>	'venerable old man'
/fk/	<i>afğan</i>	'Afghan'

4.2.2.3. Morpheme-final consonant clusters. There are no additional restrictions on word-final consonant clusters in native words (see 4.2.2.1.). Clusters of the type -LT occur commonly in noun or verb roots when these happen to be at the end of the word (as in the Absolutive case or the Imperative).

Clusters in loanwords are much more restricted. They are all obstruent-final — -XR-clusters do not occur at the end of the word (except in the isolated case *sejr* ‘stroll, tour’). Examples are not very common:

-RT-	/-jd/	<i>qejd</i>	‘remark’
	/-wʃ/	<i>benewš</i>	‘violet’
	/-mqʃ/	<i>šemqʃ</i>	‘eye pus’
	/-nd/	<i>zarpand</i>	‘halter’
-T ₁ T ₂ -	/-fs/	<i>nefs</i>	‘thirst, desire’
	/-χʃ/	<i>baxš</i>	‘dedication’
	/-st/	<i>dust</i>	‘friend’
	/-χts/	<i>müxc</i>	‘barn’
	/-χtʃ/	<i>waxt</i>	‘time’

4.2.3. Post-syncope syllable structure

As was observed above, Pretonic High Vowel syncope resulted in a rather drastic change of admissible syllable structures (Post-tonic Vowel syncope, 4.1.2., had no such effect because it does not apply within roots and is itself in part dependent on syllable structure.). Whereas only (C)VC syllables used to be allowed, word-initial CC- and even CCC- clusters are now common, e.g. *ptul* ‘great-grandchild’, *štkana* ‘swept’ (see (33)-(34)).

Such clusters occur only word-initially because the vast majority of Lezgian words with a syncopatable vowel were stressed on the second syllable, so the syncopatable vowel is virtually always in the first syllable of a word. (The few words that are stressed on the third and fourth syllable and have a high vowel in the right environment do not show syncope, e.g. *istismár* ‘exploitation’, *haqiǰát* ‘truth, reality’. That there is no syncope in *haqiǰát* is also apparent from the lack of Pre-Obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration (5.4.) in this word.)

Because of the conditions on pretonic syncope, the word-initial CC- clusters consist of two voiceless obstruents (*ptul*) or a voiceless obstruent and a sonorant (*ǰ(i)néba* ‘secretly’), and the CCC- clusters consist either of three voiceless obstruents, or of two voiceless obstruents and an /r/ between them (*krčargan* ‘rein’, *turpar* [tʰwɾpar] ‘turnips’). The third consonant of the CCC-cluster may also be a sonorant to the extent that morpheme-internal obstruent-sonorant clusters are allowed in pre-syncope syllable structure, e.g. *kk’lam* ‘tick, mite’, *čxra* ‘spinning wheel’.

4.3. Restrictions on the cooccurrence of consonants

4.3.1. Before a voiceless stop or a voiceless fricative, voiceless stops are always aspirated, never unaspirated.

(54)	<i>aksi</i>	/ak ^h si/	'against'
	<i>mekteb</i>	/mek ^h teb/	'school'
	<i>lüt^hke</i>	/lyt ^h ke/	'boat'

This is also true for voiceless stops that have come into direct contact with a following voiceless stop or fricative only as a result of vowel syncope (4.1.), e.g.:

(55)	<i>ktab</i>	/k ^h tab/	'book'
	<i>ksun</i>	/k ^h sun/	'sleep'
	<i>ptul</i>	/p ^h tul/	'great-grandchild'

See 5.4. for alternations arising from this phonotactic restriction.

4.3.2. After a voiceless stop or a voiceless fricative, voiceless stops are always unaspirated, never aspirated.

(56)	<i>dust</i>	/dust/	'friend'
	<i>duxtur</i>	/duχtur/	'doctor'
	<i>hafte</i>	/hafte/	'week'
	<i>bustan</i>	/bus'tan/	'garden'
	<i>iştirak</i>	/iʃti'rak/	'participation'

This is also true for voiceless stops that have come into direct contact with a preceding voiceless stop or fricative as a result of vowel syncope (4.1.), e.g.:

(57)	<i>ktab</i>	/k ^h tab/	'book'
	<i>xci</i>	/χtsi/	'sharp'
	<i>kutugun</i>	/k ^h w'tugun/	'suit'
	<i>cükwer</i>	/tʃ ^h ük ^w er/	'flowers'

If rule 4.3.1. applies, it takes precedence over 4.3.2., e.g.:

(58)	<i>stxa</i>	/st ^h χa/	'brother'
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See 5.3. for alternations arising from this phonotactic restriction.

4.3.3. In a position following the stressed vowel, voiceless stops are always aspirated, never unaspirated, except if rule 4.3.2. applies. This concerns not only voiceless stops that follow the stressed vowel immediately, but all stops that do not precede the stressed vowel.

(59)	<i>berékat</i>	/be'rek ^h at ^h /	'blessing'
	<i>aḡátun</i>	/a'qat ^h un/	'come out'
	<i>insánrikaj</i>	/in'sanrik ^h aj/	'about people'
	<i>bulút</i>	/bu'lut ^h /	'cloud'
	<i>nék</i>	/nek ^h /	'milk'

If a post-tonic voiceless stop immediately follows a voiceless fricative, rule 4.3.2. takes precedence over rule 4.3.3.

(60)	<i>dust</i>	/dust/	'friend'
	<i>waxt</i>	/wax ^t /	'time'

4.3.4. If a word begins with an ejective stop, then its second syllable cannot begin with an unaspirated voiceless stop. Voiceless stops in such positions are always aspirated.

(61)	<i>c'akul</i>	/ts'ak ^h ul/	'feather'
	<i>k'uta</i>	/k'ut ^h a/	'hammer'
	<i>c'apan</i>	/ts'ap ^h an/	'slingshot; sling'

4.3.5. If in a word with at least two syllables the initial consonant of the stressed syllable is an unaspirated voiceless stop, an initial voiceless stop is always unaspirated as well.

(62)	<i>ḡweter</i>	/q ^w e'ter/	'partridges'
	<i>čeper</i>	/tʃe'per/	'clay (pl.)'
	<i>takwar</i>	/ta'k ^w ar/	'turnips'
	<i>cekwer</i>	/tse'k ^w er/	'ants'

4.4. Vowel harmony

In native Lezgian words both palatal and labial vowel harmony exists, but only in syllables before and including the stressed syllable. Post-tonic vowels are not subject to vowel harmony, so that only prefixes and stress-bearing suffixes show harmonic alternations. Since the stress does not go beyond the second syllable in native words, there are never more than two vowels per word that participate in vowel harmony.

4.4.1. Palatal Vowel Harmony

Palatal Vowel Harmony contrasts the front vowels /e, i, y, æ/, and the back vowels /a, u/. Up to the stressed syllable, a native Lezgian word has either only front vowels or only back vowels.

(63) Back vowels

<i>k'arás</i>	'wood'
<i>cuc'úl</i>	'marten'
<i>c'akúl</i>	'feathers'
<i>č'uláw</i>	'black'

(64) Front vowels

<i>k'eréc</i>	'group'
<i>č'exí</i>	'big'
<i>p'iní</i>	'cherry'
<i>xirxém</i>	'gravel, road metal'
<i>reğ'ù</i>	'shy, bashful'
<i>küčé</i>	'street'
<i>t'ürüq''üm</i>	'bitter'

(65) Trisyllabic words

<i>čínérug</i>	'hawk'
<i>perpílág</i>	'swing'
<i>qeqwérág</i>	'beggar'

However, the sequences /a-i/ and /i-a/ are exceptionally allowed:

(66) <i>čirčá m</i>	'moss'
<i>qalín</i>	'frequent, dense'
<i>čarči</i>	'letter (Erg.)'

Within roots, Palatal Vowel Harmony is frequently violated due to a large number of assimilated loanwords from Persian, Arabic and Russian, e.g.:

(67) <i>šejt'án</i>	'devil'
<i>ažéb</i>	'amazing'
<i>xsusí</i>	'own'

4.4.2. Labial Vowel Harmony

Labial Vowel Harmony contrasts the labialized vowels /u, y/ with the non-labialized vowel /i/. The low and mid vowels /a, æ, e/ are neutral with respect to Labial Vowel Harmony. Since /i-u/ and /u-i/ are already excluded by Palatal Vowel Harmony, the only combinations disallowed by Labial Vowel Harmony are */i-y/ and */y-i/. There are no exceptions to Labial Vowel Harmony because the only language from which Lezgian borrowed words containing *ü*, Turkic, also has labial vowel harmony.

(68) <i>q^hürü'n</i>	'laugh'	(* <i>q^hürín</i>)
<i>üzü'm</i>	'grapes'	(Turkic loanword)

4.5. Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony

This rule says that a vowel adjacent to a labialized obstruent must be rounded if it is not neutral with respect to the rounding opposition, i.e. */iC^w/ and */C^wi/ are not allowed. (Note that this concerns only obstruents: The labial glide /w/ does occur in these positions, e.g. *wil* 'eye', *q'iliw* 'near'.)

Because of this restriction, the alternation of Unstressed Vowel Heightening (5.11.) leads to an /e-y/ alternation in roots with at least one labialized obstruent, e.g.:

(69)	singular	plural	
	<i>q'wex</i>	<i>q'üxwér</i>	'groin'
	<i>q^hweq^h</i>	<i>q^hüq^wér</i>	'cheek'
cf.	<i>q^hel</i>	<i>q^hilér</i>	'anger'
	<i>kek</i>	<i>kikér</i>	'nail'

Note that the overwhelming majority of occurrences of /y/ in native Lezgian words are due to either Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony or to Labial Vowel Harmony (i.e. assimilation to an /y/ that is due to assimilation to a labialized obstruent). In native words /y/ is therefore rarely distinctive. However, /y/ occurs in many Turkic loanwords and must be considered a distinctive (non-marginal) phoneme in present-day Lezgian. It also occurs in a number of sound-symbolic words.

(70)	Turkic loanwords	
	<i>güzel</i>	'beautiful'
	<i>hürmet</i>	'respect'

(71)	Sound-symbolic words	
	<i>üft</i>	'whistle'
	<i>lüh^hlüh</i>	'coughing'
	<i>ü?</i> [ʔyʔ]	'belching'

(72)	Others (native word?)	
	<i>hül</i>	'sea'

4.6. Neutralization of Obstruent Labialization

In front of a rounded vowel (/u, y/), consonants are automatically phonetically labialized. In the case of the 17 distinctively labialized obstruents this leads to the phonological neutralization of the distinction. The labialization of an obstruent in such a position is never reflected in the spelling.

(73)	Absolutive		oblique stem		
	<i>markw</i>	/mark ^{hw} /	<i>mark-uni</i>	/mar ^k huni/	'stack'
	<i>leğw</i>	/leɣ ^w /	<i>leq-ü</i>	/le ^q y/	'hole'

(74)	Aorist		Masdar		
	<i>q̄uǧw-a-na</i>	/qu'k ^w ana/	<i>q̄uǧ-u-n</i>	/qu'kun/	'play'
	<i>üc'w-e-na</i>	/y'ts' ^w ena/	<i>üc'-ü-n</i>	/y'ts'yn/	'collapse'

For greater ease of exposition I sometimes use a superscript *w* in parentheses in the orthographic representation to indicate that the labialization is morphophonemically present (*mark^(w)-uni*, *q̄uǧ^(w)-u-n*, etc.).

The same neutralization takes place at the end of the word when the vowel of the final syllable is rounded.

(75)	plural		singular		
	<i>rukwar</i>	/ru'k ^w ar/	<i>rug</i>	/rug/	'dust'
	<i>cükwer</i>	/ts ^h uk ^w er/	<i>cük</i>	/tsyk ^h /	'flower'
	<i>rüq^hwer</i>	/ryq ^h wer/	<i>rüq^h</i>	/ryq ^h /	'ashes'

When the vowel of the final syllable is not rounded, the labialization is preserved in the spelling, e.g. *markw*, *leǧw* (in (73) above). However, it is not always preserved in the pronunciation, see 5.8.

Chapter 5 Phonological alternations

This chapter describes phonological alternations that are conditioned at least in part by the phonological environment. Some alternations follow from the phonotactic restrictions and apply wherever the phonological conditions are met (the alternations in 5.1.-5.8.).

Other alternations must be described as morphophonemic because they are restricted to a closed class of lexical items (the alternations in 5.9.-5.12.) or to a restricted set of morphological environments (the alternation in 5.13.).

In one case it is difficult to say whether the alternation is purely phonologically motivated or morphologically/lexically restricted, because its phonological conditions are met only in a very small set of cases (the alternation in 5.14.).

5.1. Pre-ejective Ejective Aspiration

In a number of monosyllabic nouns of the syllable structure *CVC*, where *V* is a high vowel, the word-initial ejective stop alternates with the corresponding aspirated stop whenever the stress follows the root, i.e. in all forms except the Absolutive Singular form. When the stress is not on the root, the high root vowel is syncopeated, and since in a sequence of voiceless stop plus voiceless obstruent the voiceless stop has to be aspirated (cf. 4.3.1.), this alternation follows from the phonotactics. E.g.:

(76)	Absolutive singular	plural		
	<i>k'uk'</i>	<i>kuk'war</i>	/k ^h wk'war/	'peak'
	<i>p'ip'</i>	<i>pip'er</i>	/p ^h jp'er/	'corner'
	<i>q'üč'</i>	<i>q^hüč'er</i>	/q ^h üč'er/	'armpit'

Further cases are:

(77)	singular	plural	
	<i>c'uk</i>	<i>cuk'ar</i>	'burning coal'
	<i>p'ic'</i>	<i>pic'er</i>	'navel'
	<i>c'uc'</i>	<i>cuc'ar</i>	'tap'
	<i>c'ic'</i>	<i>cic'er</i>	'grasshopper'
	<i>č'iq'</i>	<i>čiq'er</i>	'strap'
	<i>č'ič'</i>	<i>čič'er</i>	'pile (wool)'
	<i>q'uq'</i>	<i>q^huq'ar</i>	'bustard'
	<i>k'ak'</i>	<i>kk'ar</i>	'lane'
			(plus Unstressed Vowel Heightening, 5.11.)

In a number of words, Pre-ejective Ejective Aspiration can be observed together with Word-final Ejective Voicing (5.10.):

(78)	Absolutive singular		plural		
	<i>q'üd</i>	/q'yd/	<i>q^hüt'er</i>	/q ^h üt'er/	'winter'
	<i>t'ib</i>	/t'ib/	<i>t'ip'er</i>	/t ^h ip'er/	'owl'
	<i>č'ib</i>	/č'ib/	<i>č'ip'er</i>	/č ^h ip'er/	'span'

See 5.10. (ex. 103) for a complete list of such nouns.

5.2. Word-final Unaspirated Voicing

In all monosyllabic nouns with a root-final unaspirated voiceless stop, this stop alternates with the corresponding voiced stop in word-final position (i.e. in the Absolutive singular form). This automatic alternation is motivated by the ban on word-final unaspirated stops (cf. 4.3.3.).

(79)	plural		Absolutive singular		
	<i>jeper</i>	/je'per/	<i>jeb</i>	/jeb/	'string'
	<i>gatar</i>	/ga'tar/	<i>gad</i>	/gad/	'summer'
	<i>pakwar</i>	/pa'k ^w ar/	<i>pagw</i>	/pag ^w /	'side, rib'

In this alternation, the corresponding voiced "stops" for /tʃ/, /ts/, and /q/ are /z/, /z/, and /ʃ/. All of these are synchronically fricatives, but diachronically they clearly go back to the stops/affricates */tʃ/, */dz/, and */g/ (they are preserved as such in some dialects, cf. Talibov 1980). E.g.:

(80)	plural		Absolutive singular		
	<i>sačar</i>	/sa'čar/	<i>saž</i>	/saz/	'sheet of metal'
	<i>mecer</i>	/me'tser/	<i>mez</i>	/mez/	'tongue'
	<i>qačar</i>	/qa'čar/	<i>qağ</i>	/qağ/	'sheath'

The following is a fairly complete list of nouns exhibiting Word-final Unaspirated Voicing. For each noun, the Absolutive singular and the Absolutive plural forms are given.

(81)	singular	plural	
	a. /p/ → /b/		
	<i>rab</i>	<i>rapar</i>	'needle'
	<i>rib</i>	<i>riper</i>	'awl'
	<i>jab</i>	<i>japar</i>	'ear'
	<i>pab</i>	<i>papar</i>	'wife'
	<i>čeb</i>	<i>čeper</i>	'clay'
	<i>ğab</i>	<i>ğapar</i>	'hand(ful)'
	<i>tab</i>	<i>taparar</i>	'lie'
	<i>qab</i>	<i>qapar</i>	'container'
	<i>seb</i>	<i>seperar</i>	'abuse, curse'

<i>rub</i>	<i>rupadi</i> (obl.)	'fruit molasses'
<i>čeb</i>	<i>čpi</i>	'selves' (see also 5.11.)
<i>xeb</i>	<i>xper</i>	'sheep' (see also 5.11.)
<i>q̄ib</i>	<i>q^hiper</i>	'frog' (see also 5.4., 5.6.)
b. /k/ → /g/		
<i>mug</i>	<i>mukar</i>	'nest'
<i>pagw</i>	<i>pakwar</i>	'rib'
<i>meg</i>	<i>meker</i>	'hair'
<i>rug</i>	<i>rukwar</i>	'dust'
<i>tagw</i>	<i>takwar</i>	'turnip'
<i>kwag</i>	<i>kwakwar</i>	'loop' (see also 5.8.)
<i>cegw</i>	<i>cekwer</i>	'ant'
<i>serg</i>	<i>serker</i>	'garlic'
c. /t/ → /d/		
<i>jad</i>	<i>jatar</i>	'water'
<i>pad</i>	<i>patar</i>	'side'
<i>ḡed</i>	<i>ḡeter</i>	'star'
<i>tūd</i>	<i>tüter</i>	'throat'
<i>ḡud</i>	<i>ḡutar</i>	'fist'
<i>rad</i>	<i>ratar</i>	'intestine'
<i>med</i>	<i>meter</i>	'berry molasses'
<i>kard</i>	<i>kartar</i>	'falcon'
<i>q̄wed</i>	<i>q̄weter</i>	'partridge'
<i>fid</i>	<i>fiter</i>	'dung, manure'
<i>čad</i>	<i>čatar</i>	'smithy'
d. /q/ → /ɣ/		
<i>müḡ</i>	<i>müq̄wer</i>	'bridge'
<i>raḡ</i>	<i>raq̄ar</i>	'sun'
<i>juḡ</i>	<i>jiq̄ar</i>	'day'
<i>naḡw</i>	<i>naq̄war</i>	'tear'
<i>qaḡ</i>	<i>qaq̄ar</i>	'sheath'
<i>maḡ</i>	<i>maq̄ar</i>	'plowshare'
<i>reḡ</i>	<i>req̄er</i>	'comb'
<i>qeḡ</i>	<i>qeq̄er</i>	'inner side of thigh'
<i>leḡw</i>	<i>leq̄wer</i>	'pothole; funnel'
e. /ts/ → /z/ (< */dz/)		
<i>warz</i>	<i>warcar</i>	'moon; month'
<i>murz</i>	<i>murcar</i>	'edge'
<i>caz</i>	<i>cacar</i>	'thorn'
<i>q̄az</i>	<i>q̄acar</i>	'young crop'
f. /ʃ/ → /ʒ/		
<i>raž</i>	<i>račar</i>	'grain'
<i>mažw</i>	<i>mačwar</i>	'astragal'

The same alternation occurs in reduplicated Imperatives where the reduplicated consonant is an unaspirated voiceless stop. E.g.:

(82)	Masdar		Imperative		
	<i>k-u-n</i>	/kun/	<i>k-u-g</i>	/kug/	'burn'
	<i>kuc-u-n</i>	/k ^{hw} tsun/	<i>kuc-u-z</i>	/k ^{hw} tsuz/	'pour'
	<i>q̄-u-n</i>	/qun/	<i>q̄-u-ğ</i>	/qus/	'fall (precipitation)'

(cf. the regular forms:

<i>eč'-i-n</i>	/e'ʧ'in/	<i>eč'-i-č'</i>	/e'ʧ'i'ʧ'/	'weed'
<i>q^h-u-n</i>	/q ^h un/	<i>q^h-u-q^h</i>	/q ^h uq ^h /	'drink')

5.3. Post-obstruent Aspirated Deaspiration

In a number of monosyllabic nouns with a high root vowel and an initial voiceless obstruent the final aspirated stop of the root alternates with the corresponding non-aspirated stop whenever the stress follows the root (i.e. in all forms except the Absolute singular form). When the stress is not on the root, the high vowel is syncopated, and since in a sequence "voiceless obstruent — voiceless stop" the voiceless stop has to be unaspirated (cf. 4.3.2.), this alternation follows from the phonotactic restrictions.

(83)	Absolute singular		plural		
	<i>čit</i>	/ʧ ^h it ^h /	<i>čiter</i>	/ʧ ^h ter/	'cotton'
	<i>tup</i>	/t ^h up ^h /	<i>tupar</i>	/t ^h par/	'ball; cannon'
	<i>q^hurq^h</i>	/q ^h urq ^h /	<i>q^hurq^{ar}</i>	/q ^h urq ^{ar} /	'skin'
	<i>pič</i>	/p ^h iʧ ^h /	<i>pičer</i>	/p ^h iʧer/	'oven'
	<i>cük</i>	/tsyk ^h /	<i>cükwer</i>	/ts ^h uk ^{wer} /	'flower'

In the following cases Unstressed Vowel Heightening (cf. 5.11.) applies before syncope:

(84)	Absolute singular		oblique stem (=Ergative case)		
	<i>xak</i>	/xak ^h /	<i>xkuni</i>	/xkuni/	'pale'
	<i>xat</i>	/xat ^h /	<i>xtuni</i>	/xtuni/	'bead'
	<i>kač</i>	/k ^h aʧ ^h /	<i>kča</i>	/k ^h a/	'bitch'
	<i>q^hweq^h</i>	/q ^h weq ^h /	<i>q^hüq^{we}</i>	/q ^h uq ^{we} /	'cheek'
	<i>karč</i>	/k ^h aʧ ^h /	<i>krčar</i>	/k ^h rʧar/	'horn'

5.4. Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration

The reverse alternation of 5.3. also occurs, again following from phonotactic restrictions: When Pretonic High Vowel Syncope (4.1.1.) leads to a situation where an unaspirated stop immediately precedes another voiceless obstruent, the unaspirated stop must become aspirated (4.3.1.).

(85)	singular		plural		
	<i>q̄ib</i>	/qib/	<i>q^hiper</i>	/q ^h iper/	'frog'
	<i>tūd</i>	/tyd/	<i>tüter</i>	/t ^h üter/	'throat'
	<i>cük</i>	/tsyk ^h /	<i>cükwer</i>	/ts ^h uk ^w er/	'flower'
	<i>pik'</i>	/pik'/	<i>pik'er</i>	/p ^h ik'er/	'wooden container'

Other cases are:

(86)	singular	plural	
	<i>cif</i>	<i>cifer</i>	'cloud'
	<i>čük</i>	<i>čüker</i>	'kind of soup'

There is an interesting paradox in the description of these facts by Uslar (1896): On the one hand, the results of Pretonic High Vowel Syncope do not appear yet (see 4.1.1., example (32)), but on the other hand, the results of Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration as well as Post-obstruent Aspirated Deaspiration (5.3.) are already present. This paradox could be resolved in two ways: Either there is something wrong with (the interpretation of) Uslar's description, or the cooccurrence restrictions on consonants (4.3.1.-4.3.2.) are not dependent on strict adjacency of the consonants. It seems that the first alternative is correct: Syncope had in fact taken place by the 1860s when Uslar was working on his description, but Uslar used the letters *i*, *u*, and *ü* to represent the residual palatalization and labialization of the preceding consonant (see the discussion in 4.1.1.).

5.5. Vowel Harmony alternations

Because of the phonotactic restrictions of Vowel Harmony (cf. 4.4.), native prefixes and stress-bearing suffixes show alternations. In affixes with a low vowel, /a/ and /e/ alternate according to Palatal Vowel Harmony (in one case, the Inelative suffix *-äj / -aj*, /a/ and /æ/ alternate); in affixes with a high vowel, /u/, /i/, and /y/ alternate according to Palatal and Labial Vowel Harmony. The alternating affixes are most conveniently represented in their archiphonemic form. In this work, *A* is used to represent a low vowel (/a/ or /e/), and *U* is used to represent a high vowel (/u/, /i/, or /y/).

Thus:	<i>A</i>	=	/a/	in the environment of	/a, u/
		=	/e/	in the environment of	/e, i, y, æ/
	<i>U</i>	=	/u/	in the environment of	/a, u/
		=	/i/	in the environment of	/e, i (æ)/
		=	/y/	in the environment of	/y/

The following are examples of harmonic affixes:

5.5.1. *-Ar* (a Plural suffix, cf. 7.1.1.3.)

(87)	singular	plural	
	<i>q'al</i>	<i>q'al-ar</i>	'stick'
	<i>q'ul</i>	<i>q'ul-ar</i>	'board'
	<i>q'el</i>	<i>q'el-er</i>	'salt'
	<i>q'il</i>	<i>q'il-er</i>	'head'
	<i>q'ül</i>	<i>q'ül-er</i>	'dance'
	<i>sät</i>	<i>sät-er</i>	'hour; clock'

5.5.2. *-rA* (an oblique stem suffix, cf. 7.1.2.2., F)

(88)	Absolutive	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
	<i>lam</i>	<i>lam-ra</i>	'donkey'
	<i>č'ut</i>	<i>č'ut-ra</i>	'flea'
	<i>c'eh</i>	<i>c'eh-re</i>	'goat'
	<i>q'if</i>	<i>q'if-re</i>	'mouse'
	<i>ğüč'</i>	<i>ğüč'-re</i>	'moth'

5.5.3. *-A* (a thematic suffix of strong verbs in the Aorist stem, followed by the Aorist suffix *-na* in (89); cf. 9.2.)

(89)	verb stem	Aorist	
	<i>ac'-</i>	<i>ac'-a-na</i>	'fill'
	<i>quğw-</i>	<i>quğw-a-na</i>	'play'
	<i>reğw-</i>	<i>reğw-e-na</i>	'grind'
	<i>if-</i>	<i>if-e-na</i>	'become hot'
	<i>q^hür-</i>	<i>q^hür-e-na</i>	'laugh'

5.5.4. *Aq̃* (a preverb, cf. 10.3.)

(90)	<i>aq̃-atun</i>	'fall out'
	<i>aq̃-udun</i>	'take out'
	<i>eq̃-eč'un</i>	'go out'
	<i>eq̃-ič'un</i>	'spill out'
	<i>eq̃-äğun</i>	'pour out'

5.5.5. *tA-* (the negative prefix, cf. 9.3.5.)

(91)	affirmative form	negated form	
	<i>fin</i>	<i>te-fin</i>	'going'
	<i>xün</i>	<i>te-xün</i>	'keeping'
	<i>ğun</i>	<i>ta-ğun</i>	'bringing'
	<i>ğana</i>	<i>ta-ğana</i>	'brought'

5.5.6. *-Uni* (an oblique stem suffix, cf. 7.1.2.2., G)

(92)	Absolutive	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
	<i>ǧal</i>	<i>ǧal-uni</i>	'thread'
	<i>ǧ'ul</i>	<i>ǧ'ul-uni</i>	'belt'
	<i>peš</i>	<i>peš-ini</i>	'leaf'
	<i>ric'</i>	<i>ric'-ini</i>	'bowstring'
	<i>q'ül</i>	<i>q'ül-üni</i>	'foot; dance'

5.5.7. *-U* (a thematic suffix of strong verbs in the Masdar stem, followed by the Masdar suffix *-n* in (93); cf. 9.2.)

(93)	verb stem	Masdar	
	<i>at'-</i>	<i>at'-u-n</i>	'cut'
	<i>q'ur-</i>	<i>q'ur-u-n</i>	'become dry'
	<i>q'ež-</i>	<i>q'ež-i-n</i>	'become wet'
	<i>if-</i>	<i>if-i-n</i>	'become hot'
	<i>q^hür-</i>	<i>q^hür-ü-n</i>	'laugh'

Other harmonic suffixes are the Plural suffix *-lAr*, the oblique stem suffixes *-A*, *-U*, *-Adi*, the adjectival derivational suffix *-U*, other preverbs (*Al-*, *Aw-*, *Ak-*, *Ag-*, *gAl-*, etc.), some nominal derivational suffixes (*-Ak*, *-Ac*), and a few others.

Suffixes which are never stressed (e.g. the oblique stem suffix *-di*, the Aorist suffix *-na*, the nominal derivational suffixes *-wi*, *-wal*, *-q^han*) cannot alternate. Some stress-bearing suffixes are loan suffixes and therefore do not alternate: *-súz*, *-lú*, *-dár*, *-kár*.

5.6. High Vowel Loss

Due to Pretonic High Vowel Syncope, many monosyllabic nouns with a high root vowel lose this root vowel in forms where the stress shifts to the post-root syllable, with residual palatalization and/or labialization, cf. 4.1.1. Some examples are given in (94), more can be found in 5.1., 5.3., 5.4.

(94)	singular	plural			
	<i>kic'</i>	<i>/k^hits'/</i>	<i>kic'er</i>	<i>/k^hits'er/</i>	'dog'
	<i>q̄ib</i>	<i>/qib/</i>	<i>q^hiper</i>	<i>/q^hiper/</i>	'frog'
	<i>t'ub</i>	<i>/t'ub/</i>	<i>tup'ar</i>	<i>/t^{hw}p'ar/</i>	'finger'

5.7. Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony alternations

The phonotactic restriction of Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony (4.5.) determines the vowel of several affixes beginning with a high vowel: the affixes show /y/ when adjacent to a labialized obstruent, otherwise /i/. This alternation concerns only front-vowel words because back-vowel words have /u/ in their affixes whether the adjacent obstruent is labialized or not.

5.7.1. -U (an oblique stem suffix, cf. 7.1.2.2., I)

(95) Absolutive Singular	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
<i>k'wenk'w</i>	<i>k'wenk^(w)-ü</i>	'tip'
(cf. <i>q'wet'</i>)	<i>q'wet'-i</i>	'cave'

5.7.2. -Uni (an oblique stem suffix, cf. 7.1.2.2., G)

(96) Absolutive singular	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
<i>xwex</i>	<i>xwex^(w)-üni</i>	'core'
(cf. <i>xex</i>)	<i>xex-ini</i>	'pincers'

5.7.3. -U (thematic vowel of strong verbs in the Masdar stem, followed here by the Masdar suffix -n; cf. 9.2.)

(97) verb stem	Masdar	
<i>q̄e q̄^(w)-</i>	<i>q̄e q̄^(w)-ü-n</i>	'go around'
<i>reḡ^(w)-</i>	<i>reḡ^(w)-ü-n</i>	'grind'
<i>weh-</i>	<i>weh-i-n</i>	'throw'

5.8. Metathesis of Labialization

When the vowel of the final syllable of a word is not rounded, a distinctively labialized obstruent may occur in word-final position, as shown in (98).

(98) plural	singular	
<i>cekwer</i>	<i>cegw</i>	'ant'
<i>reḡwer</i>	<i>reḡw</i>	'mill'
<i>t'ekwer</i>	<i>t'ekw</i>	'hole'
<i>tarkwar</i>	<i>tarkw</i>	'pestle'
<i>čakwar</i>	<i>čakw</i>	'wooden trough'

But contrary to what the spelling suggests, the labialization is not in fact preserved in the pronunciation of many speakers. However, the labialization is not simply lost, but rather metathesized and transferred to the syllable-initial consonant. Thus, *t'ekw* is in fact pronounced [t^wek], *cegw* is in fact pronounced [ts^weg], and *tarkw* is in fact pronounced [t^warkh]. Some speakers even transfer the labialization to consonants that cannot be phonemically

labialized, so that *reḡw* is pronounced [r^wɛɣ], although there is no phoneme /r^w/. Another common variant is the labialization of the vowel, so that *reḡw* and *t'ekw* are pronounced [rɔɣ] and [t'ɔk^h]. Since there is no orthoepic norm, it is difficult to distinguish between dialect differences, individual differences, and spelling pronunciations.

There is one circumstance under which the metathesis of word-final labialization is reflected in the spelling: in syllables whose initial consonant is distinctively labialized as well, as in (99). Of course, the effect of the metathesis is only a delabialization of the final consonant here.

(99) plural			singular		
<i>xwexwer</i>	/χ ^w ɛ'χ ^w ɛr/	<i>xwex</i>	/χ ^w ɛχ/		'core'
<i>kwakwar</i>	/k ^w ak ^w ar/	<i>kwag</i>	/k ^w ag/		'loop'

The following cases show the Unstressed Vowel Heightening alternation (5.11.) in addition:

(100) plural			singular		
<i>q^hüq^wer</i>	/q ^h üq ^w ɛr/	<i>q^hweq^h</i>	/q ^h wɛq ^h /		'cheek'
<i>q'üxwer</i>	/q'yχ ^w ɛr/	<i>q'wex</i>	/q'wɛχ/		'groin'
<i>suxwar</i>	/s ^w χ ^w ar/	<i>swax</i>	/s ^w ax/		'molar'
<i>kukwar</i>	/k ^h wk ^w ar/	<i>kwak</i>	/k ^h wak ^h /		'worm'
Aorist		Imperative			
<i>tuxwana</i>	/t ^h wχ ^w ana/	<i>twax</i>	/t ^h wax/		'carry'

5.9. Word-final Ejective Aspiration

In a number of monosyllabic nouns, the final ejective consonant of the root alternates with the corresponding aspirated stop in word-final position, i.e. in the Absolutive singular form. The nouns in (76) are a fairly complete list of nouns exhibiting Word-final Ejective Aspiration. For each noun, the Absolutive plural and the Absolutive singular forms are given.

(101) Plural		Absolutive singular	
<i>met'-er</i>	<i>met</i>	/met ^h /	'knee'
<i>net'-er</i>	<i>net</i>	/net ^h /	'louse'
<i>rat'-ar</i>	<i>rat</i>	/rat ^h /	'(threshing) floor'
<i>wirt'-er</i>	<i>wirt</i>	/wirt ^h /	'honey'
<i>nek'-er</i>	<i>nek</i>	/nek ^h /	'milk'
<i>jak'-ar</i>	<i>jak</i>	/jak ^h /	'meat'
<i>nik'-er</i>	<i>nik</i>	/nik ^h /	'field'
<i>rak'-ar(ar)</i>	<i>rak</i>	/rak ^h /	'door'
<i>wak'-ar</i>	<i>wak</i>	/wak ^h /	'pig'
<i>wik'-er</i>	<i>wik</i>	/wik ^h /	'yoke'
<i>murk'-ar</i>	<i>murk</i>	/murk ^h /	'ice'
<i>haq'-ar</i>	<i>haq^h</i>	/haq ^h /	'truth'
<i>req'-er</i>	<i>req^h</i>	/req ^h /	'way'

5.10. Word-final Ejective Voicing

In a number of monosyllabic nouns of the syllable structure *CVC*, where both consonants are ejective, the root-final ejective stop alternates with the corresponding voiced stop in word-final position (i.e. in the Absolutive Singular form).

(102) Ergative Singular	Absolutive Singular	
<i>q'ep'ini</i>	<i>q'eb</i>	'cradle'
<i>t'ap'uni</i>	<i>t'ab</i>	'block'

In those nouns that have a high root vowel, Pre-ejective Ejective Aspiration (cf. 5.1.) applies in all other forms of the word, so that no form actually shows both ejective stops.

(103) Plural	Absolutive Singular	
<i>tup'ar</i> /t ^h wp'ar/	<i>t'ub</i> /t'ub/	'finger'
<i>čip'er</i> /t ^h p'er/	<i>č'ib</i> /t ^h 'ib/	'span'
<i>cip'er</i> /ts ^h p'er/	<i>c'ib</i> /ts'ib/	'pot'
<i>tip'er</i> /t ^h p'er/	<i>t'ib</i> /t'ib/	'owl'
<i>cik'er</i> /ts ^h k'er/	<i>c'ig</i> /ts'ig/	'middle'
<i>q^hüt'er</i> /q ^h üt'er/	<i>q'üd</i> /q'yd/	'winter'

5.11. Unstressed Vowel Heightening

In a number of monosyllabic nouns with the syllable structure *CVC* the low vowel alternates with a corresponding high vowel when the root is unstressed. The unstressed high vowel may then be subject to Pretonic High Vowel Syncope if the conditions are met.

5.11.1. /e/ alternates with /i/, and with /y/ in the environment of a labialized obstruent (because of Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony, 4.5.):

(104) Absolutive singular	plural	
<i>q^hel</i>	<i>q^hil-ér</i>	'anger'
<i>xew</i>	<i>xiw-ér</i>	'neck'
<i>xer</i>	<i>xir-ér</i>	'wound'
<i>xel</i>	<i>xil-ér</i>	'branch'
<i>xel</i>	<i>xil-ér</i>	'arrow'
<i>kek</i>	<i>kik-ér</i>	'nail; hoof'
<i>q^hweq^h</i>	<i>q^hüq^w-ér</i>	'cheek'
<i>q'wex</i>	<i>q'üxw-ér</i>	'groin'

The /i/ is syncopeated and omitted in the spelling in the following cases:

(105) <i>čeb</i>	<i>čp-i</i> (obl. stem)	'selves'
<i>xeb</i>	<i>xp-er</i>	'sheep'

5.11.2. /a/ alternates with /i/ (which is always syncopated and never shows up in the modern spelling), and with /u/ in the environment of a labialized or labial consonant.

(106) Absolute singular	plural	
<i>cal</i>	<i>cl-ar</i>	'wall' (Uslar 1896: <i>cilar</i>)
<i>šar</i>	<i>šr-ar</i>	'oven'
<i>q^hač</i>	<i>q^hč-ar</i>	'herb, edible green plant'
<i>kar</i>	<i>kr-ar</i>	'matter, business'
<i>xak</i>	<i>xk-ar</i>	'pale'
<i>kač</i>	<i>kč-ar</i>	'bitch'
<i>kaf</i>	<i>kf-ar</i>	'foam'
<i>karč</i>	<i>krč-ar</i>	'horn'
<i>k'ak'</i>	<i>kk'-ar</i>	'alley'
<i>xat</i>	<i>xt-ar</i>	'bead'
<i>kwak</i>	<i>kukw-ár</i>	'worm'
<i>xwat</i>	<i>xut-ár</i>	'plum'
<i>swas</i>	<i>sus-ár</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>swax</i>	<i>suxw-ár</i>	'molar tooth'
<i>mam</i>	<i>mum-ár</i>	'breast'
<i>kap'</i>	<i>kup'-ár</i>	'prayer'

5.12. Loss of /ɣ/

In a small group of verbs with the common root *-äğun* (cf. 9.5.3., 3.2.1.2.) and in the verb *jağun* 'hit', the final consonant of the root /ɣ/ is lost with compensatory lengthening of the root vowel when it is not followed by a vowel. E.g.

(107) Masdar	<i>käğ-un</i>	/k ^h æɣun/	'the touching'
Infinitive	<i>käğ-iz</i>	/k ^h æɣiz/	'to touch'
Imperfective	<i>kä-zawa</i>	/k ^h æ:zawa/	'is touching'
Aorist	<i>kä-na</i>	/k ^h æ:na/	'touched'
Imperative	<i>kä-Ø</i>	/k ^h æ:/	'touch!'

This alternation is restricted to this root; other verbs whose root ends in /ɣ/ do not show any irregularities, e.g. *qarağun* 'get up', *qarağzawa*, *qarağna*, etc.

5.13. Affricate Assimilation

The oblique stem suffix *-ci* /*-tsi*/ (cf. 7.1.2.2., J) has the variants *-c'i*, *-či* /*-tʃi*/, *-č'i*, *-ž*, depending on the initial consonant of the root.

(108) Absolutive	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
<i>cen</i>	<i>cen-ci</i>	'lap'
<i>k'ar</i>	<i>k'ar-c'i</i>	'stick, rung'
<i>čar</i>	<i>čar-č'i</i>	'paper, letter'
<i>č'ar</i>	<i>č'ar-č'i</i>	'hair'
<i>žin</i>	<i>žin-ž</i>	'spirit, genie'

5.14. Dissimilatory loss of /r/

In a number of monosyllabic nouns with the syllable structure *CVrC*, the *r* is dropped in the oblique stem if the oblique stem suffix is *-rA* (7.1.2.2., F). This is a kind of dissimilation: apparently a sequence *CVrCrV-* is not tolerated by the phonotactics even if a morpheme boundary intervenes (*CVrC#rV-*).

(109) Absolutive singular	oblique stem (=Ergative case)	
<i>weř</i>	<i>weře</i>	'hen'
<i>kard</i>	<i>katra</i>	'falcon'
<i>warz</i>	<i>wacra</i>	'moon'

Chapter 6

Word stress

The description of word stress in this chapter is based on the state of the language before Pretonic High Vowel Syncope (4.1.1.). See 6.3. for remarks on the effect of syncope on the rules for stress placement.

In roots of more than one syllable, word stress is generally on the second syllable. But a small group of disyllabic verbs have initial stress, and polysyllabic roots of other word classes are sometimes stressed on the first, the third or (very rarely) the fourth syllable.

Suffixes fall into two main groups: stress-attracting suffixes, which are always stressed, and stress-neutral suffixes, which are never stressed.

Unintegrated Russian loan words keep their Russian stress.

6.1. Stress of roots

6.1.1. Verbal roots

Native verbal roots are monosyllabic, disyllabic or (rarely) trisyllabic. Disyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots are mostly stressed on the second syllable. Below some examples of verbs are given in the Masdar form (with the stress-neutral suffix *-un*) and in the Imperative (with zero suffix).

(110) <i>aq̄wáz-un</i>	<i>aq̄wáz</i>	'stop'
<i>ilä's-un</i>	<i>ilä's</i>	'surpass'
<i>q̄hit'q'ín-un</i>	<i>q̄hit'q'ín</i>	'burst'
<i>alcıf-un</i>	<i>alcıf</i>	'settle'
<i>alámuq'-un</i>	<i>alámuq'</i>	'remain'
<i>galámuq'-un</i>	<i>galámuq'</i>	'remain'

Verb roots borrowed from Turkic may have three or four syllables, the last of them always being *-miš*. Such verb roots are also stressed on the second syllable.

(111) <i>bašlámiš-un</i>	'begin'
<i>inánmiš-un</i>	'believe'
<i>inándirmiš-un</i>	'make believe'

The only exception to second-syllable stress in verbs are disyllabic verbs in *-ar*: these are stressed on the first syllable. However, the *a* in the second syllable is often syncopated, and in the syncopated form these verbs are monosyllabic and are no longer exceptions to the rule given above. Note the similarity of the root part *-ar* to the verb-deriving stress-neutral suffix *-ar* (see below 6.2.2.). However, in the verbs considered here, *-ar* has to be considered part of the root.

- (112) *gádar-un* 'throw' (also: *gádr-un*)
xkádar-un 'jump' (also: *xkádr-un*)

6.1.2. Non-verbal roots

Most native non-verbal roots are monosyllabic. The overwhelming majority of polysyllabic non-verbal roots, whether native roots or Oriental loans, are stressed on the second syllable.

- (113) *aq'úl* 'intelligence'
četín 'difficult'
tumáž 'leather'
jašájiš 'life'
merhémet 'mercy, leniency'
žanáwur 'wolf'
xüšrékan 'spider'
qalábulux 'panic'

This tendency for stress on the second syllable is so strong that even Russian loanwords are sometimes stressed on the second syllable.

- (114) *karándaš* 'pencil' (cf. Russian *karandáš*)

However, a couple of dozen roots in Hažiev & Hajdarov & Mejlanova (1964) are marked as stressed on the third or fourth syllable. Almost all of them are Oriental loanwords. The stress in these nouns seems to be based on Turkic, although most of them are ultimately from Arabic.

From Arabic relational adjectives in *-i*:

- (115) *haqīqí* 'real'
tarixí 'historical'
ebedí 'literary'
umumí 'general'

From Arabic abstract nouns in *-at*:

- (116) *haqīqát* 'truth, reality'
t'ebíát 'nature'
teškílát 'organization'
terbiját 'education'
zulumát 'gloom'
zījarát 'pilgrimage'
wilaját 'country'
hukumát 'government'

From Arabic verbal nouns of the structure *iCCiCaaC*:

- (117) *ihtiját* 'caution'
ihtijáz 'need'
imtihán 'exam'

<i>inq̄iláb</i>	'revolution'
<i>istismár</i>	'exploitation'
<i>ištirák</i>	'participation'

Some other cases:

(118) <i>barabár</i>	'equal'
<i>derdisér</i>	'misfortune, suffering'
<i>žehenném</i>	'hell'
<i>t'ürüq'ü'm</i>	'bitter'
<i>pağğambár</i>	'prophet'
<i>fendigár</i>	'cunning person'

The following are some rare cases of words stressed on the fourth syllable:

(119) <i>dulanažáğ</i>	'life, living'
<i>watanperés</i>	'patriot'
<i>ališwertš</i>	'commerce'
<i>hamišalúğ</i>	'forever'
<i>edebiját</i>	'literature'
<i>salamaléjkum</i>	(greeting)

Furthermore, several dozen polysyllabic roots are stressed on the first syllable. Again, many of them are Oriental loanwords.

(120) <i>húzum</i>	'attack'
<i>ásul</i>	'fundamental'
<i>šéher</i>	'town'
<i>gámiš</i>	'buffalo'
<i>nä'ni</i>	'evening'
<i>sábur</i>	'patience'
<i>sü'hür</i>	'magic'
<i>fáhum</i>	'reason'
<i>fikir</i>	'thought'
<i>fä'le</i>	'master; worker'
<i>štir</i>	'poem'
<i>báde</i>	'grandmother'
(121) <i>c'ájlapan</i>	'lightning'
<i>xášperes</i>	'Christian'
<i>áğsaqal</i>	'old man with authority'
<i>dīšehli</i>	'woman'
<i>jáqadaš</i>	'friend'
<i>nárazi</i>	'dissatisfied'

Adverbs and particles are particularly frequently stressed on the first syllable:

(122) <i>ámma</i>	'but'
<i>bélki</i>	'perhaps'
<i>gla</i>	'now'

<i>háttá</i>	'even'
<i>nágah</i>	'if'
<i>néinki</i>	'not only'
<i>éger</i>	'if'
<i>xéjlin</i>	'a lot'
<i>íllaki</i>	'especially'
<i>hájaman</i>	(particle expressing uncertainty)

For interjections, initial stress seems to be the rule:

(123) <i>mášallah</i>	'bravo (praise)'
<i>bárkallah</i>	'bravo (praise)'
<i>wállah</i>	'really, by God'
<i>íllah-fíllah</i>	'at any cost'
<i>ínšallah</i>	'God willing'
<i>álla</i>	'wow (surprising)'
<i>ámin</i>	'Amen'
<i>áferin</i>	'well done, bravo (praise)'
<i>bášüste</i>	'please'
<i>wára</i>	'be careful (warning)'

6.2. Stress properties of suffixes

6.2.1. Stress-attracting suffixes

Stress-attracting suffixes fall into two categories: Those which only attach to a monosyllabic root and therefore result in an ordinary second-syllable stressed word, and those that attach to roots of any length and can therefore also result in words stressed on the third or fourth syllable.

The suffixes that attach only to monosyllabic roots are:

-Ár	(Plural)	e.g. <i>tar-ár</i>	'trees'	(7.1.1., C)
-LÁr	(Plural)	<i>čül-lér</i>	'fields'	(7.1.1., G)
-rÁ	(oblique stem)	<i>c'eh-ré</i>	'goat'	(7.1.2.2., F)
-Á	(oblique stem)	<i>luw-á</i>	'wing'	(7.1.2.2., H)
-Ū	(oblique stem)	<i>mes-í</i>	'bed'	(7.1.2.2., I)
-Ádi	(oblique stem)	<i>p'ah-ádi</i>	'kiss'	(7.1.2.2., E)
-Ūni	(oblique stem)	<i>q'at'-úni</i>	'piece, fragment'	(7.1.2.2., G)
-cí	(oblique stem)	<i>xar-cí</i>	'hail'	(7.1.2.2., J)
-Á, -Ū	(verbal theme)	<i>č'ug(w)-ú-n</i>	'(the) pulling'	(9.2.)
		<i>č'ugw-á-z</i>	'to pull'	
		<i>č'ug(w)-ú-na</i>	'pulled'	
-Ū	(adjective-deriving)	<i>meq'-í</i>	'cold'	(8.2.1.2.)
-Ác	(noun-deriving)	<i>bürq'w-éc</i>	'blind person'	(7.3.1.9.)
-jí	(Aorist participle)	<i>xa-jí</i>	'having become'	(9.3.3.2.)

The suffixes that attach to words of any length are the following (all are Oriental loans):

- <i>lú</i>	(adjective-deriving)	e.g. <i>guž-lú</i> <i>aq'ul-lú</i> <i>hürmet-lú</i> <i>merhemet-lú</i>	'strong' 'intelligent' 'respected' 'merciful, gracious'
- <i>súz</i>	(adjective-deriving)	e.g. <i>guž-lú</i> <i>aq'ul-lú</i> <i>hürmet-lú</i> <i>merhemet-lú</i>	'powerless' 'stupid' 'disrespectful' 'merciless'
- <i>dár</i>	(adjective-deriving)	e.g. <i>amal-dár</i> <i>teref-dár</i> <i>xabar-dár</i> <i>žawab-dár</i>	'cunning' 'partisan' 'informed' 'responsible'
- <i>kár</i>	(noun-deriving)	e.g. <i>fitne-kár</i> <i>peše-kár</i> <i>taxsir-kár</i> <i>däwe-kár</i>	'slanderer' 'craftsman' 'culprit' 'war-monger'

One prefix can perhaps be said to be stress-attracting: the prefix *běj-*, e.g.:

<i>běj-wafa</i>	'treacherous'	<i>běj-mirwet</i>	'ruthless'
<i>běj-ğejrat</i>	'pusillanimous'	<i>běj-teref</i>	'neutral'
<i>běj-hal</i>	'weak'	<i>běj-xabar</i>	'uninformed'
<i>běj-kamal</i>	'stupid'	<i>běj-čara</i>	'helpless'

However, three words prefixed with *bej-* are stressed on the second syllable in Hažiev & Hajdarov & Mejlanova (1964): *bejkár* 'jobless', *bejábür* 'shameless', *bejkéf* 'offended'.

The other prefixes (the negative prefix *tA-*, *tU-*, the preverbs) behave as if they were part of the root.

6.2.2. Stress-neutral suffixes

While many stem- and word-deriving suffixes are stress-attracting, almost all the inflectional suffixes in the strict sense (local cases, tense and mood suffixes, etc.) are stress-neutral (or stress-rejecting), i.e. they never bear stress.

However, some stem-deriving and word-deriving suffixes are also stress-neutral.

The large number of stress-neutral suffixes, which often combine with monosyllabic roots, lead to the situation that polysyllabic word forms stressed on the first syllable are as common as polysyllabic word forms stressed on the second syllable, although the overwhelming majority of polysyllabic roots are stressed on the second syllable.

The stress-neutral suffixes are:

-ar	(plural)	e.g. <i>nér-ar</i>	'noses'
-di	(oblique stem)	<i>čán-di</i>	'soul'
-i	(oblique stem)	<i>č'ug-ú-n-i</i>	'pulling (Erg.)'
-aj	(Elative)	<i>šatr-di-k-aj</i>	'about the poet (Sbel.)'
-di	(Directive)	<i>gil-í-w-di</i>	'with the hand (Addir.)'
-iz	(Infinitive)	<i>hált-iz</i>	'to meet'
-un	(Masdar)	<i>hált-un</i>	'(the) meeting'
-na	(Aorist)	<i>hált-na</i>	'met'
-z(a)wa	(Imperfective)	<i>hált-zawa</i>	'is meeting'
-n(a)wa	(Perfect)	<i>hált-nawa</i>	'has met'
-da	(Future)	<i>hált-da</i>	'will meet'
-raj	(Optative)	<i>hált-raj</i>	'may...meet'
-mir	(Prohibitive)	<i>hált-mir</i>	'don't meet!'
-a	(Imperative)	<i>hált-a</i>	'meet!'
-aj	(Aorist participle)	<i>hált-aj</i>	'(having) met'
-la	(Temporal converb)	<i>hált-aj-la</i>	'when...met'
-daldi	(Posterior converb)	<i>hált-daldi</i>	'until...meets'
-n(a)maz(di)	(Imm.-Ant. conv.)	<i>hált-namaz(di)</i>	'as soon as...met'
-lda	(Hearsay Evidential)	<i>hált-zawa-lda</i>	'is meeting, as one says'
-ni	(Interrogative)	<i>hált-na-ni?</i>	'did...meet?'
-t'a	(Conditional)	<i>hált-aj-t'a</i>	'if...meets'
-ni	(additive suffix)	<i>Salím-ni</i>	'and Salim; Salim, too'
-wal	(abstract noun)	<i>pís-wal</i>	'badness'
-ra	(multiplicative)	<i>púd-ra</i>	'three times'
-dakaz	(deadjectival adverb)	<i>pís-dakaz</i>	'badly'
-diz	(deadjectival adverb)	<i>pís-diz</i>	'badly'
-či	(agent suffix)	<i>čaj-či</i>	'tea drinker'
		<i>páj-či</i>	'shareholder'
		<i>fál-či</i>	'fortuneteller'
-xana	(house suffix)	<i>čaj-xana</i>	'tea-house'
		<i>čajp-xana</i>	'publishing house'
		<i>ktáb-xana</i>	'library'
-ar-	(causative verb-deriving suffix)		
		<i>q^hsán-ar-un</i>	'make good'
		<i>kát-ar-un</i>	'make run'

6.3. Stress in post-syncope Lezgian

The rules of stress placement are not altered dramatically by vowel syncope. One might expect that since the first syllable drops in many cases, the general rule of stress on the first syllable is no longer valid. However, the domain in which this rule is affected by syncope is very limited: only trisyllabic roots that used to be stressed on the second syllable now come to have initial stress (e.g. *xüşrekan* 'spider' /χ^hʃrek^han/), thus joining the already substantial class of loanwords with initial stress (e.g. *šéher* 'town', cf. (120)). Disyllabic roots come to be monosyllabic and monosyllabic roots lose their root syllable, so that there cannot be any change in the stress placement rule.

In this connection it is important to note that the syncopated syllable always counts as present in morphological rules that are sensitive to the number of syllables (e.g. oblique stem formation, 7.1.2.2., A; plural formation, 7.1.1., A; Aorist participle formation, 9.1.5.2.). This condition disallows native stress-attracting suffixes to attach to newly monosyllabic roots, so that the old rules of stress placement remain in force.

Chapter 7

Noun morphology

7.1. Nominal inflection

7.1.1. Plural formation

The plural is generally formed with the stress-attracting suffix *-Ar* or its stress-neutral variant *-ar* (7.1.1.1.-4.). Minor patterns are described below in 7.1.1.5.-9.

7.1.1.1. The default plural suffix is stress-neutral *-ar*. Almost all polysyllabic nouns (with the exception of the cases mentioned in 7.1.1.6.) form their plural in *-ar*. E.g.

<i>muhmán</i>	<i>muhmán-ar</i>	'guests'
<i>balk'án</i>	<i>balk'án-ar</i>	'horses'
<i>penžér</i>	<i>penžér-ar</i>	'windows'

7.1.1.2. Nouns ending in a vowel (regardless of the number of syllables) also form their plural in *-ar*, but a *j* is inserted to avoid the hiatus. E.g.

<i>didé</i>	<i>didé-jar</i>	'mothers'
<i>güzgü'</i>	<i>güzgü'-jar</i>	'mirrors'
<i>li</i>	<i>lí-jar</i>	'hides'

7.1.1.3. Most monosyllabic nouns that end in a consonant form their plural in *-Ar*, i.e. *-ar* or *-er* as determined by Palatal Vowel Harmony (4.4.1.) (for exceptions see 7.1.1.4.-5., 7.1.1.7.-8.). E.g.

<i>tar</i>	<i>tar-ár</i>	'trees'
<i>tum</i>	<i>tum-ár</i>	'tails'
<i>pel</i>	<i>pel-ér</i>	'foreheads'
<i>ğil</i>	<i>ğil-ér</i>	'hands'
<i>ğül</i>	<i>ğül-ér</i>	'husbands'

This pattern also applies to many monosyllabic loanwords, e.g. *park-ár* 'parks', *fil-ér* 'elephants'.

7.1.1.4. Many monosyllabic loanwords take the default suffix *-ar*, e.g.

<i>pek</i>	<i>pék-ar</i>	'silk'
<i>tek</i>	<i>ték-ar</i>	'unit'
<i>tip</i>	<i>típ-ar</i>	'type'

A few native monosyllabic nouns also show this suffix:

<i>ner</i>	<i>nér-ar</i>	'noses'
<i>čín</i>	<i>čín-ar</i>	'faces'
<i>kar</i>	<i>kár-ar</i>	'enclosure'
<i>kür</i>	<i>kü'r-ar</i>	'shed'

A diachronic explanation has been given for these cases: These words used to be disyllabic but lost their first syllable (Žirkov 1941:48).

7.1.1.5. A few monosyllabic nouns with a back stem vowel form their plural idiosyncratically in *-ér*:

<i>kal</i>	<i>kal-ér</i>	'cows'
<i>kac</i>	<i>kac-ér</i>	'cats'
<i>k'an</i>	<i>k'an-ér</i>	'bottoms'

Likewise: *k'wač* 'foot', *k'wal* 'house', *čwan* 'stone', *wan* 'voice', *kul* 'bush, bunch', *k'ul* 'shoulder', *xwal* 'ditch, furrow'. As Žirkov (1941:48) observes, it is striking that most of these nouns begin with a voiceless velar or uvular consonant.

7.1.1.6. Nouns derived with the suffix *-wal* (cf. 7.3.1.1.) form their plural in *-er*.

<i>šád-wal</i>	<i>šád-wil-er</i>	'lit. joys'
<i>žumárt-wal</i>	<i>žumárt-wil-er</i>	'lit. generosityes'

7.1.1.7. A few monosyllabic nouns have the suffix *-lAr*, i.e. *-lar* or *-ler* as determined by Palatal Vowel Harmony.

<i>bağ</i>	<i>bağ-lár</i>	'gardens'
<i>dağ</i>	<i>dağ-lár</i>	'mountains'
<i>el</i>	<i>el-lér</i>	'nations'
<i>čül</i>	<i>čül-lér</i>	'steppes'
<i>sel</i>	<i>sel-lér</i>	'downpours, floods'
<i>dew</i>	<i>dew-lér</i>	'dragons'
<i>beg</i>	<i>beg-lér</i>	'beggars'

-lAr is a loan suffix from Turkic. All these nouns are Turkic loanwords.

7.1.1.8. A few nouns have the suffix *-Arar*, a sort of reduplicated version of *-Ar*.

<i>mäs</i>	<i>mäs-érar</i>	'soft boots'
<i>rak</i>	<i>rak'-árar</i>	'doors'
<i>p'uz</i>	<i>p'uz-árar</i>	'lips'
<i>žin</i>	<i>žin-érar</i>	'ghosts'
<i>tab</i>	<i>tap-árar</i>	'lies'
<i>jug</i>	<i>jug-árar</i>	'reaped grain'
<i>q'en</i>	<i>q'en-érar</i>	'stalks of creeping plants'
<i>ğel</i>	<i>ğel-érar</i>	'sled(ge)'
<i>q'en</i>	<i>q'en-érar</i>	'stalk of creeping plants'
<i>seb</i>	<i>sep-érar</i>	'abuse, curse'
<i>č'af</i>	<i>č'af-árar</i>	'kind of plums'

Note that some of these denote things that typically occur in pairs or in groups. This provides a clue for the diachronic origin of *-Arar*: In such nouns it was natural for the plural to be reinterpreted as the basic form, to which another plural suffix *-ar* was then attached. However, the old monosyllabic basic forms continue to exist as singulars in these cases.

7.1.1.9. The substantivizing affix on adjectives is *-bur* in the plural (*-d* in the singular, cf. 8.1.)

jaru 'red' *jaru-di* 'red one' *jaru-bur* 'red ones'

7.1.1.10. The standard language has adopted special conventions for plurals of certain Russian loanwords.

(A) Russian nouns ending in *-CR* (where *R* is a sonorant) have plurals in *-ajar* or *-ijar*.

<i>centr</i>	<i>centr-ajar</i>	'centers'
<i>metr</i>	<i>metr-ijar</i>	'meters'
<i>nerv</i>	<i>nerv-ijar</i>	'nerves'
<i>kombajn</i>	<i>kombajn-ijar</i>	'combine harvester'

(B) Russian nouns ending in *-ie*, *-oe*, or *-ee* have plurals in *-ijar*.

<i>sobranie</i>	<i>sobran-ijar</i>	'gatherings'
<i>suščestvitel'noe</i>	<i>suščestvitel'n-ijar</i>	'substantives'
<i>podležaščee</i>	<i>podležašč-ijar</i>	'subjects'

(C) Russian nouns ending in *-ja* have plurals in *-(ja)r*.

<i>partija</i>	<i>partija-r</i>	'parties'
<i>statuja</i>	<i>statuja-r</i>	'statues'
<i>ideja</i>	<i>ideja-r</i>	'ideas'

When the plural suffix is not stressed, its vowel is syncopated before a following vowel-initial oblique stem suffix (cf. 4.1.2.2.).

simple stem:	oblique stem:	
<i>muhman-ar</i>	<i>muhman-r-i</i>	'guests'
<i>buba-jar</i>	<i>buba-jr-i</i>	'fathers'
<i>p'uz-arar</i>	<i>p'uz-arr-i</i>	'lips'
<i>jaru-bur</i>	<i>jaru-b(u)r-i</i>	'red ones'

In the last case of the suffix *-bur* the *u* is usually retained in the spelling but it is not pronounced.

An exception is the plural suffix *-er* of *-wal*-nouns (7.1.1.6.), which does not undergo syncope:

q'ehälwil-er *q'ehälwil-er-i* 'braveries, feats'

7.1.2. Case formation

7.1.2.1. Introduction. There are eighteen cases in Lezgian: four grammatical ones (Absolutive, Ergative, Genitive, Dative) and fourteen local cases divided into five localizations (Ad, Post, Sub, Super, In), each of which has three locatives (Essive, Elative, Directive) One combination, the "In-Directive", is missing, so there are only $3 \times 5 - 1 = 14$ combinations.

To start with a concrete example, the singular inflection of *sew* 'bear' is:

Absolutive	<i>sew</i>	'the bear'
Ergative	<i>sew-re</i>	'the bear'
Genitive	<i>sew-re-n</i>	'of the bear'
Dative	<i>sew-re-z</i>	'to the bear'
AdeSSive	<i>sew-re-w</i>	'at the bear'
Adelative	<i>sew-re-w-aj</i>	'from the bear'
Adirective	<i>sew-re-w-di</i>	'toward the bear'
Postessive	<i>sew-re-q^h</i>	'behind the bear'
Postelative	<i>sew-re-q^h-aj</i>	'from behind the bear'
Postdirective	<i>sew-re-q^h-di</i>	'to behind the bear'
Subessive	<i>sew-re-k</i>	'under the bear'
Subelative	<i>sew-re-k-aj</i>	'from under the bear'
Subdirective	<i>sew-re-k-di</i>	'to under the bear'
Superessive	<i>sew-re-l</i>	'on the bear'
Superelative	<i>sew-re-l-aj</i>	'off the bear'
Superdirective	<i>sew-re-ldi</i>	'onto the bear'
Inessive	<i>sew-re</i>	'in the bear'
Inelative	<i>sew-räj</i>	'out of the bear'

The translations are merely illustrative; for more on the meanings of the individual cases see 7.2.2. Note that the specific local relations that were originally expressed by the local cases are now generally expressed by postpositions, while the local cases mainly express more abstract senses.

The main difficulty is the formation of the oblique stem from the simple stem (7.1.2.2.). Otherwise case inflection is straightforward and regular for all declinable words (except for a few irregularities in pronouns, cf. 11.1.). The Absolutive case is identical to the basic stem, and the Ergative case is identical to the oblique stem. The Genitive and Dative cases are formed by adding *-n* and *-z*, respectively, to the oblique stem. The localizations are formed from the oblique stem by adding their characteristic consonants *-w* (Ad), *-q^h* (Post), *-k* (Sub), respectively, and the Elative and Directive suffixes *-aj* and *-di* are added to the localization suffixes. Only the In localization (7.1.2.3.) and the Super localization (7.1.2.4.) require further comment.

7.1.2.2. The oblique stem. The oblique stem (=Ergative case) is formed with one of the ten affixes

<i>-di</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>-Adi</i>
<i>-rA</i>	<i>-Uni</i>	<i>-A</i>	<i>-U</i>	<i>-ci / -c'i / -č'i / -č'i / -ži</i>

(A) The default oblique stem suffix is *-di*. Polysyllabic nouns almost always form their oblique stem in *-di* (for exceptions, see (B), (C)).

<i>bubá</i>	obl. <i>bubá-di</i>	'father'
<i>balk'án</i>	obl. <i>balk'án-di</i>	'horse'
<i>Alí</i>	obl. <i>Alí-di</i>	'Ali (personal name)'

The default suffix is also used for monosyllabic words ending in a vowel, monosyllabic loanwords, and abbreviations.

<i>pi</i>	obl. <i>pi-di</i>	'tallow'
<i>fil</i>	obl. <i>fil-di</i>	'elephant'
<i>TASS</i>	obl. <i>TASS-di</i>	'TASS (Soviet news agency)'

(B) Personal names ending in a consonant always form their Ergative in *-a*.

<i>Fartd</i>	obl. <i>Fartd-a</i>	'Farid'
<i>Čéxov</i>	obl. <i>Čéxov-a</i>	'Chekhov'

This is also true for native personal names derived from common nouns. These have a different oblique stem when they are used as common nouns, e.g. *cükw-er* 'flowers', obl. *cükw-er-i*; but *Cükwer* (female personal name), obl. *Cükwer-a*. The suffix *-a* also occurs in the oblique variant of the substantivizing suffix (8.1.1.), e.g. *jaru-di* 'red one (Absolutive)', oblique stem *jaru-da*.

The oblique stem suffix *-a* is also used in a small number of common nouns, e.g.

<i>apaj</i>	obl. <i>apaj-a</i>	'father-in-law'
<i>q'üzek</i>	obl. <i>q'üzek-a</i>	'old man'

(C) Abstract nouns derived with *-wal* (7.3.1.1.) and Masdars (verbal nouns, 9.3.1.1.) in *-(u)n* form their oblique stem in *-i*.

<i>jaru-wal</i>	obl. <i>jarú-wil-i</i>	'redness'
<i>k'él-un</i>	obl. <i>k'él-un-i</i>	'learning'
<i>q't-n</i>	obl. <i>q't-n-i</i>	'dying'
<i>fi-n-if</i>	obl. <i>fi-n-if-i</i>	'going'

This is also the pattern for all plural suffixes except *-bur* (for which see (D) below).

<i>balk'an-ar</i>	obl. <i>balk'án-r-i</i>	'horses'
<i>buba-jar</i>	obl. <i>bubá-jr-i</i>	'fathers'
<i>dağ-lar</i>	obl. <i>dağ-lár-i</i>	'mountains'

There are a few non-derived nouns that take the oblique suffix *-i* in the singular. Some of them end in *-(u)n* or *-r*, which suggests that they represent old lexicalized Masdar forms and former *pluralia tantum* which have been reanalyzed as singulars.

<i>dugun</i>	obl. <i>dugún-i</i>	'valley'
<i>rufun</i>	obl. <i>rufún-i</i>	'stomach'
<i>can</i>	obl. <i>cán-i</i>	'tillage'
<i>axwar</i>	obl. <i>axwár-i</i>	'sleep'
<i>meq^{her}</i>	obl. <i>meq^hér-i</i>	'wedding'
<i>ğucar</i>	obl. <i>ğucár-i</i>	'god'
<i>q'ular</i>	obl. <i>q'ulár-i</i>	'mousetrap'
<i>gurar</i>	obl. <i>gurár-i</i>	'stairs'
<i>suwar</i>	obl. <i>suwár-i</i>	'holiday'
<i>gatfar</i>	obl. <i>gatfár-i</i>	'spring'
<i>purar</i>	obl. <i>purár-i</i>	'saddle'
<i>cwal</i>	obl. <i>cwál-i</i>	'seam'
<i>cur</i>	obl. <i>cúr-i</i>	'shed'
<i>čin</i>	obl. <i>čín-i</i>	'face'
<i>ner</i>	obl. <i>nér-i</i>	'nose'
<i>q'wan</i>	obl. <i>q'wán-i</i>	'hallway'

In some monosyllabic nouns (mainly those that have an irregular plural in *-er*, 7.1.1.5.), the oblique suffix *-i* is stressed.

<i>k'wač</i>	obl. <i>k'wač-í</i>	'foot'
<i>k'wal</i>	obl. <i>k'wal-í</i>	'house'
<i>k'an</i>	obl. <i>k'an-í</i>	'bottom'
<i>kal</i>	obl. <i>kal-í</i>	'cow'
<i>kac</i>	obl. <i>kac-í</i>	'cat'

(D) Plurals in *-bur* (7.1.1.(I)) form their oblique stem with *-u*:

<i>jaru-bur</i>	obl. <i>jarú-bur-u</i>	'red ones'
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The remaining six oblique stem suffixes are only used with monosyllabic nouns. They are all stress-attracting.

(E) *-Adi* is used with nouns that denote a non-discrete mass, e.g.

<i>nek</i>	obl. <i>nek'-édi</i>	'milk'
<i>c'ap</i>	obl. <i>c'ap-ádi</i>	'manure'
<i>čig</i>	obl. <i>čig-édi</i>	'dew'

(F) *-ra* is used with most native monosyllabic nouns that denote animals:

<i>cegw</i>	obl. <i>cekw-re</i>	'ant'
<i>lam</i>	obl. <i>lam-ra</i>	'donkey'

In a few isolated cases *-ra* is also used with nouns that denote people and inanimate objects:

<i>luk'</i>	obl. <i>luk'-ra</i>	'slave'
<i>čam</i>	obl. <i>čam-ra</i>	'bridegroom'
<i>warz</i>	obl. <i>wac-ra</i>	'moon; month'

In nouns with the syllable structure *CVrC* (like *warz*), *r* is dropped (cf. 5.14.).

The distribution of the remaining four oblique stem suffixes apparently does not follow from any semantic, morphological, or phonological principles. It has to be learned and remembered individually for each lexical item.

(G) *-Uni* is the only stress-attracting oblique stem suffix that appears to be productive. It is also used with loanwords.

<i>kam</i>	obl. <i>kam-úni</i>	'trap'
<i>c'il</i>	obl. <i>c'il-íni</i>	'rope'
<i>üft</i>	obl. <i>üft-ü'ni</i>	'whistle'
<i>park</i>	obl. <i>park-úni</i>	'park'
<i>cirk</i>	obl. <i>cirk-íni</i>	'circus'

Two nouns with the root vowel *a* have *-ini* rather than *-uni*:

<i>rağ</i>	obl. <i>rağ-íni</i>	'sun'
<i>rak</i>	obl. <i>rik'íni</i>	'door'

Note that *rak/rik'ini* also shows an idiosyncratic backwards vowel harmony alternation.

(H) Examples of nouns that take *-A*:

<i>luw</i>	obl. <i>luw-á</i>	'wing'
<i>q'el</i>	obl. <i>q'el-é</i>	'salt'
<i>qür</i>	obl. <i>qür-é</i>	'hare'

(I) Examples of nouns that take *-U*:

<i>q'ünt</i>	obl. <i>q'ünt-ü'</i>	'elbow'
<i>siw</i>	obl. <i>siw-í</i>	'mouth'
<i>čarx</i>	obl. <i>čarx-ú</i>	'rock'

(J) Examples of nouns that take *-c'í/-c'í'/-č'í/-č'í'/-ž* (the different variants arise by Affricate Assimilation, cf. 5.13.):

<i>par</i>	obl. <i>par-c'í</i>	'load'
<i>swar</i>	obl. <i>swar-c'í</i>	'crack'
<i>ğwar</i>	obl. <i>ğwar-c'í</i>	'log; leaven'
<i>ğel</i>	obl. <i>ğel-c'í</i>	'sled(ge)'
<i>ğul</i>	obl. <i>ğul-c'í</i>	'tall box for sled(ge)'
<i>k'ar</i>	obl. <i>k'ar-c'í'</i>	'rolling pin'
<i>q'ew</i>	obl. <i>q'ew-c'í'</i>	'one of the wives of the same husband'
<i>čar</i>	obl. <i>čar-č'í</i>	'paper; letter'
<i>č'ar</i>	obl. <i>č'ar-č'í'</i>	'hair'
<i>žin</i>	obl. <i>žin-ží</i>	'ghost'

Etymologically, *-c'í* goes back to **-d'í* and represents the stressed counterpart of *-di* in (A) above.

7.1.2.3. The In Localization. This localization is unique in not having a characteristic consonant. Instead, it is marked by lowering the final vowel of the oblique stem. In this way, stressed *-ú*, *-ü*, *-í* become *-á*, *-é*, *-é*, while unstressed *-u* and *-a* both become *-a* (except with the abstract suffix *-wil*, where *-i* is lowered to *-e*). If the final vowel of the oblique stem is already low, the Inessive is identical to the oblique stem (and thereby to the Ergative case). In the following examples, the oblique stem suffix is separated by a period, while the lowered vowel of the Inessive is separated by a hyphen.

oblique stem	Inessive	Inelative	
<i>Afrika.di</i>	<i>Afrika.d-a</i>	<i>Afrika.d-aj</i>	'Africa'
<i>nek'.édi</i>	<i>nek'.éd-a</i>	<i>nek'.éd-aj</i>	'milk'
<i>park.úni</i>	<i>park.ún-a</i>	<i>park.ún-aj</i>	'park'
<i>šehér-r.i</i>	<i>šehér-r-a</i>	<i>šehér-r-aj</i>	'town'
<i>q^hsánwil.i</i>	<i>q^hsánwil-e</i>	<i>q^hsánwil-áj</i>	'goodness'
<i>q̄acú-bur.u</i>	<i>q̄acú-bur-a</i>	<i>q̄acú-bur-aj</i>	'green ones'
<i>q̄ül.ü</i>	<i>q̄ül-é</i>	<i>q̄ül-ä'j</i>	'wheat'
<i>čarx.ú</i>	<i>čarx-á</i>	<i>čarx-áj</i>	'rock'
<i>čar.čí</i>	<i>čar.č-é</i>	<i>čar.č-ä'j</i>	'paper'
<i>Murád.a</i>	<i>Murád-a</i>	<i>Murád-aj</i>	'Murad'
<i>q̄acú-da</i>	<i>q̄acú-d-a</i>	<i>q̄acú-d-aj</i>	'green one'
<i>č'iz.ré</i>	<i>č'iz.r-é</i>	<i>č'iz.r-ä'j</i>	'bee'
<i>luw.á</i>	<i>luw-á</i>	<i>luw-áj</i>	'wing'

As the above examples also show, the addition of the Elative suffix *-aj* leads to the omission of one *a* if the Inessive ends in *-a*, and to the ending *-áj* if the Inessive ends in *-e*.

7.1.2.4. The Super localization. The characteristic consonant of the Super localization is *-l*, which is added not directly to the oblique stem like the Ad, Sub, and Post suffixes, but to a form of the oblique stem whose final vowel has been lowered. Alternatively, one could say that the *-l* is attached to the Inessive case.

Inessive	Superessive	Superelative	
<i>Afrika.d-a</i>	<i>Afrika.da-l</i>	<i>Afrika.di-laj</i>	'Africa'
<i>nek'.éd-a</i>	<i>nek'.éda-l</i>	<i>nek'.édi-laj</i>	'milk'
<i>park.ún-a</i>	<i>park.úna-l</i>	<i>park.úni-laj</i>	'park'
<i>šehér-r-a</i>	<i>šehér-r.a-l</i>	<i>šehér-r.i-laj</i>	'town'
<i>q^hsánwil-e</i>	<i>q^hsánwil.e-l</i>	<i>q^hsánwil.e-laj</i>	'goodness'
<i>q̄acú-bur-a</i>	<i>q̄acú-bur.a-l</i>	<i>q̄acú-bur.u-laj</i>	'green ones'
<i>q̄ül-é</i>	<i>q̄ül.é-l</i>	<i>q̄ül.é-laj</i>	'wheat'
<i>čarx-á</i>	<i>čarx.á-l</i>	<i>čarx.á-laj</i>	'rock'
<i>čar.č-é</i>	<i>čar.čé-l</i>	<i>čar.čé-laj</i>	'paper'
<i>Murád-a</i>	<i>Murád.a-l</i>	<i>Murád.a-laj</i>	'Murad'
<i>q̄acu-da</i>	<i>q̄acu-da-l</i>	<i>q̄acu-da-laj</i>	'green one'
<i>č'iz.r-é</i>	<i>č'iz.ré-l</i>	<i>č'iz.ré-laj</i>	'bee'
<i>luw-á</i>	<i>luw.á-l</i>	<i>luw.á-laj</i>	'wing'

The Superdirective is formed completely regularly from the Superessive by adding the Directive suffix *-di*, but a further complication arises in the Superrelative case: Here the final vowel of the oblique stem suffix is lowered only when it is stressed, as shown in the examples above.

7.1.2.5. The reduced Genitive. When the oblique stem suffix is unstressed and ends in *-i*, a reduced Genitive form is possible in which the ending *-in* is dropped, e.g.

		full Genitive	reduced Genitive
<i>dide</i>	'mother'	<i>didé-di-n</i>	<i>didéd</i>
<i>ič</i>	'apple'	<i>ič-tni</i>	<i>ičtn</i>

The reduced Genitive is used especially when the noun is interpreted non-referentially, and corresponds to a first compound member in English.

<i>dided č'al</i>	'mother tongue'
<i>ič'in tar</i>	'apple tree'
<i>kakad laz</i>	'egg-white'

Talibov (1985) describes a special use of the plural of the substantivized form of the reduced Genitive of proper names and some kinship terms, such as *didedbur* (lit. 'those of mother'), *Alidbur* (lit. 'those of Ali'). According to Talibov, such forms mean 'mother and those surrounding her', 'Ali and those surrounding him', e.g.

- (124) a. *Dide-d-bur bazar.di-z fe-na.* (Talibov 1985:91)
 mother-GEN-SBST.PL market-DAT go-AOR

'Mother and those with her went to the market.'

- b. *Ruš Suna xala-d-bur.u-n k'wal galaj pataq^h fe-na.*
 girl Suna aunt-GEN-SBST.PL-GEN house toward go-AOR

'The girl went to the house of Suna-xala and her family.' (R66:16)

- c. *Wil-er.a-l nağw ala-z ruš buba-d-bur.u-n*
 [eye-PL-SRESS tear be.on-IMC] girl father-GEN-SBST.PL-GEN

k'wal.i-z xkwe-zwa. (§77:32)
 house-DAT return-IMPF

'The girl returns to her father's house with tears in her eyes.'

Talibov calls this form the "limited (or paucal) number".

7.1.3. Alternations

For consonant and vowel alternations that occur in plural formation and case formation, cf. Chapter 5.

7.1.4. Irregularities

The following is a complete list of irregular nouns.

Absolutive Singular	oblique stem	Absolutive plural	
<i>fu</i>	<i>f-a</i>	<i>far / fuar</i>	'bread'
<i>c'aj</i>	<i>c'-u</i>	<i>c'ajar</i> (regular)	'fire'
<i>jad</i>	<i>c-i</i>	<i>jatar</i> (regular)	'water'
<i>xwa</i>	<i>xc-i</i>	<i>ruxwajar</i>	'son'
<i>juǵ</i>	<i>jiǵ-a</i>	<i>jiǵar</i>	'day'
<i>jis</i>	<i>(ji)s-a</i>	<i>(ji)sar</i>	'year'
<i>jif</i>	<i>(ji)f-e</i>	<i>(ji)fer</i>	'night'
<i>jis</i>	<i>(ji)s-u</i>	<i>(ji)sar</i>	'wool'
<i>sas</i>	<i>sar-a</i>	<i>sar-ar</i>	'incisor'
<i>dert</i>	<i>derd-ini</i>	<i>derd-er</i>	'sorrow, grief'

The noun *waxt* 'time' is unique in having an irregular Inessive case *waxtunda* 'at a time'. See also 12.1.2.4. for temporal nouns with an irregular Dative case, and 11.1. for some irregular pronouns.

7.1.5. Illustrative paradigms

All rules of nominal inflection have been given above. The following paradigms serve only as illustrations of various types of inflection. Only eight cases are given, because the others can be derived very easily from the ones given here.

	'mother'	'mothers'	'Farid'	'wing'	'wheat'
ABS	<i>didé</i>	<i>didéjar</i>	<i>Faríd</i>	<i>luw</i>	<i>ǵül</i>
ERG	<i>didédi</i>	<i>didéjri</i>	<i>Farída</i>	<i>luwá</i>	<i>ǵülü'</i>
GEN	<i>didédin</i>	<i>didéjrin</i>	<i>Farídan</i>	<i>luwán</i>	<i>ǵülü'n</i>
ADESS	<i>didédiw</i>	<i>didéjriw</i>	<i>Farídaw</i>	<i>luwáw</i>	<i>ǵülü'w</i>
INESS	<i>didéda</i>	<i>didéjra</i>	<i>Farída</i>	<i>luwá</i>	<i>ǵülé</i>
INEL	<i>didédaj</i>	<i>didéjraj</i>	<i>Farídaj</i>	<i>luwáj</i>	<i>ǵülä'j</i>
SRESS	<i>didédal</i>	<i>didéjral</i>	<i>Farídal</i>	<i>luwál</i>	<i>ǵülél</i>
SREL	<i>didédilaj</i>	<i>didéjrilaj</i>	<i>Farídalaj</i>	<i>luwálaj</i>	<i>ǵülélaj</i>
PL	<i>didéjar</i>			<i>luwár</i>	<i>ǵülér</i>
	'salt'	'face'	'roof'	'ghost'	'bottom'
ABS	<i>q'el</i>	<i>čín</i>	<i>ǵaw</i>	<i>žin</i>	<i>k'an</i>
ERG	<i>q'elé</i>	<i>číní</i>	<i>ǵawú</i>	<i>žinžt</i>	<i>k'aní</i>
GEN	<i>q'elén</i>	<i>čínin</i>	<i>ǵawún</i>	<i>žinžín</i>	<i>k'anín</i>
ADESS	<i>q'eléw</i>	<i>číníw</i>	<i>ǵawúw</i>	<i>žinžíw</i>	<i>k'aníw</i>
INESS	<i>q'elé</i>	<i>čína</i>	<i>ǵawá</i>	<i>žinžé</i>	<i>k'ané</i>
INEL	<i>q'elä'j</i>	<i>čínaj</i>	<i>ǵawáj</i>	<i>žinžä'j</i>	<i>k'anä'j</i>
SRESS	<i>q'elél</i>	<i>čínal</i>	<i>ǵawál</i>	<i>žinžél</i>	<i>k'anél</i>
SREL	<i>q'elélaj</i>	<i>čínilaj</i>	<i>ǵawálaj</i>	<i>žinžélaj</i>	<i>k'anélaj</i>
PL	<i>q'elér</i>	<i>čínar</i>	<i>ǵawár</i>	<i>žinérar</i>	<i>k'anér</i>

7.2. Functions of nominal inflectional categories

7.2.1. Functions of the plural

The plural indicates plurality of objects, e.g. *ktab* 'book', *ktab-ar* 'books'. (Note that the singular is used when the noun is modified by a cardinal numeral, e.g. *wad ktāb* 'five books' (**wad ktabar*); cf. 13.1.1.)

However, the plural can also be formed from non-count nouns, and then the meaning it conveys is not so straightforward. Examples are:

(125)	<i>rug</i>	<i>rukwar</i>	'dust'
	<i>nek</i>	<i>nek'er</i>	'milk'
	<i>q'el</i>	<i>q'eler</i>	'salt'
	<i>wirt</i>	<i>wirt'er</i>	'honey'
	<i>mürq^h</i>	<i>mürq^her</i>	'rust'

The plural of such nouns is rarely used, and it seems to imply a great quantity, e.g.

(126)	<i>Nek'-er bul</i>	<i>ǰu-raj.</i>
	milk-PL abundant	be-OPT
	'May the milk be abundant.'	

Plurals can also be formed from nouns denoting unique objects (127) and from nouns denoting abstract concepts (128), as well as from surnames (129).

(127)	<i>raǰ</i>	<i>raǰar</i>	'sun'
(128)	<i>ǰumartwal</i>	<i>ǰumartwiler</i>	'generosity'
	<i>stxawal</i>	<i>stxawiler</i>	'brotherhood'
(129)	<i>Arabov</i>	<i>Arabovar</i>	'the Arabovs (i.e. the family)'

There are also a number of *pluralia tantum* in Lezgian. They mostly denote substances or diseases, cf. (130). Russian *pluralia tantum* become Lezgian *pluralia tantum* when they are borrowed (131).

(130)	<i>ǰ'axar</i>	'groats'
	<i>kǰlar</i>	'roasted wheat with hemp'
	<i>jarar</i>	'measles'
	<i>p'ip'inar</i>	'soot'
(131)	<i>kanikular</i>	'vacation' (Russian <i>kanikuly</i>)
	<i>makaron-ar</i>	'macaroni' (Russian <i>makarony</i>)

These *pluralia tantum* must not be confused with nouns in *-ar/-er* that take the oblique suffix *-i* in the singular, e.g. *gurar* 'stairs', *purar* 'saddle', *meq^her* 'wedding' (7.1.2.2. (C)). These are apparently old *pluralia tantum*, but synchronically they behave like ordinary singular nouns and take the plural suffix *-ar* (*gurarar* 'staircases', *purarar* 'saddles', *meq^herar* 'wed-

dings'). Real *pluralia tantum* not only do not take an additional plural suffix (**jararar*), they also show plural agreement with substantivized predicative adjectives (8.1.1.3.), e.g.

- (132) *Jarar pis-bur ja.*
 measles bad-SBST.PL COP
 'Measles are bad.'

There are a few *pluralia tantum* that show mixed behavior, e.g. *surar* 'cemetery' (*sur* 'grave'), *reğwer* 'mill' (*reğw* 'mill, millstone'). These denote countable objects, but they do not take the plural suffix yet (**surarar*, **reğwerar*). They do, however, combine with quantifiers, e.g.

- (133) a. *sa surar*
 one cemetery
 'one cemetery'
 b. *gzaf reğwer*
 many mill
 'many mills'

With substantivized predicative adjectives they may take singular or plural agreement.

- (134) a. *Či šeher.di-n surar · jeke-bur/jeke-di ja.*
 we:GEN town-GEN cemetery big-SBST.PL/big-SBST.SG COP
 'Our town's cemetery is big.'
 b. *Alq'wadr.i-n reğwer kühne-di/kühne-bur ja.*
 Alq'wadar-GEN mill old-SBST.SG/old-SBST.PL COP
 'The mill in Alq'wadar (Alkadar) is old.'

Some Lezgian names of Lezgian villages are *pluralia tantum*, e.g.

- | (135) Lezgian name: | Russian name: | located in: |
|----------------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Alq'wadar</i> | <i>Alkadar</i> | Kasumkentskij rayon |
| <i>Axcehar</i> | <i>Axtj</i> | Axtynskij rayon |
| <i>Jalaq^har</i> | <i>Jalak</i> | Axtynskij rayon |
| <i>Štular</i> | <i>Štul</i> | Kuraxskij rayon |

7.2.2. Functions of the cases

7.2.2.1. **The Absolutive case.** Lezgian is ergative in the standard way: The Absolutive noun phrase is the single argument of an intransitive verb (136) or the patient/theme argument of a transitive verb (137).

- (136) *Kasbuba ħunš.di-q^h galaz sa xür.ü-z fi-zwa-j.* (X89:152)
 Kasbuba neighbor-POESS with one village-DAT go-IMPF-PST
 'Kasbuba was walking to a village together with a neighbor.'

- (137) *Sadiq'a jad q^hwa-na.* (J89:56)
 Sadiq'(ERG) water drink-AOR
 'Sadiq' drank water.'

The Absolutive case is also used with noun phrases in predicate nominal function (cf. 17.1.):

- (138) *Juğ näni xa-na.* (K88,9:5)
 day night become-AOR
 'The day became night.'

Some nouns denoting a span of time are used in the Absolutive to express duration:

- (139) *Emirmet.a sa ġweč'i geren Bedel.a ja-zawa-j*
 Emirmet(ERG) one small while [Bedel(ERG) hit-IMPF-PTP]
maq'am-r.i-z jab ga-na. (Q81:114)
 tune-PL-DAT ear give-AOR
 'For a short while Emirmet listened to the tunes Bedel was playing.'

The Absolutive case is used for vocative noun phrases:

- (140) *Čan bade, za-q^h axwar galama-č.* (A90:39)
 dear granny I-POESS sleep be.behind.still-NEG
 'Dear grandmother, I am not tired anymore.'

Finally, the Absolutive case has a number of special uses: (a) partitive phrases (cf. 14.2.2.), (b) apposition (cf. 14.3.), argument of the postposition *patal* (12.2.2.4.).

7.2.2.2. **The Ergative case.** The Ergative case marks the agent argument of transitive verbs.

- (141) *Ali.di axwar.i-q^h galaz gzaf waxt.ünd-a ženg č'ugu-na.*
 Ali(ERG) sleep-POESS with much time-INESS fight draw-AOR
 'Ali fought with sleep for a long time.' (J89:14)

The Ergative is also used for the single argument of contracted *awun*-compound verbs, e.g. *k'walaxun* (< *k'walax awun*) 'work', *sirnowun* (<

sirnaw awun) 'swim'. See 15.4.2. for more information on the valence patterns of *awun*-compounds.

- (142) *Mu'minat.a k'walax-zawa.*
 Muminat(ERG) work-IMPF
 'Mu'minat is working.'

There are no animacy restrictions on the transitive agent, e.g.

- (143) *Jac-ar.i-n krč-ar.i žanawur q'uluq^hdi gadar q^huwu-na.*
 ox-PL-GEN horn-PL(ERG) wolf back throw(PER) REPETAOR
 'The oxen's horns threw the wolf back again.' (K88,9:5)

Sometimes an instrumental function of the Ergative is cited in grammatical works, e.g. (144) from Talibov & Gadžiev (1966:552):

- (144) *Am t'ur.uni ne-z, tum.uni wil*
 he:ABS [spoon(ERG) eat-IMC] handle(ERG) eye
aq^hud-da-j-bur.u-kaj ja.
 take.out-FUT-PTP-SBST.PL-SBEL COP
 'He is one of those who eat with a spoon, [but] stab the eye with the [spoon's] handle.'

However, this construction is never used in the modern language, where the instrumental function is expressed by the Superrelative or Superessive cases (cf. 7.2.2.14., 7.2.2.16.).

7.2.2.3. The Genitive case. The Genitive has an array of functions that is typical for many languages. It expresses alienable and inalienable possession,

- (145) *Mizafer.a-n k'wal-er*
 Mizefer-GEN house-PL
 'Mizafer's house'
- (146) *Ahmed.a-n wan* (§77:5)
 Ahmed-GEN voice
 'Ahmed's voice'

a part-whole relationship,

- (147) *koridor.di-n cl-a* (Q81:43)
 hall-GEN wall-INESS
 'on the wall of the hall'

an A or S argument of a verb-derived noun (purely nominal Masdar, cf. 9.9.1.) (*genitivus subjectivus*),

- (148) a. *Abur.u turist-r.i-n raxu-n-r.i-z jab ga-na.* (Q81:43)
 they(ERG) tourist-PL-GEN talk-MSD-PL-DAT ear give-AOR

'They listened to the tourists' conversations.'

- b. *xalq'.di-n siw.i-n jaratmiš-un-ar* (X89:3)
 people-GEN mouth-GEN create-MSD-PL

'the creations of the people's mouth'

an S argument of an adjective-derived noun (*-wal* abstract noun, cf. 7.3.1.1.),

- (149) *Wi ümür.di-n jargiwil.i-n sir wuč ja?* (DD89,4:12)
 you:GEN life-GEN length-GEN secret what:ABS COP

'What is the secret of the length of your life?'

quality,

- (150) a. *Am ask'an buj.di-n, qumral jak'-ar.i-n žehil tir.* (M79:4)
 he:ABS low stature-GEN dark flesh-PL-GEN youth COP:PST

'He was a young man of low stature and dark complexion.'

- b. *q^hsan jeri.di-n tum-ar*
 good quality-GEN seed-PL

'seeds of good quality'

- c. *har žüre.di-n xürek-ar* (Š83:71)
 every kind-GEN food-PL

'dishes of every kind'

attributes,

- (151) a. *wad pip'.e-n jaru ğed* (J84:19)
 five edge-GEN red star

'a red star with five edges'

- b. *q'we merteba.di-n k'wal-er*
 two story-GEN house-PL

'a two-storey house'

material,

- (152) a. *marmar.di-n qwan* (J84:3)
 marble-GEN stone

'a marble stone'

- b. *qizil.di-n tup'al-ar* (K87,1:5)
 gold-GEN ring-PL

'golden rings'

and all sorts of other abstract relationships:

- (153) a. *Ada-n rik'-e mühübat.di-n c'elxem kük'ün-zawa-j.*
 she-GEN heart-INESS love-GEN spark burn-IMPF-PST
 'The spark of love was burning in her heart.' (S88:10)
- b. *Doroteja.di din.di-n qulluğčiwil.i-n kespi xkä-nawa.*
 Dorothea(ERG) religion-GEN service-GEN profession choose-PRF
 'Dorothea has chosen the profession of religious service.'
 (Ko90,2,7:4)

However, the Genitive cannot be used in constructions like 'the city of Bombay', which are expressed by an appositional constructions (14.3.).

A non-referential Genitive noun often corresponds to a Russian or English relational adjective, as in (154). Since Lezgian lacks special relational adjectives, this is the only way to express such notions.

- (154) a. *Kanada.di-n pačah.di-n balk'an-r.a-l-la-j-bur.u-n*
 Canada-GEN king-GEN horse-PL-SRESS-be.on-PTP-SBST.PL-GEN
policija (Ko89,9,17:3)
 police
 'the Royal Canadian Mounted police'
- b. *stxawil.i-n kümek* (DD71,2:10)
 brotherhood-GEN help
 'fraternal help' (lit. 'help of brotherhood')
- c. *literatura.di-n eser* (Mejlanova 1986:203)
 literature-GEN work
 'a literary work'

When it is non-referential, a Lezgian Genitive noun also often corresponds to an English first compound member.

- (155) *gat.u-n kanikul-ar* (M83:64)
 summer-GEN holiday-PL
 'summer vacation'

The Genitive has one non-adnominal use. The Genitive is used to express a distance with spatial expressions (cf. 156) or a time interval with temporal expressions (cf. 157).

- (156) a. *Ihtijatluwal patal a m sa kam.uni-n q'uluqh xa-na.*
 safety for he:ABS one step-GEN back become-AOR
 'For the sake of safety, he went back a step.' (DD77,1:12)

- b. *Wiči-waj sa šumud kam.uni-n jarg'a ada-z*
 self-ADEL one how.many step-GEN away he-DAT
ližen aku-na. (J89:20)
 horseshoe see-AOR

'A few steps away from him he saw a horseshoe.'

- (157) *Kolumb.a Amerika aq'aj-daldi 600 jis.a-n wilik*
 [Columbus(ERG) America open-POSTR] 600 year-GEN before
ina insan-ar jašamiš ša-na-j. (Ko89,10,13:3)
 here person-PL living be-AOR-PST

'People lived here 600 years before Columbus discovered the New World.'

This non-adnominal Genitive can also be used for abstract distances.

- (158) a. *Čna ada-laj sa šumud klass.di-n ağada k'el-zawa-j.*
 we:ERG he-SREL one how.many class-GEN below study-IMPF-PST
 'We were (studying) several classes below him.' (Du83,1:124)

- b. *Wad jis.a-n waxt.und-a promyšlennost.di-n*
 five year-GEN time-INESS [industry-GEN

produkcija hasil-un 42-46 procent.di-n artuxar-in.
 production produce-MSD] 42-46 percent-GEN increase-HORT

'Let us increase industrial production within five years by 42-46 percent.' (DD71,2:3)

Genitive NPs resemble adjectives in that they can be substantivized by means of the substantivizer *-di/-bur* (cf. 8.1.1.). This substantivization is obligatory when the Genitive NP is used predicatively, e.g.

- (159) a. *Balk'an wi-di tuš im či*
 horse you:GEN-SBST.SG COP:NEG this:ABS we:GEN
pačah.di-n-di ja. (X89:115)
 king-GEN-SBST.SG COP

'The horse is not yours, it's our king's.'

- b. *Axpa majdan či-di ja.* (M83:31)
 afterward place we:GEN-SBST.SG COP

'After that the place is ours.'

For a special use of the substantivized form of the reduced Genitive, cf. 7.1.2.5. (the "paucal plural").

Finally, the Genitive is governed by many postpositions, cf. 12.2.

7.2.2.4. The Dative case. This case expresses recipient, experiencer, direction, time, and the like. In its local directional meaning it replaces the missing "Indirective" case. Examples (160) and (161) show the recipient function with verbs of transfer of things (160) and information (161).

- (160) *Ruš.a gada.di-z cük ga-na.*
 girl(ERG) boy-DAT flower give-AOR
 'The girl gave a flower to the boy.'
- (161) a. *Ruš-ar.i Zubail.a-z ėp.i-n šeher ġalur-zawa* (Q81:43)
 girl-PL(ERG) Zubail-DAT selves-GEN town show-IMPf
 'The girls are showing Zubail their town.'
- b. *Direktor.di za-z ċuxsağul laha-na.* (K89,12:12)
 director(ERG) I-DAT thanks say-AOR
 'The director said thanks to me.'

The Dative marks a peripheral participant that is beneficially (cf. 162) or adversely (cf. 163) affected (benefactive/malefactive).

- (162) a. *Anglija.d-a lif.re-z gümbet ecig-nawa.* (K87,2:15)
 England-INESS dove-DAT gravestone build-PRF
 'In England a gravestone has been built for a dove.'
- b. *Za wa-z ada-n wiri simfoni-jar ja-da.* (DD77,1:12)
 I:ERG you-DAT he-GEN all symphony-PL play-FUT
 'I will play all his symphonies for you.'
- (163) a. *Čna a ġeġwerag Suna.di-z wuč-na q'wan?* (R66:26)
 we:ERG that poor Suna-DAT do.what-AOR PT
 'What did we do to that poor Suna?'
- b. *Cükwer.a-z ha i ċile-l insan-r.i žehennem*
 Cükwer-DAT that this earth-SRESS human-PL(ERG) hell
jaratmiš-nawa-j. (S88:35)
 create-PRF-PST
 'The people had created a hell on this earth for Cükwer.'

It can also express a possessive relationship with body parts, as in French or German:

- (164) *Gila kün ċ'exi ģa-nwa. Ğe=paka kwe-z*
 now you.all:ABS big become-PRF today=tomorrow you-DAT
spel-ar-ni eġeċ'-da. (A90:16)
 moustache-PL-too go.out-FUT
 'Now you have grown up. And soon moustaches will grow on you.'
 (German: *Bald werden euch Schnurrbärte wachsen.*)

The Dative marks experiencers of a small number of experiential verbs and a larger number of experiential constructions, cf. 15.4.1.

- (165) *Kasbuba.di-z tar.a-n xil.e-l zurba sa quš aku-na.*
 Kasbuba-DAT tree-GEN branch-SRESS big one bird see-AOR
 'Kasbuba saw a big bird on a tree's branch.' (X89:152)

The Dative also expresses the possessor in the construction with *awa* 'be' (17.6.1.). In this function it is interchangeable with the Postessive.

- (166) *Ada-z (=ada-^{qh}) xtul-ar awa.*
 she-DAT she-POESS grandchild-PL be.in
 'She has grandchildren.'

The Dative often has directional function, e.g.

- (167) a. *Pačah.di-n rik' ala-j dewe müq̄w.e-laj wac'.u-z*
 [king-GEN heart be.on-PTP] camel bridge-SREL river-DAT
awat-na. (Du85,3:115)
 fall.off-AOR
 'The king's favorite camel fell from the bridge into the river.'
- b. *Zun medinstitut.di-z fi-da.* (K89,7:0)
 I:ABS medical.school-DAT go-FUT
 'I'll go to medical school.'

This is also common when the direction is an expression denoting people, e.g.

- (168) a. *Ča-z muhman-ar ata-na.* (G54:133)
 we-DAT guest-PL come-AOR
 'Guests came to our place.'
- b. *Xtul šaklu ja-z č'exi buba.di-z kilig-na.* (K89,12:12)
 grandchild [doubtful COP-IMC] great father-DAT look-AOR
 'The grandson looked doubtfully at his grandfather.'

In its temporal use, the Dative expresses a point in time (cf. also 12.1.2.4.), e.g.

- (169) a. *Čimi č'aw.u-z weq'-er fad q'ura-da.* (DD77,6:12)
 hot time-DAT grass-PL quickly dry-FUT
 'In the hot time grass dries quickly.'
- b. *Bäzi č'aw-ar.i-z wi hebe buš že-zwa-č* (R66:23)
 some time-PL-DAT you:GEN bag empty be-IMPF-NEG
 'Sometimes your bag is not empty.'
- c. *M. Hažiev 1958=jis.a-n 22=mart.di-z kečmiš řa-na.* (Du68,2:30)
 M. Hažiev 1958=year-GEN 22=March-DAT dead become-AOR
 'M. Hažiev passed away on 22 March, 1958.'

- d. *har nāni-z* (K89,12:11)
 every evening-DAT
 'every evening'
- e. *alat-aj jis.u-z* (M83:64)
 pass-AOP year-DAT
 'last year'

7.2.2.5. The Adessive case. This case originally expresses the location 'near, by', but it is now rarely used in this function (now usually expressed by the postposition *pataw*, 12.2.1.8.). The following examples, involving environmental landmarks like 'bank' or 'door', seem to be typical of the rare local uses.

- (170) a. *Peq^h-er wac'.u-n q̄erex.di-w acuw'-na.* (M83:31)
 crow-PL river-GEN bank-ADESS sit-AOR
 'The crows alighted on the bank of the river.'
- b. *Nadir rak'-ar.i-w aq̄waz-na.* (K89,12:12)
 Nadir door-PL-ADESS stop-AOR
 'Nadir stopped at the door.'

The Adessive also occurs in the valence frames of a number of verbs, especially verbs with the preverb *Ag-* (cf. 15.3.3.). The meaning of the Adessive case in these valence patterns is commonly 'by, to' or 'with', e.g.

- (171) a. *Peleng.di-w hūzet awu-n asant kar tuš.* (X89:33)
 [tiger-ADESS quarrel do-MSD] easy thing COP:NEG
 'Fighting with the tiger is not an easy thing.'
- b. *Nasir-ni Sajida čeb čpi-w gzaf werdiš xa-nwa-j.*
 Nasir-and Sajida selves selves-ADESS much used get-PRF-PST
 'Nasir and Sajida had gotten very much used to each other.'
 (N88:76)

7.2.2.6. The Adelative case. This case originally expresses movement away from the location 'near, by' (cf. 172), but it is now mostly used in a more abstract sense (cf. 173).

- (172) *Ana, k'wal.i-waj jarğaz, zi ümür hik' že-da?* (S88:162)
 there house-ADEL far I:GEN life how be-FUT
 'How will my life be there, far from home?'
- (173) a. *Jarği Ali.di ada-waj pul q̄aču-na.* (K86,2:7)
 tall Ali(ERG) he-ADEL money take-AOR
 'The tall Ali took the money from him.'

- b. *I Müškür xalu.di-z ča-waj wuč k'an-zawa-t'a?* (K85,4:6)
 this Müškür uncle-DAT we-ADEL what:ABS want-IMPF-CND
 'I wonder what this Müškür-xalu wants from us?'
- c. *Kolxozč-jr.i-z i kar agronom.di-waj čir řa-na.*
 kolkhoznik-PL-DAT this thing agronomist-ADEL teach ANTIC-AOR
 'The collective farmers learned about this matter from the
 agronomist.' (G54:141)

See 15.3.4. for verbs with valence patterns including an Adelative argument.

A very frequent use of the Adelative is in the construction with *řun* 'be', 'become', which means 'be able' when used with the Infinitive and an Adelative noun phrase (cf. 20.2.2.).

- (174) *Nurbala.di-waj wiči-n dide aku-r-la ařwaz-iz řa-na-č.*
 Nurbala-ADEL [self-GEN mother see-AOP-TEMP] [stop-INF] can-AOR-NEG
 'Nurbala couldn't stop when he saw his mother.' (R66:4)

In a very interesting construction, the Involuntary Agent Construction (cf. also 15.6.3.), the Adelative means something like 'caused involuntarily or accidentally by'.

- (175) *Dide.di-waj nek alař-na.*
 mother-ADEL milk boil.over-AOR
 'The milk boiled over, caused involuntarily by the mother.' (i.e. 'The mother involuntarily allowed the milk to boil over.')

When the involuntary action is expressed by a transitive verb, a periphrastic construction with *řun* 'become, happen' and the Masdar has to be used.

- (176) a. *Za-waj i řüře gadr-un řa-na.* (Mejlanova 1960:40)
 I-ADEL [this bottle throw-MSD] happen-AOR
 'Throwing away this bottle happened, caused accidentally by me, i.e. I accidentally threw away this bottle.'
- b. *Za-waj ümür.d-a tek sadra tap-arar awu-n řa-na.* (ř83:72)
 I-ADEL life-INESS [only once lie-PL do-MSD] happen-AOR
 'I (involuntarily) lied only once in my life.'
- c. *Za-waj Čükwer gu-da laha-na itim.di-z gaf gu-n řa-nwa.* (ř88:30)
 I-ADEL [[Čükwer give-FUT say-AOR] man-DAT word give-MSD]
 happen-PRF
 'I have (accidentally) given my word to a man that I would give (the girl) Čükwer to him.'

7.2.2.7. The Addirective case. According to some descriptions, the Addirective case can mean 'in the direction of a location near/by', as in (177).

- (177) *Sik' mark.uni-wdi fe-na.* (TG66:553)
fox stack-ADDIR go-AOR

'The fox went toward the stack.'

However, this use does not occur in the modern standard language. The Adelative is now virtually restricted to expressing an instrument (as in 178) or manner (as in 179, especially with abstract nouns).

- (178) a. *Qadim.a ğil.i-wdi ada-z acuq'-un teklif-na.* (R66:11)
Qadim(ERG) hand-ADDIR he-DAT [sit-MSD] propose-AOR

'Qadim offered him to sit down with his hand.'

- b. *Axpа ada wil.i-n naq̄w-ar ğweĉi jağlux.di-wdi miġ-na.*
then she(ERG) eye-GEN tear-PL little cloth-ADDIR clean-AOR

'Then she wiped away the eye's tears with a little handkerchief.'
(R66:29)

- (179) a. *Abu Kir.a hürmet.di-wdi žawab ga-na.* (K87,1:12)
Abu Kir(ERG) respect-ADDIR answer give-AOR

'Abu Kir answered respectfully.'

- b. *Ĉna jeke hewes.di-wdi «Varšavjanka» mani luhu-z
[we:ERG great enthusiasm-ADDIR Varšavjanka song say-INF]
bašlamiš-na.* (J84:4)
begin-AOR

'We began to sing the "Varšavjanka" with great enthusiasm.'

7.2.2.8. The Postessive case. This case originally expresses the location 'behind', but it is now rarely used in that function (usually expressed by the postpositions *q'uluq^h* and *güğuna*, cf. 12.2.1.6-7.). The meaning 'behind' still occurs with a few nouns like *dalı* 'back', *stol* 'table', *sufra* 'tablecloth'.

- (180) a. *Ali stol.di-q^h acuq'-nawa.* (DD85,3:23)
Ali table-POESS sit-PRF

'Ali is sitting at (lit. 'behind') a table.'

- b. *Dağlar-ni Cükwer ĉpi-n kesib sufra.di-q^h
Dağlar-and Cükwer selves-GEN poor tablecloth-POESS
acuq'-nawa-j.* (X89:27)
sit-PRF-PST

'Dağlar and Cükwer were sitting at their poor tablecloth.'

- c. *Ruš Demir.a-n dalu.di-q^h čünüx řa-na.* (N88:74)
 girl Demir-GEN back-POESS hide ANTIC-AOR
 'The girl hid behind Demir's back.'

With a few nouns like *rak(ar)* 'door', *pad* 'side', the Postessive has a more general locative sense.

- (181) a. *Pařah.di wiči-n balk'an ř'exi wezir.di-n rak'-ar.i-q^h*
 king(ERG) self-GEN horse great vizier-GEN door-PL-POESS
ařwazar-na. (X89:114)
 stop-AOR
 'The king stopped his horse at the grand vizier's door.'
- b. *Har pat.a-q^h řüreba=řüre řuš-ar.i mani-jar luhu-zwa.*
 every side-POESS various bird-PL(ERG) song-PL say-IMPF
 'Everywhere various birds are singing.' (M83:73)

The Postessive may also be used in the directional sense of 'toward', especially with the verbs *elřün*, *elřürun* 'turn (toward)', and with the noun *pad* 'side'.

- (182) a. *Ada balk'an a k'wal.i-n war-ar.i-q^h elřür-na.* (J89:21)
 he(ERG) horse that house-GEN gate-PL-POESS turn-AOR
 'He turned his horse toward the gate of that house.'
- b. *Jawař řadam-r.a-ldi am k'wal.i-q^h řkwe-zwa-j.* (ř83:100)
 slow step-PL-SRDIR he:ABS house-POESS return-IMPF-PST
 'With slow steps she was going back toward the house.'

With *awa* 'be, exist' (17.6.1.), the Postessive expresses the possessor.

- (183) a. *I q'üzek.a-q^h q^hřan řzan awa.* (ř83:54)
 this old.man-POESS good family be.in
 'This old man has a good family.'
- b. *Za-q^h masa teklif awa.* (Du61,4:71)
 I-POESS other proposal be.in
 'I have a different proposal.'

A very specific meaning of the Postessive is 'in exchange for'.

- (184) a. *Tařajt'a ruř.a-q^h haři k'an-zawa-ni?*
 or daughter-POESS payment want-IMPF-Q
 'Or do you want payment for your daughter?'
- b. *Za zi balk'an c'ud řip.e-q^h ga-na.* (TG66:554)
 I:ERG I:GEN horse ten sheep-POESS give-AOR
 'I gave away my horse in exchange for ten sheep.'

Finally, the Postessive is the case of arguments of certain verbs, cf. 15.3.5., and of the postposition *galaz* 'with', cf. 12.2.3.3.

7.2.2.9. The Postelative case. This case originally expresses the locative notion 'from behind'. Most often it simply means 'from' and is restricted to certain words, much like the Postessive ('door', 'side').

- (185) a. *Rak'-ar.i-q^haj k'wač.i-n ses-er ata-na.* (DD77,4:10)
 door-PL-POEL foot-GEN sound-PL come-AOR
 'From the door came the sound of footsteps.'
- b. *Masa pat-ar.i-q^haj ata-j insan-ar.* (G82:25)
 [other side-PL-POEL come-PTP] human-PL
 'people who came from other places'
- c. *I ahwalat.di ča-z Sulejman masa teref.di-q^haj*
 this event(ERG) we-DAT Sulejman other side-POEL
čalur-zawa. (Mejlanova 1986:203)
 show-IMPF
 'This event shows us Sulejman from a different side.'
- d. *War.ci-q^haj ewer-zawa-j wan-er ačat-na.* (Q81:112)
 [gate-POEL call-IMPF-PTP] voice-PL come-AOR
 'Voices calling from the gate could be heard.'

In the abstract domain, the Postelative expresses the stimulus of emotions like fear and shame.

- (186) a. *Wa-z wi galstuk.di-q^haj reğü řa-na-č-ni?* (D71,3:21)
 you-DAT you:GEN necktie-POEL ashamed be-AOR-NEG-Q
 'Weren't you even ashamed of your necktie?'
- b. *Dide.di-q^haj kič'e-la ada-waj hele t'ekwen.d-aj*
 mother-POEL afraid-ADV she-ADEL yet [hole-INEL
ečeč'-iz řa-nwa-č-ir. (X89:14)
 go.out-INF] can-PREF-NEG-PST
 'For fear from her mother she couldn't leave her hole yet.'

7.2.2.10. The Postdirective case. This case occasionally expresses the locative notion 'toward'. Its name, Postdirective, is therefore not justified by the present function, but only by its form and its place in the system.

- (187) a. *Ada rak aq^haj-na wa xür.ü-q^hdi zwer-na.* (J84:54)
 she(ERG) door open-AOR and village-PODIR run-AOR
 'She opened the door and ran toward the village.'

- b. *Šarwili.di ajal xur.u-q^hdi q'u-na wa a m wiđi-n*
 Šarwili(ERG) child breast-PODIR hold-AOR and he:ABS self-GEN
čin.i-w agud-na. (AM87:30)
 face-ADESS approach-AOR
 'Šarwili held the child close to his breast and brought him close to his face.'
- c. *Jarđi Ali.di-z sađraj laha-na, ada rak'-ar.i-q^hdi*
 [long Ali-DAT goodbye say-AOC] he(ERG) door-PL-PODIR
herekat-na. (K86,2:8)
 hurry-AOR
 'Saying goodbye to Long Ali, he hurried toward the door.'

7.2.2.11. The Subessive case. This case originally expresses the location 'below', but this is now generally expressed by the postposition *k'anik* (itself the Subessive of *k'an* 'ground', cf. 12.2.2.1.). Nevertheless, the Subessive still retains the meaning 'below' in some contexts.

- (188) a. *Či ajwan.di-n qaw.u-k čubaruk-r.i-n sa*
 we:GEN balcony-GEN roof-SBESS swallow-PL-GEN one
šumud xizan jašamiš že-zwa. (M83:32)
 several family living be-IMPF
 'Some families of swallows live under the roof of our balcony.'
- b. *Mert-er.i-n tar.ci-n serin.di-k, qacu weq'e-l acuq'-na.*
 barberry-PL-GEN tree-GEN shade-SBESS green grass-SRESS sit-AOR
 'He sat down in (lit. 'under') the shade of a barberry tree, on the green grass.' (M83:73)

Sometimes the Subessive has a more general locative meaning, especially with certain nouns (e.g. *ajwan* 'balcony').

- (189) *Mizafer ajwan.di-k ksu-zwa.* (Š83:51)
 Mizafer balcony-SBESS sleep-IMPF
 'Mizafer sleeps on the balcony.'

In the abstract domain, the Subessive is used with verbs like 'mix' or 'participate'.

- (190) a. *Partija.di-z kommunist.di-n xsusi ümür.di-k*
 party-DAT [communist-GEN private life-SBESS
qarišmiš že-da-j ixtijar awa-ni? (Du85,3:80)
 meddling be-FUT-PTP] right be.in-Q
 'Does the party have the right to meddle in a communist's private life?'

- b. *Ada-z wiči-n šadwil.i-k wiri-bur šerik*
 he-DAT [self-GEN joy-SBESS all-SBST.PL participant

šū-nuš k'an-zawa-j. (X89:29)
 become-MSD] want-IMPF-PST

'He wanted everyone to become a participant in his joy.'

This use appears to be motivated by the fact that the Lezgian native verb for 'mix', (*k*)*akašun*, has the preverb (*k*)*ak-* and therefore takes a Subessive argument (cf. 10.3.2.).

See further 15.3.7. for verbs taking a Subessive argument.

7.2.2.12. The Subelative case. This case originally expresses the locative notion 'from below', which is now usually expressed by the postposition *k'anikaj* (12.2.2.1.). The more general locative meaning 'from' is still sometimes found, especially with 'hang'.

- (191) a. *Destek.di-kaj suw.a-n jac.ra-n hajbatlu krč-ar*
 column-SBEL mountain-GEN ox-GEN grandiose horn-PL
kürsar-nawa-j. (Š83:100)
 hang-PRF-PST

'Grandiose aurochs horns were hanging on the column (lit. had been hung from the column).'

- b. *Zehmet č'ugu-r-la ažal wa-kaj kat-da.* (Š83:9)
 [work pull-AOP-TEMP] death you-SBEL run-FUT

'When you work, death runs away from you.'

The Subelative means 'from' (or related notions) in a number of abstract senses, for instance 'free from'.

- (192) *ixtjar-r.i-kaj mahrum*
 right-PL-SBEL deprived

'deprived of rights'

It means 'from, against' with verbs like 'protect' and 'save'.

- (193) a. *Anžax mähkem dustwil.i-waj čun dāwe-jr.i-kaj*
 only strong friendship-ADEL [we:ABS war-PL-SBEL

xü-z že-da. (K85,7:4)
 preserve-INF] can-FUT

'Only strong friendship can protect us against wars.'

- b. *Bažanax-ar ülkwē t'urfan.di-kaj xü-z*
 brother.in.law-PL [country storm-SBEL preserve-INF]

front.di-z fe-na. (Š83:5)
 front-DAT go-AOR

'The brothers-in-law went to the front to protect the country against the storm.'

The Subelative is also used in partitive expressions, where it is translated as '(out) of'.

- (194) a. *Kursant-r.i-kaj gzaf-bur.u ruš-ar.i-q^h galaz*
 cadet-PL-SBEL many-SBST.PL(ERG) girl-PL-POESS with
q'üler-zawa-j. (S88:156)
 dance-IMPF-PST
 'Many of the cadets were dancing with girls.'
- b. *Za či muq'wara-bur.u-kaj sad.a-z-ni sa xabar-ni*
 I:ERG we:GEN relative-SBST.PL-SBEL one-DAT-even one news-even
ga-na-č-ir. (S88:167)
 give-AOR-NEG-PST
 'I didn't give any information to any of my relatives.'
- (195) *Ruxwa-jr.i-kaj Fejzallah.a-n rik' illaki gweč'i*
 son-PL-SBEL Fejzallah-GEN heart especially little
Dašdemir.a-l ala-j. (HQ89:17)
 Dašdemir-SRESS be.on-PST
 'Of his sons, Fejzillah especially loved the little Dašdemir.'

The Subelative also expresses the topic of speech or thought ('about').

- (196) a. *Buba.di-kaj ak' luhu-mir.* (Du85,3:79)
 father-SBEL thus say-PROHIB
 'Don't talk like that about dad!'
- b. *Ada Šafiga.di-n amal-r.i-kaj fikir-zawa-j.* (N88:85)
 he(ERG) Šafiga-GEN prank-PL-SBEL think-IMPF-PST
 'He thought about Šafiga's pranks.'

Another function of the Subelative is to express material.

- (197) *Werg-er.i-kaj awu-nwa-j čiğirtma ajal-r.i-z gzaf k'an-da-j.*
 [nettle-PL-SBEL make-PRF-PTP] čiğirtma child-PL-DAT much like-FUT-PST
 'The children liked *čiğirtma*, (a dish) made out of stinging nettles, a lot.' (K87,3:12)

This meaning of material is the basis for a more abstract use of the Subelative with the verbs *xun* 'become' and *awun* 'make'. 'A becomes B' is literally 'B arises out of A', and 'A makes B C' is literally 'A makes C out of B' (cf. 15.3.8.1., 17.4.).

- (198) a. *Ada-kaj ust'ar xa-na, ajal-r.i-kaj fäle-jar.* (Š83:9)
 she-SBEL master become-AOR child-PL-SBEL apprentice-PL
 'She became the master and the children apprentices.'

- b. *Šura hukumat.di-z ča-kaj kafir-ar iji-z*
 Soviet government-DAT [we-SBEL nonbeliever-PL make-IMP]
k'an-zawa. (HQ89:7)
 want-IMP

'The Soviet government wants to make us non-believers.'

Finally, the Subrelative also expresses the stimulus of emotions.

- (199) *Ajnise.di-z wiči-n apaj.a-kaj qhel qwe-z bašlamiš-na.*
 [Ajnise-DAT self-GEN father.in.law-SBEL anger come-IMP] begin-AOR

'Ajnise began to get angry with her father-in-law.' (Š83:64)

See 15.3.8. for verbal valence patterns with a Subrelative argument.

7.2.2.13. The Subdirective case. Despite its name, this case never expresses the locative notion 'direction toward below'. The Subdirective expresses cause, but it is used very rarely.

- (200) a. *Blokada.di-n waxt.und-a Leningrad.d-a ajal-ar*
 blockade-GEN time-INESS Leningrad-INESS child-PL
kaš.a-kdi telef ša-na. (K85,7:4)
 hunger-SBDir perishing be-AOR

'During the blockade in Leningrad children died of hunger.'

- b. *Axtarmiš-a, — žawab ga-na T'ijibeg.a ažuđ.di-kdi*
 search-IMPV answer give-AOR T'ijibeg(ERG) [[anger-SBDir]
jaru ša-nwa-j čin-aj c'aj čk'i-z. (L86,3:10)
 red become-PRF-PTP] face-INESS fire spread-IMP

'Search, said T'ijibeg, while fire was spreading on his face which had become red with anger.'

- c. *Julduš t-atu-n.i-kdi, ada-n kefi č'ur ša-na.* (G63:15)
 [friend NEG-come-MSD-SBDir] he-GEN mood bad become-AOR

'His mood became bad because his friend did not come.'

7.2.2.14. The Superessive case. The primary meaning of this case is the location 'on', including the directional sense 'onto'.

- (201) *Č'ur.a-l wad jac amuq'na.* (K88,9:5)
 pasture-SRESS five ox stay-AOR

'Five oxen were still on the pasture.'

- (202) a. *Žiraf.di qib sa q'aq'an tar.ci-n xile-l ecig-na.*
 giraffe(ERG) frog one high tree-GEN twig-SRESS put-AOR

'The giraffe put the frog on a twig of a tall tree.' (K86,3:2)

- b. *Rahman.a balk'an qacu weq'-er awa-j č'ur.a-l*
 Rahman(ERG) horse [green grass-PL be.in-PTP] pasture-SRESS
tuxwa-na. (J89:24)
 lead-AOR

'Rahman led the horse to a pasture with green grass.'

The Superessive is also used with a number of names of Lezgian villages (other Lezgian villages and all non-Lezgian places take the Inessive, cf. 7.2.2.17.).

- (203) *Q'asumxür.e-l*
 'in Q'asumxür (Kasumkent)'

The most important abstract function of the Superessive is expressing the cause of an emotion, e.g. with the adjectives *pexil* 'envious', *razi* 'satisfied', *šad* 'glad', *damax* 'proud', and with the verb *q^hürün* 'laugh'.

- (204) a. *Amma inal-ni wiri ada-l q^hüre-na.* (S88:170)
 but here-too all he-SRESS laugh-AOR
 'But here, too, everyone laughed at him.'
- b. *Ada-n širin ses.ina-l bilbil hejran že-da.* (Š83:25)
 she-GEN sweet voice-SRESS nightingale surprised be-FUT
 'Even a nightingale will be surprised at her sweet voice.'

The Superessive is also sometimes used instrumentally, instead of the Superdirective (7.2.2.16.). According to Mejlanova (1987:151), this usage has become more common in recent decades.

- (205) a. *Dax.di linejka.d-al c'ar-ar č'ugu-na.* (K89,12:11)
 dad(ERG) ruler-SRESS line-PL draw-AOR
 'Dad drew lines with a ruler.'
- b. *Güldeste.di sa sefer.d-a čxra.da-l gal iji-zwa-j.* (Š83:12)
 Güldeste(ERG) one time-INESS wheel-SRESS thread make-IMPF-PST
 'Once Güldeste was making thread on a spinning-wheel.'

Finally, a number of verbs have Superessive arguments (cf. 15.3.9.), e.g. *hužumun* 'attack':

- (206) *Sik're peq^h-er.a-l hužum-na.* (M83:31)
 fox(ERG) crow-PL-SRESS attack-AOR
 'The fox attacked the crows.'

7.2.2.15. The Superrelative case. The primary meaning of this case is the locative notion 'off (lit. 'from on').

- (207) a. *Nurali buba balk'an.di-laj ewič'-na.* (M83:73)
 Nurali father horse-SREL descend-AOR
 'Father Nurali got off the horse.'
- b. *Xozjajka.di-n wil-er.i-laj šadwil.i-n naq̄w-ar fi-zwa-j.* (M79:7)
 landlady-GEN eye-PL-SREL joy-GEN tear-PL go-IMPF-PST
 'Tears of joy were rolling from the landlady's eyes.'

Another locative use is the path 'across, over'.

- (208) a. *Mirg.i-waj ülen.di-laj xkadari-z ša-na-č.* (X89:12)
 deer-ADEL [swamp-SREL jump-INF] can-AOR-NEG
 'The deer could not jump across the swamp.'
- b. *Müq̄w.e-laj fi-da-j-la dewe-jar basrux ša-na.*
 [bridge-SREL go-FUT-PTP-TEMP] camel-PL pushing be-AOR
 'When they went across the bridge, the camels were pushing
 (each other).' (Du85,3:115)

The Superrelative also has the temporal sense 'in' or 'after'. Unlike English, Lezgian does not distinguish the the deictic situation (e.g. 'in two months' = 'after two months from now') and the non-deictic situation (e.g. 'after two months' = 'after two months from some other point in time').

- (209) *Güldeste.di-n xtul q'we wac.ra-laj šiz xkwe-da.* (Š83:21)
 Güldeste-GEN grandson two month-SREL like return-FUT
 'Güldeste's grandson will return from the army in about two months.'
- (210) *Sa sät.di-laj gada-jar wac'.u-n q̄erex.da-l xta-na.* (M83:57)
 one hour-SREL boy-PL river-GEN bank-SRESS return-AOR
 'After an hour, the boys came again to the river's bank.'

Another temporal use is 'from, beginning with'.

- (211) *Ha i jiq̄a-laj xüpüq̄hwi-jr.i čpi-n xürünwi.da-l*
 that this day-SREL Xüpüq̄ian-PL(ERG) selves-GEN covillager-SRESS
c'iji t'war ecig-na. (HQ89:14)
 new name put-AOR
 'Starting on that day, the people of Xüpüq̄ put a new name on their
 co-villager.'

Two further important uses of the Superrelative are to mark the standard of comparison (cf. 24.1.1.) and the argument of several postpositions (cf. 12.2.).

7.2.2.16. **The Superdirective case.** The primary meaning is the directional location 'onto'. This is now quite rare.

- (212) *Allahquli ruš.a-n diqet wiče-ldi č'ugwa-z alač^h-zawa-j.*
 Allahquli [girl-GEN attention self-SRDIR draw-INF] strive-IMPF-PST
 'Allahquli was trying to draw the girl's attention to himself.'
 (R66:13)

The most common use of the Superdirective is the instrumental sense.

- (213) *Nabisat.a wiči-z sa bubat či-da-j türk*
 Nabisat(ERG) [self-DAT one little know-FUT-PTP] Turkic
č'al.a-ldi ada-waj žuzu-na. (S88:6)
 language-SRDIR she-ADEL ask-AOR
 'Nabisat asked her in the Turkic language, which she knew a little.'

When the NP in the Superdirective case is abstract (or clausal, as in 215), the expressed sense is manner rather than instrument.

- (214) a. *Muallim-ar har sa tars.uni-z diqet.da-ldi hazur*
 [teacher-PL every one lesson-DAT attention-SRDIR ready
xu-n lazim ja. (DD77,6:14)
 become-MSD] necessary COP
 'The teachers have to prepare carefully for every class.'
- b. *Ada k'ewi wan.ce-ldi — Ja dide! — laha-na.* (R66:4)
 he(ERG) firm voice-SRDIR — O mother — say-AOR
 'He said with a firm voice: O mother!'

- (215) *Abur.u quš-ar.i-z xür.ü-n nük'-er.a-l hužum-ar*
 they(ERG) bird-PL-DAT [village-GEN sparrow-PL-SRESS attack-PL
awu-n.a-ldi kümek-ar ga-na. (M83:33)
 do-MSD-SRDIR] help-PL give-AOR
 'They helped the birds by attacking the village's sparrows.'

In (216), the Superrelative indicates in what respect something is true.

- (216) *Am qe qü-n.i-n teher.da-ldi buba.di-z uxšar ša-na.*
 he:ABS walk-MSD-GEN manner-SRDIR father-DAT similar become-AOR
 'He became similar to his father in [his] manner of walking.'
 (DD77,1:11)

The temporal sense of the Superrelative is 'until'.

- (217) a. *1937=lahaj jis.a-ldi ċi ċ'al.a-q^h dūz kxi-n.i-n*
 1937=ORD year-SRDIR we:GEN language-POESS right write-MSD-GEN
qajda-jar awa-ċ.ir. (Du68,2:27)
 rule-PL be.in-NEG-PST
 'Until 1937, our language had no orthographic rules.'
- b. *Wun i ċ'aw.a-ldi hina awa-j?* (DD71,3:21)
 you:ABS this time-SRDIR where be.in-PST
 'Where were you until now?'

7.2.2.17. The Inessive case. This case expresses the general location 'in' (or sometimes 'into', as with the verb 'put' in (219)).

- (218) a. *Pahliwan-ar isätda ċi xür-e awa.* (J89:27)
 artist-PL now we:GEN village-INESS be.in
 'The tightrope walkers are now in our village.'
- b. *Zi siw-e soska awa.* (A90:3)
 I:GEN mouth-INESS dummy be.in
 'A (baby's) dummy is in my mouth.'
- c. *Ċi k'wal-e muhman-ar awa.* (J89:6)
 we:GEN house-INESS guest-PL be.in
 'There are guests in our house.'
- (219) *Dax.di wiči-n žibin.d-a muk'rat' tu-na.* (J89:26)
 dad(ERG) self-GEN pocket-INESS scissors put-AOR
 'Dad put a pair of scissors into his pocket.'

The Inessive can also be used in various more abstract senses derived from the original locative sense (in (220c), this abstract sense was clearly borrowed from Russian).

- (220) a. *Škola.d-a ċa-z xaji ċ'al.a-n tars-ar ga-na-ċ.*
 school-INESS we-DAT native language-GEN lesson-PL give-AOR-NEG
 'At school we were not taught our native language.' (K89,12:12)
- b. *Ada-n xijal.d-a q'we qūwatlu hiss awa-j.* (R66:29)
 he-GEN mind-INESS two forceful feeling be-PST
 'Two strong feelings were in his mind.'
- c. *A ċ'aw.u-z abur mod.d-a awa-j.* (DD85,2:20)
 that time-DAT they fashion-INESS be.in-PST
 'At that time they were in fashion.'

The temporal meaning of the Inessive is the expression of duration within a period of time, e.g. *gzaf jis-ar-a* 'for many years', *puđ sät.d-a* 'for three hours'. Further examples:

- (221) a. *Tamam wac.r-a ada-z čimi xürek akwa-zwa-č* (L86,3:13)
 whole month-INESS he-DAT warm meal see-IMPF-NEG
 'For a whole month he doesn't see a warm meal.'
- b. *Ali.di axwar.i-gh galaz gzaf waxt.und-a ženg č'ugu-na.*
 Ali(ERG) sleep-POESS with much time-INESS fight pull-AOR
 'Ali fought with sleep for a long time.' (J89:14)

With some nouns the Inessive can also have the meaning of general temporal location. Such nouns include *waxt* 'time' (irregular Inessive *waxtunda*), *exir* 'end', and *sefer* 'time, occasion'.

- (222) *Zun šaz-ni sentjabr.di-n exir.d-a Xiv.d-a ša-na.*
 I:ABS last.year-too September-GEN end-INESS Xiv-INESS be-AOR
 'Last year, too, I was in Xiv at the end of September.'
 (Ko89,10,13:1)

7.2.2.18. The Inelative case. The primary meaning of this case is the location 'out of' (lit. 'from in').

- (223) a. *Xatimat.a gičn.d-aj nek ca-zwa-j.* (DD77,1:10)
 Xatimat(ERG) jug-INEL milk pour-IMPF-PST
 'Xatimat was pouring milk from a jug.'
- b. *Č'ulaw nük', q'il ečis-na, muk-aj kilig-na.* (K87,2:9)
 black bird [head stick.out-AOC] nest-INEL look-AOR
 'The black bird stuck out its head and looked out of the nest.'
- c. *Maxačqala.d-aj Moskva.di-z saki jaxc'ur sät.di-n*
 Maxačkala-INEL Moscow-DAT almost forty hour-GEN
reqh awa. (Du71,6:13)
 way be.in
 'From Maxačkala to Moscow it's almost a 40 hours' trip.'

Another locative meaning is the path meaning 'along, across', also in a more abstract sense (224c).

- (224) a. *Čun k'wač.i-n žiğir.d-aj fi-da.* (K57:6)
 we:ABS foot-GEN path-INEL go-FUT
 'We'll go along a footpath.'

- b. *Ağa dere.di-n k'an-äj lacu kaf ala-z wac' kat-zawa.*
 low valley-GEN ground-INEL [white foam be.on-IMC] river run-IMPF
 'A river runs along the ground of the lower valley, with white foam on it.' (M83:73)
- c. *I mani muq'wal=muq'wal radio.d-aj gu-zwa.* (K86,3:1)
 this song often radio-INEL give-IMPF
 'This song is often broadcast over the radio.'

A common abstract sense is cause (especially a motivating emotion).

- (225) a. *Helbetda, abur šadwil-äj qhüre-na-č-ir.* (Š83:65)
 of.course they joy-INEL laugh-AOR-NEG-PST
 'Of course, they did not laugh out of joy.'
- b. *Gada.di utanmišwil-äj wiči-n wil-er čünüx-iz ala^h-na.*
 boy(ERG) shame-INEL [self-GEN eye-PL hide-INF] strive-AOR
 'The boy tried to hide his eyes out of shame.' (N88:74)

Another abstract sense is the expression of price or other types of compensation ('in return for').

- (226) a. *Ha ik' Mizafer.a k'wal-er wiči-z k'an-da-j*
 that thus Mizafer(ERG) house-PL [self-DAT want-FUT-PTP]
qimet.d-aj ga-na. (Š83:59)
 price-INEL sell-AOR
 'In this way, Mizafer sold the house at the price he wanted.'
- b. *Za stxa.di-z za-z ga-ji kümek.d-aj čuxsağul*
 [I:ERG brother-DAT [I-DAT give-AOP] help-INEL thanks
laha-na k'an-da.
 say-AOC] must-FUT
 'I have to thank my brother for the help he gave me.'

Finally, the Inelative is governed by the two postpositions *winiz* 'up' and *ağuz* 'down' (12.2.1.3.-4.).

7.3. Nominal derivation

Lezgian is not rich in nominal derivational patterns. Only a handful of suffixes show some productivity, and nominal compounding is also severely restricted.

7.3.1. Derivational suffixes

The following derivational suffixes will be treated here. Only the first three are native, the others were borrowed and have not become truly productive.

<i>-wal</i>	abstract nouns (from adjectives and nouns)	
<i>-wi</i>	nouns of origin (from place names)	
<i>-q^han</i>	profession (from nouns)	
<i>-či</i>	profession (from nouns)	(Turkic)
<i>-lux</i>	object (from nouns)	(Turkic)
<i>-gan</i>	object (from nouns)	(Turkic)
<i>-xana</i>	house (from nouns)	(Persian)
<i>-ban</i>	profession	(Persian)

7.3.1.1. *-wal*. This suffix (oblique stem *-wili*, plural *-wiler*) is extremely productive. It forms abstract nouns from qualitative adjectives (cf. 227) and from nouns (cf. 228), and in a few cases from adverbs (cf. 229).

(227)	<i>qacu-wal</i>	'greenness'	<i>qacu</i>	'green'
	<i>takabur-wal</i>	'pride'	<i>takabur</i>	'proud'
	<i>sad-wal</i>	'unity'	<i>sad</i>	'one'
	<i>tajinsuz-wal</i>	'indefiniteness'	<i>tajinsuz</i>	'indefinite'
(228)	<i>stxa-wal</i>	'brotherhood'	<i>stxa</i>	'brother'
	<i>tarašči-wal</i>	'robbery'	<i>tarašči</i>	'robber'
	<i>dust-wal</i>	'friendship'	<i>dust</i>	'friend'
(229)	<i>ağuz-wal</i>	'lowness, lowland'	<i>ağuz</i>	'low (adv.)'

The suffix *-wal* on nouns denoting a profession or function is also so regular and common that it could perhaps be regarded as an inflectional suffix. In order to express 'work as an X', one has to use it: *X-wal awun* (lit. 'do X-hood'), or *X-wile k'walaxun* (lit. 'work in X-hood'), e.g. *muallimwal awun* 'work as a teacher', *reğuxbanwile k'walaxun* 'work as a miller'. That *-wile* in such constructions is a sort of "functive case" suffix can be seen in examples like (230), where *-wile* is added to a plural noun.

(230)	<i>Ada-n sopredsedatel-ar-wil-e</i>	<i>H. Abdurahimov-ni</i>
	it-GEN cochairman-PL-ABST-INNESS	H. Abdurahimov-and

I. Šerifov testiq'ar-na. (Ko90,7,22:3)

I. Šerifov confirm-AOR

'H. Abdurahimov and I. Šerifov were confirmed as its co-chairmen.'

The suffix *-wal* can also be added to participial forms, e.g. *fizwaj* 'going, who goes', *fizwajwal* '(the fact or event of) going'. In this use, *-wal* must

probably be considered a verbal inflectional suffix, analogous in function to the Masdar, although much less common. See 20.8.1. for its use in complement clauses. The Causal converb *-wiläj* (21.5.2.) is originally the Inelative case of this form.

The suffix *-wal* is homophonous with the Purpose/Manner converb in *-wal* (9.3.4.6.), and it is perhaps etymologically identical with it.

7.3.1.2. *-wi*. This suffix productively forms nouns of origin from place names, e.g. *axcehwi* 'person from Axceh'. This suffix is optionally replaced by *-žuwa* in the oblique cases of the singular, so we have:

Singular	Absolutive	<i>axcehwi</i>	
	Ergative	<i>axcehžuwa</i>	(alongside: <i>axcehwidi</i>)
	Genitive	<i>axcehžuwan</i>	<i>axcehwidin</i>)
Plural	Absolutive	<i>axcehwijar</i>	

More examples are:

(231)	<i>maxačqalawi</i>	'person from Maxačkala'		(<i>Maxačqala</i>)
	<i>dağustanwi</i>	'Dagestaniian'		(<i>Dağustan</i>)
	<i>n'ju jorkwi</i>	'New Yorker'		(<i>N'ju Jork</i>)
	<i>čečenwi</i>	'Chechen'		(<i>Čečen</i> 'Chechnia')

Two nouns that are not derived from place names are also formed with *-wi*: *xürünwi* 'villager' (from *xür*, Genitive *xürün* 'village'), and *dağwi* 'mountain dweller, mountaineer' (from *dağ* 'mountain').

7.3.1.3. *-q^han*. This suffix derives agent nouns from nouns. It does not seem to be productive.

(232)	<i>ğürče-q^han</i>	'hunter'	<i>ğürč</i>	'hunt'
	<i>xpe-q^han</i>	'sheep breeder'	<i>xeb</i> (obl. <i>xpe-</i>)	'sheep'
	<i>marğū-q^han</i>	'mower'	<i>marğw</i>	'strip of mowed hay'
	<i>čapla-q^han</i>	'left-hander'	<i>čapla</i>	'left'

7.3.1.4. *-či*. Due to the very high number of Turkic loanwords in Lezgian, this frequent Turkic suffix is also widespread. It derives agent nouns from nouns. However, it seems to be restricted by and large to words of Turkic (and Arabic) origin.

(233)	<i>ğulluğ-či</i>	'employee'	<i>ğulluğ</i>	'service'
	<i>iştirak-či</i>	'participant'	<i>iştirak</i>	'participation'
	<i>daldam-či</i>	'drummer'	<i>daldam</i>	'drum'
	<i>kolxoz-či</i>	'kolkhoz farmer'	<i>kolxoz</i>	'collective farm'

7.3.1.5. *-lux*. This rare Turkic suffix derives nouns denoting places which are characterized by the thing denoted by the base noun.

(234)	<i>hündür-lux</i>	'high place'	<i>hündür</i>	'high'
	<i>qum-lux</i>	'sandy place'	<i>qum</i>	'sand'
	<i>qamiš-lux</i>	'place where reed grows'	<i>qamiš</i>	'reed'

7.3.1.6. *-gan*. This rare suffix derives nouns denoting containers and other objects from nouns.

(235)	<i>t'urar-gan</i>	'box for spoons'	<i>t'ur</i> (pl. <i>t'urar</i>)	'spoon'
	<i>gafar-gan</i>	'dictionary'	<i>gaf</i> (pl. <i>gafar</i>)	'word'
	<i>ximir-gan</i>	'vessel (for leaven)'	<i>ximir</i>	'leaven (for dough)'
	<i>šemer-gan</i>	'candlestick'	<i>šem</i> (pl. <i>šemer</i>)	'candle'
	<i>xuru-gan</i>	'apron; bib'	<i>xur</i>	'breast'

7.3.1.7. *-xana*. This suffix derives nouns denoting houses associated with the thing denoted by the base word.

(236)	<i>čaj-xana</i>	'tea house'	<i>čaj</i>	'tea'
	<i>čap-xana</i>	'printing plant'	<i>čap</i>	'printing'
	<i>ktab-xana</i>	'library'	<i>ktab</i>	'book'
	<i>qahbe-xana</i>	'brothel'	<i>qahbe</i>	'prostitute'

7.3.1.8. *-ban*. This suffix derives nouns denoting people associated with the thing denoted by the base word, often professions. It is reasonably productive and no longer shows a sign of being a loan suffix from Persian—it can happily be attached to native Lezgian words.

(237)	<i>nexir-ban</i>	'cattle herder'	<i>nexir</i>	'herd of cattle'
	<i>salar-ban</i>	'kitchen gardener'	<i>sal</i> (pl. <i>salar</i>)	'kitchen garden'
	<i>wak'ar-ban</i>	'swineherd'	<i>wak</i> (pl. <i>wak'ar</i>)	'pig'
	<i>reğux-ban</i>	'miller'	<i>reğw</i>	'mill'
	<i>küče-ban</i>	'idler'	<i>küče</i>	'street'
	<i>qušar-ban</i>	'poultry farmer'	<i>quš</i> (pl. <i>qušar</i>)	'bird'

7.3.1.9. **Other suffixes.** Gajdarov (1966:40-76) lists quite a few further nominal derivational suffixes, but they are all heavily restricted—they occur only in one or two words or in dialects, and they show hardly any regularity. A few of them are listed here, with one example for each.

(238)	<i>-Ak</i>	<i>q'üz-ek</i>	'old man'	<i>q'üzü</i>	'old'
	<i>-Ac</i>	<i>šük'w-ec</i>	'thin person'	<i>šük'ü</i>	'thin'
	<i>-Ač</i>	<i>net'eč</i>	'lousy person'	<i>net</i> (obl. <i>net're</i>)	'louse'
	<i>-Vc'</i>	<i>raq'-uc'</i>	'slag'	<i>raq'</i>	'iron'
	<i>-Aš</i>	<i>tak'w-aš</i>	'small mortar'	<i>tak'w</i>	'mortar'
	<i>-(V)x</i>	<i>c'ar-x</i>	'scratch'	<i>c'ar</i>	'line'
	<i>-Vč'</i>	<i>ner-eč'</i>	'snout'	<i>ner</i>	'nose'
	<i>-Vl</i>	<i>tup'-al</i>	'ring'	<i>t'ub</i> (obl. <i>tup'u-</i>)	'finger'
	<i>-(V)t'</i>	<i>Bahat'</i>	'Bahaddin (short form)'	<i>Bahaddin</i>	(name)

7.3.2. Nominal compounding

Lezgian completely lacks determinative compounds, i.e. compounds of the type $N_{\text{head}} N_{\text{dependent}}$, where the compound denotes a kind of N_{head} that is characterized in some way by $N_{\text{dependent}}$.

Reasonably common are copulative compounds, i.e. compounds of the type N_1N_2 , where the compound denotes the pair constituted by N_1 and N_2 . N_1 and N_2 may belong closely together as a pair (as in (239)), they may represent two particularly salient members of a larger class (as in (240)), or they may have more or less the same meaning (as in (241)), so that the resulting compound has roughly the same meaning as N_1 or N_2 .

(239)	<i>buba-dide</i>	'parents'	<i>buba</i>	'father'
			<i>dide</i>	'mother'
(240)	<i>mejwa-mahsular</i>	'food crops'	<i>mejwa</i>	'fruit'
			<i>mahsul-ar</i>	'grain'
	<i>xeb-mal</i>	'domestic animals'	<i>xeb</i>	'sheep'
			<i>mal</i>	'cattle'
(241)	<i>gaf-č'al</i>	'talking'	<i>gaf</i>	'word'
			<i>č'al</i>	'word, language'
	<i>t'war-wan</i>	'renown'	<i>t'war</i>	'name'
			<i>wan</i>	'sound, rumor'
	<i>kar-k'walax</i>	'job, business'	<i>kar</i>	'job'
			<i>k'walax</i>	'work'

In a few cases one member of such a compound does not occur independently.

(242)	<i>ajal-kujal</i>	'child'	<i>ajal</i>	'child'	(* <i>kujal</i>)
	<i>muq'wa-q'ili</i>	'relatives'	<i>muq'wa</i>	'close'	(* <i>q'ili</i>)
	<i>q'iner-ahter</i>	'oaths and promises'	<i>q'in</i>	'oath'	(* <i>aht(er)</i>)
	<i>šel-xwal</i>	'weeping'	<i>šel</i>	'weeping'	(* <i>xwal</i>)
	<i>ata-bubajar</i>	'ancestors'	<i>buba</i>	'father'	(* <i>ata</i>)

When the meaning is transparent, copulative compounds can apparently be formed ad hoc. The compounds occurring in the following examples are not listed in the comprehensive dictionary of Talibov & Gadžiev (1966):

- (243) a. *Xür-e=k'wal-e* *wuč* *xabar awa?* (Q81:105)
village-INNESS=house-INNESS what:ABS news be.in
'What news is there from home? (lit. 'in village and home')
- b. *Hürmet.a murk šiz q̄aji c.e-l* *čin=ğil* *čüxwe-na.*
Hürmet(ERG) ice like cold water-SRESS face=hand wash-AOR
'Hürmet washed his face and hands with icy-cold water.' (R66:25)
- c. *K'ek=werč* *küče.di-z eqeč'-nawa-č-ir.* (E81:9)
rooster=chicken street-DAT go.out-NEG-PST
'Roosters and chickens hadn't gone out on the street yet.'

7.3.3. Conversion from adjectives

Conversion from adjectives may be considered a third type of nominal derivation. In general, adjectives have to be substantivized before they can be used as nouns (e.g. *q̄acu* 'green', *q̄acu-di* 'green one', see 8.1.1.). However, in some cases adjectives are directly converted to nouns, without any additional morphology.

(244)	<i>wahši</i>	'wild animal'	<i>wahši</i>	'wild'
	<i>žehil</i>	'youth'	<i>žehil</i>	'young'
	<i>muq'wa</i>	'relative'	<i>muq'wa</i>	'close'

These nouns inflect regularly like other nouns (Singular oblique stem *žehil-di*, Plural *žehil-ar*, etc.). Conversion from adjectives is frequent and productive only with adjectives denoting negative human qualities, e.g.

(245)	<i>tempel</i>	'lazybones'	<i>tempel</i>	'lazy'
	<i>nadinž</i>	'naughty child'	<i>nadinž</i>	'naughty'
	<i>mut'laq'</i>	'miser'	<i>mut'laq'</i>	'stingy'
	<i>merdimazar</i>	'harmful person'	<i>merdimazar</i>	'harmful'

Nationality adjectives exhibit similar behavior (8.1.3.).

7.3.4. Echo compounds

As in many other languages of the area, echo compounds are formed by reduplicating nouns in such a way that the onset of the first syllable of the second member is replaced by *m*-. The meaning of such *N m-N'* echo compounds is 'N and similar things'.

(246)	<i>sik'-mik'</i>	'fox and other wild animals'
	<i>q̄ab-mab</i>	'boxes and similar things'
	<i>uğri-muğri</i>	'thieves and other criminals'

The connotation is generally pejorative:

(247)	<i>Masa ilči-jar=m-ilči-jar</i>	<i>ča-z gerek tuš</i> (S88:19)
	other matchmaker-PL=m-atchmaker-PL	we-DAT needed COP:NEG
	'We don't need other matchmakers and similar people.'	

Chapter 8

Adjective morphology

8.1. Adjectival inflection

When adjectives are used attributively in a noun phrase, their form is unchanged. The comparative and superlative degrees are not expressed on the adjective (see 24.1.). This leaves us with only two major types of adjectival inflection: substantivization of adjectives and adjectival adverbs.

8.1.1. Substantivization

An adjective may occur on its own as the head of a noun phrase only when substantivized. The substantivizing suffix is *-di* in the Absolutive case (Singular), *-da* in the oblique cases, and *-bur(-u)* in the Plural:

(248)	Sg. Abs.	<i>q̄acu-di</i> 'green one'	Pl. Abs.	<i>q̄acu-bur</i> 'green ones'
	Erg.	<i>q̄acu-da</i>	Erg.	<i>q̄acu-bur-u</i>
	Gen.	<i>q̄acu-da-n</i>	Gen.	<i>q̄acu-bur-u-n</i>
	Adess.	<i>q̄acu-da-w</i>	Adess.	<i>q̄acu-bur-u-w</i>
	Iness.	<i>q̄acu-da</i>	Iness.	<i>q̄acu-bur-a</i>
	etc.		etc.	

This suffix can also be used to substantivize other adjective-like forms:

(A) Participles (see 19.1.2. on headless relative clauses).

(B) Genitive NPs, e.g.

(249)	<i>zi</i>	'my'	<i>zi-di</i>	'mine'
	<i>q̄izil.di-n</i>	'of gold, golden'	<i>q̄izil.di-n-di</i>	'golden one'
	<i>dide.di-n</i>	'mother's'	<i>dide.di-n-di</i>	'mother's'
	<i>Dağustan.di-n</i>	'Daghestan's,	<i>Dağustan.di-n-di</i>	'Daghestanian one'
		Daghestanian'		

(C) The adjectival comparative particles *xtin* 'like' and *q'wan* 'as much as' (see 24.2.), as well as the demonstrative and interrogative adjectives built on these forms, e.g. *ixtin* 'such', *iq'wan* 'so much', *hixtin* 'what kind?', etc. (see 11.3.).

(D) Ordinal numerals formed with *lahaj* (see 13.1.3.).

(E) The determiner *mükü* 'the other' (11.7.3.).

The determiners *wiri* 'all', *har* 'every', *masa* 'another', the demonstratives, and the cardinal numbers also have substantivized forms which resemble the substantivization of adjectives closely except for the Absolutive Singular form. In this form, *wiri* shows a zero suffix, the demonstratives and *har* have a suffix *-m(a)*, *sa* 'one' and *q'we* 'two' have the suffix *-d*, and

the other cardinal numbers, which already end in *-d*, have zero (cf. also 13.1.2.).

(250)	Abs.	<i>wiri</i>	'all'		<i>har-ma</i>	'everyone'	
	Erg.	<i>wiri-da</i>			<i>har-da</i>		
	Gen.	<i>wiri-da-n</i>			<i>har-da-n</i>		
	Pl.	<i>wiri-bur</i>			<i>har-bur</i>		
	Abs.	<i>i-m</i>	'this one'	<i>a-m</i>	'that one'	<i>hi-m</i>	'which one'
	Erg.	<i>i-da</i>		<i>a-da</i>		<i>hi-da</i>	
	Gen.	<i>i-da-n</i>		<i>a-da-n</i>		<i>hi-da-n</i>	
	Pl.	<i>i-bur</i>		<i>a-bur</i>		<i>hi-bur</i>	
	Abs.	<i>sa-d</i>	'one'	<i>q'we-d</i>	'two'	<i>pud</i>	'three'
	Erg.	<i>sa-da</i>		<i>q'we-d-a</i>		<i>pud-a</i>	
	Gen.	<i>sa-da-n</i>		<i>q'we-d-a-n</i>		<i>pud-a-n</i>	
	Pl.	<i>sa-bur</i>					

In this section the focus is on substantivized adjectives because the other substantivizations are mostly dealt with elsewhere.

The substantivized adjective is used in three major types of contexts: Anaphora (8.1.1.1.), adjective-to-noun conversion (8.1.1.2.), and predicative position (8.1.1.3.).

8.1.1.1. Anaphora. This is illustrated by (251).

- (251) a. *Hixtin televizor k'an-zawa wa-z? Ğweč'i-di,*
 which television want-IMPF you-DAT little-SBST.SG
č'exi-di, rang.uni-n-di? (K86,2:7)
 big-SBST.SG color-GEN-SBST.SG

'What kind of TV set do you want? A little one, a big one, a color one?'

- b. *Sa tup wini mahle.d-a awa-j ħele.di-n ħaw.a-l,*
 one cannon [upper quarter-INNESS be.in-PTP] fortress-GEN roof-SRESS
mükü-di — aġa mahle.d-a, pud laħaj-di-ni
 other-SBST.SG lower quarter-INNESS three ORD-SBST.SG-and
juq'w.a-l ecig-da. (K87,1:7)
 middle-SRESS build-FUT

'One cannon will be built on the roof of the fortress in the upper quarter [of the city], the other one (on that of the one) in the lower quarter, and a third one in the middle.'

8.1.1.2. Adjective-to-noun conversion. When converted to nouns, adjectives can refer either to people, as in (252), or to abstract things, as in (253).

(252) *I dünja.da-l q^hsan-bur pis-bur.u-laj gzaf ja.* (Š83:50)
 this world-SRESS good-SBST.PL bad-SBST.PL-SREL many COP
 'In this world the good (people) are more numerous than the bad (people).'

(253) *Čna c'iji-di kar.di-k kuta-daldi kühne-d.a-kaj*
 we:ERG [new-SBST.SG thing-SBESS put.under-POSTR] old-SBST.SG-SBEL
otkaz-zawa. (Ko90,2,2:1)
 give.up-IMPF
 'We give up the old (things) before we introduce the new (things).'

8.1.1.3. Predicative adjectives. Substantivized adjectives can be used predicatively, much like plain adjectives. The difference in meaning seems to be very slight (cf. 17.2.).

(254) a. *Idris qe šad tir. Am baxtlu tir.* (N88:57)
 Idris today glad COP.PST he:ABS happy COP.PST
 'Idris was glad today. He was happy.'

b. *Kün hamiša ümür.d-a baxtlu-bur řu-raj,*
 you.all:ABS always life-INESS happy-SBST.PL be-OPT
zi bala-jar. (S88:167)
 I:GEN child-PL
 'May you-all always in life be happy, my children.'

Predicative substantivized adjectives agree in number with the subject. This is the only instance of agreement in Lezgian. Cf. (254c), contrasting with (254b).

(254) c. *Wun hamiša ümür.d-a baxtlu-di řu-raj, zi bala.*
 you:ABS always life-INESS happy-SBST.SG be-OPT I:GEN child
 'May you always in life be happy, my child.'

For non-adjectives that can be substantivized, substantivization is a necessary precondition for predicative use. (See also 19.3. on predicative substantivized participles.) For instance, the Genitive NP in (255a) can be used predicatively only in the substantivized form shown in (255b).

(255) a. *sa žins.ini-n opredeleni-jar* (G57:42)
 one kind-GEN attribute-PL
 'coordinate attributes (lit. attributes of one kind)'

b. *Ina opredeleni-jar sa žins.ini-n-bur ja.* (G57:42)
 here attribute-PL one kind-GEN-SBST.PL COP
 'Here the attributes are coordinate.'

8.1.2. Adjectival adverbs

There are two main adverb forming suffixes in Lezgian, *-dakaz* and *-diz/-z*, as well as several minor suffixes.

8.1.2.1. The suffixes *-dakaz* and *-diz/-z*. The suffix *-dakaz* is invariable. The suffix *-diz/-z* has two variants: *-z* is used with adjectives that end in a vowel, *-diz* is used with adjectives that end in a consonant. Adjectives ending in *-n* (which optionally fuses with a preceding vowel, yielding a final nasal vowel, cf. 3.3.2.4.) can have either *-z* or *-diz*. Both these suffixes are very general and can be used with almost any adjective, e.g.

- | | | | |
|----------|-------------------------|--|---------------|
| (256) a. | <i>gürčeg</i> | <i>gürčeg-dakaz</i> | 'beautifully' |
| b. | <i>sağ</i> | <i>sağ-dakaz</i> | 'soundly' |
| c. | <i>k'ewi</i> | <i>k'ewi-dakaz</i> | 'strongly' |
| d. | <i>aktivnyj</i> | <i>aktivnyj-dakaz</i> | 'actively' |
| (257) a. | <i>gürčeg</i> | <i>gürčeg-diz</i> | 'beautifully' |
| b. | <i>düz</i> | <i>düz-diz</i> | 'correctly' |
| c. | <i>k'ewi</i> | <i>k'ewi-z</i> | 'strongly' |
| d. | <i>zurba</i> | <i>zurba-z</i> | 'enormously' |
| (258) a. | <i>zalan</i> | <i>zalan-z/zalan-diz</i> | 'heavily' |
| b. | <i>q^hsan</i> | <i>q^hsan-z/q^hsan-diz</i> | 'well' |
| c. | <i>jaxun</i> | <i>jaxun-z/jaxun-diz</i> | 'meagrely' |

There is no difference in meaning between the two, but *-diz/-z* is more frequent. The suffix *-dakaz* is said to be originally from the Axceh dialect (Gadžiev 1954:174) and is rarely used in poetry but is not uncommon in prose. It is even more general than *-diz/-z* in that it can be attached to any adjective, even to adjectives borrowed from Russian like *aktivnyj* (cf. 256d). The suffix *-diz/-z* is impossible with such Russian adjectives.

The most common function of the adjectival adverbs is to express manner. This is illustrated in (259)-(262).

- (259) a. *Ada wiri k'walax-ar zirek-diz q'il-e tuxu-da-j.*
 she:ERG all work-PL energetic-ADV head-INESS carry-FUT-PST
 'She carried out all jobs energetically.' (DD77,1:10)
- b. *Wi rik'e-l či q'aq'an qaw q^hsan-diz alama-ni?*
 you:GEN head-SRESS we:GEN high roof good-ADV be.still.on-Q
 'Do you still remember our high roof well?' (H77:6)
- (260) a. *Č'aw gaf q'eri-z wa anžax poèzija.d-a halt-da.* (G82:19)
 č'aw word rare-ADV and only poetry-INESS meet-FUT
 'The word č'aw is found rarely and only in poetry.'
- b. *Mirzebeg.a k'ewi-z haraj-na: Jusuf xalu!* (L86,3:17)
 Mirzebeg(ERG) strong-ADV shout-AOR Jusuf uncle
 'Mirzebeg shouted loudly: uncle Jusuf!'

- (261) *Dilber.a wič insafsuz-dakaz alcur xa-ji-di q'at'a-na.*
 Dilber(ERG) [self cruel-ADV deceive ANTIC-AOP-SBST] perceive-AOR
 'Dilber realized that she had been cruelly deceived.' (R66:8)

Adjectival adverbs are also used copredicatively, i.e. modifying a noun phrase rather than the verb.

- (262) a. *Abur pašman-diz q^hfe-na.* (X89:156)
 they sad-ADV go.away-AOR
 'They went away sad (or: sadly).'
- b. *Pakama-z q'ud jac-ni sağ=salamat-diz xür.ü-z xta-na.*
 morning-DAT four bull-also healthy-ADV village-DAT return-AOR
 'In the morning all four bulls returned to the village unharmed.'
 (K88,9:5)
- c. *Gišila žennet.di-z awat-daldi tux-diz žehennem-diz*
 [[hungry paradise-DAT get-POSTR] satisfied-ADV hell-DAT
awat-un q^hsan ja. (K87,2:16)
 get-MSD] good COP
 'It is better to go to hell satisfied than to go to paradise hungry.'
- d. *jak ėig-diz t'ü-n* (TG66:370)
 meat raw-ADV eat-MSD
 'to eat meat raw'

Adjectival adverbs resemble the Imperfective converb of verbs (-z, cf. 9.3.2.1., 9.9.3.) not just formally. The two also show intriguing functional similarities. Thus, the adjectival adverb may be used as a kind of complement of the verb *akun* 'see', much like verbal converb forms (20.6.2.).

- (263) *Abur.u-z har sa deq'iq'a baha-z akwa-zwa-j.* (J89:24)
 they-DAT every one minute dear-ADV see-IMPFPST
 'Every minute seemed valuable to them.'

Furthermore, both adjectival adverbs and converbs are used with the local copula *ama* 'be still' (17.6.6.1.), and adjectival adverbs may be reduplicated, like the Imperfective converb (21.2.):

- (264) *Ada xürek ėimi-z=ėimi-z ne-zwa.* (TG66:370)
 she:ERG meal hot-ADV=hot-ADV eat-IMPFP
 'She eats the meal (while it is) hot.'

8.1.2.2. Minor adverb suffixes. The suffix *-k'a* forms adjectival adverbs from a small number of adjectives, e.g.:

- (265) a. *ė'uru ė'uru-k'a* 'wrongly'
 b. *c'iji c'iji-k'a* 'newly'

This suffix is also used with pronominal stems (see 11.3.). Examples:

- (266) a. *č'uru-k'a terbijalamiš-aj ajal* (DD77,6:14)
 [wrong-ADV bring.up-AOP] child
 'a child brought up wrongly'
- b. *Sulejman i tema.di-w lap masa-k'a egeč-na.*
 Sulejman this theme-ADESS very other-ADV approach-AOR
 'Sulejman approached this topic completely differently.'
 (Šejxov 1983b:56)

The suffix *-Aba* forms adjectival adverbs from a number of adjectives. Such forms are rare in the standard language.

- (267) a. *bürq'ü* *bürq'w-eba* 'blindly'
 b. *ekü* *ekw-eba* 'openly'
 c. *q'uru* *q'ur-aba* 'dryly'

The suffix *-Aldi* forms adjectival adverbs from a few adjectives.

- (268) a. *kürü* *kür-eldi* 'shortly'
 b. *jargi* *jarg-aldi* 'far'

The suffix *-wileldi*, which is very productive and frequent, can perhaps be regarded as an adverb-forming suffix. It is really the Superdirective case of the abstract suffix *-wal* (see 7.3.1.1.), but it hardly differs in meaning from the corresponding adverb in *-dakaz*, e.g.:

- (269) *taxsirsuz* 'innocent'
taxsirsuzwal 'innocence'
taxsirsuzwileldi 'with innocence = innocently' (= *taxsirsuzdakaz*)

8.1.2.3. Adjectives as adverbs. While the adverbial forms (8.1.2.1.-2.) are usually used when adjectives are used adverbially, bare adjectives are also possible in adverbial function.

- (270) a. *Ruš-ar.i-z urus č'al lap zajif či-zwa-j.* (Q81:43)
 girl-PL-DAT Russian language very weak know-IMPF-PST
 'The girls knew Russian very poorly.'
- b. *Raḡini gzaḡ pis čra-zwa.* (TG66:374)
 sun(ERG) much bad burn-IMPF
 'The sun is burning very badly.'
- c. *Hürmet.a-z abur.u-n arada ḡa-ji ahwalat lap*
 Hürmet-DAT [they-GEN between become-AOP] event very
q^hsan či-zwa-j. (R66:27)
 good know-IMPF-PST
 'Hürmet knew very well what had happened to them.'

8.1.3. Predicative suffixes on adjectives

8.1.3.1. The predicative suffix *-da*. The Lezgian grammatical literature mentions a suffix *-da* that can be attached to adjectives and gives them a predicative function (Uslar 1896:93-95, 190-194; Gadžiev 1954:48; Ramaldanov 1980). There is also a corresponding Past tense form *-da-j*.

(271)	<i>čimi</i>	'warm'	<i>čimida</i>	'(it) is warm'
	<i>meq'i</i>	'cold'	<i>meq'ida</i>	'(it) is cold'
	<i>q^hsan</i>	'good'	<i>q^hsanda</i>	'is good'
	<i>gišin</i>	'hungry'	<i>gišinda</i>	'is hungry'
	<i>širin</i>	'sweet'	<i>širinda</i>	'is sweet'

This suffix is not used in the modern standard language, except in the cases *k'anda* 'wants', *čida* 'knows', *t'ada* 'hurts', *kič'eda* 'fears' (9.5.2.1.-4.), which are treated as verbs in this grammar.

The Future suffix *-da* is clearly also related to predicative *-da* and to *-da* in *k'an-da* etc. The most likely scenario that relates these three instances of *-da* is the following: *-da* is originally a copula, closely related etymologically to the standard copula *ja* and the local copulas *awa* etc. (*d/j* are originally different gender markers, and *aw-* etc. are preverbs). It was suffixed to adjectives, yielding forms as in (271) and to (some kind of participial form of) verbs, yielding a general present tense which was later restricted to habitual and future uses (9.3.2.4.). Adjectival forms as in (271) then fell into disuse, surviving only in forms like *k'anda* etc. (which had become verbs).

Most examples of predicative *-da* that are given in the sources are from adjectives denoting environmental and psychological states, often lacking a subject (or at least an Absolutive subject).

- (272) a. *Qe serin-da.* (G54:48)
today cool-PRED
'Today it is cool.'
- b. *K'wal-e čimi-da-č-ir.* (G54:48)
room-INESS warm-PRED-NEG-PST
'It wasn't warm in the room.'
- c. *Za-z meq'i-da.* (G54:48)
I-DAT cold-PRED
'I feel cold.'
- d. *Za-z gišin-da.* (TG66:87)
I-DAT hungry-PRED
'I am hungry.'
- e. *Hawa q^hsan-da.* (G54:48)
weather good-PRED
'The weather is good.'

However, some other adjectives are also mentioned:

- (273) a. *I ğür tüq'ül-da.* (G54:48)
 this flour bitter-PRED
 'This flour is bitter.'
- b. *Iĉ širin-da.* (G54:48)
 apple sweet-PRED
 'The apple is sweet.'
- c. *Ina ĉ'ur ĩacu-da.* (Uslar 1896:94)
 here pasture green-PRED
 'Here the pasture is green.'

8.1.3.2. The Imperfective suffixes *-z(a)wa/-z(a)ma* on adjectives. The verbal Imperfective suffix *-z(a)wa* and the Continuative Imperfective suffix *-z(a)ma* (cf. 9.3.2.2.-3.) are occasionally used as predicative suffixes on adjectives. This use seems to be restricted to adjectives ending in a vowel or *-n*, which is not surprising in view of the following considerations: The Imperfective in verbs is based on the Imperfective converb *-(i)z* plus *awa* (> *-z(a)wa*). The adjectival form that corresponds to the verbal Imperfective converb in several respects is the adjectival adverb in *-diz/-z* (8.1.2.), but this has the form *-z* only in adjectives ending in a vowel or *-n*. Thus, an adjectival Imperfective form can arise in a similar manner only in these adjectives:

- (274) a. Verbal Imperfective: Imperfective converb + *awa*
fī-z awa > *fizwa* 'is going'
kilig-iz awa > *kilig-zawa* 'is looking'
- b. Adjectival Imperfective: adjectival adverb (*-z*) + *awa*
ĉimi-z awa > *ĉimizwa* 'is warm'
gišin-z awa > *gišinzawa* 'is hungry'

The few examples of the use of the adjectival Imperfective are mostly from the same type of adjectives that take the predicative suffix *-da* (8.1.3.1.), i.e. adjectives denoting environmental and psychological states.

- (275) a. *Ada-z gišin-zawa žedi.* (A90:28)
 it-DAT hungry-IMPF PF
 'It (the bird) is probably hungry.'
- b. *Sad mükü-d.a-laj žizwi ask'an-zawa.* (Q81:43)
 one other-SBST.SG-SREL little low-IMPF
 'One is a little shorter than the other.'

Examples for the adjectival Continuative Imperfective:

- (276) a. *Helelig žiw-er q̄wa-nwa-č-ir. Hawa-jar t'imil čimi-zma-j.*
 still snow-PL fall-PRF-NEG-PST air-PL little warm-IMPF.CONT-PST
 'Snow had not fallen yet. The weather was still a little warm.'
 (A90:27)
- b. *Ada-z wiči-n roman patal küne ga-ji žtin*
 he-DAT self-GEN novel for [you.all:ERG give-AOP] like
delil-ar kimi-zma-j. (Q81:111)
 detail-PL lacking-IMPF.CONT-PST
 'For his novel he still needed details like the ones you gave.'
- c. *Rağ dağ.di-n žiwe.di k'ew-nawa-j kuk'uš.di-q^h q^hfī-z*
 sun [mountain-GEN [snow(ERG) cover-PRF-PST] peak-POESS return-INF]
hazur řa-nwa-j, amma q̄ece hele lap ekü-zma-j. (J89:30)
 ready be-PRF-PST but outside still very light-IMPF.CONT-PST
 'The sun was about to return behind the snow-covered peak of the
 mountain, but outside it was still quite light.'

Adjectival Imperfective forms may even have Secondary Imperfective con-
 verbs:

- (277) *Ğweč'i-zma-z weč.re-n k'anik kwa-j kaka-jar*
 [[small-IMPF.CONT-IMC] [chicken-GEN under be.under-PTP] egg-PL
čünüx-zawa-j-d.a, č'exi řa-ji-la wuč iji-da?
 steal-IMPF-PTP-SBST.SG(ERG) [big become-AOP-TEMP] what:ABS do-FUT
 'What will a person who stole eggs (from) under a chicken while still
 being small do when s/he grows up?' (DD71,3:21)

8.1.4. Nationality words

Words denoting nationalities show some peculiarities. They may be used ei-
 ther as nouns or as adjectives. (The relationship between nationality nouns
 and adjectives could perhaps be subsumed under conversion, cf. 7.3.3.) E.g.

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|---------------------|
| (278) <i>lezgi</i> | 1. Lezgian (person)
2. Lezgian (adj.) | Pl. <i>lezgġjar</i> |
| <i>arab</i> | 1. Arab (person)
2. Arab, Arabic (adj.) | Pl. <i>arábar</i> |
| <i>nems</i> | 1. German (person)
2. German (adj.) | Pl. <i>nemsér</i> |

Some examples for the adjectival use of nationality words:

- (279) a. *qazax ruš* (Š83:98)
Kazakh girl
'a Kazakh girl'
- b. *nems xalq'di-n max* (K87,1:13)
German people-GEN fairy.tale
'a German folktale'
- c. *Alim-r.i rutul wa c'axur č'al-ar.a-ldi alfavit-ar*
scholar-PL(ERG) Rutul and Tsakhur language-PL-SRDIR alphabet-PL
tesnif-nawa. (Ko89,10,15:1)
create-PRF
'Scholars have created alphabets in the Rutul and Tsakhur languages.'
- d. *Qumuq' wa avar, lak wa čečen, urus wa*
Kumyk and Avar Lak and Chechen Russian and
ukrain dišehlji-jr.i xaji wax-ar.i xiz zehmet
Ukrainian woman-PL(ERG) native sister-PL(ERG) like work
č'ugwa-zwa. (DD71,6:11)
pull-IMPF
'Kumyk and Avar, Lak and Chechen, Russian and Ukrainian women are working like sisters.'

However, besides the bare nationality word, the Genitive Plural of the noun is also often used in a purely adjectival sense.

- (280) a. *arab-r.i-n alim Jaqutan* (L87,2:74)
Arab-PL-GEN scholar Jaqutan
'The Arab scholar Jaqutan'
- b. *urus-r.i-n xür*
Russian-PL-GEN village
'a Russian village'

8.2. Adjectival derivation

Besides the suffixes mentioned in this section, there are various participial suffixes which derive participles (=verbal adjectives) from verbs. Since participles are part of the verbal paradigm, they are considered inflectional affixes and are described in Ch. 9 (9.3., 9.3.3.2., 9.9.2., 9.10.4.).

8.2.1. Derivational suffixes

8.2.1.1. -lu and -suz. The suffixes *-lu* 'having' and *-suz* 'lacking' are the only frequent and productive adjective-forming affixes in Lezgian. They are commonly added to Oriental loanwords (mostly with abstract meaning), thus still betraying their Turkic origin.

(281) a.	<i>merhemet</i>	'mercy':	<i>merhemetlu</i>	'merciful'
			<i>merhemetsuz</i>	'ruthless'
b.	<i>sabur</i>	'self-control':	<i>saburlu</i>	'patient'
			<i>sabursuz</i>	'impatient'
c.	<i>fahum</i>	'reason, sense':	<i>fahumlu</i>	'thoughtful'
			<i>fahumsuz</i>	'brainless'
d.	<i>šak</i>	'doubt':	<i>šaklu</i>	'doubtful'
			<i>šaksuz</i>	'doubtless'
e.	<i>ğejrat</i>	'courage':	<i>ğejratlu</i>	'courageous'
			<i>ğejratsuz</i>	'pusillanimous'

Such cases, where *-lu* and *-suz* are attached to the same noun and have opposite meaning, are quite typical. But sometimes only one of them exists:

(282) a.	<i>rang</i>	'color':	<i>rangsuz</i>	'colorless'
b.	<i>majil</i>	'inclination':	<i>majilsuz</i>	'disinclined'
(283) a.	<i>azar</i>	'disease':	<i>azarlu</i>	'sick'
b.	<i>länet</i>	'damnation':	<i>länetlu</i>	'damned'

8.2.1.2. -U. This non-productive suffix (*-u/-ü/-i* according to the rules of Vowel Harmony) derives adjectives from abstract nouns. The adjectives derived in this way are often quite basic in meaning (color, physical properties).

(284)	<i>qaz</i>	'verdure, green'	<i>qacu</i>	'green'
	<i>jar</i>	'dawn, glow'	<i>jaru</i>	'red'
	<i>laz</i>	'white of egg'	<i>lacu</i>	'white'
	<i>qib</i>	'yolk'	<i>qhipi</i>	'yellow'
	<i>c'ar</i>	'line'	<i>c'aru</i>	'variegated'
	<i>cur</i>	'sour molasses'	<i>curu</i>	'sour'
	<i>meq'</i>	'cold(ness)'	<i>meq'i</i>	'cold'
	<i>lam</i>	'dampness'	<i>lamu</i>	'damp'
	<i>jarğ</i>	'length'	<i>jarği</i>	'long'
	<i>q'ec'</i>	'lameness'	<i>q'ec'i</i>	'lame'
	<i>q'ur</i>	'dryness'	<i>q'uru</i>	'dry'

8.2.1.3. *-an*. This suffix derives relational adjectives from adverbs, in particular temporal adverbs. Its shape would seem to be related to the Genitive case suffix *-n*. The suffix *-an* is reduced to *-n* after an unstressed final vowel, and *h* is inserted after a stressed final vowel.

(285)	<i>naq'</i>	'yesterday'	<i>naq'án</i>	'yesterday's'
	<i>šaz</i>	'last year'	<i>šazán</i>	'last year's'
	<i>wilík</i>	'before'	<i>wilíkan</i>	'former, previous'
	<i>hák'(a)</i>	'thus, so'	<i>hák'an</i>	'simple'
	<i>naháq'(a)</i>	'in vain'	<i>naháq'an</i>	'useless, in vain'
	<i>gíla</i>	'now'	<i>gílan</i>	'present'
	<i>činéba</i>	'secretly'	<i>činéban</i>	'secret'
	<i>paká</i>	'tomorrow'	<i>pakáhan</i>	'tomorrow's'
	<i>sifté</i>	'at the beginning'	<i>siftéhan</i>	'initial'

A few cases are derived from nouns:

(286)	<i>pakáma</i>	'morning'	<i>pakáman</i>	'matutinal'
	<i>tab</i>	'lie, falsehood'	<i>tapan</i>	'false'

A few temporal adverbs take the suffix *-nin* for the same purpose:

(287)	<i>q̄e</i>	'today'	<i>q̄e-nin</i>	'today's, hodiernal'
	<i>c'i</i>	'this year'	<i>c'i-nin</i>	'this year's'

8.2.2. Derivational prefix

Lezgian has a few words borrowed from Persian in which the initial element *bej-* 'non-, lacking' occurs (Persian *bi-*). Some of these are used only in the poetic language.

(288)	<i>kar</i>	'job, work'	<i>bejkar</i>	'idle'
	<i>hal</i>	'health'	<i>bejhal</i>	'weak'
	<i>kef</i>	'bliss'	<i>bejkef</i>	'offended'
	<i>teref</i>	'side'	<i>bejteref</i>	'neutral'
	<i>xabar</i>	'news'	<i>bejxabar</i>	'uninformed'
	<i>namus</i>	'honor'	<i>bejnamus</i>	'dishonorable'

Chapter 9

Verbal inflection

9.1. Introduction

There are two morphological verb classes, strong verbs and weak verbs. Strong verbs are stressed on the thematic vowel (i.e., on the syllable following the verb base), e.g. *rax-ú-n* 'talk', whereas weak verbs are stressed on the base and do not have a thematic vowel, e.g. *kís-un* 'fall silent' (the citation form of verbs is the Masdar, which ends in *-n/-un*).

The verbal inflectional suffixes can be divided into three groups depending on the form of the stem to which they are attached. The three stems, which are called Masdar stem, Imperfective stem, and Aorist stem here, are distinguished only in strong verbs. In weak verbs all three coincide with the base. The following partial paradigms illustrate this (see below 9.3., 9.4. for more complete paradigms):

	strong verb <i>raxun</i> 'talk'	strong verb <i>fin</i> 'go'	weak verb <i>kisun</i> 'fall asleep'
base	<i>rax-</i>	<i>f-</i>	<i>kis-</i>
Masdar stem	<i>rax-ú-</i>	<i>f-i-</i>	<i>kis-</i>
Masdar	<i>rax-ú-n</i>	<i>f-i-n</i>	<i>kís-un</i>
Optative	<i>rax-ú-raj</i>	<i>f-í-raj</i>	<i>kís-raj</i>
Imperfective stem	<i>rax-á-</i>	<i>f-i-</i>	<i>kis-</i>
Infinitive	<i>rax-á-z</i>	<i>f-i-z</i>	<i>kís-iz</i>
Imperfective	<i>rax-á-zwa</i>	<i>f-í-zwa</i>	<i>kís-zawa</i>
Future	<i>rax-á-da</i>	<i>f-í-da</i>	<i>kís-da</i>
Prohibitive	<i>rax-á-mir</i>	<i>f-í-mir</i>	<i>kís-mir</i>
Aorist stem	<i>rax-á-</i>	<i>f-e-</i>	<i>kis-</i>
Aorist	<i>rax-á-na</i>	<i>f-é-na</i>	<i>kís-na</i>
Perfect	<i>rax-á-nwa</i>	<i>f-é-nwa</i>	<i>kís-nawa</i>
Aorist participle	<i>rax-á-j</i>	<i>f-e-jl</i>	<i>kís-aj</i>

Sections 9.2.-9.5. of this chapter describe the formal aspects of verbal inflection, and sections 9.6.-9.9. describe the functions of the verbal inflectional categories.

9.2. The three stems of strong verbs

The stems of strong verbs are generally formed by suffixing a thematic vowel to the base, but there are also a few cases of stem suppletion. The quality of the thematic vowel depends on the quality of the stem vowel and

is determined by Vowel Harmony (4.4., 5.5.) and Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony (4.5., 5.7.). As a consequence of this, only vowel height is distinctive. The thematic vowel of the Masdar stem is always high (*U*), whereas the thematic vowel of the Imperfective stem and the Aorist stem may be high (*U*) or low (*A*). All possible combinations occur (*U-U-A*, *U-A-A*, *U-A-U*, and *U-U-U*), e.g.:

	Masdar	Infinitive	Aorist	
strong verbs:				
<i>U-U-A</i>	<i>ac'-ú-n</i> <i>q^hič-t-n</i>	<i>ac'-ú-z</i> <i>q^hič-t-z</i>	<i>ac'-a-na</i> <i>q^hič-e-na</i>	'be filled' 'sprinkle'
<i>U-A-A</i>	<i>gat-ú-n</i> <i>q^hür-ü-n</i>	<i>gat-á-z</i> <i>q^hür-é-z</i>	<i>gat-á-na</i> <i>q^hür-é-na</i>	'beat' 'laugh'
<i>U-A-U</i>	<i>č'ug-ú-n</i>	<i>č'ugw-á-z</i>	<i>č'ug-ú-na</i>	'pull, draw'
<i>U-U-U</i>	<i>q̄a č-ú-n</i>	<i>q̄a č-ú-z</i>	<i>q̄a č-ú-na</i>	'take'
weak verbs:	<i>kłs-un</i>	<i>kłs-iz</i>	<i>kłs-na</i>	'fall silent'

In the following a complete list of strong verbs is given, based largely on Moor (1985) (which, in turn, is based on Talibov & Gadžiev 1966). Subsections 9.2.1-4. list the verbs that belong to each of the four distribution patterns of thematic vowels, and subsections 9.2.5-6. list verbs with irregularities.

The exact form of the thematic vowel can be derived from the rules of vowel harmony given in 5.5. The following alternations are found:

	<i>U-U-A</i>	<i>U-A-A</i>	<i>U-A-U</i>	<i>U-U-U</i>
<i>-u-n</i>	<i>-un / -uz / -ana</i>	<i>-un / -az / -ana</i>	<i>-un / -az / -una</i>	<i>-un / -uz / -una</i>
<i>-ü-n</i>	<i>-ün / -üz / -ena</i>	<i>-ün / -ez / -ena</i>	—	—
<i>-i-n</i>	<i>-in / -iz / -ena</i>	<i>-in / -iz / -ena</i>	—	—

Another alternation that shows up in strong verbs is Neutralization of Obstruent Labialization (4.6.) before round vowels (*u*, *ü*). Thus we have the following pair of verbs, where the contrast is neutralized in the Masdar stem.

<i>üc'-ü-n</i>	<i>üc'w-e-z</i>	<i>üc'w-e-na</i>	'collapse'
<i>küc'-ü-n</i>	<i>küc'-e-z</i>	<i>küc'-e-na</i>	'become wet'

In the following list, the verbs are given in the Masdar form, and the morphophonemic labialization of the final stem consonant is indicated by a superscript *w* in parentheses.

9.2.1. Verbs with thematic vowels *U-U-A*

<i>-i-n:</i>	<i>f-i-n</i>	'go'
	<i>q^hič-i-n</i>	'sprinkle'
	<i>k(i)č-i-n</i>	'write'

	<i>q'ež-i-n</i>	'become wet'
	<i>weh-i-n</i>	'throw'
	<i>kf-i-n</i>	'be pregnant (animal)'
	<i>gig-i-n</i>	'denounce as a thief'
- <i>ü-n</i>	<i>x^(w)-ü-n</i>	'keep, preserve, guard'
	<i>g^(w)-ü-n</i>	'reap, harvest'
	<i>tük^(w)-ü-n</i>	'work well, get along'
- <i>u-n:</i>	<i>g-u-n</i>	'give'
	<i>k-u-n</i>	'burn'
	<i>kuk^(w)-u-n</i>	'lace up'
	<i>k(u)s-u-n</i>	'sleep'
	<i>tux^(w)-u-n</i>	'carry'
	<i>wug-u-n</i>	'give (temporarily)'
	<i>ac'-u-n</i>	'become full'
	<i>at'-u-n</i>	'cut'
	<i>č'ag-u-n</i>	'freeze'
	<i>q'ac'-u-n</i>	'get soiled, dirty'
	<i>q'at'-u-n</i>	'collect'

9.2.2. Verbs with thematic vowels U-A-A

- <i>i-n</i>	<i>if-i-n</i>	'become hot'
	<i>q'eč'-i-n</i>	'shake'
	<i>eč'-i-n</i>	'weed'
	<i>qeč'-i-n</i>	'reel, wind'
	<i>kič'-i-n</i>	'sprinkle'
- <i>ü-n</i>	<i>čüq^(w)-ü-n</i>	'press'
	<i>küc'-ü-n</i>	'become wet'
	<i>q^hür-ü-n</i>	'laugh'
	<i>šütq^(w)-ü-n</i>	'wither, become crumpled'
	<i>üc^(w)-ü-n</i>	'collapse'
	<i>elq^(w)-ü-n</i>	'turn'
	<i>eḡ^(w)-ü-n</i>	'go around'
	<i>eḡ^(w)-ü-n</i>	'dig'
	<i>gelq^(w)-ü-n</i>	'look after, take care of'
	<i>qeḡ^(w)-ü-n</i>	'go around'
	<i>reḡ^(w)-ü-n</i>	'grind'
	<i>eq^{h(w)}-ü-n</i>	'bathe'
	<i>eq^(w)-ü-n</i>	'fuck'
- <i>u-n</i>	<i>c^(w)-u-n</i>	'sew'
	<i>c-u-n</i>	'plow'
	<i>q^{h(w)}-u-n</i>	'drink'
	<i>q̄^(w)-u-n</i>	'fall (precipitation)'
	<i>x-u-n</i>	'break; give birth to'
	<i>čux^(w)-u-n</i>	'scratch'
	<i>kuc-u-n</i>	'pour'
	<i>q^huq^(w)-u-n</i>	'stop crying, take comfort'
	<i>q^huq̄^(w)-u-n</i>	'become hard'

<i>q̄uḡ^(w)-u-n</i>	'play'
<i>q'ur-u-n</i>	'become dry'
<i>ruw-u-n</i>	'astringe; become astringent'
<i>ac-u-n</i>	'milk'
<i>aḡ-u-n</i>	'believe'
<i>gat-u-n</i>	'beat'
<i>rax-u-n</i>	'talk'
<i>t'aq'-u-n</i>	'freeze'
<i>žaq^(w)-u-n</i>	'chew'
<i>q̄ars-u-n</i>	'shake, shiver'
<i>juz-u-n</i>	'move (intr.)'

9.2.3. Verbs with thematic vowels U-A-U

<i>-u-n</i>	<i>q'-u-n</i>	'hold'
	<i>t-u-n</i>	'leave'
	<i>t^(w)-u-n</i>	'put'
	<i>č'ug^(w)-u-n</i>	'draw, pull'
	<i>kuṭ-u-n</i>	'put under'
	<i>tuk^(w)-u-n</i>	'cut, split'
	<i>žuz-u-n</i>	'ask'
	<i>x(u)k'-u-n</i>	'touch'

9.2.4. Verb with thematic vowels U-U-U

<i>-u-n</i>	<i>q̄a č-u-n</i>	'take'
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9.2.5. Verbs with thematic vowels u-i-a

The thematic vowels of these verbs cannot be derived from their height by vowel harmony. Note that the root vowel is in all cases *a* (except for those verbs that lack a root vowel). An example is *alk'-ú-n*, Infinitive *alk'-t-z*, Aorist *alk'-á-na*.

<i>-u-n</i>	<i>ḡ-u-n</i>	'bring'
	<i>xku-n</i>	'bring back'
	<i>alk'-u-n</i>	'stick'
	<i>alḡ-u-n</i>	'stoop, bend (intr.)'
	<i>galk'-u-n</i>	'cling, stutter'
	<i>gat'k'-u-n</i>	'strike off'
	<i>gat'-u-n</i>	'stop giving milk'
	<i>q̄atku-n</i>	'lie down'

9.2.6. Verbs with root vowel alternations

These verbs have the same thematic vowels as those in 9.2.5., but in addition they show alternations of their root vowel. Their root vowel is generally high (with the exception of *ak'un*).

	Masdar	Infinitive	Aorist	
<i>U-U-A</i>	<i>luh-u-n</i>	<i>luh-u-z</i>	<i>lah-a-na</i>	'say'
<i>U-A-A</i>	<i>c'ur-u-n</i>	<i>c'r-a-z</i>	<i>c'r-a-na</i>	'melt, dissolve'
	<i>čur-u-n</i>	<i>čr-a-z</i>	<i>čr-a-na</i>	'bake'
	<i>rug-u-n</i>	<i>rg-a-z</i>	<i>rg-a-na</i>	'boil'
	<i>ruš-u-n</i>	<i>rš-a-z</i>	<i>rš-a-na</i>	'make the warp for'
	<i>xur-u-n</i>	<i>xr-a-z</i>	<i>xr-a-na</i>	'weave'
<i>u-i-a</i>	<i>ak'-u-n</i>	<i>ek'-i-z</i>	<i>ak'-a-na</i>	'stick, get stuck'
	<i>čuk'-u-n</i>	<i>čk'-i-z</i>	<i>čk'-a-na</i>	'dissolve, spread'
	<i>đug-u-n</i>	<i>dig-i-z</i>	<i>dig-a-na</i>	'water; go; suit'
	<i>kuk'-u-n</i>	<i>kik'-i-z</i>	<i>kk'-a-na</i>	'stick'
	<i>kutku-n</i>	<i>kitki-z</i>	<i>ktka-na</i>	'get used'
	<i>kut'-u-n</i>	<i>kit'-i-z</i>	<i>kt'-a-na</i>	'rot, decompose'
	<i>rut'-u-n</i>	<i>rit'-i-z</i>	<i>rt'-a-na</i>	'become tart'
	<i>šutku-n</i>	<i>štki-z</i>	<i>štka-na</i>	'sweep'
	<i>žug'-u-n</i>	<i>žig'-i-z</i>	<i>ž(a)g'-a-na</i>	'find'

In some of these cases the change of the stem vowel can perhaps be accounted for purely phonologically. This concerns especially *čuk'un*, *kuk'un*, *kutkun*, *kut'un*, and *šutkun*, where the stem vowel disappears by Pretonic High Vowel Syncope (4.1.1.). The *i* in forms like *kik'iz*, *kitkiz*, etc. would then be purely orthographic (cf. the Aorist stem, where no *i* follows and the stem vowel is completely absent in the spelling). But in the other cases the environment for standard vowel syncope is not met and we are clearly dealing with morphological alternations.

9.2.7. Verbs with suppletive stem formation

In seven verbs, stem formation involves a suppletive Imperfective stem:

	Masdar	Infinitive	Aorist	
<i>U-U-A</i>	<i>q̄-u-n</i>	<i>req̄-i-z</i>	<i>q̄-a-na</i>	'become cold'
	<i>q'-i-n</i>	<i>req'-i-z</i>	<i>q'-e-na</i>	'kill, die'
<i>U-A-A</i>	<i>at-u-n</i>	<i>q̄we-z</i>	<i>at-a-na</i>	'come'
	<i>xt-u-n</i>	<i>xkwe-z</i>	<i>xt-a-na</i>	'come again'
	<i>ŝ-u-n</i>	<i>že-z</i>	<i>ŝ-a-na</i>	'become'
<i>U-A-U</i>	<i>t'-ü-n</i>	<i>ne-z</i>	<i>t'-ü-na</i>	'eat'
<i>U-U-U</i>	<i>aw-u-n</i>	<i>iji-z</i>	<i>aw-u-na</i>	'do'

Two suppletive verbs have an additional syllable *re-* in the Imperfective stem. Alekseev (1985:77) identifies this as an old imperfective marker that has cognates in closely related languages.

9.3. Verbal inflectional categories

The following list gives a complete overview of verbal inflectional categories. We will say that the participles, the converbs, the Infinitive, the Masdar, and the Periphrasis forms are non-finite, and that the remaining verb forms are finite. Within the group of finite verb forms, the Hortative, the Optative, the Imperative, and the Prohibitive will be said to be non-indicative, the others are indicative.

(A) Primary verb forms (*fīn* 'go')

	affirmative	negative	affirmative participle	negative participle
Masdar	<i>fī-n</i>	<i>te-fī-n</i>		
Optative	<i>fī-raj</i>	<i>te-fī-raj</i>		
Imperative	<i>alad</i>	–		
Infinitive	<i>fī-z</i>	<i>te-fī-z</i>		
Imperfective	<i>fī-zwa</i>	<i>fī-zwa-č</i>	<i>fī-zwa-j</i>	<i>te-fī-zwa-j</i>
Past Imperfective	<i>fī-zwa-j</i>	<i>fī-zwa-č-ir</i>		
Continuative Imperfective	<i>fī-zma</i>	<i>fī-zma-č</i>	<i>fī-zma-j</i>	<i>te-fī-zma-j</i>
Past Cont. Imperfective	<i>fī-zma-j</i>	<i>fī-zma-č-ir</i>		
Future	<i>fī-da</i>	–	<i>fī-da-j</i>	<i>te-fī-da-j</i>
Past Future	<i>fī-da-j</i>	<i>fī-da-č-ir</i>		
Hortative	<i>fī-n</i>	<i>te-fī-n</i>		
Prohibitive	<i>fī-mir</i>	–		
Posterior converb	<i>fī-daldi</i>	–		
Graduative converb	<i>fī-rdawaj</i>	–		
Imm.-Anterior converb	<i>fī-zma-z</i>	–		
Aorist	<i>fe-na</i>	<i>fe-na-č</i>	<i>fe-ji</i>	<i>te-fe-j</i>
Past Aorist	<i>fe-na-j</i>	<i>fe-na-č-ir</i>		
Perfect	<i>fe-nwa</i>	<i>fe-nwa-č</i>	<i>fe-nwa-j</i>	<i>te-fe-nwa</i>
Past Perfect	<i>fe-nwa-j</i>	<i>fe-nwa-č-ir</i>		
Continuative Perfect	<i>fe-nma</i>	<i>fe-nma-č</i>	<i>fe-nma-j</i>	<i>te-fe-nma-j</i>
Past Continuative Perfect	<i>fe-nma-j</i>	<i>fe-nma-č-ir</i>		
Aorist converb	<i>fe-na</i>	<i>te-fe-na</i>		
Imm.-Anterior converb	<i>fe-nmaz(di)</i>	<i>te-fe-nmaz(di)</i>		

(B) Secondary verb forms, based on other verb forms

Temporal converb	<i>-la</i>	(from any participle)
Imm.-Anterior converb	<i>-waldi</i>	(from the Aorist participle)
Conditional mood	<i>-t'a</i>	(from the Aorist participle and any indicative verb form)
Interrogative mood	<i>-ni</i>	(from any indicative verb form)
Purpose/Manner converb	<i>-wal</i>	(from nay participle)
Causal converb	<i>-wiläj</i>	(from any participle)
Secondary Imperfective converb	<i>-z</i>	(from the Imperfective and the Perfect)

The following generalizations can be made:

(i) The suffix *-j/-ir* derives Past forms from non-Past indicative forms (*-j* in affirmative forms, *-ir* in forms following the negative suffix *-č*).

(ii) Participles are derived from non-Past indicative forms by means of the suffix *-j*. (These participles are identical to the corresponding Past forms when they are not negated.) An exception is the Aorist participle, which is derived directly from the Aorist stem.

(iii) Indicative forms are negated by the suffix *-č* following the aspect suffix (and preceding the past suffix *-ir*), whereas non-finite forms and the Hortative and the Optative are negated with a *tV*-prefix or periphrastically.

In the following subsections (9.3.1.-5.) each verb form is described in more detail.

9.3.1. Forms derived from the Masdar stem

9.3.1.1. Masdar. The Masdar is a verbal noun. Its suffix is *-n* in strong verbs and *-un* in weak verbs. As a nominal form, the Masdar can be inflected for case and number (oblique stem *-i*, plural *-ar*). A few verbs whose base consists of a single consonant have a second Masdar form that is formed by reduplicating that consonant after the suffix *-n*, so that the pattern *C-V-n-V-C* results, e.g.:

<i>χu-n</i>	≈	<i>χu-n-uχ</i>	'being'
<i>fi-n</i>	≈	<i>fi-n-if</i>	'going'
<i>gu-n</i>	≈	<i>gu-n-ug</i>	'giving'
<i>ǧu-n</i>	≈	<i>ǧu-n-uǧ</i>	'bringing'
<i>q'u-n</i>	≈	<i>q'u-n-uq'</i>	'holding'
<i>q'i-n</i>	≈	<i>q'i-n-iq'</i>	'dying'

9.3.1.2. Optative. Its suffix is *-raj* both in weak verbs and in strong verbs. An alternative suffix that is used much more rarely is *-j/-uj* (*-j* in strong verbs, *-uj* in weak verbs).

9.3.1.3. Imperative. There are several different ways of forming the Imperative. Most strong verbs reduplicate the last consonant of the stem, e.g.:

<i>χ-u-n</i>	<i>χ-u-χ</i>	'become'
<i>čüx-ü-n</i>	<i>čüx-ü-x</i>	'wash'

When the last consonant of the stem is an *r*, then the first consonant is reduplicated, e.g.:

<i>xur-u-n</i>	<i>xur-u-x</i>	'weave'
<i>q'ur-u-n</i>	<i>q'ur-u-q'</i>	'dry'

Four verbs form their Imperative by means of a suffix *-r*.

<i>gutu-n</i>	<i>gutu-r</i>	'attach'
<i>kut-u-n</i>	<i>kutu-r</i>	'put under'
<i>tu-n</i>	<i>tu-r</i>	'leave'
<i>tu-n</i>	<i>tu-r</i>	'put'

In three verbs the Imperative is identical to the Masdar stem:

<i>aku-n</i>	<i>ak-u</i>	'see'
<i>č'ug-u-n</i>	<i>č'ug-u</i>	'pull'
<i>qāč-u-n</i>	<i>qāč-u</i>	'take'

Some verbs have suppletive Imperatives:

<i>atu-n</i>	<i>ša</i>	'come'
<i>xtu-n</i>	<i>q^hša</i>	'come back'
<i>awu-n</i>	<i>aja</i>	'do'
<i>q^huwu-n</i>	<i>q^hija</i>	'do again'
<i>fi-n</i>	<i>alad</i>	'go'
<i>q^hfi-n</i>	<i>q^hwač</i>	'go back, go away'
<i>gu-n</i>	<i>ce</i>	'give'
<i>wug-u-n</i>	<i>gece</i>	'give (temporarily)'
<i>t'ü-n</i>	<i>ne?</i>	'eat'

Other irregularities:

<i>q'i-n</i>	<i>jiq'</i>	'die'
<i>q'u-n</i>	<i>jaq'</i>	'hold'
<i>ǧu-n</i>	<i>ǧwaš</i>	'bring'
<i>xku-n</i>	<i>xkwaš</i>	'bring back'
<i>luh-u-n</i>	<i>lah</i>	'say'
<i>tux-u-n</i>	<i>twax</i>	'carry' (cf. 5.12.)
<i>weh-i-n</i>	<i>weh</i>	'throw'
<i>q^hič-i-n</i>	<i>q^hičig</i>	'sprinkle'
<i>q̄u-n</i>	<i>q̄ura</i>	'become cold'

Most weak verbs can either use the base as their Imperative or add an *-a* suffix. This suffix is obligatory in the following cases:

(A) after *-r*:

<i>q̄alur-u-n</i>	<i>q̄alur-a</i>	'show'
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(B) in *awun*-compounds (10.6.)

<i>zarb-u-n</i>	<i>zarb-a</i>	'multiply'
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(C) in verbs that have a corresponding anticausative (cf. 10.2.):

<i>igis-u-n</i>	<i>igis-a</i>	'approach'
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The Imperative cannot be negated. The Prohibitive (9.3.2.6.) is used instead.

9.3.2. Forms derived from the Imperfective stem

9.3.2.1. Infinitive (or Imperfective converb). Its suffix is *-z* in strong verbs and *-iz* in weak verbs. Since the Infinitive is also used in converbal function, it will sometimes be referred to as the Imperfective converb. There is no formal difference associated with the two functions, except that the converb is sometimes reduplicated (cf. 21.2. for details). Unlike the Masdar, the Infinitive cannot be inflected like a noun. In view of its likely origin in a Dative case marker, this is not surprising.

9.3.2.2. Imperfective. Its suffix is *-zwa* in strong verbs and *-zawa* in weak verbs. This form is a rather recent formation from the Imperfective converb plus the locative copula *awa*:

<i>gu-z</i> 'giving'	+ <i>awa</i> 'is'	>	<i>guzwa</i>	'is giving',
<i>kat-iz</i> 'running'	+ <i>awa</i> 'is'	>	<i>kat-zawa</i>	'is running'

In weak verbs, alternative forms are sometimes found where the *a* is deleted instead of the *i*: *kat-izwa* (especially in older texts, e.g. Gadžiev 1954). The Imperfective suffix is also occasionally used on adjectives (8.1.3.2.).

9.3.2.3. Continuative Imperfective. Its suffix is *-zma* in strong verbs and *-zama* in weak verbs. This form has resulted from a combination of the Imperfective converb plus the continuative copula *ama* (cf. 17.6.6.1.).

9.3.2.4. Future. Its suffix is *-da* both in strong and in weak verbs. The fact that it has the two rather disparate meanings future and habitual (9.6.2.) seems to have a diachronic explanation: Before the Imperfective forms came into existence, it used to be a very general non-past form. After the Imperfective took over first the progressive and later the general present meanings, all that was left for this form was the future and habitual meanings. This hypothesis is corroborated by the fact that a few irregular stative verbs still have the present-tense use of the form in *-da* (see 9.5.2.1.-4., 8.1.3.1.).

9.3.2.5. Hortative. Its suffix is *-n* in strong verbs and *-in* in weak verbs. Note that the Hortative of strong verbs is identical in form to the Periphrasis form (9.3.5.) in Imperfective-stem forms.

9.3.2.6. Prohibitive. Its suffix is *-mir* both in strong verbs and in weak verbs. This suffix *-mir* has been grammaticized from the old Prohibitive of *awun* 'do', *mijir* 'don't do' (the current form is *iji-mir*). This form, *m-iji-r*, consists of an old Prohibitive prefix *m-*, the Imperfective stem *-iji-*, and the participial suffix *-r* (9.10.4.). Topuria (1959:118) cites similar archaic or dialectal forms like *me-ḡwa-r* 'don't go', *ma-gu-r* 'don't give'.

Like the Imperative, the Prohibitive cannot be negated, and one could in fact regard the Prohibitive simply as the negative form of the Imperative. This is not done here because it would complicate the description of the morphology considerably (the Imperative is derived from the Masdar stem, while the Prohibitive is derived from the Imperfective stem).

9.3.2.7. Posterior converb. Its suffix is *-daldi* both in strong verbs and in weak verbs. It can be thought of as derived from the Future, to which it is also semantically related. The suffix *-(da)ldi* is in some way related to the Superrelative case suffix *-ldi*, which also sometimes means ‘until’ (7.2.2.15.).

9.3.2.8. Gradulative converb. Its suffix is *-rdawaj* in strong verbs and *-irdawaj* in weak verbs. It seems to be originally the Adelative form of a substantivized Imperfective participle in *-r* (9.10.4.), but the semantic development is obscure.

9.3.2.9. Immediate-Anterior converb *-z(a)maz*. The form is *-zamaz* in weak verbs and *-zmaz* in strong verbs. Formally, it looks like a secondary converb formed from the Continuative Imperfective, but this does not fit the meaning very well. *Am fizma* means ‘she is still going’, but *am fizmaz* means ‘as soon as she goes’.

9.3.3. Forms derived from the Aorist stem

9.3.3.1. Aorist. Its suffix is *-na* both for strong verbs and for weak verbs. The affirmative Aorist is homophonous with the Aorist converb (9.3.3.4.).

9.3.3.2. Aorist participle. Its suffix is *-aj* for weak verbs (or rarely and archaically *-ur*) and *-r/-j/-ji* for strong verbs. The form *-r* is used after a high thematic vowel (*u, ü*), and *-j/-ji* is used after a low thematic vowel (*a, e*). The form *-j* is used after polysyllabic stems, *-ji* is used after monosyllabic stems:

<i>awu-na</i>	<i>awu-r</i>	‘(having) done’
<i>t’ü-na</i>	<i>t’ü-r</i>	‘(having) eaten’
<i>ata-na</i>	<i>ata-j</i>	‘having come’
<i>q^hwa-na</i>	<i>q^hwa-jl</i>	‘(having) drunk’
<i>fe-na</i>	<i>fe-jl</i>	‘having gone’

Note that verbs like *kxin* ‘write’, *q^hfin* ‘go away’ which have lost their stem vowel by syncope count as disyllabic:

<i>kxe-na</i>	<i>kxe-j</i>	‘(having) written’
<i>q^hfe-na</i>	<i>q^hfe-j</i>	‘having gone away’

9.3.3.3. Perfect and Continuative Perfect. Their suffixes are *-nwa /-nma* in strong verbs and *-nawa /-nama* in weak verbs. They are originally complex forms built on the Aorist converb plus the copulas *awa* and *ama*, respectively, completely parallel to the Imperfective and the Continuative Imperfective (*atana* ‘having come’ + *awa* ‘is’ > *atanawa* > *atanwa* ‘has come’). Since the Continuative forms are rarer, their degree of grammaticization is apparently lower and non-syncopated forms like *ksanama* ‘is still asleep’ (instead of standard *ksanma*) are sometimes heard.

9.3.3.4. Aorist converb. Its suffix is invariably *-na*. Note that it is formally distinct from the finite Aorist only when it is negated.

9.3.3.5. Immediate-Anterior converb *-n(a)maz(di)*. The form is *-namaz(di)* in weak verbs and *-nmaz(di)* in strong verbs. Like the related form *z(a)maz* (9.3.2.9.), this form seems to be derived from a Continuative form (of the Perfect), but again the meaning does not fit perfectly.

9.3.4. Secondary verbal categories

9.3.4.1. Temporal converb. Its suffix is *-la* (also *-laq^h* or *-laq^hdi* according to some descriptions, but these forms do not occur in the modern standard language), and it can be derived from any participle.

<i>fe-ji</i>	<i>feji-la</i>
<i>fi-zwa-j</i>	<i>fizwaj-la</i>
<i>fe-nwa-j</i>	<i>fenwaj-la</i>
<i>fi-da-j</i>	<i>fidaj-la</i>
etc.	

9.3.4.2. Immediate-Anterior converb *-waldi*. It is derived from the Aorist participle, e.g.

<i>t'ü-r</i>	<i>t'ür-waldi</i>	'as soon as ... ate'
<i>fe-ji</i>	<i>feji-waldi</i>	'as soon as ... went'
<i>ata-j</i>	<i>ataj-waldi</i>	'as soon as ... came'

9.3.4.3. Conditional mood. Its suffix is *-t'a* which can be attached to any indicative verb form and to the Aorist participle. The latter combination is actually the most common one. The Conditional shares with the other non-finite verb forms the ability to be suffixed by the focus marker *-ni* 'also'. This is how concessive relationships are expressed (cf. 21.7.).

9.3.4.4. Interrogative mood. Its suffix is *-ni* (homophonous to *-ni* 'and, also!'), and it can be attached to any indicative verb form.

9.3.4.5. Secondary Imperfective converb. It has the suffix *-z*, like the Imperfective converb. This suffix may be added to a Perfect (or Continuative Perfect) verb form, e.g. *acuq'-nawa-z* 'sitting', *acuq'-nama-z* 'still sitting', or to an Imperfective verb form, e.g. *akat-zawa-z* 'belonging'.

9.3.4.6. Purpose/Manner converb. This has the suffix *-wal*, which can be added to any participial form. Note that this suffix is homophonous with the abstract noun suffix *-wal* (7.3.1.1.). It is treated as a separate category here because of the difference in function.

9.3.4.7. Causal converb. Its suffix is *-wiläj*, originally the Inelative case of the abstract noun suffix *-wal* (7.3.1.1.), which can be added to any participial verb form.

9.3.5. Prefixal negation and the Periphrasis forms

Finite indicative verb forms are negated by means of the suffix *-č* (e.g. *guzwa* 'gives', *guzwa-č* 'does not give'). Non-finite and non-indicative verb forms are negated by prefixal negation. In most verbs this means periphrastic negation involving the negative auxiliary *t-awun* 'not do', but a closed set of verbs take the negative prefix *t(A)-* (a high vowel occurs only in *tü-t'ü-n* 'not to eat') themselves, i.e. they have inflectional, not periphrastic, prefixal negation. According to Moor (1985), this closed class consists of the following members:

Masdar	negated Masdar	
<i>awun</i>	<i>t-awun</i> (<i>t-iji-</i> , <i>t-awu-</i>)	'do'
<i>q̄huwun</i>	<i>ta-xwun</i>	'do again'
<i>ɣun</i>	<i>ta-ɣun</i> (<i>te-ɣe-</i> , <i>ta-ɣa-</i>)	'become'
<i>xun</i>	<i>ta-xun</i>	'give birth'
<i>gun</i>	<i>ta-gun</i>	'give'
<i>atun</i>	<i>t-atun</i> (<i>te-q̄we-</i> , <i>t-ata-</i>)	'come'
<i>xtun</i>	<i>ta-xtun</i> (<i>te-xkwe-</i> , <i>ta-xta-</i>)	'come back'
<i>akun</i>	<i>t-akun</i>	'see'
<i>fin</i>	<i>te-fin</i>	'go'
<i>luhun</i>	<i>ta-lhun</i>	'say'
<i>ḡun</i>	<i>ta-ḡun</i>	'bring'
<i>wehin</i>	<i>te-whin</i>	'throw'
<i>xün</i>	<i>te-xün</i>	'keep, guard'
<i>q̄un</i>	<i>ta-q̄un</i>	'fall (precipitation)'
<i>t'ün</i>	<i>tü-t'ün</i>	'eat'
<i>q'in</i>	<i>te-q'in</i>	'kill'
<i>q'un</i>	<i>ta-q'un</i>	'hold'
<i>tun</i>	<i>ta-tun</i> (<i>ti-ta-</i> , <i>ta-tu-</i>)	'leave, admit, cause'

Note that all of these verbs are strong, and most of them are monosyllabic. Even the disyllabic verbs in this class have disyllabic negated forms (the root vowel is deleted in *taxwun*, *talhun*, *tewhin*).

This class is becoming smaller and smaller. Already now, Moor notes, most of the above verbs can alternatively be negated periphrastically, except for *awun* and *ɣun*. And in Uslar (1896:§258, §274), the class is much larger. Uslar lists about sixty verbs with inflectional prefixal negation, including weak and polysyllabic verbs, e.g.:

<i>aq̄wazun</i>	<i>t-aq̄wazun</i>	'stop'
<i>eq̄üḡun</i>	<i>te-q̄üḡun</i>	'scold'
<i>rasun</i>	<i>ta-rasun</i>	'repair'

Periphrastic prefixal negative forms are formed with the auxiliary *t-awun* 'not do' and the Periphrasis form. The Periphrasis form is always identical to the base in weak verbs, and in strong verbs it is most commonly identical to the Masdar, e.g.:

<i>q̄ačun tawun</i>	'not taking'	<i>kis tawun</i>	'not falling silent'
<i>q̄ačun tijiz</i>	'not to take'	<i>kis tijiz</i>	'not to fall silent'
<i>q̄ačun tawuna</i>	'not having taken'	<i>kis tawuna</i>	'not having fallen silent'

Here are some textual examples of prefixed negated verb forms, both synthetic (289) and periphrastic (290):

- (289) a. *Za-z juḡ hawajda te-fe-j-di čir že-da.* (DD85,5:5)
 I-DAT [day in.vain NEG-go-AOP-SBST] teach ANTIC-FUT

'I know that the day has not passed in vain.'

- b. *Za-waja kar iji-z ti-ta-z že-da-j.* (D57:137)
 I-ADEL [[that thing do-INF] NEG-let-INF] can-FUT-PST

'I could have prevented it (lit. I could have not allowed to do that thing).'

- (290) a. *Caw=tahar abur.u-n kas agaq' t-iji-da-j*
 Caw-tahar they-GEN [man reach(PER) NEG-do-FUT-PTP]

caw-a awa-j q̄ele ja. (M83:73)
 [sky-INESS be.in-PTP] fortress COP

The Caw-tahar is their fortress in the sky which people do not reach.'

- b. *Ada müšteri-jr.i-n sual-r.i-z kahul-diz, q'il xkaž*
 he(ERG) client-PL-GEN question-PL-DAT lazy-ADV [head raise(PER)]

t-iji-z, žawab-ar gu-da-j. (K86,2:5)
 NEG-do-IMC] answer-PL give-FUT-PST

'He answered the clients' questions lazily, without raising his head.'

However, the Periphrasis form of strong verbs that is combined with an Imperfective-stem verb form of the auxiliary is optionally based on the Imperfective stem itself. Since the Imperfective Periphrasis form also takes the suffix *-n*, it is formally identical to the affirmative Hortative. Thus we have, e.g.

<i>raxun tawun</i>	'not talking'	<i>t'ün tawun</i>	'not eating'
<i>raxan tijiz</i>	'not to talk'	<i>nen tijiz</i>	'not to eat'
<i>raxun tawuna</i>	'not having talked'	<i>t'ün tawuna</i>	'not having eaten'

This Periphrasis form with the same distribution (i.e., weak verbs: = base; strong verbs: = Masdar, optionally = Hortative for Imperfective-stem forms) is also used in the following two cases:

(A) In periphrastic Repetitives (cf. 10.4.):

<i>ksun q^huwun</i>	'sleeping again'	<i>kilig q^huwuraj</i>	'let...look again'
<i>ksan q^hijida</i>	'will sleep again'	<i>kilig q^hijizwa</i>	'is looking again'
<i>ksun q^huwuna</i>	'fell asleep again'	<i>kilig q^huwuna</i>	'looked again'

(B) When the verb base is focused and marked by the focus marker *-ni* 'also' (cf. 18.1.2.).

<i>raxunni awun</i>	'even talking'	<i>k'elni awun</i>	'even reading'
<i>raxanni ijizwa</i>	'is even talking'	<i>k'elni ijizwaj</i>	'was even reading'
<i>raxunni awunwa</i>	'has even talked'	<i>k'elni awunaj</i>	'had even read'

Some examples of the Imperfective-stem Periphrasis form:

- (291) a. *Wiči-n wil-er.i-qh ağa-n t-iji-z, Merzijat.a iġtin*
 [self-GEN eye-PL-POESS believe-PER NEG-do-IMC] Merzijat(ERG) such

gaf-ar k'el-na. (K89:3)
 word-PL read-AOR

'Not believing her eyes, Merzijat read such words.'

- b. *Req'i-n-ni iji-da za.* (D57:135)
 kill-PER-even do-FUT I:ERG

'I will even kill.'

- c. *Ada-z ajal-r.i-kaj sad-ni xür.ü-z xkwe-n*
 he-DAT [child-PL-SBEL one-also village-DAT return-PER

t-iji-da-j-di ċir xa-na. (Š83:57)
 NEG-do-FUT-PTP-SBST] teach ANTIC-AOR

He realized that none of the children would return to the village.'

9.4. Illustrative partial paradigms

All the rules for verbal inflection have been given above. Below a number of partial paradigms of verbs with different morphological characteristics illustrate these rules.

	(A) <i>katun</i> 'run'		(B) <i>awun</i> 'do'	
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative
Masdar	<i>kát-un</i>	<i>kat tawú-n</i>	<i>awú-n</i>	<i>t-awú-n</i>
Optative	<i>kát-raj/-uj</i>	<i>kat tawú-raj/-j</i>	<i>awú-raj</i>	<i>t-awú-raj</i>
Imperative	<i>kat/kát-a</i>	–	<i>ajá</i>	–
Infinitive	<i>kát-iz</i>	<i>kat tijl-z</i>	<i>ijl-z</i>	<i>t-ijl-z</i>
Imperfective	<i>kát-zawa</i>	<i>kát-zawa-č</i>	<i>ijl-zwa</i>	<i>ijl-zwa-č</i>
Impf. Participle	<i>kát-zawa-j</i>	<i>kat tijl-zwa-j</i>	<i>ijl-zwa-j</i>	<i>t-ijl-zwa-j</i>
Future	<i>kát-da</i>	<i>kát-da-č</i>	<i>ijl-da</i>	<i>ijl-da-č</i>
Hortative	<i>kát-in</i>	<i>kat tijl-n</i>	<i>ijl-n</i>	<i>t-ijl-n</i>
Prohibitive	<i>kát-mir</i>	–	<i>ijl-mir</i>	–
Aorist	<i>kát-na</i>	<i>kát-na-č</i>	<i>awú-na</i>	<i>awú-na-č</i>
Perfect	<i>kát-nawa</i>	<i>kát-nawa-č</i>	<i>awú-nwa</i>	<i>awú-nwa-č</i>
Aorist participle	<i>kát-aj</i>	<i>kat tawú-r</i>	<i>awú-r</i>	<i>t-awú-r</i>
Aorist converb	<i>kát-na</i>	<i>kat tawú-na</i>	<i>awú-na</i>	<i>t-awú-na</i>

	(C) <i>ǰun</i> 'be, become'		(D) <i>raxun</i> 'talk'	
	affirmative	negative	affirmative	negative
Masdar	<i>ǰu-n</i>	<i>ta-ǰu-n</i>	<i>raxu-n</i>	<i>raxu-n tawu-n</i>
Optative	<i>ǰu-raj</i>	<i>ta-ǰu-raj</i>	<i>raxu-raj</i>	<i>raxu-n tawu-raj</i>
Imperative	<i>ǰu-ǰ</i>	–	<i>raxu-x</i>	–
Infinitive	<i>ǰe-z</i>	<i>te-ǰe-z</i>	<i>raxa-z</i>	<i>raxa-n tiji-z</i>
Imperfective	<i>ǰe-zwa</i>	<i>ǰe-zwa-č</i>	<i>raxa-zwa</i>	<i>raxa-zwa-č</i>
Impf. Participle	<i>ǰe-zwa-j</i>	<i>te-ǰe-zwa-j</i>	<i>raxa-zwa-j</i>	<i>raxa-n tiji-zwa-j</i>
Future	<i>ǰe-da</i>	<i>ǰe-da-č</i>	<i>raxa-da</i>	<i>raxa-da-č</i>
Hortative	<i>ǰe-n</i>	<i>te-ǰe-n</i>	<i>raxa-n</i>	<i>raxa-n tiji-n</i>
Prohibitive	<i>ǰe-mir</i>	–	<i>raxa-mir</i>	–
Aorist	<i>ǰa-na</i>	<i>ǰa-na-č</i>	<i>raxa-na</i>	<i>raxa-na-č</i>
Perfect	<i>ǰa-nwa</i>	<i>ǰa-nwa-č</i>	<i>raxa-nwa</i>	<i>raxa-nwa-č</i>
Aorist participle	<i>ǰa-ǰi</i>	<i>ta-ǰa-j</i>	<i>raxa-j</i>	<i>raxu-n tawu-r</i>
Aorist converb	<i>ǰa-na</i>	<i>ta-ǰa-na</i>	<i>raxa-na</i>	<i>raxu-n tawu-na</i>

9.5. Irregular verbs

9.5.1. The copulas

The standard copula *ja* 'be' (cf. 17.1-3.) and the five local copulas (cf. 17.6.) *awa* 'be in', *gwa* 'be near', *gala* 'be behind', *kwa* 'be under', *ala* 'be on' (with their Continuative variants *ama*, *guma*, *galama*, *kuma*, *alama*, cf. 17.6.6.) are defective in that they allow the formation of only a subset of inflectional verb forms. They have a Present tense, a Past tense formed with *-j*, a participle also formed with *-j*, a suffixal negative form *-č*, and a converb form in *-z*. Thus, they lack an Imperfective, a Future, and all the forms based on the Aorist stem and the Masdar stem. The copulas also diverge from regular verb forms in that they have suffixal negation even in their converb and their participle. The participial suffix in negated copulas is *-ir*, making the Past tense completely homonymous with the participle (in regular verbs, only the non-negated Past tense is homonymous with the corresponding participle).

The standard copula *ja* has some suppletive forms, the other copulas are inflected like *awa*.

The standard copula:

	affirmative	negative
Present	<i>ja</i>	<i>tuš</i>
Past	<i>tir</i>	<i>tuš-ir</i>
converb	<i>ja-z</i>	<i>tuš-iz</i>
participle	<i>tir</i>	<i>tuš-ir</i>

The local copulas:

	affirmative	negative
Present	<i>awa</i>	<i>awa-č</i>
Past	<i>awa-j</i>	<i>awa-č-ir</i>
converb	<i>awa-z</i>	<i>awa-č-iz</i>
participle	<i>awa-j</i>	<i>awa-č-ir</i>

Imperfective forms based on the converb (*ja-z-wa*, *awa-z-wa*) also exist, but they are used very rarely and it is unclear whether and how their meaning differs from the simple Present form. Only Continuative Imperfective forms (*ja-zma*, *ama-zma*) are reasonably common.

The forms that do not exist are replaced by the corresponding forms of the verb *šun* 'become, be'.

9.5.2. Verbs lacking a Masdar and Aorist stem

The verbs *k'an-* 'want', *kič'e-* 'afraid', *či-* 'know', *t'a-* 'hurt' share two important features: (a) they lack a Masdar and an Aorist stem, and (b) their Future in *-da* has a non-future, non-habitual, present state meaning. At least *k'an-* and *kič'e-* seem to be adjectival in origin. See 8.1.3.1. for related phenomena in adjectives.

9.5.2.1. *k'an-* 'love, need, want'. The verb *k'an-* is based on the adjective *k'an* 'dear'. It has three verbal forms: an Imperfective *k'anzawa*, a Future *k'anda* (as well as all forms that are based on these, i.e. participles, Past forms, negative forms), and a converb *k'anz* (negative *ta-k'anz*). The Future has present state meaning. Thus, (292a) and (292b) mean more or less the same, and a third way to express the same meaning is by means of the adjective *k'an* plus the standard copula (292c).

(292) a. *Za-z wun k'an-zawa.*
I-DAT you:ABS love-IMPF

'I love you.'

b. *Za-z wun k'an-da.*
I-DAT you:ABS love-FUT

'I love you.'

c. *Za-z wun k'an ja.*
I-DAT you:ABS love COP

'I love you.'

The form *k'ani* is used as an attributive variant (or participle) of *k'an* and is also the basis for substantivization (*k'anidi*), as exemplified by (293-294). *K'ani* could be replaced by *k'an-zawa-j* or *k'an-da-j* here.

(293) *wa-z k'ani wa wun k'ani Šafiga* (N88:88)
 [you-DAT love:PTP and you:ABS love:PTP] Šafiga
 'Šafiga, who you love and who loves you'

(294) *Aslan.di-z ča-kaj wiči-z k'ani-di ne-z ixtijar awa.*
 lion-DAT [[we-SBEL self-DAT want-SBST.SG] eat-INF] right be.in
 'The lion has the right to eat whomever of us he wants.' (X89:6)

A prefixal negative form of *k'ani* (and *k'an*) is *tak'an* (which also means 'hated, unpleasant').

(295) *a rik'i-z ta-k'an zalum* (S88:36)
 that [heart-DAT NEG-like:PTP] tyrant
 'that tyrant who is hateful to the heart/who the heart does not like'

(296) *Či baxtlwal ta-k'an-di allah.di baxtsuz awu-raj.*
 [we:GEN happiness NEG-want-PTP:SBST.SG] God(ERG) unhappy make-OPT
 'May God make unhappy him who does not want our happiness.'
 (R66:26)

For all other forms, the combination *k'an xun* is used, e.g. for the Future with future meaning:

(297) *Abur.u-z wun lezgi sus-ar.i-laj-ni gzaf k'an že-da.* (S88:171)
 they-DAT you:ABS Lezgian bride-PL-SREL-also much love be-FUT
 'They will love you more than the Lezgian brides.'

9.5.2.2. *Kič'e* 'afraid'. This is also originally an adjective, and it has more or less the same forms as *k'an*: an Imperfective *kič'ezwa*, a Future *kič'eda* with the same (non-future, non-habitual) meaning, and a simple stem form plus copula:

- (298) a. *Za-z wa-q^haj kič'e-zwa.*
 I-DAT you-POEL afraid-IMPF
 'I'm afraid of you.'
- b. *Za-z wa-q^haj kič'e-da.*
 I-DAT you-POEL afraid-FUT
 'I'm afraid of you.'
- c. *Za-z wa-q^haj kič'e ja.*
 I-DAT you-POEL afraid COP
 'I'm afraid of you.'

Like *k'ani*, *kič'e* is also used attributively (e.g., *kič'e ajal* 'a child that is afraid'), but there is no prefixal negative form. The missing forms are replaced by *kič'e xun*.

9.5.2.3. Či- 'know'. Like *k'an* and *kič'e*, *či-* has an Imperfective and a Future with non-future non-habitual meaning.

- (299) a. *Za-z či-zwa.* = b. *Za-z či-da.*
 I-DAT know-IMPF I-DAT know-FUT
 'I know' 'I know'

Či- also has a converb *čiz* (negated *te-čiz*), but there is neither an attributive adjective nor a prefixal negative form. But *či-* in addition has a Periphrasis form *čin*, e.g.

- (300) *za-z či-da-j wa či-n t-iji-da-j gweč'i küđe-jar*
 [I-DAT know-FUT-PTP and know-PER NEG-do-FUT-PTP] small street-PL
 'the little streets that I know and that I don't know' (DD71,6:9)

The missing forms are replaced by *čir řun* 'come to know', which is the anticausative of *čirun* 'make know, teach' (causative of *či-*).

9.5.2.4. *T'a-* 'hurt'. This form has an Imperfective *t'azwa* 'hurts', a Future with current state meaning *t'ada*, and a converb *t'az*. The other forms are replaced by *t'a řun*.

9.5.3. Verbs with a root in -ä(ǧ)- (cf. 5.12.)

The verbs in (301) have a root ending in -ä(ǧ)- and show some peculiarities.

- | | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (301) <i>jaǧun</i> | 'hit' | <i>ecäǧun</i> | 'push' |
| <i>ewäǧun</i> | 'comb' | <i>xkäǧun</i> | 'choose' |
| <i>eläǧun</i> | 'take away' | <i>kwäǧun</i> | 'collect' |
| <i>eqäǧun</i> | 'pour' | <i>gwäǧun</i> | 'spread, smear' |
| <i>qäǧun</i> | 'set up' | <i>geläǧun</i> | 'hit; take away' |
| <i>käǧun</i> | 'touch' | <i>kekäǧun</i> | 'start' |
| <i>qe qäǧun</i> | 'hit' | <i>k'äǧun</i> | 'rebuke' |
| <i>igäǧun</i> | 'allow to approach' | | |

In these verbs, the stem-final consonant *ǧ* disappears when it ends up in syllable-final position, i.e. word-finally and before consonant-initial suffixes:

- | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| (302) Imperfective | <i>xkäzawa</i> | 'is choosing' |
| Future | <i>eläda</i> | 'will take away' |
| Aorist | <i>ewäna</i> | 'combed' |
| Perfect | <i>kekänawa</i> | 'has started' |
| Imperative | <i>kä (= käǧa)</i> | 'touch!' |
| Periphrasis form | <i>kä tawuna</i> | 'without touching' |

Note that the *a* of the Imperfective suffix *-zawa* and the Perfect suffix *-nawa* is not syncopated as in other cases where these suffixes immediately follow stressed vowels. This may have to do with the compensatory lengthening of the vowel (cf. 3.2.1.1.).

9.6. Functions of basic tense-aspect categories

There are six tense-aspect categories: four basic ones (Imperfective, Future, Aorist, Perfect) plus Continuative (which occurs only in combination with Imperfective or Perfect) and Past (which occurs in combination with any of the other tense-aspect categories). On tense-aspect meanings in participles, see 9.9.2., and on the formation and functions of periphrastic tense-aspect categories, see 9.7.

9.6.1. Imperfective

The Imperfective typically refers to progressive situations, i.e. processes going on at the time of reference, e.g.:

- (303) a. *Farida, Farida, wuna ana wuč iji-zwa?* (Q89,10,19:3)
 Farida Farida you:ERG there what:ABS do-IMPF
 'Farida, Farida, what are you doing there?'
- b. *Za čerčenie.d-in tars hazur-zawa.* (Du85,3:78)
 I:ERG drawing-GEN lesson prepare-IMPF
 'I'm preparing the drawing lesson.'
- c. *Marf dat'ana q̄wa-zwa-j, ada wiči-n q̄alin st'al-r.a-ldi*
 rain constantly fall-IMPF-PST it(ERG) self-GEN dense drop-PL-SRDIR
q̄aw gata-zwa-j. (DD71,2:12)
 roof beat-IMPF-PST
 'It was raining incessantly; the rain was hitting the roof with its dense drops.'

Example (304) shows a performative situation expressed by an Imperfective verb:

- (304) *Za har-da sa ttar wa?, q'we ttar ak'ur-un*
 I:ERG [every-SBST.SG(ERG) one tree not two trees plant-MSD]
teklif-zawa.
 propose-IMPF
 'I propose that everyone plant not one, but two trees.' (Du61,4:70)

The Imperfective may also refer to states that obtain at the time of reference, as in (305). In this respect the Imperfective is not like a typical progressive form.

- (305) *Lezgi-jar Azerbajdžan.di-n serhät-da Qusari.di-n wa*
 Lezgian-PL Azerbaijan-GEN boundary-INESS Qusari-GEN and
Quba.di-n rajon-r-a jašamiš že-zwa. (TG66:9)
 Quba-GEN district-PL-INESS living be-IMPF
 'Within the boundaries of Azerbaijan, Lezgians live in the Kusarskij and Kubinskij rayons.'

While the Future (9.6.2.) is specialized for habitual situations, the Imperfective may also express habitual situations. In the colloquial language, the Imperfective is in fact preferred to the Future in this function.

- (306) *Šri=Lanki.d-a ġüläğ-r.i k'as gu-n.i-kdi jis-a 500*
 Sri Lanka-INESS [snake-PL(ERG) bite give-MSD-SBDIR] year-INESS 500
kas req'i-zwa. (K89,2:12)
 person die-IMPF

'In Sri Lanka 500 people a year die from snakebite.'

9.6.2. Future

The Future has two rather different uses: it refers to future situations (307) and to habitual situations (308).

- (307) a. *Ina amuq'-aj-t'a, ċun wahš-jr.i ne-da. Zun xür.ü-z*
 [here stay-AOP-CND] we:ABS wild-PL(ERG) eat-FUT I:ABS village-DAT
q'hfi-da. (K88,9:5)
 go.back-FUT

'If we stay here, wild animals will eat us. I'll go back to the village.'

- b. *Paçah awa-č-iz ċun hik' dulanmiš že-da?* (HQ89:10)
 [king be.in-NEG-IMC] we:ABS how living be-FUT

'How shall we live without the king?'

The future use is predominant in the colloquial language, while the habitual use occurs mainly in more formal styles. It is also the rule in proverbs (cf. 308c).

- (308) a. *Qhsan xürek-r.i-kaj raxa-da-j-la Mizafer.a-n siw.i-z*
 [good meal-PL-SBEL talk-FUT-PTP-TEMP] Mizafer-GEN mouth-DAT
hamiša c'aran jad qwe-da. (Š83:53)
 always salivary water come-FUT

'Whenever there is talk about good meals, saliva always comes to Mizafer's mouth.'

- b. *Adet tir-wal, Širwan.di-z fi-da-j-bur sad=q'we*
 custom COP:PTP-MAN [Širwan-DAT go-FUT-PTP]-SBST.PL one=two
juq.u-z Baku.d-a amuq'-da-j. (S88:5)
 day-DAT Baku-INESS stay-FUT-PST

'As was customary, those who went to Širwan used to stay one or two days in Baku.'

- c. *Gzaf q'in q'a-da-j-da gzaf tab-ni iji-da.* (TG66:205)
 [much oath take-FUT-PTP]-SBST.SG(ERG) much lie-also do-FUT

'He who swears a lot also lies a lot.'

The Past is only compatible with the habitual meaning of the Future (as in 308b-c), not with the future meaning. However, the Past Future also has the hypothetical use, much like analogous "future in the past" tenses in other European languages. (See 21.7.2. for more on counterfactual conditionals.)

- (309) a. *Im xizan.di-z jeke kùmek že-da-j.* (M83:30)
 this:ABS family-DAT big help be-FUT-PST

'This would be a big help for the family.'

- b. *Lišanlu tir-t'a, am za-q^h galaz ik' raxa-da-č-ir.*
 [engaged COP:PST-CND] she:ABS I-POESS with thus talk-FUT-NEG-PST

'If she were engaged, she would not talk to me like this.' (S88:9)

In a few irregular verbs, the Future refers to a present state, e.g. *čida* 'knows', *k'anda* 'wants, loves', *kič'eda* 'is afraid' (cf. 9.5.2., and see 9.3.2.4. for a diachronic explanation).

Finally, the Future is used in stage directions (see text 25.4.).

9.6.3. Aorist

The Aorist is the usual way to refer to perfective events in the past, e.g.

- (310) a. *Sadwil.i wa aq'ulluwil.i . abur qūtarmiš-na.* (K88,9:5)
 unity(ERG) and cleverness(ERG) they save-AOR

'Unity and cleverness saved them.'

- b. *Zun ixtin žawab.da-l razi xa-na-č.* (N88:115)
 I:ABS such answer-SRESS satisfied be-AOR-NEG

'I was not satisfied with such an answer.'

It is also the tense-aspect category that is used in narratives, e.g. :

- (311) *1901=jis.u-z Hažiev Mehamed-ni ada-n q'we xwa-ni*
 1901=year-DAT Hažiev Mehamed-and he-GEN two son-and
Abissinija.di-z req'e hat-na. Amma req'e buba
 Abyssinia-DAT way-INNESS get-AOR but way-INNESS father
q'e-na. Am kučud-na gada-j-r.i req^h dawamar-na.
 die-AOR [he:ABS bury-AOP] boy-PL(ERG) way continue-AOR

Abur Abissinija.di-n merkez Adiss=Abeb.di-z agač-na...
 they Abyssinia-GEN capital Adis=Ababa-DAT reach-AOR

'In 1901, Mehamed Hažiev and his two sons set out for Abyssinia. But en route the father died. Having buried him, the boys continued their journey. They reached Addis Ababa, Abyssinia's capital....' (DD71,3:19)

The Past Aorist refers to situations in the remote past (312a), situations that took place before the main story line (312b), situations that do not obtain anymore (312c), and situations whose effect has been canceled (312d).

- (312) a. *Či xür-e sa itim.di dawe.di-laj güğüniz wiči-q^h*
 we:GEN village-INNESS one man(ERG) war-SREL after self-POESS
galaz nems-er.i-n dišehli xka-na-j... Am q^hsan-diz
 with German-PL-GEN woman bring.back-AOR-PST she:ABS good-ADV
lezgi č'al.a-ldi raxa-da-j.
 Lezgian language-SRDIR speak-FUT-PST

'A man in our village (had) brought a German wife with him after the war. She spoke Lezgian well.' (S88:171)

- b. *Alat-aj jis.u-z Dilber.a q'we predmet.d-aj pis*
 [pass-AOP] year-DAT Dilber(ERG) two subject-INEL bad
qimet-ar qaču-na-j. (R66:6)
 grade-PL take-AOR-PST

'The year before, Dilber had gotten bad grades in two subjects.'

- c. *Sifte q'we wac.r-a ada waxt=waxt.und-a čar-ar*
 first two month-INNESS she(ERG) time=time-INNESS letter-PL
kxe-na-j. Gila wučz jat'ani abur xükwe-zma-č.
 write-AOR-PST now why INDEF they come.back-IMP.F.CONT-NEG

'In the first two months she wrote letters time and again. Now they don't come anymore for some reason.' (M79:6)

- d. *Zun qe Q'asumxür.e-l fe-na-j.*
 I:ABS today Qasumxür-SRESS go-AOR-PST

'I went to Q'asumxür today.' (HQ89:5) [Speaker has returned to his village by the time of the utterance.]

9.6.4. Perfect

The Perfect refers to past events with current relevance (313), including events that are presented as "hot news" (314).

- (313) a. *Zun q'üzü xa-nwa, čan ruš.* (R66:16)
 I:ABS old become-PRF soul girl

'I have become old, my girl.'

- b. *Zi pul na aqud-nawa!* (Š83:67)
 I:GEN money you:ERG take.away-PRF

'YOU have stolen my money!' [the theft has just occurred]

- c. *Am naq' nisin.i-q^h wac'.a-l fe-na, hele xta-nwa-č.*
 he:ABS yesterday noon-POESS river-SRDIR go-AOR already return-PRF-NEG
 'He went to the river yesterday at noon, and he hasn't come back yet.' (D57:134)

- (314) *Kwe-z telegramma ata-nwa!* (DD77,4:10)
 you.all-DAT telegram come-PRF
 'A telegram has come for you-all!'

In a number of verbs, the Perfect expresses resultative meaning, i.e. it refers to a state resulting from a previous event. This meaning is most common with verbs of posture, but it also occurs with a number of other verbs:

<i>qatku-n</i>	'lie down'	<i>qatka-nwa</i>	'lie'
<i>acuuq'-un</i>	'sit down'	<i>acuuq'-nawa</i>	'sit'
<i>aq̄waz-un</i>	'stop; stand up'	<i>aq̄waz-nawa</i>	'stand'
		<i>kürs xa-nwa</i>	'hang'
<i>ksu-n</i>	'fall asleep'	<i>ksa-nwa</i>	'be asleep'
<i>kis-un</i>	'fall silent'	<i>kis-nawa</i>	'be silent'
<i>ifi-n</i>	'become hot'	<i>ife-nwa</i>	'be hot, feverish'
<i>kutku-n</i>	'get used to'	<i>ktka-nwa</i>	'be in the habit of'
		<i>kutug-nawa</i>	'suit'
<i>ak'u-n</i>	'get stuck'	<i>ak'a-nwa</i>	'be stuck'
<i>akat-un</i>	'get (into a state)'	<i>akat-nawa</i>	'be (in a state)'
<i>ek'ä xu-n</i>	'spread out (intr.)'	<i>ek'ä xa-nwa</i>	'be spread out'

The resultative meaning of the Perfect is illustrated in (315).

- (315) a. *Ada-n rik'i-kaj gila zalan sa q̄wan kürs xa-nwa-j.*
 she-GEN heart-SBEL now heavy one stone hang be-PRF-PST
 'A heavy stone was now hanging from her heart.' (S88:30)
- b. *Saša Moskva.di-n küče-jr.i-kaj sa küče.di-n ağa q'il-e*
 Saša Moscow-GEN street-PL-SBEL one street-GEN low end-INNESS
aq̄waz-nawa-j. (DD71,1:14)
 stop-PRF-PST
 'Saša was standing at the lower end of one of Moscow's streets.'
- c. *Dymov.a-n beden.di-k meq'i-la zurzu-n akat-nawa-j.*
 Dymov-GEN body-SBESS cold-ADV shiver-MSD get-PRF-PST
 'Dymov's body was shivering from cold.' (Lit. 'Shivering from cold had gotten under Dymov's body.')
- d. *Zi rik'e a ruša-n wil-er, abur.u-n išig-r.i-n*
 I:GEN heart-INNESS that girl-GEN eye-PL it-PL-GEN beam-PL-GEN
q̄atiwal ak'a-nwa-j. (S88:158)
 brightness stick-PRF-PST
 'That girl's eyes and the brightness of their beams remained (lit. 'stuck') in my heart.'

- e. *Q'ud pat-a güzel menzera-jar ek'ä xa-nwa-j.*
 four side-INESS beautiful landscape-PL spread become-PRF-PST
 'Beautiful landscape spread out all around.' (S88:168)

The Past Perfect also expresses temporal precedence (anteriority) to another past situation, e.g.:

- (316) *Kuxnja.d-a buba.di-ni xci čaj q^hwa-zwa-j. Ajal-ar hele*
 kitchen-INESS father(ERG)-and son(ERG) tea drink-IMPF-PST child-PL still
qarağ-nawa-č-ir. (S83:71)
 get.up-PRF-NEG-PST
 'Father and son were drinking tea in the kitchen. The children hadn't gotten up yet.'

9.6.5. Continuative Imperfective and Continuative Perfect

The Continuative, combined either with the Imperfective or with the Perfect, adds the semantic element 'still' (negative 'anymore'). Sometimes the adverb *hele* 'still' (12.1.2.7.) is redundantly present.

- (317) a. *Am fadlaj pensija.di-z eqeč'-na k'an-zawa-j-di ja,*
 [he:ABS early retirement-DAT go.out-AOC] want-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP
amma am hele k'walax.a-l xü-zma. (Du61,4:70)
 but he:ABS still work-SRESS keep-IMPF.CONT
 'He ought to have retired long ago, but they are still keeping him at work.'
- b. *Za-z wuč-da-t'a či-zma-č-ir.* (S88:157)
 I-DAT [what.do-FUT-CND] know-IMPF.CONT-NEG-PST
 'I did not know anymore what to do.'
- c. *Dağustan.di-n antroponimija.d-a lak'ab-r.i jeke*
 Daghestan-GEN anthroponymy-INESS nickname-PL(ERG) big
rol' quğwa-na wa quğwa-zma. (L87,2:74)
 role play-AOR and play-IMPF.CONT
 'In Daghestanian anthroponymy nicknames have played and continue to play a big role.'
- d. *Allahquli gila za-q^h galaz eweldaj xiz raxa-zma-č.*
 Allahquli now I-POESS with before like talk-IMPF.CONT-NEG
 'Allahquli doesn't talk to me like before anymore.' (R66:27)

When the Continuative combines with the Perfect, only the resultative use of the Perfect is possible (this is a natural consequence of the meaning 'still'):

- (318) *K'wal-e sekin tir. Gül hele ksa-nma-j.* (DD77,4:10)
 house-INESS quiet COP:PST husband still sleep-PRF.CONT-PST
 'It was quiet in the house. The husband was still asleep.'

9.6.6. Past

The Past only occurs in combination with other tense-aspect morphemes. Examples for the Past in various combinations have already been given above, cf. 9.6.1. for the Past Imperfective, 9.6.2. for the Past Future, 9.6.3. for the Past Aorist, 9.6.4. for the Past Perfect, 9.6.5. for the Continuative Past Imperfective and the Continuative Past Perfect.

9.7. Periphrastic tense-aspect categories

9.7.1. Periphrastic Habitual

The Periphrastic Habitual is formed by means of the auxiliary *šun* combined with the Infinitive, e.g. *qaču-z šun* 'take (habitually)'. The auxiliary verb is not necessarily in the Future, it may also be, for instance, in the Aorist.

- (319) a. *Či televizor.d-aj GDR.di-kaj peredača-jar*
 [we:GEN television-INEL GDR-SBEL program-PL
qalur-da-j-la, šun hamiša kilig-iz že-da. (K85;7:4)
 show-FUT-PTP-TEMP] I:ABS always look-INF be-FUT
 'When programs on the GDR are shown on our TV, I always watch.'
- b. *Wiri-bur xür-er-aj šeher-r.i-z fi-z ša-ji-la,*
 [all-SBST.PL village-PL-INEL city-PL-DAT go-INF be-AOP-TEMP]
čun dağ.di-n xür.ü-z xkwe-da-ni? (S83:57)
 we:ABS mountain-GEN village-DAT return-FUT-Q
 'At a time when everyone goes from the villages to the cities, shall we go back to a mountain village?'
- c. *Am juğ-di jif-di ğam č'ugwa-z šeš-iz ša-na.* (R66:6)
 she:ABS day-ADV night-ADV [grief pull-IMC] cry-INF be-AOR
 'She cried day and night in grief.'
- d. *Ida-laj güğüniz i ničir-r.i čpi-n arada čip*
 this-SREL after this animal-PL(ERG) selves-GEN among lot
wehe-z ša-na. (X89:6)
 throw-INF be-AOR
 'From then on these animals (regularly) cast the lot among them.'

9.7.2. The Periphrastic Future

The Periphrastic Future is formed by the copula together with the Purpose/Manner converb derived from the Future participle, e.g. *q̄aču-da-j-wal ja* 'is going to take'. The Periphrastic Future often expresses a more immediate future time than the standard synthetic Future.

(320) a. *Ada i dağ-lar.i-z c'iji ümür ği-da-j-wal ja.*
 he(ERG) this mountain-PL-DAT new life bring-FUT-PTP-PURP COP
 'He is going to bring a new life into these mountains.' (S88:25)

b. *Nasir muallim, učenik-r.i-z wiri predmet-r-aj alawa*
 Nasir teacher pupil-PL-DAT all subject-PL-INEL additional
tars-ar tuxu-da-j-wal ja. (N88:81)
 lesson-PL carry-FUT-PTP-PURP COP
 'Teacher Nasir, the pupils will be taught remedial lessons in all subjects.'

c. *I muq'wara či k'wal.i-n q̄aw.u-z raq'*
 this soon we:GEN house-GEN roof-DAT iron
č'ugwa-da-j-wal ja. (H77:3)
 pull-FUT-PTP-PURP COP
 'Our house's roof is soon going to be covered with iron.'

d. *Gila čun ibur.u-n čka.da-l že-da-j-wal ja man,*
 now we:ABS these-GEN place-SRESS be-FUT-PTP-PURP COP PT
abur-ni či čka.da-l? (S88:44)
 they-and we:GEN place-SRESS
 'So now we are going to be in their place, and they in ours?'

In combination with a Past form of the copula (*tir*, or *šana*), the Periphrastic Future can express immediate future in the past.

(321) a. *Dilber-ni Allahquli ferma.d-aj xür.ü-z xkwe-da-j-wal*
 Dilber-and Allahquli farm-INEL village-DAT return-FUT-PTP-PURP
šana. (R66:8)
 be-AOR

'Dilber and Allahquli were about to return to the village from the farm.'

b. *Abur.u hada-z ewer gu-da-j-wal šana.* (S88:55)
 they(ERG) that-DAT call give-FUT-PTP-PURP be-AOR
 'They were going to call him.'

Like the Past Future, Past forms of the Periphrastic Future can have the counterfactual use, e.g.

- (322) *Čan ruš ata-na-č-ir-t'a, za wa-z ewer gu-da-j-wal*
 soul girl [come-AOR-NEG-PST-CND] I:ERG you-DAT call give-FUT-PTP-PURP
tir. (R66:16)
 COP:PST

'My girl, if you hadn't come, I would have called you.'

9.7.3. Hearsay Evidential

The Hearsay Evidential is formed by adding the suffix *-lda* to a (non-negated, non-Past) finite indicative verb form. This form is thus not really a periphrastic verb form, but it is treated in this section because its grammaticalization is very recent. The suffix *-lda* has resulted from the contraction and suffixation of *luhuda* '(one) says'. The origin of *-lda* is to some extent still transparent to the speakers, and the form is also sometimes spelled *luhuda*.

- (323) a. *Baku.d-a irid itim gülle.di-z aq̇ud-na-lda.* (S88:26)
 Baku-INESS seven man bullet-DAT take.out-AOR-EVID
 'They say that in Baku seven men were shot.'
- b. *Qadim.a-z wiči-n ruš Allahq̇uli.di-z gu-z*
 Qadim-DAT [self-GEN daughter Allahq̇uli-DAT give-INF]
k'an-zawa-lda. (R66:27)
 want-IMPF-EVID
 'One says that Qadim wants to give his daughter to Allahq̇uli.'
- c. *Gzaf čir xu-n, aq'ullu insan-r.i luhu-zwa-j-wal,*
 [much know ANTIC-MSD] smart person-PL(ERG) say-IMPF-PTP-MAN
zarar ja-lda. (N88:85)
 harm COP-EVID
 'As smart people say, knowing too much is harmful.'
- d. *Qe sobranie že-da-lda.* (HHM79:117)
 today meeting be-FUT-EVID
 'They say that there will be a meeting today.'

9.8. Functions of non-indicative finite verb forms

The non-indicative finite verb forms are the Imperative, the Prohibitive, the Hortative, and the Optative.

9.8.1. Imperative

The Imperative has the usual range of meanings, i.e. command, request, admonition, etc. The Imperative cannot be negated, the Prohibitive (see 9.8.2. below) is used instead.

- (324) a. *Tadi q̄ač̄u-mir, sifte q^hsan-diz fahum-a, axpa*
 quick take-PROHIB first good-ADV think-IMPV then
k'walax.di-w egeč̄'. (K87,1:5)
 work-ADESS start(IMPV)
 'Don't hurry, first think well, then start work.'

- b. *Čun č̄i q'aq'an q̄aw.a-l hik' ksu-da-j-t'a*
 [we:ABS we:GEN high roof-SRESS how sleep-FUT-PST-CND]
rik'.e-l xkwaš. (H77:4)
 heart-SRESS return:IMPV
 'Remember how we used to sleep on our high roof.'

The second person pronoun is commonly omitted in the Imperative (making the Imperative form indeterminate as to the number of the addressee(s)), but it is also commonly retained, without any special emphasis.

- (324) c. *Wuna bağišlamiš-a, buba. (J89:77)*
 you:ERG forgive-IMPV father
 'Forgive me, father.'

Apparently the Imperative is not different at all grammatically from indicative verb forms in this respect. As noted in 22.1., personal pronouns are generally used, but if the context allows it, they may be omitted. In Imperative contexts, reference to the second person can be inferred from the context, but when the speaker wants to make the number of the addressee (singular or plural) clear, he or she may choose not to omit the pronoun.

9.8.2. Prohibitive

The Prohibitive is the negative counterpart of the Imperative.

- (325) a. *Ja bala, wuna a m pačah.di-z gu-mir. (AM87:23)*
 PT child you:ERG it:ABS king-DAT give-PROHIB
 'Child, don't give it to the king.'

- b. *Tadi q̄a ču-mir, ja swas.* (Š83:61)
 quick take-PROHIB PT daughter-in-law
 'Do not hurry, daughter-in-law.'
- c. *Wa-z kič'e že-mir.* (M83:56)
 you-DAT afraid be-PROHIB
 'Don't be afraid.'

9.8.3. Hortative

The Hortative expresses exhortations to first person singular (326) and plural (327) addressees. The Hortative is often accompanied by the sentence-initial particle *ša* (lit. 'come!', 13.3.9.).

- (326) *Sifte wun wi buba.di-z q̄alur-in.* (DD71,3:21)
 first you:ABS you:GEN father-DAT show-HORT
 'First let me show you to your father.'
- (327) a. *Ša gila čun či q̄armax-r.i-z kilig-in.* (M83:57)
 PT now we:ABS we:GEN hook-PL-DAT look-HORT
 'Now let's look at our hooks.'
- b. *Dide.d č'al.a-ldi sawadsuzwal terg iji-n.*
 mother(GEN) language-SRDIR illiteracy liquidation do-HORT
 'Let us liquidate illiteracy by means of the native language.'
 (Gjul'magomedov & Saadiev 1972:6)
- c. *Gada-jar, ša gila čun «čünüx gumbat'» quğwa-n.*
 boy-PL PT now we:ABS hide.and.seek play-HORT
 'Boys, let's play hide and seek now.' (DD71,3:20)

The Hortative is also used in deliberative questions (questions about his/her own actions that the speaker asks him/herself), e.g.

- (328) a. *Za wa-z wuč luhu-n?* (Du61,5:66)
 I:ERG you-DAT what:ABS say-HORT
 'What shall I tell you?'
- b. *Wuč güzlemiš-in za, Širinbala?* (S88:11)
 what:ABS wait-HORT I:ERG Širinbala
 'What shall I wait for, Širinbala?'

Finally, the Hortative is used in uncertain statements or questions, often cooccurring with *belki* 'perhaps'. In this use, the subject of the Hortative can also be a second or third person noun phrase.

- (329) a. *Belki, ada-kaj q^hsan ġürçe^qhan že-n.* (M83:30)
 perhaps he-SBEL good hunter be-HORT
 'Perhaps he will be a good hunter.'
- b. *Belki za-z anaj wun akwa-n.* (K85,7:4)
 perhaps I-DAT there you:ABS see-HORT
 'Perhaps I will see you there.'
- c. *Meger ada-waj tam.u-z fi-z že-n-ni?* (K57:6)
 PT he-ADEL [forest-DAT go-INF] can-HORT-Q
 'Can he possibly go to the forest?'

9.8.4. Optative

The Optative is used in wishes about developments for which only fate or God can be held responsible.

- (330) a. *Däwe mad sadra-ni, sa kas.di-z-ni q'ismet ta- \hat{x} u-raj.*
 war yet once-even one person-DAT-even destiny NEG-be-OPT
 'May war never again be anyone's destiny.' (K86,2:8)
- b. *Za-z a \hat{x} tin juġ Allah.di hiç ta-gu-raj.* (Š83:60)
 I-DAT such day God(ERG) never NEG-give-OPT
 'May God never give me such a day.'
- c. *Wa-z Allah.di hamiša nüsret gu-raj.* (S88:12)
 you-DAT God(ERG) always help give-OPT
 'May God always help you.'

The Optative is also used in exhortations to actions by third person agents, e.g.

- (331) *Nurbala-ni Allahquli zi pataw atu-raj.* (R66:9)
 Nurbala-and Allahquli I:GEN to come-OPT
 'Let Nurbala and Allahquli come to me.'

The sentence-initial particle *q \hat{u} j* often accompanies an Optative verb form, both in wishes and exhortations, e.g.

- (332) a. *Q \hat{u} j wi hararet jawaš \hat{x} u-raj.* (X89:31)
 let you:GEN thirst quiet become-OPT
 'May your thirst become quenched (lit. quiet).'

- b. *Quj sik' wiči-n tam.u-z q^hfi-raj.* (K85,4:7)
 let fox self-GEN forest-DAT return-OPT
 'Let the fox return to its forest.'

In wishes, the verb's subject may be first or second person:

- (333) a. *Quj hamiša dide řu-raj, řuj hamiša řu-raj zun.* (K84,1:3)
 let always mother be-OPT let always be-OPT I:ABS
 'May there always be mom, may I always be there.'
- b. *Quj wun ři Čükwer.a-z wax řu-raj.* (S88:51)
 let you:ABS we:GEN Čükwer-DAT sister be-OPT
 'May you be a sister for our Čükwer.'

A use that is closely related to wishes is the use of the Optative in oaths.

- (334) *Eger i sir winel ařud-aj-t'a, řuj zun zi*
 [if this secret up take.out-AOP-CND] let I:ABS I:GEN
mühübbat.di-w agař' t-awu-raj. (S88:25)
 love-ADESS reach NEG-do-OPT
 'If I make this secret known, may I not attain my love.'

The Optative is also used in deliberative questions, like the Hortative.

- (335) a. *Ada-z za wuč luhu-raj?* (I84:19)
 he-DAT I:ERG what:ABS say-OPT
 'What shall I tell him?'
- b. *Mazib galačiz hik' dulanmiš řu-raj?* (Ko89,10,18:4)
 salary without how live be-OPT
 'How can one live without a salary?'
- c. *Bes za-z wučiz k'an řu-raj am?* (S88:24)
 PT I-DAT why want be-OPT he:ABS
 'Why should I want him?'

And see 21.6.4. for a special use of the Optative in purpose clauses.

9.8.5. Conditional

The Conditional mood (*-t'a*) is used in conditional clauses (21.7.), in concessive clauses (21.8.), in indirect questions (23.3.), and in correlative relative clauses (19.2.). Details can be found in those sections.

9.8.6. Interrogative

The Interrogative mood (*-ni*) is only used in direct polar and alternative questions (23.1.-2.), and in indirect alternative questions (23.3.1.3.).

9.9. Functions of non-finite verb forms

9.9.1. Masdar

The Masdar is conventionally used as the citation form of the verb. Verbs are listed in dictionaries in this form. The Masdar is an action nominalization. For instance, the verb stem *aḡwaz-* 'stop' has the Masdar *aḡwaz-un*, which means '(the fact or action of) stopping'.

The Masdar is noun-like only with respect to its external syntax: It can be inflected for any case (the oblique stem is in *-(u)n-i-*, cf. 7.1.2.2. (C)), and it can occur in all environments where NPs can occur. However, in its internal syntax, it behaves completely like a verb. It does not take adjective or Genitive modifiers or determiners; but it does take adverbial modifiers, and the verbal arguments appear in the same form as in finite clauses.

- (336) *q^hsan-diz k'walax-un*
 good-ADV work-MSD
 'working well'

- (337) a. *muhman-ar atu-n*
 guest-PL come-MSD
 'the guests' arrival, the guests' arriving'

- b. *gada.di ktāb kḡi-n*
 boy(ERG) book write-MSD
 'the boy's writing a book'

- c. *ruš.a gada.di-z č'ar raḡur-un*
 girl(ERG) boy-DAT letter send-MSD
 'the girl's sending the boy a letter'

The Masdar can express situations (as in (338)) as well as facts (as in (339)), but the situation meaning is more common.

- (338) *Ida-z zun aku-n xuš tuš* (M83:19)
 this-DAT [I:ABS see-MSD] pleasant COP:NEG
 'He does not like seeing me.'

- (339) *Wun har juḡ.u-z pakamaq^h fad qāraḡ-un.i čun gzaf*
 [you:ABS every day-DAT morning early get.up-MSD(ERG)] we:ABS much
tažub iji-zwa. (G63:15)
 surprise do-IMPF

'It surprises us a lot that you get up early in the morning every day.'

See 20.3. for a detailed description of the use of the Masdar in various types of complement clauses, and 21.5.1., 21.6.1. for the use of the Masdar in adverbial clauses. A special use of the Masdar in the Involuntary Agent construction is mentioned in 7.2.2.6. (ex. 176).

Besides the verbal Masdar described above, there is also a nominal Masdar. This is a verbal noun that behaves in all respects like a noun. It could perhaps be described as resulting from conversion (or lexicalization) of the (verbal) Masdar to a noun. The nominal Masdar is not very common and is lexicalized only for a limited number of verbs. Nominal Masdars often have result meaning rather than situation meaning, and unlike the verbal Masdar, they may be pluralized.

(340)	<i>jaratmiš-un-ar</i>	'works (of a writer)'	<i>jaratmiš-</i>	'create'
	<i>agalq'-un-ar</i>	'achievements'	<i>agalq'-</i>	'achieve'
	<i>t'alab-un</i>	'request'	<i>t'alab-</i>	'request'
	<i>aq'u-n-ar</i>	'conflict'	<i>aq'u-</i>	'clash'

Some examples for the use of nominal Masdars:

- (341) a. *Paçah.di gada.di-n t'alab-un q'il.i-z aqud-na.* (AM87:23)
king boy-GEN request-MSD head-DAT take-AOR

'The king fulfilled the boy's request.'

- b. *Çna wi aşpazwil.i-n alağ-un-r.i-z qimet gu-zwa.*
we:ERG you:GEN cooking-GEN able-MSD-PL-DAT price give-IMPF
'We appreciate your cooking abilities.' (Du85,3:79)

- c. *Ruş.a-n aku-n-r-aj ada-n rik'e mühübbat.di-n*
girl-GEN see-MSD-PL-INEL [she-GEN heart-INESS love-GEN
c'elxem kük'ün-zawa-j-di akwa-zwa-j. (S88:10)
sparkle burn-IMPF-PTP-SBST] see-IMPF-PST

'From the girl's appearance one saw that the sparkle of love was burning in her heart.'

- d. *Ktab.di-n q'ismet k'el-zawa-j-da-n q'at'u-n.i-laj*
book-GEN destiny read-IMPF-PTP-SBST.SG-GEN consider-MSD-SREPL
aslu ja. (Du83,1:123)
depending COP

'A book's fate depends on the reader's considerations.'

In example (342) below, the Masdar form *luhunar* is clearly nominal because it is plural, but on the other hand it takes an Absolutive direct object (*mani-jar*) just like a verb. This mixed behavior shows that the nominal and verbal Masdar are not entirely separate categories. In this case, the retention of the verbal marking is probably due to the non-referentiality of *manijar*. *Manijar luhun* is practically a noun-verb compound with the meaning 'sing'.

- (342) *Ina q'ül-er, mani-jar luhu-n-ar wa t'ü-n-ar-ni awa-j.* (X89:29)
here dance-PL song-PL say-MSD-PL and eat-MSD-PL-and be.in-PST

'There was dancing here, singing and eating.'

9.9.2. Participle

Participles serve to express relative clauses, as in (343).

- (343) *swas žağur-zawa-j žehil* (Q81:110)
 [bride search-IMPF-PTP] youth
 'the young man who is looking for a bride'

Participles can be substantivized like adjectives (see 8.1.1.). Substantivized participles mark headless relative clauses. Their meaning can be either specific (344a) or non-specific (344b).

- (344) *k'walax-zawa-j-di*
 work-IMPF-PTP-SBST.SG
 a. 'the one who works'
 b. 'whoever works'

See Ch. 19 on relative clauses for details on such uses of participles. Substantivized participles have special uses in complement clauses, cf. Ch. 20.4., and in comparative clauses (24.1.2.). See also 20.9. for relative-clause-like complement clauses.

Some participles correspond to English and Russian adjectives. They are listed in Lezgian dictionaries and are perhaps lexicalized in Lezgian, too.

- | | | | | | |
|----------|----------------|----------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|
| (345) a. | <i>q'uraj</i> | 'dry' | Aorist participle | (<i>q'urun</i> | 'become dry') |
| b. | <i>q'ac'aj</i> | 'dirty' | Aorist participle | (<i>q'ac'un</i> | 'become dirty') |
| c. | <i>kudaj</i> | 'hot' | Future participle | (<i>kun</i> | 'burn') |
| d. | <i>feji</i> | 'past' | Aorist participle | (<i>fin</i> | 'go (away)') |
| e. | <i>xaji</i> | 'native' | Aorist participle | (<i>xun</i> | 'give birth to') |

The various tense-aspect forms of the participles generally have the same temporal-aspectual meaning as the corresponding finite forms. Future participles may have future (346) or habitual (347) meaning.

- (346) *A xwanaxwa.di-z ħe za koncert.d-a ja-da-j daldam*
 that friend-DAT [[today I:ERG concert-INESS play-FUT-PTP] drum
xutax-iz k'an-zawa. (J89:25)
 take.away-INF want-IMPF
 'That friend wants to take away the drum that I will play today at the concert.'

- (347) *Am ja marf, ja gar, ja cif te-fi-da-j,*
 it:ABS [or rain or wind or fog NEG-go-FUT-PTP]
qwan.ci-n alamat.di-n qele tir. (S88:169)
 stone-GEN wonder-GEN fortress COP:PST
 'It was a wonderful stone fortress in which neither rain, nor wind, nor fog entered.'

Continuative participles have continuative meaning:

- (348) *Dide.di sufra ek'ä-na, axpa ada-l hele rga-zma-j*
 mother(ERG) cloth spread-AOR then it-SRESS [still boil-IMPV.CONT-PTP]
samovar ecig-na. (J89:6)
 samovar put-AOR
 'Mother spread out a cloth, and then she put a samovar on it that was still boiling.'

Perfect participles have perfect meaning (349), and they may have resultative meaning with certain verbs (350).

- (349) *Q'hen-ar c'ra-na, na luhudi, abur ife-nwa-j pič.ina-l*
 shadow-PL dissolve-AOR as- -if they [[heat-PRF-PTP] oven-SRESS
ecig-nawa-j murk'uc'-ar tir. (N88:56)
 put-PRF-PTP icicle-PL COP:PST
 'The shadows dissolved as if they were icicles which had been put on a hot oven.'
- (350) *wilikan žerge.d-a acug'-nawa-j učilišče.di-n načal'nik* (S88:155)
 [front row-INNESS sit-PRF-PTP] school-GEN principal
 'the school's principal, who is sitting in the front row'

The Aorist participle also has past meaning. It is often interchangeable with the Perfect participle. The colloquial language prefers the Perfect participle to the Aorist participle.

- (351) *Q'ara.di-z awat-aj qizil q'alu že-da-č.* (TG66:197)
 [mud-DAT fall-AOP] gold dirty become-FUT-NEG
 'Gold which has fallen into the mud does not become dirty.'

Another important use of the Aorist participle is in combination with the Conditional marker *-t'a* (9.3.4.3., 9.8.5.), especially in conditional clauses (21.7.1.). The Aorist participle is the only participle that can be suffixed with the Conditional marker *-t'a*.

9.9.3. Infinitive (Imperfective converb)

The Infinitive has two quite different functions. On the one hand, it is used in complement clauses and in purpose clauses, much like the infinitive in many European languages. On the other hand, it is used in semantically non-specific adverbial clauses. Since it is very similar in this function to the Aorist converb, it can be regarded as an "Imperfective converb".

An example of the Infinitive in a purpose clause is shown in (352).

- (352) *I irid stxa čpi-n juldaš-r.i-q^h galaz qūğwa-z fe-na.*
 this seven brother [selves-GEN friend-PL-POESS with play-INF] go-AOR
 'These seven brothers went to play with their friends.' (X89:69)

See further 21.5.2. on purpose clauses with the Infinitive. Two examples of the Infinitive in complement clauses are shown in (353).

- (353) a. *Qurxulu xar ħwa-z bašlamiš-na.* (M79:3)
 [terrible hail fall-INF] begin-AOR
 'A terrible hail began to fall.'
- b. *Za-waj wun isätda fe-na a ruš.a-q^h galaz*
 I-ADEL [you:ABS now [go-AOC] that girl-POESS with
tanišar-iz že-da. (Q81:110)
 acquaint-INF] can-FUT
 'I can go now and introduce you to that girl.'

See further 20.2. on complement clauses with the Infinitive.

Two examples of the Infinitive used as Imperfective converb are shown in (354). In this use, it generally expresses a simultaneous accompanying event.

- (354) a. *Dağustan.di-n žehil-ar pamjatnik.di-z, gah agat-iz,*
 Dagestan-GEN youth-PL monument-DAT [now approach-IMC
gah ħaħat-iz, kilig-zawa. (Q81:45)
 now fall.off-IMC] look-IMPF
 'The Dagestani youngsters are looking at the monument, now approaching, now moving away.'
- b. *Abur q'wed-ni insan-r.i-n ara.d-aj čüq'we-z=čüq'we-z*
 they two-also person-PL-GEN between-INEL [press-INF=press-INF]
tribuna.di-n pataw fe-na. (J89:27)
 tribune-GEN to go-AOR
 'They both went to the tribune, pushing their way through the people.'

See further 21.2. on adverbial clauses with the Imperfective converb, as well as 20.6.2. for a special use in complement clauses, and 16.3.2.8. for a special use in a temporal expression.

The uses of the Secondary Imperfective converbs are described in 21.3.

9.9.4. Aorist converb

The Aorist converb also expresses non-specific adverbial subordination. In contrast to the Imperfective converb, the event expressed by the Aorist converb is prior to the main clause event. Often the best translation is with a coordinating conjunction, as in (355).

- (355) *Maxsud.a-z ħarağ-na čül.di-z fi-z k'an-zawa-j.* (G63:175)
 Maxsud-DAT [[get.up-AOC] field-DAT go-INF] want-IMPF-PST
 'Maxsud wanted to get up and go to the field (lit. wanted, having gotten up, to go to the field).'

See further 21.1. on adverbial clauses with the Aorist converb, 20.6.1. and 20.6.2. for special uses in complement clauses, and 16.3.2.7. for a special use in a temporal expression.

9.9.5. Specialized converbs

The uses of the specialized converbs are mainly described in Ch. 21:

Posterior converbs	- <i>daldi</i> , <i>ta-...n(a)maz</i>	21.4.2., 24.1.2.
Graduative converb	- <i>rdawaj</i>	21.4.4.
Temporal converb	- <i>la</i>	21.4.1.
Causal converb	- <i>wiläj</i>	21.5.2.
Purpose/Manner converb	- <i>wal</i>	21.6.3., 21.9., 9.7.2.
Immediate-Anterior converbs	- <i>waldi</i> , - <i>n(a)maz(di,)</i> - <i>z(a)maz</i>	21.4.3.

9.10. Archaic verb forms

Three tense-aspect categories that are described in Uslar (1896) do not occur in the modern standard language. These are referred to here as the "archaic" tense-aspects, although it is not quite clear whether they have really become obsolete in the meantime or whether they are restricted to non-standard dialects. Furthermore, there is an Imperfective participle that is used very rarely and seems to be a relic from an earlier time.

9.10.1. Archaic Preterit

The Archaic Preterit is formed from the Aorist stem with the suffix *-ra* or *-ja*/*-aja*. The distribution of these suffixes is parallel to the distribution of the Aorist participle suffixes *-r* and *-ji*/*-j* (9.3.3.2.). This suggests that the Archaic Preterit is derived from the Aorist participle by means of a suffix *-a* (perhaps cognate with the copula *ja*?). Some examples:

Masdar	Aorist participle	Archaic Preterit	
<i>q̄ačun</i>	<i>q̄ačur</i>	<i>q̄ačura</i>	'take, buy'
<i>awun</i>	<i>awur</i>	<i>awura</i>	'do'
<i>ɣun</i>	<i>ɣaji</i>	<i>ɣaja</i>	'be, become'
<i>fin</i>	<i>feji</i>	<i>feja</i>	'went'
<i>ecigun</i>	<i>ecigaj (ecigur)</i>	<i>ecigaja / ecigra</i>	'put, build'

The negated form of the Archaic Preterit ends in *-nč*.

<i>awun</i>	<i>awunč</i>
<i>fin</i>	<i>fenč</i>

According to Uslar (1896:§177), the meaning of the Archaic Preterit differs slightly from the Aorist in that it conveys a nuance of surprise, e.g.

- (356) a. *C'inin jis awadan tir, amma texil-ar pis xa-ja.*
 this.year year favorable COP:PST but grain-PL bad be-APRET
 'This year was favorable, but (surprisingly) the crops were bad.'
- b. *Za ada-z akwa-da-č luhu-zwa-j, ada-z aku-ra ha.*
 I:ERG he-DAT [see-FUT-NEG] say-IMPFF-PST he-DAT see-APRET PT
 'I told him that he would not see (it), but he saw (it).'
 (Topuria 1959:108)

9.10.2. Archaic Future

The Archaic Future is formed with the suffix *-di* (negated *-(i)č*) from the Imperfective stem, e.g.

Masdar	Archaic Future	negated Archaic Future	
<i>akun</i>	<i>akwadi</i>	<i>akwač</i>	'see'
<i>ġun</i>	<i>žedi</i>	<i>žeč</i>	'be, become'
<i>tamašun</i>	<i>tamašdi</i>	<i>tamašič</i>	'look'

According to Uslar (1896:§198), it is less assertive in predicting a future event and occurs mainly in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, e.g.

- (357) a. *Gila wun ada-n k'wali-z ša-ji-t'a, am k'wal-e že-di.*
 now you:ABS he-GEN house-DAT go-AOP-CND he:ABS house-INESS be-AFUT
 'If you go to his house now, he will be at home.'
- b. *Q^hüre-mir ġunši.da-l, wi q'il.e-l-ni qwe-di.*
 laugh-PROHIB neighbor-SRESS you:GEN head-SRESS-too come-AFUT
 'Don't laugh at your neighbor, (or) something (bad) will happen to you, too (lit. will come on your head).' (Topuria 1959:111)

The Archaic Future is not as completely absent from the modern standard language as the Archaic Preterit. It is occasionally used, especially in the negative form and with the verb *ġun* 'be', e.g.

- (358) a. *Wi rik'-e iġtin gaf-ar že-č.* (N88:87)
 you:GEN heart-INESS such word-PL be-AFUT.NEG
 'There are no such words in your heart.'
- b. *Allah.di ga-ji-t'a, paka.di-n juġ qenin-da-laj*
 [God(ERG) give-AOP-CND] tomorrow-GEN day today's-SBST.SG-SREL
q^hsan-di že-di. (S88:32)
 good-SBST.SG be-AFUT
 'If God gives it, tomorrow will be a better day than today.'

The form *žedi* occurs in the modern standard language as a lexicalized particle ('possibly') with no synchronic relation to the verb *žun / že-* 'be'.

(359) a. *Im dūnja.di-n exir ja žedi!* (S88:175)

this:ABS world-GEN end COP PT

'This must be the end of the world.'

b. *Belki kerekul.di čünūx-zawa žedi?* (K84,3:6)

maybe magpie(ERG) steal-IMPF PT

'Maybe a magpie is stealing (them)?'

The negative form is also sometimes used as a particle, especially in exclamations (*žeč ha!* 'impossible!').

9.10.3. Archaic Past Future

The Archaic Past Future is formed from the Imperfective stem with the suffix *-dir* (negative *-čir*), i.e. *-di* plus the Past suffix *-(i)r*, which otherwise occurs only after the negative suffix *-č*.

Masdar	Archaic Past Future	negated Archaic Past Future	
<i>qačun</i>	<i>qačudir</i>	<i>qačučir</i>	'take, buy'
<i>žun</i>	<i>žedir</i>	<i>žečir</i>	'be, become'
<i>awun</i>	<i>ijidir</i>	<i>ijičir</i>	'do'
<i>aqatun</i>	<i>aqatdir</i>		'come out'

According to Uslar's description, the Archaic Past Future is used in the apodosis of counterfactual conditionals, e.g.

(360) a. *Wun qwe-da-j-di čirxa-na-j-t'a, zun k'wal-e*
 [[you:ABS come-FUT-PTP-SBST] know-AOR-PST-CND] I:ABS house-INESS

že-d-ir.

be-AFUT-PST

'If I had known that you would come, I would have been at home.'

b. *Meq'i xa-na-č-ir-t'a, zun qhisen že-d-ir.*
 [cold be-AOR-NEG-PST-CND] I:ABS good be-AFUT-PST

'If it were not cold, I would get better.'

c. *Za-z bilet awa-j-t'a, zi čip aqat-d-ir.*
 [I-DAT ticket be.in-PST-CND] I:GEN lot come.out-AFUT-PST

'If I had a ticket, I would win (lit. my lot would come out).'

This is of course quite parallel to the use of the modern Past Future (9.6.2., 21.7.2.).

9.10.4. The Archaic Imperfective participle

In the modern language, the Imperfective participle is derived from the finite Imperfective form, e.g.

luhu-zwa 'says, is saying' → *luhu-zwa-j* 'saying'

In earlier stages of Lezgian, there must have been a regular Imperfective participle formed directly from the Imperfective stem by means of the suffix *-r/-ri*. This Imperfective participle is now only used sporadically.

The suffix *-ri* is used after monosyllabic stems, while the suffix *-r* occurs mainly after disyllabic stems. All cases of the Imperfective participle that I have found are from strong verbs. E.g.

<i>atun</i>	<i>q̄we-ri</i>	'coming'
<i>ʁun</i>	<i>že-ri</i>	'being'
<i>luhun</i>	<i>luhu-r</i>	'saying'
<i>taʁun</i>	<i>te-že-r</i>	'not being'
<i>tawun</i>	<i>t-iji-r</i>	'not doing'
<i>akun</i>	<i>akwa-r</i>	'seeing'

The Imperfective participle is mainly used in fixed expressions:

- (361) a. *Wil-i-z akwa-r q'wan čka-jr-a čan ala-j*
 [eye-DAT see-AIMPP] as.many.as place-PL-INNESS [soul be.on-PTP]

zat' ama-č-ir. (Q81:5)
 thing be.still-NEG-PST

'There was not a living thing left wherever one looked (lit. at all the places the eye saw).'

- b. *I ahwalat ada-n ümür.d-a hič rik'e-laj te-fi-r*
 this event [she-GEN life-INNESS never heart-SREL NEG-go-AIMPP]

zurba sa k'walax tir. (R66:6)
 strong one thing COP:PST

'This event was a powerful experience that she will never forget in her life (lit. that will never go out of her heart).'

- c. *q̄we-ri otpusk* (Š83:98)
 [come-AIMPP] vacation

'the next (lit. coming) vacation'

- d. *ex-iz te-že-r kar* (L86,3:25)
 [[tolerate-INF] NEG-can-AIMPP] thing

'an intolerable situation (lit. a situation that one cannot bear)'

There is a special construction involving two successive Archaic Imperfective participles of the same verb, where the second instance is negated (in (362d), there is a sequence of two different verbs). The meaning

is very specific and cannot be easily derived from the formal features of the construction.

- (362) a. *Ibur.u-z fi-r=te-fi-r* *čka či-zma-č-ir.* (X89:11)
 these-DAT [go-AIMPP=NEG-go-AIMPP] place know-IMP.F.CONT-NEG-PST
 'They did not know anymore where to go.'
- b. *Ada-z luhu-r=ta-lhu-r* *či-zma-č-ir.* (N88:85)
 he-DAT [say-AIMPP=NEG-say-AIMPP] know-IMP.F.CONT-NEG-PST
 'He did not know anymore what to say.'
- c. *Wa-z abur.u-z luhu-r=ta-lhu-r* *awa-ni?* (J89:27)
 you-DAT [they-DAT say-AIMPP=NEG-say-AIMPP] be.in-Q
 'Do you have anything to tell them?'
- d. *Kwe-z ne-r=qhwa-r* *wuč awa?* (Du68,2:113)
 you-DAT [eat-AIMPP=drink-AIMPP] what:ABS be.in
 'What do you have to eat and drink?'

Note that in this construction the participle may be used substantivally without the substantivizing suffix *-di* (as in 362b-c). This is impossible with normal participles.

Chapter 10 Verbal derivation

10.1. The causative

A considerable number of verbs allow the suffixation of the causative morpheme *-(a)r-* to the Masdar stem. The shape of the suffix is *-ar-* when the Masdar stem ends in a consonant (i.e. in weak verbs, cf. (363)), and *-r-* when the Masdar stem ends in a vowel (i.e. in strong verbs, cf. (364)). All derived causative verbs are weak verbs and are stressed on their stem.

BASE VERB	DERIVED CAUSATIVE
(363) a. <i>agáq'-un</i> 'arrive, reach'	<i>agáq'-ar-un</i> 'bring, deliver'
b. <i>q^hit'q'ínun</i> 'burst, crack'	<i>q^hit'q'ín-ar-un</i> 'make burst, crack'
c. <i>eléq'-un</i> 'decrease (intr.)'	<i>eléq'-ar-un</i> 'decrease, reduce'
(364) a. <i>ksu-n</i> 'fall asleep'	<i>ksu-r-un</i> 'put to bed'
b. <i>q'eží-n</i> 'become wet'	<i>q'eží-r-un</i> 'wet, soak'
c. <i>tük'ü'-n</i> 'fit (intr.)'	<i>tük'ü'-r-un</i> 'correct'

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the base verb is intransitive and the causative is the corresponding transitive verb. (To express causativization of transitive verbs, the verb *tun* 'make' plus an Infinitival complement clause must be used, cf. 20.2.4.) The valence pattern of the causative verb differs from the valence pattern of the base verb only in that an Ergative argument (the causer) is added. Other properties of the valence pattern of the base verb are preserved, as shown in (365). (The capital letters T, A, L are arbitrary variables for NP arguments.)

(365) a. <i>ǩu-n</i>	{T _{ABS} }	'T becomes cold'
—> <i>ǩu-r-un</i>	{A _{ERG} T _{ABS} }	'A makes T cold'
b. <i>galuq'-un</i>	{T _{ABS} L _{POESS} }	'T hits against L'
—> <i>galuq'-ar-un</i>	{A _{ERG} T _{ABS} L _{POESS} }	'A makes T hit against L'
c. <i>ac'u-n</i>	{T _{ABS} L _{ADESS} }	'T becomes full of L'
—> <i>ac'u-r-un</i>	{A _{ERG} T _{ABS} L _{ADESS} }	'A fills T with L'

Šejxov (1983b:82-86) lists 61 verbs from which the causative is formed in this regular way. One intransitive/causative pair is irregular phonologically: *išežun* 'cry' vs. causative *iširun* 'make cry'.

It is not quite clear to what extent the causative is productive. It is clear that it cannot be formed from every single intransitive verb. For instance, the intransitive verbs in (366) do not have a causative counterpart:

- (366) *atun* 'come'
raxun 'talk'
fin 'go'
akun 'see'

Some of these verbs have transitive counterparts with different roots (these could be regarded as suppletive causatives), e.g. *ḡun* 'bring' (causative of *atun*), *raḡurun* 'send' (causative of *fin*).

In one verb the causative does not have causative meaning in the strict sense, but makes the inactive base verb agentive:

- (367) *žuḡu-n* {T_{ABS} E_{DAT}} 'E finds T (accidentally)'
 → *žuḡu-r-un* {A_{ERG} T_{ABS}} 'A finds T (with an effort)'

This is similar to the following cases:

- (368) a. *kwaḡun* {T_{ABS} E_{SBEL}} 'E loses T (accidentally)'
 → *kwadarun* {A_{ERG} T_{ABS}} 'A loses T (with responsibility),
 A gets rid of T'
- b. *rik'elaj alatur* {E_{GEN} T_{ABS}} 'E forgets T (accidentally)'
 (lit. 'T falls from E's heart')
 → *rik'elaj aludun* {A_{ERG} T_{ABS}} 'A forgets T (intentionally)'
 (lit. 'A takes T off the heart')

But note that the relationship between the transitive and intransitive verbs in (368) is not as radically different from the causative relationship as the translations suggest. As in the standard case (cf. 365a-c), the causative verb here differs from the base verb in having an additional Ergative argument. However, the experiencer argument ('E' in (367-368)) is lacking in the valence pattern of the causative.

There are a number of transitive verbs that may appear with a suffix *-ar-*, but the derived verb does not differ in meaning from the base verb in these cases. The suffix *-ar-* can be thought of as a redundant transitivity marker here.

- (369) *at'um-un* = *at'um-ar-un* 'prop, lean'
agaž-un = *agaž-ar-un* 'press together'
alcur-un = *alcur-ar-un* 'deceive'
alčud-un = *alčud-ar-un* 'turn around'
galtad-un = *galtad-ar-un* 'rock, wave, shake'
igis-un = *igis-ar-un* 'approach, bring close'
št'um-un = *št'um-ar-un* 'dry'

A similar pattern is displayed by denominal and deadjectival verbs which alternate between the two verbalization strategies zero and *-ar-* (cf. 10.6.3.).

- (370) *ačux* 'open, clear' *ačux-un* = *ačux-ar-un* 'open'
behem 'sufficient' *behem-un* = *behem-ar-un* 'complete'
ajib 'shame' *ajib-un* = *ajib-ar-un* 'make ashamed'

The cases in (369) differ from those in (370) only in that they are not in a synchronic derivational relationship with an existing noun or adjective. For some verbs that behave as in (369) such a relationship can be reconstructed because they are based on loanwords:

- (371) **dawam* (Arabic) *dawam-un* = *dawam-ar-un* 'continue'
 **degiš* (Turkic) *degišun* = *degiš-ar-un* 'change'

There are also a number of cases where a semantic causative relation exists but the formal difference between the causative and the non-causative is not the same as in regular causatives:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| (372) <i>aq'axun</i> | 'stick into (intr.)' | <i>aq'adarun</i> | 'stick (tr.)' |
| <i>k'wašun</i> | 'crumble, fall down' | <i>k'wadarun</i> | 'scatter, pour' |
| <i>awašun</i> | 'roll (intr.)' | <i>awadarun</i> | 'roll (tr.)' |
| <i>xkašun</i> | 'go out (light)' | <i>xkadarun</i> | 'extinguish' |
| <i>akašun</i> | 'mix (intr.)' | <i>akadarun</i> | 'mix (tr.)' |
| <i>acašun</i> | 'collapse' | <i>acadarun</i> | 'break down (tr.)' |
| <i>kwašun</i> | 'get lost' | <i>kwadarun</i> | 'lose' |
| <i>aqaxun</i> | 'become overripe' | <i>aqadarun</i> | 'allow to become overripe' |
| (373) <i>xkeč'un</i> | 'go out' | <i>xkudun</i> | 'take away' |
| <i>eqeč'un</i> | 'approach' | <i>aqudun</i> | 'take out' |
| <i>ewič'un</i> | 'go out' | <i>awudun</i> | 'take out' |
| <i>geläč'un</i> | 'come off' | <i>galudun / gelägun</i> | 'take off' |
| <i>eläč'un</i> | 'pass' | <i>aludun / elägun</i> | 'take off' |
| (374) <i>galatun</i> | 'become tired' | <i>galudun</i> | 'make tired' |
| <i>alatun</i> | 'fall off' | <i>aludun</i> | 'take off' |
| <i>aqatun</i> | 'fall out' | <i>aqudun</i> | 'take out' |
| <i>awatun</i> | 'fall out' | <i>awudun</i> | 'take out' |
| <i>agaltun</i> | 'lean (intr.)' | <i>agaldun</i> | 'lean (tr.)' |
| <i>acaltun</i> | 'be filled' | <i>acaldun</i> | 'fill' |

The fact that the causative counterpart in each case involves a *d* perhaps justifies treating these cases as derived causatives (with a suffix *-d(ar)-?*). But it is equally plausible to say that in each case a suppletive relationship exists between the roots *-ax- / -ad-(ar-)*, *-eč- / -ud-(äğ-)*, *-(a)t- / -(u)d-*, from which various verbs are derived by means of preverbs (cf. 10.3.). Anyway, the relationship in (372)-(374) is not very strong synchronically because of numerous semantic idiosyncrasies.

10.2. The anticausative

A considerable number of transitive weak verbs allow the derivation of a corresponding anticausative. This is formed from the stem of the base verb and the verb *šun* 'become, be'. (Alternatively, one could say that the anticausative is derived from the Periphrasis form of the base verb. Since anti-

causatives can only be derived from weak verbs, whose Periphrasis form is identical to their stem, it is impossible to decide whether the anticausative is derived from the stem or from the Periphrasis form.)

(375)	<i>xkažun</i>	'raise, lift'	<i>xkažun</i>	'rise'
	<i>aq'alun</i>	'close (tr.)'	<i>aq'alun</i>	'close (intr.)'
	<i>gadarun</i>	'throw'	<i>gadarun</i>	'be thrown out, erupt'
	<i>galtadun</i>	'rock, shake'	<i>galtadun</i>	'rock (intr.), be shaken'
	<i>kütähun</i>	'finish (tr.)'	<i>kütähun</i>	'finish (intr.)'
	<i>bašlamišun</i>	'begin (tr.)'	<i>bašlamišun</i>	'begin (intr.)'
	<i>tük'ürun</i>	'build, form'	<i>tük'ürun</i>	'be formed (in grammar)'

As the examples show, anticausatives denote processes that are conceived of as occurring without an external agent (i.e. the agent is not just backgrounded, as it is in passive constructions in other languages, but completely eliminated from the conceptual structure). This semantic property accounts for the restricted nature of the anticausative derivation: many transitive events simply cannot be conceptualized as occurring without an external agent. For instance, from *geq̄gun* 'compare', there is no **geq̄gun* 'undergo comparison' because comparisons are not conceived of as occurring without an agent who does the comparing.

In some cases the process denoted by the anticausative is not inactive — in such cases an English translation by means of a reflexive verb is sometimes appropriate.

(376)	<i>jaraq'lamišun</i>	'arm'	<i>jaraq'lamišun</i>	'arm oneself'
	<i>čününun</i>	'hide (tr.)'	<i>čününun</i>	'hide (intr.), hide oneself'
	<i>ewlenmišun</i>	'marry off'	<i>ewlenmišun</i>	'get married'
	<i>inandirmišun</i>	'convince'	<i>inandirmišun</i>	'arrive at a conviction'

When a transitive verb is derived from a noun or adjective by means of *awun* (cf. 10.6.) or *-ar-* (cf. 10.6.3.), a corresponding intransitive verb also often exists. The relationship between these two verbs then looks very similar to the relationship between transitives and anticausatives as in (375). However, in the following pairs (377-378) the intransitive members are not derived from their transitive counterparts, but both are derived from the same third word. The examples in (375-376) are crucially different in that the transitive member of the pair is a primary verb (at least synchronically).

(377)	<i>k'wat'</i>	'lump':		
	<i>k'wat'un</i>	'gather (tr.)'	<i>k'wat'un</i>	'gather (intr.)'
	<i>hazur</i>	'ready':		
	<i>hazurun</i>	'prepare (tr.)'	<i>hazurun</i>	'get ready'
(378)	<i>alčax</i>	'low':		
	<i>alčax-ar-un</i>	'make lower'	<i>alčaxun</i>	'become lower'
	<i>ujax</i>	'awake':		
	<i>ujax-ar-un</i>	'wake up (intr.)'	<i>ujaxun</i>	'wake up (intr.)'

10.3. Preverbs

Preverbs are verbal prefixes with an original locative meaning, quite similar to Indo-European preverbs as in *trans-fer*, *con-fer*, *de-fer*, etc. In contrast to all the other derivational categories described here, preverbs are no longer productive in Lezgian (they are still quite regular and productive in the closely related Tabasaran).

About 18 preverbs can be identified, and two dozen verb roots occur with identifiable preverbs. Six roots occur with more than ten different preverbs, but quite a few are not combined with more than a handful.

In most cases, the meaning of the preverb is no longer clearly discernible, and it may be that the majority of preverb verbs listed below are no longer analyzed by native speakers, so that the analysis is only diachronically valid. Nevertheless, in some cases the meaning of the preverb and its contribution to the derived verb's meaning are quite clear, e.g.

(379) preverb *Aq̄-* 'out'

<i>aq̄-atun</i>	'fall out'
<i>eq̄-eč'un</i>	'go out'
<i>aq̄-udun</i>	'take out'
<i>eq̄-isun</i>	'stick out'

(380) preverb *Ag-* 'approaching'

<i>ag-aɰun</i>	'approach'
<i>eg-eč'un</i>	'go (up) to'
<i>ag-aq'un</i>	'reach'
<i>ag-udun</i>	'move (up) to'

(381) preverb *Al-* 'off'

<i>al-udun</i>	'take off'
<i>al-aɰun</i>	'tear off'
<i>al-atun</i>	'fall off'
<i>al-at'un</i>	'cut off'

The preverbs not only modify the meaning of the root of a verb, they also co-determine the valence pattern of the verb (cf. 10.3.2.). These valence patterns are usually preserved even where the meaning is totally idiomatic.

10.3.1. The forms of the preverbs

There are three or four preverbs consisting of just one consonant.

(382) <i>kw-</i>	e.g.	<i>kw-atun</i>	'fall off'
<i>gw-</i>		<i>gw-äɰun</i>	'smear'
<i>h-</i>		<i>h-aq'un</i>	'fit'
<i>k'w-</i> (?)		<i>k'w-aɰun</i>	'run, pour'

There are six or seven preverbs of the form *AC-*, i.e. a low vowel followed by a single consonant. The quality of the vowel (*a* or *e*) is determined by vowel harmony (see 4.4.).

(383)	<i>Aw-</i>	e.g.	<i>ew-äğun</i>	'comb'	<i>aw-atun</i>	'fall out'
	<i>Al-</i>		<i>el-äğun</i>	'take off'	<i>al-atun</i>	'fall off'
	<i>Aq̄-</i>		<i>eq̄-äğun</i>	'pour out'	<i>aq̄-atun</i>	'fall out'
	<i>Ak-</i>		<i>ek-eč'un</i>	'join'	<i>ak-aʃun</i>	'mix'
	<i>Ag-</i>		<i>eg-eč'un</i>	'approach'	<i>ag-aʃun</i>	'approach'
	<i>Ac-</i>		<i>ec-äğun</i>	'push'	<i>ac-aʃun</i>	'fall down'
	<i>Aq' (?)</i>				<i>aq'-axun</i>	'climb'

The vowel of the preverb is also sometimes *i* when the verb stem has a front vowel: *il-igun* (~ *el-igun*) 'beat', *il-it'un* 'tie around', *ig-isun* 'approach' (cf. 3.2.2.2.).

There are four or five preverbs of the form *CAC-*, and three preverbs of the form *ACAC-*. Since all the consonants that occur in these biconsonantal preverbs also occur in the monoconsonantal preverbs, one can think of these preverbs as compound preverbs, consisting of a combination of monoconsonantal preverbs (cf. Talibov 1958). Also, verbs with the biconsonantal preverbs are often semantically quite similar to verbs with the corresponding monoconsonantal preverbs.

(384)	<i>gAl-</i>	e.g.	<i>gel-äč-un</i>	'separate'	<i>gal-udun</i>	'detach'
	<i>kAk-</i>		<i>kek-äğun</i>	'begin'	<i>kak-udun</i>	'put under'
	<i>q̄Aq̄-</i>		<i>qeq̄-eč'un</i>	'go away'	<i>qaq̄-udun</i>	'take off'
	<i>hAl-</i>				<i>hal-tun</i>	'meet'
	<i>kAl- (?)</i>		<i>kil-igun</i>	'look'		
	<i>AgAl-</i>		<i>egel-č'un</i>	'approach'	<i>agal-tun</i>	'lean'
	<i>Aq'Al-</i>				<i>aq'al-tun</i>	'appear'
	<i>AcAl-</i>				<i>acal-tun</i>	'fall on'

One preverb consists of the two consonants *xk-*.

(385)	<i>xk-</i>	<i>xk-eč'un</i> (< <i>xik-</i>)	<i>xk-atun</i> (< <i>xuk-</i>)
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Some of the consonants that show up in preverbs, namely *k*, *w*, *q̄* and *l*, are identical to the consonants that signal the localizations in the nominal declension (cf. 7.1.2.1.). That this is not an accident is shown in the next section.

10.3.2. The syntax of verbs with preverbs

It should have become apparent from the above examples (and it becomes even clearer in the complete list of preverbs below in 10.3.3.) that the meaning of the preverb is not transparent synchronically in the majority of cases. But the preverbs have one effect that turns out to be more durable: Their influence on the verbs' valence patterns.

Several preverbs are associated with particular localizations. A verb with a preverb generally governs a local case of the localization with which its

preverb is associated (in addition, of course, to the Absolutive case, and, if it is transitive, the Ergative case). For instance, the preverb *Al-* is associated with the Super localization, and a verb with the preverb *Al-* will generally have an argument in the Superessive or Superrelative case in its valence pattern. Thus:

<i>al-uk'un</i>	{A _{ERG} T _{ABS} L _{SRESS} }	'A puts T (clothes) on L'
<i>al-atun</i>	{T _{ABS} L _{SREL} }	'T exceeds L'

(386) *Ali.di k'wač.i-n kap-ar k'wač-er.a-l aluk'-na.*
 Ali(ERG) foot-GEN container-PL(ABS) foot-PL-SRESS put.on-AOR
 'Ali put his shoes on his feet.'

(387) *Qazanž-jr.i-n q'adar q'we million manat.di-laj alat-zawa*
 profit-PL-GEN amount(ABS) two million rouble-SREL exceed-IMPFF
 'The amount of the profit exceeds two million roubles.' (Ko89,10,13:3)

This situation strongly reminds one of preverbs in Indo-European languages, as in the Latin and German examples in (388)-(389).

(388) Latin
Lapid-em ad introitum ad-fer-t.
 stone-ACC to entrance to-carry-3SG.PRES
 'She carries the stone to the entrance.'

(389) German
Als sie aus der Kutsche aus-stieg,...
 when she from the coach out-stepped
 'When she got off the coach...'

In these examples, one locative expression (*ad* and *aus*, respectively) is used twice in two different syntactic positions: As a preverb and as an adposition. Similarly, the original meaning of a sentence like (386) must have been 'Ali put-on his shoes on his feet'. On the analogy of the well-documented situation in Indo-European we may confidently speculate that the consonants *k*, *w*, *č*, and *l* are the remnants of earlier locative adverbs that have become grammaticized in two positions: as localization suffixes on nouns, and as locative preverbs on verbs.

The following list shows which preverbs are associated with which localizations:

(390) a. Ad localization (- <i>w</i>)	<i>gw-</i> , <i>Ag-</i>
b. Post localization (- <i>q^h</i>)	<i>gAl-</i> , <i>AgAl-</i>
c. Sub localization (- <i>k</i>)	<i>kw-</i> , <i>k'w-</i> , <i>Ak-</i> , <i>kAk-</i> , <i>xk-</i>
d. Super localization (- <i>l</i>)	<i>Al-</i> , <i>AcAl-</i> , <i>Aq'Al-</i> , <i>hAl-</i>
e. In localization (7.1.3.2.)	<i>Aw-</i>

Note that the association between the Ad localization (-*w*) and the preverbs *gw-*, *Ag-* is easily explained diachronically: the Ad suffix was originally *-*g^w* (cf. the form -*g* that is common in Lezgian dialects). The reason for the asso-

ciation of the Post localization ($-q^h$) and the preverb *gAl-* is obscure. It is unknown whether the preverbs *Ac-*, *Aq̄-*, and *q̄Aq̄-* are also associated with certain types of valence patterns.

In addition to the association of preverbs with localizations, there is also an association with postpositions and adverbs based on nouns in these localizations, e.g. the postposition *k'anik* 'under' (Subessive of *k'an* 'bottom') is associated with the preverbs *Ak-*, *kw-*, *xk-*, e.g.

(391) a. *Kac stol.di-n k'anik akaŝ-na.* (G54:144)
 cat table-GEN under enter-AOR

'The cat went under the table.'

b. *Kac stol.di-n k'anikaj xkec'-na.* (G54:144)
 cat table-GEN from.under go.out-AOR

'The cat came out from under the table.'

And the postposition *winel* 'above' is associated with the preverbs *Al-*, *hAl-*, etc., e.g.

(392) *Am čna či winelaj alud-in.* (X89:6)
 he:ABS we:ERG we:GEN from.above take.away-HORT

'Let us take him (viz. the king) away from above us, i.e. let us topple him.'

More examples of the effects of preverbs on valence patterns can be found in the section on verbal valence (15.3.).

10.3.3. A list of preverb verbs

Such a list can be found in Table 4. A question mark marks verbs that have been assigned their place in the table for formal reasons, but in which the meaning has drifted so far away that it is difficult to see how it is related to the meanings of other verbs. Some of the verbs with question marks show slight formal deviations.

Table 4. A list of preverb verbs

<i>Aw-</i>	<i>aw-atun</i> 'fall out'	<i>aw-udun</i> 'take out'	<i>aw-aʁun</i> 'roll (intr.)'	<i>aw-adarun</i> 'roll (tr.)'
<i>Al-</i>	<i>al-atun</i> 'fall off'	<i>al-udun</i> 'take off'	<i>al-aʁun</i> 'spill over'	<i>al-adarun</i> 'spill(tr.)'
<i>Aq̄-</i>	<i>aq̄-atun</i> 'fall out'	<i>aq̄-udun</i> 'take out'	<i>aq̄-axun (?)</i> 'come off'	<i>aq̄-adarun</i> 'throw out'
<i>Ak-</i>	<i>ak-atun</i> 'fall under'	<i>ak-udun</i> 'take away'	<i>ak-aʁun</i> 'mix (intr.)'	<i>ak-adarun</i> 'mix (tr.)'
<i>Ag-</i>	<i>ag-atun</i> 'approach'	<i>ag-udun</i> 'approach'	<i>ag-aʁun</i> 'approach'	<i>g-adarun</i> 'throw'
<i>Ac-</i>			<i>ac-aʁun</i> 'fall down'	<i>ac-adarun</i> 'tear down'
<i>Aq'-</i>			<i>aq'-axun (?)</i> 'climb'	<i>aq'-adarun</i> 'put in'
<i>xk-</i>	<i>xk-atun</i> 'fall out'	<i>xk-udun</i> 'take away'	<i>xk-aʁun</i> 'go out (light)'	<i>xk-adarun</i> 'put out'
<i>kw-</i>	<i>kw-atun</i> 'fall off'	<i>k-udun</i> 'start'	<i>kw-aʁun</i> 'get lost'	<i>kw-adarun</i> 'lose'
<i>k'w-</i>			<i>k'w-aʁun</i> 'run, pour'	<i>k'w-adarun</i> 'shake off'
<i>gw-</i>	<i>gw-atun (?)</i> 'burst, split'	<i>g-udun</i> 'split'		<i>gw-adarun</i> 'hit'
<i>h-</i>	<i>h-atun</i> 'get'		<i>h-aʁun</i> 'enter'	
<i>gAl-</i>	<i>gal-atun</i> 'fall off'	<i>gal-udun</i> 'detach'	<i>gal-aʁun</i> 'spill over'	
<i>kAk-</i>	<i>kak-atun</i> 'fall under'	<i>kak-udun</i> 'put under'	<i>kak-aʁun</i> 'mix (intr.)'	<i>kak-adarun</i> 'mix (tr.)'
<i>q̄Aq̄-</i>	<i>q̄aq̄-atun</i> 'go away'	<i>q̄aq̄-udun</i> 'take off'		
<i>hAl-</i>	<i>hal-tun</i> 'meet'	<i>hal-dun</i> 'cover, put on'		
<i>AgAl-</i>	<i>agal-tun</i> 'lean (intr.)'	<i>agal-dun</i> 'lean (tr.)'	<i>agal-ʁun</i> 'approach'	
<i>Aq'Al-</i>	<i>aq'al-tun</i> 'appear'			<i>aq'al-darun</i> 'lift, raise'
<i>AcAl-</i>	<i>acal-tun</i> 'be filled'	<i>acal-dun</i> 'fill'		
<i>∅-</i>	<i>atun</i> 'come'		<i>ʁun (?)</i> 'be, become'	

Table 4, continued

<i>Aw-</i>	<i>ew-ič'un</i> 'go out'	<i>ew-äğun</i> 'comb'		<i>ew-isun</i> 'hang'
<i>Al-</i>	<i>el-äč'un</i> 'pass'	<i>el-äğun</i> 'take off'	<i>al-aq'un (?)</i> 'be able'	<i>il-isun</i> 'press'
<i>Aq̄-</i>	<i>eq̄-eč'un</i> 'go out'	<i>eq̄-äğun</i> 'pour out'		<i>eq̄-isun</i> 'stick out'
		<i>q̄-äğun</i> 'put up'		
<i>Ak-</i>	<i>ek-eč'un</i> 'join'	<i>k-äğun</i> 'touch'		<i>ek-isun</i> 'hit'
<i>Ag-</i>	<i>eg-eč'un</i> 'approach'	<i>ig-äğun</i> 'allow to approach'	<i>ag-aq'un</i> 'reach'	<i>ig-isun</i> 'approach'
<i>Ac-</i>		<i>ec-äğun</i> 'push'	<i>ac-uq'un</i> 'sit down'	
<i>xk-</i>	<i>xk-eč'un</i> 'go out'	<i>xk-äğun</i> 'elect'		
<i>kw-</i>		<i>kw-äğun</i> 'make up'		
<i>gw-</i>		<i>gw-äğun</i> 'smear'		
<i>h-</i>			<i>h-aq'un</i> 'fit'	
<i>gAl-</i>	<i>gel-äč'un</i> 'separate'	<i>gel-äğun</i> 'take off; hit'	<i>gal-uq'un</i> 'hit'	
<i>kAk-</i>		<i>kek-äğun</i> 'begin'		
<i>q̄Aq̄-</i>	<i>q̄e q̄-eč'un</i> 'go away'	<i>q̄e q̄-äğun</i> 'hit'		
<i>hal-</i>	<i>hal-č'un</i> 'become gloomy'			<i>hal-sun (?)</i> 'put on'
<i>AgAl-</i>	<i>egel-č'un</i> 'approach'		<i>agal-q'un</i> 'reach'	
<i>∅-</i>		<i>jağun</i> 'hit'	<i>aq'un</i> 'hit upon'	
<i>Al-</i>	<i>al-amuq'un</i> 'remain on'	<i>il-ič'un</i> 'pour'	<i>al-čukun</i> 'wrap around'	<i>al-čudun</i> 'turn around'
<i>Aq̄-</i>		<i>eq̄-ič'un</i> 'spill out'		
<i>kw-</i>	<i>ku-muq'un</i> 'remain under'		<i>ku-čukun</i> 'bury'	<i>ku-čudun</i> 'bury'
<i>gw-</i>	<i>gu-muq'un</i> 'remain with'			
<i>gAl-</i>	<i>gal-amuq'un</i> 'remain behind'		<i>gal-čukun</i> 'put on'	
<i>hAl-</i>		<i>hal-čun (?)</i> 'throw'		
<i>∅-</i>	<i>amuq'un</i> 'remain'			

Table 4, continued

<i>Aw-</i>	<i>aw-a</i> 'be in'			
<i>Al-</i>	<i>al-a</i> 'be on'		<i>al-ažun</i> 'tear off'	<i>al-k'un</i> 'stick to'
<i>Aq̄-</i>			<i>aq̄-ažun</i> 'tear'	
<i>Ag-</i>		<i>g-at'un</i> 'stop giving milk'	<i>ag-ažun</i> 'pull together'	
<i>xk-</i>		<i>xk-at'un</i> 'appear'	<i>xk-ažun</i> 'lift'	
<i>kw-</i>	<i>kw-a</i> 'be under'			<i>ku-k'un</i> 'stick'
<i>gw-</i>	<i>gw-a</i> 'be at'			
<i>gAl-</i>	<i>gal-a</i> 'be behind'			<i>gal-k'un</i> 'cling to'
<i>q̄Aq̄-</i>			<i>q̄a q̄-ažun</i> 'tuck up'	
<i>Aq'Al-</i>		<i>aq'al-t'un</i> 'finish'	<i>aq'al-žun</i> 'put on'	
<i>∅-</i>	<i>ja</i> 'be'	<i>at'un</i> 'cut'		<i>ak'un</i> 'be stuck'

Some further preverb verbs are:

- (393) a. *eq̄ün* 'walk'
el-q̄ün 'turn around'
gel-q̄ün 'care for'
qe q̄ün 'go; look for'
- b. *ak-alun* 'put on'
ag-alun 'close'
h-alun 'chase, lead; plow'
aq'-alun 'close'
- c. *ku-tugun* 'fit, be suitable'
gal-tugun 'hurry, look after'
- d. *ku-tun* 'put under'
gu-tun 'let come close'
 (cf. *tun* 'put')
- e. *ku-cun* 'pour'
 (cf. *cun* 'sow, pour')
- f. *il-ifun* 'visit'
qe q̄-ifun 'become red, hot'
 (cf. *ifin* 'become hot')
- g. *kil-igun* 'look'
 (cf. *akun* 'see')

h. <i>alu-gun</i>	'burn oneself'
<i>ili-gun</i>	'beat'
<i>eci-gun</i> (?)	'put, build'
(cf. <i>kun</i>	'burn')
i. <i>gil-iq'un</i>	'die (animal)'
(cf. <i>q'in</i>	'kill, die')

10.4. The Repetitive

The Repetitive expresses the meaning 'again', e.g. *luhun* 'say', Repetitive *q^hlahun* 'say again'. It is a productive verbal category that can in principle be formed from any verb. It is so regular that it could even be considered an inflectional category of the verb. Indeed, formally it closely resembles negation in that it can be formed by a prefix or periphrastically (cf. 9.3.5.).

10.4.1. Forms of the Repetitive

The Repetitive takes four different forms:

- (i) a prefix *q^h(i)-*
- (ii) a prefix *x(U)-*
- (iii) an infix *-x-* after the first vowel of the verb
- (iv) a periphrastic construction with *q^huwun* 'do again' plus the Periphrasis form of the verb

(i) and (ii) are restricted to a few verbs each, (iii) is not uncommon, and (iv) is unrestrictedly productive. Etymologically, (i)-(iii) probably go back to a preverb meaning 'back' (related to the Postessive case suffix *-q^h*). For a detailed description of the forms of the Repetitive, see Moor (1985:95-103).

10.4.1.1. The prefix *q^h(i)-* occurs with the verbs in (394). In the spelling, it takes the form *q^hi-* in front of glides and voiced obstruents, and *q^h-* elsewhere (the alternation is due to Pretonic High Vowel Syncope, see 4.1.1.).

(394) <i>luhún</i>	'say'	<i>q^hláhun</i>	'say again'
<i>wehín</i>	'throw'	<i>q^hiwéhun</i>	'throw again'
<i>jágún</i>	'hit'	<i>q^hijágún</i>	'hit again'
<i>awún</i>	'do'	<i>q^huwún</i>	'do again'
			(Infinitive <i>q^hijtz</i> , Imperative <i>q^hija</i>)
<i>fin</i>	'go'	<i>q^hfin</i>	'go away'
			(Imperative <i>q^hwað</i>)
<i>ʁun</i>	'be, become'	<i>q^hʁun</i>	'become again; heal'
			(Infinitive <i>q^hížez</i>)

Note that there is a change in stress in the Repetitives of the two verbs *luhún* (*q^hláhun*) and *wehín* (*q^hiwéhun*). This change in stress evidently has to do with the addition of a syllable: The stress is usually on the second syllable of a stem in Lezgian (cf. Ch. 6).

Note also the irregular form *q^huwun*, as well as the two irregular Imperatives *q^hiĵa* and *q^hwač* (besides the regular *q^hša*).

10.4.1.2. The prefix *x(U)-* occurs with a handful of verbs, cf. (395). Again, the original high vowel of the prefix is subject to syncope.

(395) <i>gun</i>	'give'	<i>xgun</i>	'give again'
<i>atun</i>	'come'	<i>xtun</i>	'come again'
			(Infinitive: <i>x(ü)kwez</i>)
<i>ğun</i>	'bring'	<i>xkun</i>	'bring again, bring back'
			(Imperative: <i>xkwaš</i>)
<i>t'ün</i>	'eat'	<i>x(ü)t'ün</i>	'eat again'
<i>tuxun</i>	'carry'	<i>xutaxun</i>	'carry back'

Note the consonantal changes $\bar{q} \rightarrow k$ (*qwez*, *xkwez*) and $\bar{ğ} \rightarrow k$ in the environment after *x(U)-*.

10.4.1.3. The infix *-x-* occurs most regularly with verbs that begin with a low vowel (*a-/e-*). The list in (396) gives a few examples and is by no means complete.

(396) <i>akun</i>	'see'	<i>axkun</i>	'see again'
<i>ewič'un</i>	'get off'	<i>exwič'un</i>	'get off again'
<i>awatun</i>	'fall off'	<i>axwatun</i>	'fall off again'
<i>acuč'un</i>	'sit down'	<i>axcuč'un</i>	'sit down again'
<i>ecigun</i>	'put; build'	<i>excigun</i>	'put again'
<i>aqūdun</i>	'take out'	<i>axqūdun</i>	'take out again'
<i>aludun</i>	'take off'	<i>axludun</i>	'take off again'
<i>agaq'un</i>	'reach'	<i>axgaq'un</i>	'reach again'
<i>akašun</i>	'mix'	<i>axkašun</i>	'mix again'
<i>aq'altun</i>	'finish'	<i>axq'altun</i>	'finish again'
<i>egeč'un</i>	'enter'	<i>exkeč'un</i>	'enter again'

In several cases the infix also occurs in verbs that begin with a consonant.

(397) <i>galatun</i>	'become tired'	<i>gaxlatun</i>	'become tired again'
<i>qačun</i>	'take; buy'	<i>qaxčun</i>	'take again'
<i>tük'ürun</i>	'build, arrange'	<i>tüxk'ürun</i>	'build again'
<i>kiligun</i>	'look'	<i>kixligun</i>	'look again'
<i>kutun</i>	'put under'	<i>kuxtun</i>	'put again under'
<i>wugun</i>	'give'	<i>waxkun</i>	'give again; give back'

10.4.1.4. All non-defective verbs that do not form their Repetitive according to 10.4.1.1.-3. can have a periphrastic Repetitive. The periphrastic Repetitive consists of the Periphrasis form (9.3.5.) of the verb plus a form of the Repetitive auxiliary *q^huwun* 'do again'. In weak verbs, the Periphrasis form is identical with the base; in strong verbs, it is identical with the Masdar. The Periphrasis form that is combined with an Imperfective-stem form of the Repetitive auxiliary is optionally based on the Imperfective stem and is then identical with the Hortative. For example:

(398) strong verb:

<i>ksun q^huwun</i>	'sleeping again'
<i>ksan q^hijida</i>	'will sleep again' (~ <i>ksun q^hijida</i>)
<i>ksun q^huwuna</i>	'fell asleep again'

weak verb:

<i>kilig q^huwun</i>	'looking again'
<i>kilig q^hijizwa</i>	'is looking again'
<i>kilig q^huwuna</i>	'looked again'

Many of the verbs that can have a prefixal Repetitive can alternatively also have a periphrastic Repetitive, e.g. *kixligun* ~ *kilig q^huwun* 'look again', *axcuq'un* ~ *acuc' q^huwun* 'sit down again', etc. This is also quite parallel to negation of non-finite verbs (9.3.5.). Occasionally the Repetitive is marked doubly, i.e. both by an affix on the main verb and by an auxiliary, e.g. *axqud q^huwun* 'take out again'.

Note that *q^huwun* is a true Repetitive auxiliary here that is not syntactically identical with the main verb *q^huwun* 'do again'. While the main verb *q^huwun* invariably takes an Ergative subject, the combination V + auxiliary *q^huwun* takes the same valence pattern as V, e.g.

(399) a. *Ada žuzu-n q^huwu-na.*
 she(ERG) ask-PER REPET-AOR
 'She asked again.'

b. *Am acuc' q^huwu-na.*
 she:ABS sit REPET-AOR
 'She sat down again.'

10.4.2. Meaning of the Repetitive

The meaning of the Repetitive is most often 'again'. The following examples illustrate this meaning.

(400) a. *Ĝül mükü qwal.a-q^h elqwe-na ksu-n q^huwu-na.*
 husband [other side-POESS turn-AOC] sleep-PER REPET-AOR
 'Her husband turned to the other side and fell asleep again.'
 (DD77,4:10)

b. *Ada-n rik'-e tüxwe-nwa-j ekw kük'ü-n q^huwu-na.*
 she-GEN heart-INESS [go.out-PRF-PTP] light burn-PER REPET-AOR
 'The light that had gone out began to burn again in her heart.'
 (S88:38)

c. *Am xta-na wiči-n čka.da-l axcuq'-na.* (§83:66)
 she:ABS [return-AOC] self-GEN place-SRESS sit:REPET-AOR
 'She came back and sat down on her seat again.'

In combination with *sefer* 'time', the Repetitive can also mean 'one more time'.

(401) a. *Sajran.a Cükwer gila mad sefer.d-a q̄užaxlamiš q̄huwu-na.*
 Sajran(ERG) Cükwer now yet time-INESS embrace(PER) REPET-AOR
 'Now Sajran embraced Cükwer one more time.' (S88:51)

b. *Am Nazlu.di-n čin.i-z sa sefer.d-a kilig q̄huwu-na*
 he:ABS Nazlu-GEN face-DAT one time-INESS look(PER) REPET-AOR
wa biblioteka.d-aj eqeč'-na. (R66:15)
 and library-INEL go.out-AOR

'Once more he looked into Nazlu's eyes and went out of the library.'

In combination with the negation, the Repetitive can have the meaning 'no more, no longer'.

(402) *Q'üzü xa-nwa, q'eri jad jarğaldi xü-z q̄hize-zma-č.* (Š83:65)
 old become-PRF [thin water long keep-INF] can:REPET-IMP.F.CONT-NEG
 'I have grown old, I can no longer hold the urine for a long time.'

Some Repetitive forms that are formed synthetically have a deviating lexicalized meaning, e.g. *q̄hfin* (Repetitive of *fin* 'go') means 'go away', not 'go again'.

10.5. The *-lamiš*-form

Among the many verbs ending in *-miš* that were borrowed from Turkic, there is a group of verbs that also have the Turkic denominal suffix *-la*, e.g.

(403) *bašlamišun* 'begin' (cf. Turkic *baš* 'head')
q̄aršilamišun 'meet' (cf. *q̄arši* 'opposite')

In some cases, the Turkic base word was borrowed into Lezgian along with the derived verb. In this way, *-lamišun* has become a productive suffix deriving transitive verbs from nouns (mainly loanwords). The meaning often corresponds to English *-ize*.

(404) *jaraq'lamišun* 'arm' *jaraq'* 'weapon'
tadaraklamišun 'equip' *tadarak* 'equipment'
zakonlamišun 'legalize' *zakon* (Ru.) 'law'
planlamišun 'plan' *plan* (Ru.) 'plan'
standartlamišun 'standardize' *standart* (Ru.) 'standard'
stillamišun 'stylize' *stil'* (Ru.) 'style'
mexanizmlamišun 'mechanize' *mechanižm* (Ru.) 'mechanism'

10.6. Verbal compounds

True compounds of noun (or adjective) plus verb occur only with the two verbs *awun* 'do, make' and *ɣun* 'be, become'. Their meaning in the noun + verb combinations is often so general that it reduces to the transitive/intransitive distinction. Verbal compounds are particularly common with loanwords. A few examples are shown in (405)-(406).

(405) a. Compounds of noun + *awun*

<i>fikir awun</i>	'think'	<i>fikir</i>	'thought'
<i>k'walax awun</i>	'work'	<i>k'walax</i>	'job, work'
<i>iştirak awun</i>	'participate'	<i>iştirak</i>	'participation'
<i>učitelwal awun</i>	'work as a teacher'	<i>učitelwal</i>	'teacher's job'
<i>tešwiš awun</i>	'confuse'	<i>tešwiš</i>	'confusion'

b. Compounds of noun + *ɣun*

<i>tešwiš ɣun</i>	'get confused'	<i>tešwiš</i>	'confusion'
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(406) a. Compounds of adjective + *awun*

<i>ujax awun</i>	'wake up (tr.)'	<i>ujax</i>	'awake'
<i>malum awun</i>	'make known'	<i>malum</i>	'known'

b. Compounds of adjective + *ɣun*

<i>ujax ɣun</i>	'wake up (intr.)'	<i>ujax</i>	'awake'
<i>malum ɣun</i>	'become known'	<i>malum</i>	'known'

10.6.1. Full and reduced *awun*-compounds.

The combinations of noun/adjective + *awun* occur in two forms: a full form, written separately, and a reduced form, written as an affix. (Compounds with *ɣun* only have full forms.) The following alternative forms illustrate this.

	full form	reduced form
Masdar	<i>k'walax awu-n</i>	<i>k'walax-un</i>
Infinitive	<i>k'walax iji-z</i>	<i>k'walax-iz</i>
Future	<i>k'walax iji-da</i>	<i>k'walax-da</i>
Imperfective	<i>k'walax iji-zwa</i>	<i>k'walax-zawa</i>
Aorist	<i>k'walax awu-na</i>	<i>k'walax-na</i>
Aorist participle	<i>k'walax awu-r</i>	<i>k'walax-aj</i>
Imperative	<i>k'walax aja</i>	<i>k'walax-a</i>

When the noun or adjective ends in a vowel, the reduced forms are generally not used. However, in a few frequent verbs reduced forms do occur. In such cases a final *-i* is dropped and a *j* is inserted after a final *-a* to avoid a hiatus: *ɕimi awun* ~ *ɕimun* 'warm up', *aq^ha awun* ~ *aq^hajun* 'open, release, tell'.

The full forms and the reduced forms occur side by side, without any obvious difference in meaning or in use. Sometimes the same verb occurs in a full form and in a reduced form in the same text on the same page (e.g. *ištirak awuna* and *ištirakna*, S88:164). One regularity that seems to hold is that frequent verbs tend to be used in the reduced form (thus *fikirun* 'think', *k'walaxun* 'work'), while rare verbs tend to be used in the full form (thus *inkar awun* 'deny', *haq^h awun* 'justify'). According to Gjul'magomedov (1978:35-38) the full form is particularly characteristic of the poetic language.

Sometimes reduction of *awun* takes place even when *awun* is not used as a function verb in a compound. Gjul'magomedov (1978:42) gives the following example, where *mežlisna* is the reduced form of *mežlis awuna*.

(407) a. *Dust.uni-z ruš xa-ji č'aw.u-z*
[friend-DAT daughter be.born-AOP when]

Kal tuk'una mežlis-na.
[cow slaughter-AOC party-do:AOR]

'When a daughter was born to the friend, he slaughtered a cow and threw a party.'

In prose, such cases are very rare, but cf. (407b) (where *kesibwal* cannot be a first compound member because it is modified by a Genitive NP).

(407) b. *Ama-j-bur.u sekinwil.e-ldi čpi-n kesibwal-da.*
be.still-PTP-SBST.PL(ERG) quietness-SRDIR selves-GEN poverty-do:FUT

'The others will quietly eke out their miserable existence.' (X89:6)

A comparison of the full and reduced forms above shows that the reduction of the function verb *awun* in each case results in exactly the same suffix that also occurs in the inflection of non-compound weak verbs. This surprising fact can be explained in different ways. Three explanations are considered here.

(A) The hypothesis that is most widespread among Lezgian linguists is that all weak verbs were originally compounds of noun + *awun*. The difference between non-compound weak verbs and *awun*-compounds would then be that non-compound verbs now only occur in the reduced form. However, there is no evidence that nouns like **haš* 'entering (?)', **jağ* 'hitting (?)', **kilig* 'looking (?)', which one would have to postulate for an earlier period, ever existed (cf. *háxun* 'enter', *jáğun* 'hit', *kilígun* 'look'). Three further more specific points argue against this view:

(i) *Awun*-compounds always preserve the Ergative marking of their subject (cf. 15.4.2.1.), even if they have no direct object, whereas simple verbs take an Absolutive subject when they are intransitive.

(ii) Not in all cases can the reduced form be obtained by simple phonological reduction of the relevant form of *awun*. In particular, the Aorist participle form is puzzling for this hypothesis. It should be something like **k'walax-ur* (< *k'walax awur*), not *k'walax-aj*.

(iii) In a few cases, the addition of a prefix leads to a change from strong verb to weak verb, e.g. *at'ún* 'cut' (strong), but *xk-at'ún* 'cut (out)' (weak); *aq'ún* 'hit upon' (strong), but *ag-áq'un* 'reach' (weak); *wehín* 'throw' (strong), but *q^hiwehun* 'throw again' (see 10.4.1., (A)). Such cases show that

the strong/weak distinction has a lot to do with stress: Verbs whose root has more than one syllable can only be weak because stress cannot be on the third syllable.

(B) Another possible explanation would be that zero-affixation or conversion is a productive process in Lezgian that has more or less the same function as compounding with *awun*. According to this hypothesis, the "reduced *awun*-compounds" would not be *awun*-compounds at all; they would be synonymous parallel formations. This explanation (which has not to my knowledge been advocated) cannot account for the fact that the functions and the domain of the two hypothesized word-formation rules are virtually the same, nor does it capture native speakers' intuitions (reflected in poetic examples like (407a) above) that the reduced form is in fact an abbreviated variant of the full form.

(C) I opt for an explanation in terms of convergence: The inflectional pattern of the reduced form of *awun*-compounds turned out to be so similar to the existing pattern of weak verbs that it was subsequently completely assimilated to it (i.e., the Aorist participle **k'walax awur* > **k'walax-ur* became **k'walax-aj* by analogy with *háx-aj* etc.).

10.6.2. Types of noun-verb compounds

Most *awun*-compounds are combinations of *awun* with a noun denoting an action or the result of an action. The meaning in such compounds is quite straightforward: 'perform the action denoted by the base noun', as in (408). Many of these action nouns are loanwords of Arabic origin. This is the only way of borrowing verbal notions from Arabic.

(408)	<i>sühbet awun</i>	'converse'	<i>sühbet</i>	'conversation'
	<i>ikram awun</i>	'greet'	<i>ikram</i>	'greeting'
	<i>teklif awun</i>	'invite'	<i>teklif</i>	'invitation'
	<i>hiss awun</i>	'feel'	<i>hiss</i>	'feeling'

Russian verbs are also borrowed in this way. *Awun* is added to the Russian infinitive form:

(409)	<i>klassificirovat' awun</i>	'classify'
	<i>mobilizovat' awun</i>	'mobilize'
	<i>likvidirovat' awun</i>	'liquidate'

However, often a Russian verbal noun is chosen as a base for a Lezgian *awun*-compound:

(410)	<i>zakaz awun</i>	'order'	(Ru. <i>zakaz</i>	'order')
	<i>registracija awun</i>	'register'	(Ru. <i>registracija</i>	'registration')
	<i>otkaz awun</i>	'refuse, deny'	(Ru. <i>otkaz</i>	'denial')
	<i>perevod awun</i>	'translate'	(Ru. <i>perevod</i>	'translation')

Awun-compounds may also be based on a reduplicated noun. Such verbs have the meanings 'cover with Xs', 'turn (tr.) into Xs' (the corresponding *ʃun*-compound means 'be covered with Xs', 'turn (intr.) into Xs').

(411) <i>leke-leke awun</i>	'cover with spots'	<i>leke</i>	'spot'
<i>pad-pad awun</i>	'break into pieces'	<i>pad</i>	'part'
<i>c'arx-c'arx awun</i>	'cover with scratches'	<i>c'arx</i>	'scratch'
<i>bižger-bižger awun</i>	'tear to shreds'	<i>bižger</i>	'piece of cloth'
<i>t'ekw-t'ekw awun</i>	'riddle with holes'	<i>t'ekw</i>	'hole'

Another very common base for *awun*-compounds are ideophones, especially reduplicated onomatopoeic expressions, e.g.

(412) a. $C_1V(r)C_2$

<i>murr-murr awun</i>	'purr'
<i>č'arx-č'arx awun</i>	'crunch'
<i>žirt'-žirt' awun</i>	'squelch'
<i>ziw-ziw awun</i>	'clink'
<i>tax-tax awun</i>	'knock, rumble'

b. $C_1V_1C_2rV_1C_2$

<i>t'aq'raq' awun</i>	'crunch'
<i>wišriš awun</i>	'rustle'
<i>bağrağ awun</i>	'rumble'
<i>lešreš awun</i>	'splash'
<i>č'wäq'räq' awun</i>	'snap, crack'

In some cases the base does not occur on its own, but only in combination with *awun* and/or *ʃun*, e.g.

(413) <i>želb awun</i>	'concentrate (tr.)'
<i>želb ʃun</i>	'concentrate (intr.)'
* <i>želb</i>	
<i>terg awun</i>	'destroy'
<i>terg ʃun</i>	'perish'
* <i>terg</i>	

Such pairs of verbs look much like transitive/anticausative pairs (cf. 10.2.), e.g. *xkažun* 'raise' / *xkaž ʃun* 'rise'. They crucially differ from them in that the transitive member may occur in the full form, e.g. *želb awun* (besides *želbun*), whereas there is no full form in transitive members of transitive/anticausative pairs (**xkaž awun*).

In many cases both an *awun*-compound and a *ʃun*-compound can be formed from the same noun. The meaning of the *ʃun*-compound is often, but not always, 'undergo the action denoted by the base noun'. The formation of *ʃun*-compounds from nouns denoting actions is not as common as the formation of *awun*-compounds. It is not clear what semantic properties of the base noun make the derivation of a *ʃun*-compound possible.

(414)	<i>meslät awun</i>	'advise'	<i>meslät</i>	'advice'
	<i>meslät xun</i>	'consult'		
	<i>ikrah awun</i>	'detest'	<i>ikrah</i>	'aversion'
	<i>ikrah xun</i>	'be disgusting'		
	<i>paj awun</i>	'divide'	<i>paj</i>	'part'
	<i>paj xun</i>	'be divided'		
	<i>temäh awun</i>	'display greed'	<i>temäh</i>	'greed'
	<i>temäh xun</i>	'be greedy'		
	<i>tabdil awun</i>	'change (tr.)'	<i>tabdil</i>	'change'
	<i>tabdil xun</i>	'change (intr.)'		

Instances where a *xun*-compound is possible but the corresponding *awun*-compound does not exist are very rare.

Awun-compounds can also be formed from plural forms of nouns. The meaning of such verbs emphasizes the duration or frequency of the action.

(415)	<i>ixtilatar awun</i> (<i>ixtilatarun</i>)	'converse a lot'	<i>ixtilat</i>	'conversation'
	<i>zarafatar awun</i> (<i>zarafatarun</i>)	'joke a lot'	<i>zarafat</i>	'joke'
	<i>q'üler awun</i> (<i>q'ülerun</i>)	'dance a lot'	<i>q'ül</i>	'dance'

Such *awun*-compounds can also be formed from the plural form of the nominal Masdar (cf. 9.9.1.). The resulting verb is then something like a durative or frequentative version of the simple verb. However, such cases are not frequent.

(416)	<i>kxin</i>	'writing'
	<i>kxin-ar</i>	'writings'
	<i>kxinar awun</i> (<i>kxinarun</i>)	'write a lot'
	<i>raxun</i>	'speaking'
	<i>raxun-ar</i>	'speakings'
	<i>raxunar awun</i> (<i>raxunarun</i>)	'speak a lot'

See 15.4.2. for peculiarities of the valence patterns of *awun*- and *xun*-compounds.

10.6.3. Adjective-verb compounds

Like noun-verb compounds with *awun*, adjective-verb compounds with *awun* may be full or reduced, e.g.

- (417) *hazur awun* 'make ready, prepare'
 = *hazurun*

The meaning of such compounds follows directly from the meaning of *awun* 'make' and *ɣun* 'become': *awun*-compounds are factitive ('make Adj'), and *ɣun*-compounds are fientive ('become Adj'). The valence patterns are also straightforward: *awun*-compounds are transitive, *ɣun*-compounds are intransitive:

- (418) *hazur* 'ready'
 hazurun 'make ready' {A_{ERG} T_{ABS}}
 hazur ɣun 'get ready' {T_{ABS}}

There is one formal peculiarity: When *awun*-compounds of adjectives appear in the reduced form, they appear very often with the additional suffix *-ar*:

- (419) *sağ* 'healthy'
 sağ awun = *sağarun* 'make healthy, cure'
 paşman 'sad'
 paşman awun = *paşmanarun* 'make sad, sadden'
 kük 'fat'
 kük awun = *kükarun* 'make fat, fatten'

The *-ar* is regularly lacking when the adjective itself ends in *-r*, as in (418), and in a couple of other cases. This *-ar* suffix is apparently related in some way to the causative suffix *-ar* (10.1.).

Chapter 11

Pronouns

11.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns are: 1SG *zun* 'I', 2SG *wun* 'you', 1PL *čun* 'we', and 2PL *kün* 'you-all'.

The 2PL pronoun *kün* is sometimes used as a form of polite address, apparently under the influence of Russian.

For the 3rd person, the demonstrative *am* (lit. 'that one') is used (cf. 11.4., 22.1.).

The case inflection of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns shows a few irregularities in the Absolutive, Ergative, and Genitive cases. Also, the oblique stem on which the Dative and the local cases are based is not identical with the Ergative case.

(420)	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
Absolutive	<i>zun</i>	<i>wun</i>	<i>čun</i> /t ^h -/	<i>kün</i> /k ^h -/
Ergative	<i>za</i>	<i>wuna, na</i>	<i>čna</i>	<i>küne</i>
Genitive	<i>zi</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>či</i>	<i>kü</i>
Dative	<i>za-z</i>	<i>wa-z</i>	<i>ča-z</i>	<i>kwe-z</i>
Adessive	<i>za-w</i>	<i>wa-w</i>	<i>ča-w</i>	<i>kwe-w</i>
Inessive	<i>z-a</i>	<i>w-a</i>	<i>č-a</i>	<i>kw-e</i>

The Genitive has a rare variant ending in *-n* (*zin, win, čin, kün*).

These personal pronouns are the only series of personal pronouns. There is no distinction between 'light' and 'heavy' (or 'reduced'/'full', 'clitic'/'free') pronouns.

As Lezgian lacks verb agreement, the use of personal pronouns is in principle obligatory in finite clauses such as *Za-z wun akuna* 'I saw you' (not: **akuna*). In practice, however, the personal pronouns are often omitted when they are recoverable from the context (cf. 22.1.).

11.2. Reflexive pronouns

There are three reflexive pronouns:

(421)	3SG	3PL	1SG and 2SG
Absolutive	<i>wič</i>	<i>čeb</i>	<i>žuw</i>
Ergative	<i>wič-i</i>	<i>čp-i</i>	<i>žuw-a</i>
Genitive	<i>wič-i-n</i>	<i>čp-i-n</i>	<i>žuw-a-n</i>
Inessive	<i>wič-e</i>	<i>čp-e</i>	<i>žuw-a</i>

No reflexive pronoun is used for the 1st and 2nd person plural.

The 3rd person reflexive pronouns are obligatory when coreference with a controller is intended. In (422), the use of a 3rd person personal (non-reflexive) pronoun leads to a non-coreferential interpretation.

- (422) a. *Ali.di-z_i wič_i/ am_j güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 Ali-DAT self he:ABS mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'Ali_i sees himself_i/him_j in the mirror.'
- b. *Ruš-ar-iz_i čeb_i/ abur_j güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 girl-PL-DAT selves they mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'The girls_i see themselves_i/them_j in the mirror.'

The 1st and 2nd person reflexive pronoun *žuw* is optional. The 1st and 2nd person singular personal pronouns may be used instead.

- (423) a. *Za-z žuw/ zun güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 I-DAT self I:ABS mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'I see myself in the mirror.'
- b. *Wa-z žuw/ wun güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 you-DAT self you:ABS mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'You see yourself in the mirror.'

With the 1st and 2nd person plural, the personal pronouns must be used.

- (424) a. *Ča-z čun güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 we-DAT we:ABS mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'We see ourselves in the mirror.'
- b. *Kwe-z kün güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 you.all-DAT you.all mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'You-all see yourselves in the mirror.'
- c. *Čun ča-kaj raxa-n, Nadja.* (S88:165)
 we:ABS we-SBEL talk-HORT Nadja
 'Let's talk about ourselves, Nadja.'

The 3rd person plural reflexive pronoun *čeb* is also used to express a reciprocal relationship. In such cases it is reduplicated.

- (425) *Abur.u-z čpi-z=čeb akwa-zwa.*
 they-DAT selves-DAT=selves see-IMPF
 'They see each other.'

As the example shows, the first component is in the same case as the antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun, and the second component is in the case required by the syntactic position of the reciprocal argument. (See further 22.5. on reciprocalization.)

Such a reduplicated form also exists as an optional variant of the 3rd person singular pronoun. (However, it is not usually spelled with a hyphen.)

- (426) a. *Alfija.di-z wiči-z wič güzgül.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 Alfija-DAT self-DAT self mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'Alfija sees herself in the mirror.'
- b. *Ada wiči wič alzurar-zawa.* (N88:80)
 he:ERG self(ERG) self deceive-IMPF
 'He is deceiving himself.'
- c. *Isabeg.a-waj wiči-waj wič xü-z řa-na-č* (S88:60)
 Isabeg-ADEL self-ADEL [self control-INF] can-AOR-NEG
 'Isabeg could not control himself.'

See 22.4. for further discussion of the conditions for the use of reflexive pronouns.

The reflexive pronouns are also used as emphatic reflexives, analogous to Russian *sam* or German *selbst*. The emphatic use of the reflexive pronouns may indicate that the noun it modifies occupies a central position with respect to some periphery (cf. 427), or that an agent acts independently (cf. 428-430).

- (427) a. *Či q'iliw Lenin wič ata-nwa!* (J84:4)
 we:GEN to Lenin self come-PRF
 'Lenin himself has come to us!'
- b. *Ada-kaj wiči-kaj wuč k'an-da-t'a-ni lah, ada-n*
 he-SBEL self-SBEL [what want-FUT-CND-even] say:IMPV he-GEN
ata=buba-jar dinž tu-r. (K89,4:12)
 ancestor-PL quiet leave-IMPV
 'Say whatever you want about him himself, (but) leave his ancestors alone.'
- (428) a. *Güldeste.di wiči-n sual-r.i-z wiči řawab ga-na.*
 Güldeste(ERG) self-GEN question-PL-DAT self(ERG) answer give-AOR
 'Güldeste answered her questions herself.' (Š83:22)
- b. *Swas k'an-zawa-j.d.a wiči řađu-raj.* (Q81:111)
 [bride want-IMPV-PTP]-SBST.SG(ERG) self(ERG) find-OPT
 'Let him who wants a bride find (her) himself.'
- (429) a. *Gila řuwa fikir aja.* (S88:18)
 now self(ERG) thought do:IMPV
 'Now think for yourself.'

- b. *Žuwa laha-na k'an-da, čara awa-č.* (Mejlanova 1983a:8)
 [self(ERG) say-AOC] must-FUT choice be-NEG

'I have to say it myself, there is no choice.'

- (430) *Gila žehil-r.i čpi-n geležeg čpi hāl-zawa.* (§77:33)
 now youth-PL(ERG) selves-GEN future selves(ERG) decide-IMPF

'Now the young people decide their future for themselves.'

The emphatic reflexive pronoun can also be used by itself, without an overt noun phrase that it modifies. In this use it is translated as 'he himself, she herself', etc.

- (431) a. *Weled.a-n xizan tek pud kas.di-kaj ibarat tir:*
 Weled-GEN family only three person-SBEL consisting COP:PST

wič, pab Nabisat, ruš Cükwer. (S88:4)
 self wife Nabisat girl Cükwer

'Weled's family consisted of only three people: he himself, his wife Nabisat, and his daughter Cükwer.'

- b. A: *Wa-z hinaj či-da?* 'A: How do you know?
 you-DAT whence know-FUT
- B: *Wiči laha-na.* B: It told me itself.
 self(ERG) say-AOR
- A: *Kac.i?* A: The cat?
 cat(ERG)
- B: *Un, kac.i wiči.* (K84,1:11) B: Yes, the cat itself.
 yes cat(ERG) self(ERG)

11.3. Correlations between demonstratives, interrogatives and indefinites

Lezgian has six demonstrative stems, one interrogative stem, and one specifically indefinite stem. From each of these stems, a whole series of pro-forms are formed.

- (432) *i-* proximate demonstrative ('this')
a- distal demonstrative ('that')
at'a- remote demonstrative ('yonder')
ha- anaphoric demonstrative ('the aforementioned')
ağa-/wini- inferior/superior demonstrative
 ('that up there/that down there')
- (433) *hi-* interrogative ('which?')
- (434) *sa-* indefinite ('some or other')

The meanings of these stems, as well as a number of further pro-forms that are not connected with these stems, are described in 11.4. - 11.6. Here only the forms derived from these stems will be discussed.

In Table 5, examples are given only for the two most frequent demonstrative stems, *i-* and *a-*, and for the interrogative and indefinite stems. The other four demonstrative stems (*at'a-*, *ha-*, *ağa-*, *wini-*) have the same forms exhibited by the two demonstratives *i-* and *a-*. These forms are omitted from Table 5 for lack of space.

Table 5. Demonstratives, interrogatives, and indefinites

	<i>i-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>hi-</i>	<i>sa-</i>
attributive	<i>i</i> 'this'	<i>a</i> 'that'	<i>hi?</i> 'which?'	<i>sa</i> 'one'
substantivized	<i>im</i> 'this (one)'	<i>am</i> 'that (one)'	<i>him?</i> 'which one?'	<i>sad</i> 'one'
manner	<i>ik'</i> 'this way'	<i>ak'(a)</i> 'that way'	<i>hik'(a)?</i> 'how?'	<i>sak'(a)</i> 'somehow'
quality	<i>ixtin</i> 'such, this kind'	<i>axtin</i> 'that kind of'	<i>hixtin?</i> 'what kind of?'	
quantity	<i>iq'wan</i> 'this much'	<i>aq'wan</i> 'that much'	<i>hiq'wan?</i> 'how much?'	
presentative	<i>inhe</i> 'voici'	<i>anhe</i> 'voilà'		
place	<i>inag</i> 'this place'	<i>anag</i> 'that place'	<i>hinag?</i> 'what place?'	<i>sanag</i> 'some place'
at place	<i>ina</i> 'here'	<i>ana</i> 'there'	<i>hina?</i> 'where?'	<i>sana</i> 'somewhere'
to place	<i>iniz</i> 'hither'	<i>aniz</i> 'thither'	<i>hiniz?</i> 'whither?'	<i>saniz</i> 'somewhither'
from place	<i>inaj</i> 'from here'	<i>anaj</i> 'from there'	<i>hinaj?</i> 'from where?'	<i>sanaj</i> 'from somewh.'
on place	<i>inal</i> 'here(on)'	<i>anal</i> 'there(on)'	<i>hinal?</i> 'where(on)?'	
of place	<i>inin</i> 'of this place'	<i>anin</i> 'of that place'	<i>hinin?</i> 'of which place?'	<i>sanin</i> 'of some place'
in places	<i>inra</i> 'hereabout'	<i>anra</i> 'thereabout'	<i>hinra?</i> 'whereabout?'	<i>sanra</i> 'in some places'

Table 5 shows that the patterns for forming pro-forms from these stems are quite regular. Only the stem *sa* differs in the way it forms its substantivized form (suffixing of *-d* rather than *-m*, cf. 13.1.1.), and in that it lacks forms corresponding to *ixtin* and *iq'wan*.

The words *ixtin*, *iq'wan*, etc., denoting quality and quantity, respectively, are obviously related to the comparative particles *ixtin* 'as, like' and *q'wan* 'as much/many as' (cf. 24.2.2.-3.).

The presentative *-nhe* does not combine with the interrogative stem, but it does combine with the other demonstratives (*at'anhe*, etc.).

The local pro-adverbs can all be considered as derived from a place noun whose oblique stem ends in *-ni* (*ini-* 'this place', *ani-* 'that place', etc.). Then *ina* 'here' is the regular Inessive case, *iniz* is the regular Dative case, *inaj* is the regular Inelative case, etc. In fact, many more forms than those that are listed in Table 5 are possible. There is also a Postessive *iniqu^h* 'hither', an

Adessive *tniw* 'close to here', a Superrelative *tnlaj* 'from here(on)', etc., and also further plural forms like *tnriz* 'to hereabout'.

While there is no noun **in* (pl. **in-ar*) 'this place', from which all these local case forms could be regularly derived, there is in fact a "local noun" characterized by the suffix *-nag* (pl. *-nag-ar*) in the Absolutive case, e.g. *at'anag* 'yonder place', *wininag* '(that) upper place', etc. The local adverbs can be analyzed as derived from an irregular oblique stem of this word. Here are two examples for the use of the local noun.

(435) a. *Inag qenin jīq̄a-laj wi makan ja.* (AM87:13)
 this.place today's day-SREL you:GEN dwelling COP

'From today on this place is your dwelling.'

b. *Insan-r.i anag-ar baḡ-lar.i-z-ni nik'-er.i-z elq̄ur-da.*
 people-PL(ERG) that.place-PL garden-PL-DAT-and field-PL-DAT turn-FUT

'People will turn those places into gardens and fields.' (L86,3:17)

Besides the eight demonstrative, interrogative, and indefinite stems considered above, there are a few other stems that can have local adverbs of this kind. In particular, the universal quantifier *wiri* 'all' has a corresponding local noun *wirinag* 'every place', as well as local case forms like *wirina/wirinra* 'everywhere', *wirinaj* 'from everywhere', etc. The identity pronouns *masa* 'other' and *mükü* 'the other' also have forms like *masana* 'elsewhere', *müküna* 'at the other place'.

Finally, the plural personal pronouns *ɛun* 'we' and *kün* 'you-all' have local case forms of the kind described here: *ɛlna* 'at our place', *küna* 'at your place', *ɛlniz* 'to our place', *küniz* 'to your place' etc. These forms are based on the Genitive case forms *ɛi* 'our' and *kü* 'your'. Note in particular that the case forms of *ɛun* and *kün* are quite different from the above-mentioned secondary local-noun-based case forms, cf.

(436)	pronouns		local-noun-based case forms	
Inessive	<i>ča</i> 'in us'	<i>kwe</i> 'in you-all'	<i>ɛlna</i> 'at our place'	<i>kü'na</i> 'at your place'
Dative	<i>čaz</i> 'to us'	<i>kwez</i> 'to you'	<i>ɛlniz</i> 'to our place'	<i>kü'niz</i> 'to your place'

Two examples:

(437) a. *Čina sa šeherlu zootexnik.di k'walax-na.* (R66:12)
 at.our.place one urban zootechnician(ERG) work-AOR

'A stockbreeding specialist from the city worked at our place (i.e. in our collective farm).'

b. *Exirimži waxt-ar-a Allahquli činiz wučiz qwe-zma-è?*
 last time-PL-INNESS Allahquli to.us why come-IMP.F.CONT-NEG

'Why hasn't Allahquli come to our place anymore recently?' (R66:27)

11.4. Demonstratives

There are six series of demonstratives in Lezgian:

- (438) *i* 'this'
a 'that'
at'a 'yonder'
ha 'the aforementioned'
wini 'that up there'
ağa 'that down there'

There is a small irregularity in their substantivized forms: the Absolutive singular form ends in *-m*, not in *-di*. But the oblique stem ends in *-da-*, just like regular substantivized adjectives (cf. 8.1.1.).

- (439) Sg. Abs *i-m* *a-m* *at'a-m* *ha-m* *wini-m* *ağa-m*
 Sg. Erg *i-da* *a-da* *at'a-da* *ha-da* *wini-da* *ağa-da*
 Sg. Gen. *i-da-n* *a-da-n* *at'a-da-n* *ha-da-n* *wini-da-n* *ağa-da-n*
 Pl. Abs. *i-bur* *a-bur* *at'a-bur* *ha-bur* *wini-bur* *ağa-bur*

The substantivized demonstrative *am* (lit. 'that one') also serves as the 3rd person personal pronoun, cf. 22.1.

The richness of the six series of demonstratives is somewhat misleading. Only two of the six demonstratives, *i-* 'this' and *a-* 'that' are really common in the modern standard language.

- (440) a. *Qe i k'wal.i-n ijesi-jar sa čun ja.* (Q81:114)
 today this house-GEN master-PL only we:ABS COP
 'Today only we are the masters of this house.'
- b. *i zurba dağ-lar* (J89:51)
 this huge mountain-PL
 'these huge mountains'
- (441) a. *A wahši-jar münüg.di-n šarag-ar tir.* (M83:64)
 that wild-PL badger-GEN young-PL COP:PST
 'Those wild animals were the young of a badger.'
- b. *däwe.di-laj wilikan a jis-ar-a* (DD77,1:10)
 war-SREL previous that year-PL-INNESS
 'in those pre-war years'
- c. *a dünja* (Gjul'magomedov 1985b:73)
 that world
 'that world, i.e. the hereafter'

Furthermore, the combination *ha i-* 'this' is also reasonably common. It is not clear how its meaning differs from *i* 'this'.

- (442) a. *Ha i klass.d-a sa mus jat'ani za-ni k'el-na-j.* (N88:70)
 that this class-INESS one when INDEF I:ERG-also study-AOR-PST
 'At one time I, too, was a student in this classroom.'
- b. *Ha ik' jis-ar q̄we-z alat-na.* (K90,12:2)
 that thus year-PL [come-IMC] pass-AOR
 'Thus the years went by.'

The demonstrative *ha* is sometimes used for a referent that was mentioned earlier, e.g.

- (443) a. *Zaman buba ferma.di-n qarawul ja, Nurzaman.a-ni ha ferma.d-a werč-er.i-z twar gu-zwa.* (S88:63)
 Zaman father farm-GEN watchman COP Nurzaman(ERG)-and that farm-INESS chicken-PL-DAT grain give-IMPF
 'Father Zaman is a watchman on a farm, and Nurzaman gives grain to the chickens on that farm.'
- b. *Zun sifte Sankt=Peterburg.di-n universitet.di-z, fizika.di-n fakul'tet.di-z, haḡ-na-j... Axa zun ha universitet.di-n juridičeskij fakul'tet.di-z haḡ-na.* (HQ89:16)
 I:ABS first St.=Petersburg-GEN university-DAT physics-GEN faculty-DAT enter-AOR-PST then I:ABS that university-GEN juridical faculty-DAT enter-AOR
 'I first entered St. Petersburg University, faculty of physics. Then I entered the law faculty of that university.'

This demonstrative pronoun is also used to express the sense 'the same'.

- (444) a. *Am ha wiri ŋiz jašamiš q̄hže-z bašlamiš-na.*
 [he:ABS that all like living be.again-INF] begin-AOR
 'He began again to live the same life as everyone.' (S88:170)
- b. *Ina c'i-ni ha šazan ġalat'-ar tikrar q̄hji-zwa.*
 here this.year-also that last.year's mistake-PL repetition do.again-IMPF
 'Here this year, too, the same mistakes of last year are repeated.'
 (Ko89,10,13:1)

The demonstratives *wini* and *aġa* are generally described as meaning 'that up there' (e.g. *wini daġ* 'that mountain up there') and 'that down there' (e.g. *aġa k'am* 'that valley down there'). However, in the modern standard language they generally have the non-demonstrative senses 'upper' and 'lower', respectively.

- (445) *Saša Moskva.di-n küče-jr.i-kaj sa küče.di-n ağa q'il-e*
 Saša Moscow-GEN street-PL-SBEL one street-GEN lower end-INNESS

aq̄waz-nawa-j. (DD71,1:14)

stop-PRF-PST

'Saša was standing at the lower end of one of Moscow's streets.'

- (446) *Caw.u-n wini q̄at-ar-a meq'i ja-z marf.adi-kaj*
 [sky-GEN upper layer-PL-INNESS cold be-IMC] rain-SBEL

xar že-zwa. (S88:63)

hail become-IMPF

'When it is cold in the sky's upper layers, the rain becomes hail.'

When the two demonstratives *i-* and *a-* are used in an expression of the form *i X, a X*, a non-demonstrative sense results ('here and there, back and forth', etc.).

- (447) a. *Q'if-er.i i q'il-äj a q'il.i-z čamarar ja-zawa.* (A90:16)
 mouse-PL(ERG) this end-INEL that end-DAT running hit-IMPF

'The mice are running back and forth.'

- b. *Ada ina=ana wil q̄e q̄ür-na.* (HQ89:5)

he(ERG) here=there eye lead.around-AOR

'He let his glance wander about.'

- c. *Ada inlaj anal, anlaj inal xkadar-na.* (A90:28)

it(ERG) from.hereon thereon from.thereon hereon jump-AOR

'It jumped back and forth.'

11.5. Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative pro-nouns and pro-adverbs are not based on one single stem. (For more examples of interrogative pronouns, see 23.2.)

11.5.1. *wuž* 'who?' has the suppletive oblique stem *n-i-* (Erg. *ni*, Dat. *niz*, etc., Iness. *ne*). It also has a plural form *wuž-ar*:

- (448) *Abur.u-z hatta čpi-n dide-ni buba wuž-ar*
 they-DAT even [selves-GEN mother-and father who-PL

ja-t'a či-da-č. (K87,2:7)

COP-CND] know-FUT-NEG

'They do not even know who their father and mother are.'

11.5.2. *wuč* 'what?' has the suppletive oblique stem *k^(w)-ü-* or *kwe-* (*k^w*) (Erg. *kü*, Dat. *küz* / *kwez*, etc., Iness. *kwe*).

In addition to its use as a substantival pronoun, *wuč* can also be used adjectivally with the meaning 'which?', 'what kind of?' In this function it is more or less synonymous with *hi*.

- (449) *Im wuč insan ja?* (R66:19)
 this:ABS what person COP
 'What kind of person is this?'

Wuč also has a plural form *wuč-ar*:

- (450) *Kü t'war-ar wuč-ar ja?* (K85,4:6)
 you.all:GEN name-PL what-PL COP
 'What are your names?'

11.5.3. *hi* 'which?' morphologically belongs into the demonstrative paradigm in 11.4. The substantivized form is *him* in the Absolutive singular, otherwise it is regular (Erg. *hida*, Dat. *hidaz*, Abs. pl. *hibur*, etc.).

11.5.4. *mus* 'when?'. There is also a "Superrelative case form" *musalaj* 'since when?' (cf. 1184)

11.5.5. *šumud* 'how many?'. *Šumud* is used with a singular noun, like the cardinal numerals.

- (451) *Jarab lif-er šumud jis.u-z jašamiš že-zwa-t'a?* (H77:5)
 PT pigeon-PL how.many year-DAT living be-iMPF-CND
 '(I wonder) how many years do pigeons live?'

There is also an ordinal numeral form *šumud lahaj* 'lit. the how-manieth?'

- (452) *Küne šumud lahaj klass.d-a k'el-zawa?* (K85,4:6)
 you.all(ERG) how.many ORD class-INESS learn-IMPF
 'In which class do you-all learn?'

11.5.6. *wučiz* 'why?' This looks like a Dative of *wuč* (whose real Dative case is, of course, *küz*).

11.5.7. For more interrogative pro-forms, see Table 5 in 11.3.

11.6. Indefinite pronouns

There are four main types (or series) of indefinite pronouns: ordinary, free-choice, specific, and negative indefinites. Some of the indefinite pro-forms from this series are illustrated in (453).

(453) ordinary	free-choice	specific	negative
<i>sa wuž jat'ani</i> 'someone'	<i>wuž xajit'ani</i> 'anyone'	<i>sa kas</i> 'a person'	<i>sa kas-ni</i> 'nobody'
<i>sa wuč jat'ani</i> 'something'	<i>wuč xajit'ani</i> 'anything'	<i>sa zat'</i> 'a thing'	<i>sa zat'ni</i> 'nothing'
<i>sa mus jat'ani</i> 'sometime'	<i>mus xajit'ani</i> 'anytime'	<i>sadra</i> 'once'	<i>sadrani</i> 'never'
<i>sa hina jat'ani</i> 'somewhere'	<i>hina xajit'ani</i> 'anywhere'	<i>sana</i> 'at a place'	<i>sanani</i> 'nowhere'
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The formation of ordinary and free-choice indefinites is quite straightforward: The indefiniteness-marking particle *jat'ani*/*xajit'ani* follows the corresponding interrogative pro-form, and in the case of the ordinary indefinite, the numeral *sa* 'one' in addition precedes the interrogative. The formation of specific and negative indefinites is somewhat more complicated, cf. 11.6.3.-4.

When indefinites function as nominal modifiers, the particle *xajit'ani* follows the whole noun phrase, while the particle *jat'ani* tends to follow the interrogative immediately:

- (454) a. *hi waxt.und-a xajit'ani*
 which time-INNESS INDEF
 'at any time'
- b. *sa hiŋtin jat'ani qalabulux*
 one which INDEF confusion
 'some sort of confusion'

The formal makeup of the two indefiniteness-markers *jat'ani* and *xajit'ani* is quite transparent: They are concessive conditional verb forms of the standard copula *ja* and the verb *xun* 'be', respectively. Thus, the meaning of *wuž xajit'ani* is literally 'whoever it may be' (cf. 21.8.4., and the quite analogous French form *qui que ce soit*).

11.6.1. Ordinary indefinite pronouns

This series of indefinites generally corresponds to the English *some*-series. (Note that the *sa* is occasionally omitted, as in (455f).)

- (455) a. *Cükwer.a sa wuč jat'ani cwa-zwa-j.* (S88:10)
 Cükwer(ERG) one what INDEF sew-IMPf-PST
 'Cükwer was sewing something.'

- b. *Dušman sa hina jat'ani či pataw gwa.* (Šejxov 1983b:54)
 enemy one where INDEF we:GEN to be.at
 'The enemy is somewhere close to us.'
- c. *Ha i klass.d-a sa mus jat'ani za-ni k'el-na-j.* (N88:70)
 that this class-INNESS one when INDEF I:ERG-also study-AOR-PST
 'At one time I, too, was a student in this classroom.'
- d. *K'eret'.d-a sa hištin jat'ani alamat.di-n nizam awa-j.*
 group-INNESS one what.kind INDEF amazement-GEN order be.in-PST
 'There was some kind of amazing order in the group.' (K86,3:16)
- e. *Sa ni-z jat'ani ewer ce!*
 one who-DAT INDEF call give:IMPV
 'Call someone!'
- f. *Isabek.a-k, wučiz jat'ani, tadi kwa-j.* (S88:28)
 Isabek-SBESS why INDEF quick be.under-PST
 'For some reason, Isabek was in a hurry.'

However, *is* also used in some contexts where English would use the *any*-series, in particular in conditional and interrogative clauses.

- (456) a. *Wa-z sa wuč jat'ani aku-r-t'a, za-z lah!*
 [you-DAT one what:ABS INDEF see-AOP-CND] I-DAT say:IMPV
 'If you see anything, tell me.'
- b. *Sa wuč jat'ani ata-nwa-ni?*
 one who:ABS INDEF come-PRF-Q
 'Has anyone come?'

11.6.2. Free-choice indefinite pronouns

This series of indefinites is mostly used in sentences containing an expression of possibility, just like the English *any*-series of indefinite pronouns in its free-choice meaning.

- (457) a. *Bilbil.di-kaj mani ni-waj šajit'ani tük'ür-iz že-da.* (G82:41)
 nightingale-SBEL song who-ADEL INDEF create-INF can-FUT
 'Anyone can compose a song about a nightingale.'
- b. *Mac'.a-laj wuč šajit'ani alaq'-zawa-j-di ja.* (K84,4:13)
 Mac'-SREL what:ABS INDEF be.able-IMPV-PTP-SBST.SG COP
 'Mac' can do anything.'

- c. *Ada-q^h galaz kwe-kaj xajit'ani sühbet iji-z že-da.*
 [she-POESS with what-SBEL INDEF talk do-INF] can-FUT
 'With her one can talk about anything.' (DD77,6:14)

Again like the English *any*-series, the *xajit'ani*-series is also used in generic contexts:

- (458) a. *Hi kac xajit'ani hajwan ja.*
 which cat INDEF animal COP
 'Any cat is an animal.'
- b. *Zi qunši.di-n kic'i hi jemiš xajit'ani ne-da.* (M83:28)
 I:GEN neighbor-GEN dog(ERG) which food INDEF eat-FUT
 'My neighbor's dog will eat any food.'

In imperatives:

- (459) *Ni-z xajit'ani ewer ce!*
 who-DAT INDEF call give:IMPV
 'Call anyone.'

In the standard of comparatives:

- (460) *Jusuf.a ne-laj xajit'ani q^hsan-diz mani-jar luhu-zwa.*
 Jusuf(ERG) who-SREL INDEF good-ADV song-PL say-IMPV
 'Jusuf sings better than anyone.'

In negative sentences, the *xajit'ani*-series has the pejorative meaning '(not) just any':

- (461) a. *Hi-da-n gaf-ar.i-q^h xajit'ani č'al.a-q^h že-mir!*
 which-SBST.SG-GEN word-PL-POESS INDEF speech-POESS be-PROHIB
 'Don't believe just anybody's words!' (R66:23)
- b. *Har sa kar ne-l xajit'ani tapšurmiš-iz že-da-č.* (E56:12)
 [every one job who-SRESS INDEF entrust-INF] can-FUT-NEG
 'Not every job can be entrusted to just anyone.'
- c. *Akat-aj ne-l xajit'ani ixtibar-iz že-č.* (TG66:36)
 [[come-PTP] who-SRESS INDEF trust-INF] can-AFUT.NEG
 'One cannot trust just anyone (who comes along).'

11.6.3. Specific indefinite pronouns

These are based not on interrogative pronouns, but on the stem *sa-* 'one'. Most of these forms are listed in Table 5 above (11.3.). In addition, the following forms exist:

- (462) a. *sa kas* 'someone, a certain person'
 b. *sa zat'* 'something, a certain thing'
 c. *sadra* 'once'

These indefinites are used when the identity of the referent is known to the speaker but if the speaker chooses not to tell the hearer. Thus, (463a) is preferred to (463b) if the speaker knows the person she met.

- (463) a. *Naq' tam-a za-l sa kas dūšūš ŋa-na.*
 yesterday forest-INNESS I-SRESS one man coincidence be-AOR
 'Yesterday I met a certain person in the forest.'
- b. *Naq' tam-a za-l sa wuž jat'ani dūšūš ŋa-na.*
 yesterday forest-INNESS I-SRESS one who:ABS INDEF coincidence be-AOR
 'Yesterday I met someone in the forest.'

11.6.4. Negative indefinite pronouns

These are derived from the specific indefinite pronouns by means of a phrase-final suffix *-ni* ('also, even'):

- (464) a. *sa ...-ni* 'no' (e.g. *sa gaf-ni* 'no word')
 b. *sa kas-ni* 'nobody'
 c. *sa zat'-ni* 'nothing'
 d. *sadra-ni* 'never'
 e. *sak'-ni* 'no way'
 f. *sana-ni* 'nowhere'
 etc. (cf. Table 5 in 11.3.)

The two pronouns *sa kas-ni* 'nobody' and *sa zat'-ni* 'nothing' have a suppletive oblique stem: The oblique cases of *sa kas-ni* are based on *sa-d-a-* 'one (substantivized)', and the oblique cases of *sa zat'-ni* are based on the stem *kün-i-*:

- | | | | | |
|------------|-------------------|----------|----------------------|-----------|
| (465) Abs. | <i>sa kasni</i> | 'nobody' | <i>sa zat'ni</i> | 'nothing' |
| Erg. | <i>sa-da-ni</i> | | <i>sa kün-i-ni</i> | |
| Gen. | <i>sa-da-n-ni</i> | | <i>sa kün-i-n-ni</i> | |
| Dat. | <i>sa-da-z-ni</i> | | <i>sa kün-i-z-ni</i> | |
| Adess. | <i>sa-da-w-ni</i> | | <i>sa kün-i-w-ni</i> | |
| Iness. | <i>sa-da-ni</i> | | <i>sa kün-a-ni</i> | |

Negative indefinites always cooccur with the negation on the verb of the clause. There may of course be several negative pronouns in one clause, as in (466b), all of which have a negative interpretation.

- (466) a. *K'wal-e sa kas-ni awa-č* (DD85,3:23)
house-INESS one person-even be-NEG
'There is nobody at home.'
- b. *Za žuw patal kwe-waj sadra-ni sa
I:ERG self for you.all-ADEL once-even one
zat'-ni t'alab-na-č* (L86,3:10)
thing-even demand-AOR-NEG
'I never demanded anything for myself from you-all.'
- c. *Halistan sa küni-n ġawur.d-a-ni hat-na-č* (DD71,3:20)
Halistan one thing-GEN understanding-INESS-even get-AOR-NEG
'Halistan did not understand anything.'
- d. *Hürmet.a-waj sa gaf-ni luhu-z řa-na-č* (R66:24)
Hürmet-ADEL [one word-even say-INF] can-AOR-NEG
'Hürmet could not say a word.'
- e. *I kar sada-z-ni aku-na-č* (Du85,3:115)
this thing one-DAT-even see-AOR-NEG
'Nobody saw this thing.'
- f. *Sadra-ni wuna am rik'e-laj alud-da-č* (J84:20)
once-even you:ERG it:ABS heart-SREL take.off-FUT-NEG
'You will never forget it.'
- g. *Zun sa küni-w-ni axgaq'-zama-č-ir.* (S88:157)
I:ABS one thing-ADESS-even reach:REPET-IMPF.CONT-NEG-PST
'I didn't succeed in anything anymore.'
- h. *Isabeg.a, saniz-ni te-fe-na, am güzlemiř-zawa-j.*
Isabeg(ERG) [somewhere-even NEG-go-AOC] he:ABS expect-IMPF-PST
'Isabeg, having gone nowhere, was expecting him.' (S88:16)

The negation may be in a superordinate clause:

- (467) a. *Ča-z sada-z-ni hič sa č'aw.u-z-ni dāwe*
we-DAT one-DAT-even [ever one time-DAT-even war
řa-na k'an-da-č (K85,7:4)
be-AOC] want-FUT-NEG
'None of us wants there ever to be war.'

- b. *A kar Pavel.a-n juldaš-r.i-kaj sada-ni awu-n*
 [that thing Pavel-GEN comrade-PL-SBEL one(ERG)-even do-MSD]
mumkin tuš. (D57:136)
 possible COP:NEG

'It is not possible that anyone of Pavel's comrades did that.'

In elliptical answers, negative pro-forms may occur without an accompanying verbal negation.

- (468) a. *A: Axa dax.di wuč luhu-da? B: Zat'-ni.* (Du85,3:79)
 then dad(ERG) what:ABS say-FUT thing-even

'A: What will dad say then? B: Nothing.'

- b. *A: Kwe-ldi? B: Sa kūna-ldi-ni.* (S88:165)
 what-SRDIR one thing-SRDIR-even

'A: Why? B: For no reason.'

Negative pro-forms may be emphasized by the particle *hič* (borrowed ultimately from Persian), which comes immediately before *sa* (cf. also 467a).

- (469) a. *Za-kaj hič sa gaf-ni čünüx-mir, wiri k'el-a!* (M79:7)
 I-SBEL even one word-even hide-PROHIB all read-IMPV

'Don't hide a single word from me, read everything.'

- b. *Ada-n akun-r.i-z kilig-aj-la, hič sada-ni*
 [he-GEN look-PL-DAT look-AOP-TEMP] even one(ERG)-even
aq'wan jaš-ar gu-da-č. (Š83:52)
 so.many age-PL give-FUT-NEG

'Judging from the way he looks, nobody would give him so many years.'

- c. *Aštin ks-ar.i-n t'war-ar xalq'.di-n rik'e-laj hič*
 such person-PL-GEN name-PL people-GEN heart-SREL even
sadra-ni alat-da-č. (L89,6:71)
 once-even fall.off-FUT-NEG

'The people will never forget the names of such men.'

The particle *hič* can also be used alone in the sense 'never':

- (470) a. *Hič wiči-n ümür.d-a a m a žuz ŝa-ji-di tuš-ir.*
 never self-GEN life-INESS he:ABS weak be-AOP-SBST COP:NEG-PST

'Never in his life was he weak.' (AM87:3)

- b. *millet.di-n jašajiš.di-n hič rik'e-laj*
 nation-GEN life-GEN [never heart-SREL]
te-fi-da-j] šikil-ar (DD71,1:22)
 NEG-go-FUT-PTP picture-PL

'Pictures of the nation's life that one never forgets.'

11.7. Other determiners

11.7.1. The universal quantifier *wiri* 'all'

The substantivized form is Abs. sg. *wiri* (Erg. *wirida*) 'everybody', Abs. pl. *wiribur* 'everybody' (cf. 8.1.1.). Like English *all*, *wiri* is used both with plural count nouns (example 471) and with mass singular nouns (example 472).

(471) *wiri ajal-ar*
 all child-PL
 'all (the) children'

(472) *ada-n wiri ümür* (N88:77)
 he-GEN all life
 'all his life'

But *wiri* can also be combined with singular count nouns with the meaning 'whole':

(473) a. *Quj wiri dünja.di-z aku-raj.* (DD77,2:18)
 let all world-DAT see-OPT
 'Let the whole world see it.'

b. *Čun pud hafte.d-a saki wiri ülkwe.d-a qe qwe-da.* (Q81:42)
 we:ABS three week-INESS almost all country-INESS pass-FUT
 'In three weeks we will pass through almost the whole country.'

The substantivized singular *wiri* can mean both 'everything' (example 474) and 'everybody' (example 475). The substantivized plural *wiribur* is unambiguously 'everybody' (example 476).

(474) a. *Za-waj wa-z wiri luhu-z že-da-č.* (N88:88)
 I-ADEL [you-DAT all say-INF] can-FUT-NEG
 'I cannot tell you everything.'

(475) a. *Ada-z wiri-d.a Dili Ahmed luhu-z řa-na.* (L87,2:74)
 he-DAT all-SBST(ERG) Crazy Ahmed call-DAT be-AOR
 'Everybody calls him Crazy Ahmed.'

b. *Wiri Weled.a-n teklif.da-l razi řa-na.* (S88:57)
 all Weled-GEN proposal-SRESS agreeing be-AOR
 'Everybody agreed with Weled's proposal.'

(476) *Wiri-bur xür-er-aj šeher-r.i-z fi-z âa-ji-la,*
[all-SBST.PL village-PL-INEL city-PL-DAT go-INF be-AOP-TEMP]

ĉun dağ.di-n xür.ü-z xkwe-da-ni? (Š83:57)
we:ABS mountain-GEN village-DAT return-FUT-Q

'At a time when everybody goes from the villages to the cities, are we supposed to return to the mountain village?'

Wiri may also be used following an NP, i.e. quantifier floating is possible with *wiri*. The NP quantified in this way may be in any case form. *Wiri* appears in its substantivized form and agrees with the NP it quantifies in case. With a personal pronoun, floating is the only possibility, cf. (477).

(477) a. *Ĉun wiri ha pat.a-q^h kilig-na.* (J84:5)
we:ABS all that side-POESS look-AOR

'We all looked in that direction.'

b. *Ĉi wiri-da-n wil-er-a sa sual awa-j.* (K85,4:6)
we:GEN all-SBST-GEN eye-PL-INESS one question be.in-PST

'In the eyes of all of us there was a question.'

c. *Sa juq̄u-z ibur wiri sanal k'wat' âa-na.* (X89:6)
one day-DAT these all together gather ANTIC-AOR

'One day they all gathered together.'

d. *Qember.a kün wiri aldatmiš-zawa.* (J84:53)
Qember(ERG) you.all:ABS all deceive-IMP

'Qember deceives all of you.'

With full NPs, quantifier floating is an option, cf. (478).

(478) a. *Sar-ar wiri sağ ama.* (Š83:52)
tooth-PL all healthy be.still

'The teeth are all still healthy.'

b. *Q'ügür.di-n šarag-ar birdan wiri sa ĉka.da-l*
hedgehog-GEN young-PL suddenly all one place-SRESS
k'wat' âa-na. (M83:45)
gather ANTIC-AOR

'The young hedgehogs suddenly all gathered in one place.'

c. *Mu'min buba.di hajwan-ar wiri aq^haj-na.* (Q89,10,19:3)
Mu'min father(ERG) animal-PL all open-AOR

'Father Mu'min released all the animals.'

- d. *Wu-u-u!* *haraj aq̄at-na-j* *q̄ari-jr-aj* *wiri-d-aj*
 INTJ scream go.out-AOR-PST old.woman-PL-INEL all-SBST-INEL
sanal. (H77:8)
 together
 'The scream 'Oww!' was given out by all the old women at the same time.'
- e. *Bade* *ajal-r.i-z* *wiri-bur.u-z* *kilig-na.*
 grandmother child-PL-DAT all-SBST.PL-DAT look-AOR
 'The grandmother looked after all the children.'
- f. *Bade.di* *ajal-r.i-z* *muhman-r.i-kaj* *wiri-bur.u-kaj*
 grandmother(ERG) child-PL-DAT guest-PL-SBEL all-SBST.PL-SBEL
aq^haj-na.
 tell-AOR
 'The grandmother told the children about all the guests.'

11.7.2. The universal quantifier *har* 'every'

The substantivized form is Abs. sg. *harma* 'everybody' (Erg. *har-da* etc.), Abs. pl. *har-bur*. The word *har* is ultimately from Persian.

- (479) a. *Har jis.u-z* *c'ud-r.a-ldi* *c'iji* *fabrik-ar* *xkaž že-zwa.*
 every year-DAT ten-PL-SRDIR new factory-PL raise ANTIC-IMPF
 'Every year hundreds of new factories arise.' (Šejxov 1983b:57)
- b. *Duxtur har* *jiq̄.a-n* *raxu-n-r-a* *išlemiš-da.* (G82:21)
duxtur every day-GEN speak-MSD-PL-INESS use-FUT
 '[The word] *duxtur* ['doctor'] is used in everyday speech.'
- (480) a. *Sa geren.d-a* *abur q'wed-ni* *kis* *xa-na,*
 one while-INESS they two-also silent be-AOR
har-ma *saniz* *kilig-iz* *xa-na.* (N88:87)
 every-SBST.SG.ABS somewhither look-INF be-AOR
 'For a while they both were silent, each (of them) looked somewhere.'
- b. *Za har-da* *q'we ttar* *ak'ur-un* *teklif-zawa.*
 I.ERG [every-SBST.SG(ERG) two tree plant-MSD] propose-IMPF
 'I propose that everyone plant two trees.' (Du61,4:71)

However, *har* alone is mostly used in fixed expressions like *har jisuz* 'every year', etc. The combination *har sa* (literally 'every one') is the more common way to say 'every' (cf. 481). Likewise, 'everybody' is more often *har sad*, rather than *harma* (cf. 482).

(481) *Har sa dišehli.di pud=pud čemodan jal-zawa.*
 every one woman(ERG) three=three suitcase carry-IMPF
 'Every woman is carrying three suitcases each.'

(482) *Har sad ada-z wiči-n taxaǰ dide xiz akwa-da-j.* (DD77:1,11)
 every one he-DAT self-GEN step mother like see-FUT-PST
 'Everyone seemed to him like his stepmother.'

Like *wiri*, *har* can be used floating in its substantivized form *harma/har sad*. Floating is the only possibility with personal pronouns (cf. 483).

(483) a. *Isätda abur har sad sa kul.a-n dib.d-a širin*
 now they every one one bush-GEN bottom-INESS sweet
axwar.a-l ala. (M83:28)
 sleep-SRESS be.on
 'Now each of them is in a sweet sleep at the bottom of a bush.'

b. *Kwe-qh har sad.a-qh wiči-n rik' ala-j igit awa.*
 you.all-POESS every one-POESS [self-GEN heart be.on-PTP] hero be.in
 'Each of you has their favorite hero.' (K87,2:17)

c. *Jifi-z ada abur, sada-kaj=sada-z xabar awa-č-iz,*
 night-DAT he:ERG they:ABS [one-SBEL=one-DAT news be.in-NEG-IMC]
har-ma wiči-n kuma.d-a ksur-na. (A90:20)
 every-SBST.SG.ABS self-GEN kennel-INESS put.to.sleep-AOR
 'Without each knowing about the other, he put them to bed at night, each one into its kennel.'

d. *Qe ča-waj har sada-waj haqiqi kr-ar*
 today [we-ADEL every one-ADEL true thing-PL
istemiš-zawa-j dewir ja. (Ko89,9,6:3)
 demand-IMPF-PTP] period COP
 'Today is a period that demands true actions from each of us.'

With full NPs, floating is an option (cf. 484).

(484) a. *Peqh-er har sad saniqh gadar xa-na.* (M83:31)
 crow-PL every one somewhither throw ANTIC-AOR
 'Each of the crows rushed to one side.'

b. *Gada-jr.i čüxwer-ar har sada k'wal.i-z tuxwa-na.*
 boy-PL(ERG) pear-PL every one(ERG) house-DAT carry-AOR
 'The boys each carried pears into the house.'

- c. *Wiri hajwan-r.i har-da wiči-n teher.d-a*
 all animal-PL every-SBST.SG(ERG) self-GEN manner-INESS
hurra laha-na. (AM87:14)
 hurrah say-AOR
 'All the animals said 'hurrah', each in their way.'

Note that the form of the reflexive pronoun is determined by the floating *harma/har sad*, not by the NP itself. In (483c) and (484c) the reflexive pronoun is singular, rather than plural as the NP. And in (483b), the reflexive pronoun is third person, whereas the NP is second person.

Har can also be used for emphasis in finite non-specific free relative clauses (cf. 19.2.) in front of the interrogative pro-word:

- (485) a. *Har wuč tü-r-t'a-ni q^hsan-diz eliwar-zawa.* (Š83:52)
 [every what:ABS eat-AOP-CND]-also good-ADV digest-IMPF
 'Whatever he eats, he digests well.'
- b. *Har hi-da-n čip ačat-aj-t'a, ham čna*
 [every which-SBST.SG-GEN lot fall-AOP-CND] that:ABS we:ERG
nubat.da-ldi aslan.di-z xürek ja-z račur-da. (X89:6)
 turn-SRDIR lion-DAT [meal be-IMC] send-FUT
 'Whoever lot is cast, him we will send in turn to the lion as food.'

11.7.3. 'Other'

Mükü '(the) other' always refers to the other of two (like Latin *alter*), whereas *masa* 'another' corresponds to Latin *alius*. The substantivized form of *masa* is *masad*, like *sad* from *sa* 'one'. *Masa* is perhaps derived from *mad* 'yet, still' (cf. 13.2.3.) and *sa* 'one'.

- (486) *Ruš-ar.i-n qifle sa pat.a-q^h, Zerifa-ni Abukar*
 girl-PL-GEN crowd one part-POESS Zerifa-and Abukar
mükü pat.a-q^h q^hfe-na. (Q81:8)
 other part-POESS go.away-AOR
 'The crowd of girls went in one direction, Zerifa and Abukar went in the other direction.'
- (487) a. *Sa xür-aj masa xür.ü-z swas tuxu-n patal*
 [one village other village-DAT bride bring-MSD] for
ilči-jar qwe-da. (Š77:32)
 matchmaker-PL come-FUT
 'Matchmakers come to bring a bride from one village to another village.'
- b. *K'ewi rag ja, fe-na sa masa-d axtarmiš-in.* (DD77,1:11)
 hard rock COP [go-AOC] one other-SBST.SG seek-HORT
 'It' a hard rock, let's go and look for another one.'

Chapter 12

Adverbs and postpositions

12.1. Adverbs

Four main types of adverbs will be discussed here: spatial adverbs (12.1.1.), temporal adverbs (12.1.2.), causal adverbs (12.1.3.), and degree adverbs (12.1.4.).

For deadjectival adverbs, see 8.1.2.

12.1.1. Spatial adverbs

Most spatial adverbs are based either on spatial nouns or on pronominal stems. Their characteristic suffix is generally identical to one of the local cases. Most of the adverbs based on spatial nouns are also used as postpositions (cf. 12.2.).

For spatial adverbs based on pronominal stems, see 11.3.

The most common local cases used for forming spatial adverbs are the Inessive, the Dative and the Possessive (both used for direction), the Superessive, and the Elative cases (used for source). The Directive cases are also sometimes used to mark direction.

12.1.1.1. 'Inside'. Spatial noun *q̄en* (-i) 'the inside', Inessive adverb *q̄ene* 'inside', Dative *q̄enez* '(to) inside', Inelative *q̄enäj* 'from inside'. E.g.

(488) *Am aq^ha war-ar-aj q̄enez haš-na.* (J89:21)
he:ABS open gate-PL-INEL inside enter-AOR

'He went inside through the open gate.'

12.1.1.2. 'Outside'. Spatial noun *q̄ec* (-i) 'the outside', Inessive and Superessive adverbs *q̄ece* and *q̄ecel* 'outside', Dative and Possessive *q̄eciz* and *q̄eciq^h* '(to) outside', Superlative and Inelative *q̄ecelaj* and *q̄ecäj* 'from outside'. E.g.

(489) a. *I žin q̄ecel alamuq'-da-č-ni?* (K90,3:2)
this jinn outside stay.on-FUT-NEG-Q

'Won't this jinn stay outside?'

b. *Werč haraj aq̄at-na q̄eciq^h kat-na.* (DD71,3:20)
hen [scream come.out-AOC] outside run-AOR

'The hen gave a scream and ran outside.'

- c. *Am q̄ecelaj xta-j wiči-n ġül.ù-n čin.i-z kilig-na.*
 she:ABS [from.outside return-AOP] self-GEN husband-GEN face-DAT look-AOR

'She looked at her husband's face, who had come back from outside.' (E56:13)

12.1.1.3. 'Up'. Several forms seem to be based on a non-existing spatial noun **win* (-i) 'upper part': Inessive and Superessive adverbs *wine* and *winel* 'up, above', Dative *winiz*, Postessive *winiq^h*, Superdirective *wineldi* 'upward', Postelative and Superrelative *winiq^haj* and *winelaj* 'from above'. Several other forms are based on the demonstrative *wini*, e.g. *winina* 'up there' (see 11.3.). E.g.

- (490) a. *Ada-n češme wine dağ.d-a awa.* (Š77:33)
 it-GEN source up mountain-INESS be.in

'Its source is up on the mountain.'

- b. *Baluğ-ar wineldi gadar že-zwa.* (M83:31)
 fish-PL upward throw ANTIC-IMPF

'The fish are jumping up(ward).'

12.1.1.4. 'Down'. Several forms seem to be based on a non-existing spatial noun **ağa* (-di) 'lower part': Inessive and Superessive adverbs *ağada* and *ağadal* 'down, below', Postessive *ağadiq^h*, Superdirective *ağadaldi* 'downward', Superrelative *ağadilaj* 'from below'. Several other forms are based on the demonstrative *ağa*, e.g. *ağana* 'down there' (see 11.3.). The morphologically isolated form *ağuz* 'down, below' is also common. E.g.

- (491) a. *Ağadiq^h ça-z akwa-da-j-wal...* (H82:12)
 below we-DAT see-FUT-PTP-MAN

'As we will see below...'

- b. *Wiri peq^h-er.i ağadal luw ga-na.* (M83:31)
 all crow-PL(ERG) downward wing give-AOR

'All the crows flew downward.'

12.1.1.5. 'In front'. Adverbs with this meaning are based on the Sub localization case of *wil* (-i) 'eye': Subessive *wilik* 'in front (lit. under the eye)', Subdirective *wilikdi* 'forward, to the front', Subrelative *wilikaj* 'from the front'. E.g.

- (492) *Abur tribuna.di-n pataw wilikdi fe-na.* (J89:27)
 they tribune-GEN to to.front go-AOR

'They went to the front to the tribune.'

12.1.1.6. 'In back, behind'. Adverbs with this meaning are based on two stems which do not occur independently: **q'ul* (-u) 'back', and **güğ* (-üni) 'back'. From the first stem, there is the Postessive adverb *q'uluq^h* 'in back', as well as the Postdirective *q'uluq^hdi* 'backward', Postelative *q'uluq^haj* 'from

behind'. From the second stem, there is the Inessive *güğüna* 'in back', Inelative *güğünaj* 'from behind', and the Superessive *güğünal* 'in back'. E.g.

(493) a. *Ruš elqwe-na q'uluq^hdi kilig-na.* (S88:35)
girl [turn-AOC] backward look-AOR

'The girl turned around and looked back.'

b. *Birdan q'uluq^haj Cükwer.a-z Sajran.a-n wan řa-na.* (S88:37)
suddenly from.behind Cükwer-DAT Sajran-GEN sound be-AOR

'Suddenly Cükwer heard Sajran from behind.'

(494) *Gila abur.u-n ferma hamışaluğ güğüna amuq'-da-č.* (R66:29)
now they-GEN farm forever behind stay-FUT-NEG

'Now their farm will not stay behind forever.'

12.1.1.7. 'Near'. Adverbs with this meaning are based on the Adessive of the noun *pad* (-*ta*) 'side' and of the non-existing **muq'* (-*u*): *pataw* and *muq'uww* 'nearby', *patawaj* and *muq'uwwaj* 'from nearby'.

(495) *Hafiz pataw gwa-j rag.u-n q'il.e-l aq'ař-na.* (S88:64)
Hafiz [nearby be.at-PTP] rock-GEN top-SRESS climb-AOR

'Hafiz climbed on top of a rock that was nearby.'

(496) a. *Ada am muq'uww gwa-j bağ.di-z tuxwa-na.* (R66:8)
he:ERG she:ABS [nearby be.at-PTP] garden-DAT bring-AOR

'He brought her to a nearby garden.'

b. *Pahliwan-ar aq'wan muq'uwwaj akwa-da-j*
[artist-PL so.much from.near see-FUT-PTP]

mumkinwal ni-q^h řajit'ani ře-da-č. (J89:5)
possibility who-POESS INDEF be-FUT-NEG

'Not just anyone gets the possibility to see the tightrope walkers from so close.'

12.1.2. Temporal adverbs

From a morphological point of view, the most interesting temporal adverbs are calendrical deictic adverbs (12.1.2.1.), general deictic adverbs (12.1.2.2.), and time-of-day adverbs (12.1.2.3.). These may have a Superrelative-like form (meaning 'since, from') and a Superdirective-like form (meaning 'until'), as well as a Continuative form in *-(a)maz* (this form does not always have the expected meaning 'still').

12.1.2.1. Calendrical deictic adverbs:

(497) Base form	Continuative	Superrelative (‘from, since’)	Superdirective (‘until’)
<i>q̄e</i> ‘today’	<i>q̄émaz</i> ‘today, now’	<i>q̄énlaj</i> ‘from today’	<i>q̄édaldi</i> ‘until today’
<i>paká</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>pakámaz</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>pakádlaj</i> ‘from tomorrow’	<i>pakádaldi</i> ‘until tomorrow’
<i>naq’</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>naq’amaz</i> ‘yesterday’	<i>naq’álaj</i> ‘since yesterday’	<i>naq’áldi</i> ‘until yesterday’
<i>c’i</i> ‘this year’		<i>c’ídlaj</i> ‘from this year’	<i>c’ídaldi</i> ‘until this year’
<i>šaz</i> ‘last year’	<i>šázamaz</i> ‘as late as last year’	<i>šazálaj</i> ‘since last year’	<i>šazáldi</i> ‘until last year’
<i>senftz</i> ‘last night’			<i>senfeldi</i> ‘until last night’

Occasionally the Superrelative-like form behaves like a real case form of a noun, occurring with a postposition that requires this case, e.g. *pakadlaj q’uluq^h* ‘after tomorrow’, *q̄énlaj q’uluq^h* ‘after today’ (or, alternatively, *q̄enindalaj q’uluq^h*, where *q̄enindalaj* is the Superrelative of the substantivized form of *q̄enin*, 8.2.1.3.)

12.1.2.2. General deictic adverbs:

(498) Base form	Continuative	Superrelative (‘from, since’)	Superdirective (‘until’)
<i>gíla</i> ‘now’	<i>gílamaz</i> ‘as early as now’	<i>gíladlaj</i> ‘from now’	<i>gílaldi</i> ‘until now’
<i>fad</i> ‘early’	<i>fádamaz</i> ‘early’	<i>fádlaj</i> ‘since long ago’	
<i>gež</i> ‘late’			<i>geždaldi</i> ‘until late’
<i>wilík(daj)</i> ‘before’	<i>wilíkamaz</i> ‘beforehand’		

12.1.2.3. Time-of-day adverbs. These have an Absolutive singular form, a Dative and or Postessive with the meaning of temporal location, a Superrelative with the meaning ‘from, since’, and a Superdirective with the meaning ‘until’. Possibly other cases exist as well (e.g. the Genitive *nāni-n*).

(499) Base form	Dative/Postessive (‘in’)	Superrelative (‘from, since’)	Superessive (‘until’)
<i>pakáma</i> ‘morning’	<i>pakámaz / pakamaq^h</i> ‘in the morning’	<i>pakám(a)laj</i> ‘since the morning’	
<i>ekw</i> ‘morning’	<i>ekünaq^h</i> ‘in the morning’	<i>ekünlaj</i> ‘since the morning’	
<i>nislñ</i> ‘noon’	<i>nislñiz / nislñiq^h</i> ‘at noon’	<i>nislñlaj</i> ‘after noon’	<i>nislñaldi</i> ‘until noon’
<i>nāni</i> ‘evening’	<i>nāniz / nāniq^h</i> ‘in the evening’		<i>nānaldi</i> ‘until the evening’

12.1.2.4. Calendrical cyclic adverbs. Words for cyclic events like ‘day’, ‘year’, ‘spring’, etc. have a full case paradigm. However, in the case of ‘day’, ‘night’, and ‘year’, the Dative case is irregular, which suggests that it has been lexicalized as an adverb.

(500) Base form	Dative (‘in, on’)
<i>juḡ</i> (<i>jiḡa</i>) ‘day’	<i>juḡúz</i> (* <i>jiḡáz</i>) ‘on the day, during the day’
<i>jiḡ</i> (<i>jiḡe</i>) ‘night’	<i>jiḡtʒ</i> (* <i>jiḡéz</i>) ‘in the night, at night’
<i>jis</i> (<i>jiṣa</i>) ‘year’	<i>jisúz</i> (* <i>jiṣáz</i>) ‘in the year’
<i>gatfár</i> (- <i>i</i>) ‘spring’	<i>gatfáriz</i> ‘in the spring’
<i>gad</i> (- <i>tu</i>) ‘summer’	<i>gatúz</i> ‘in the summer’
<i>zul</i> (- <i>u</i>) ‘fall’	<i>zulúz</i> ‘in the fall’
<i>q’ud</i> (<i>q^hüt’ü</i>) ‘winter’	<i>q^hüt’üz</i> ‘in the winter’

Although these Dative-like forms (as well as the Postessive-like forms in 12.1.2.3.) are quite irregular from a morphological point of view, they are not only used as adverbs, but also in combination with modifiers like demonstratives, quantifiers, or Genitive NPs, e.g.:

- (501) a. *i jifi-z* ‘this night’
this night-DAT
- b. *har nāni-z* ‘every evening’
every evening-DAT
- c. *har pakama-q^h* ‘every morning’
every morning-POESS
- d. *wad juḡ.u-z* ‘for five days’
five day-DAT
- e. *q’ud lahaj jiḡ.a-n eküna-q^h* (S88:44)
four ORD day-GEN morning-POESS
‘on the morning of the fourth day’

12.1.2.5. Temporal adverbs in -*di*. A few temporal adverbs are formed by the suffix *-di*, which is added directly to the Absolutive case form of a temporal noun. The meaning is ‘in the course of the whole...’. (Cf. also: *req^h-ḏi* ‘all the way’, with a spatial sense.)

- (502) *juḡ-di* ‘all day’
jiḡ-di ‘all night’
gad-di ‘all summer’
q’ud-di ‘all winter’

12.1.2.6. Other temporal adverbs. There are a number of further temporal adverbs that do not present any special interest from a morphological or semantic point of view, e.g. *gah-gah* 'sometimes', *siftedaj* 'at first', *mus?* 'when?', *i muq'wara* 'soon', *isätda* 'now', etc.

12.1.2.7. Adverbs of change and continuation: 'already', 'still', 'not yet', 'no longer'. 'Already' is expressed by the particle *hele*:

- (503) *Jusuf Derbent.d-aj hele q^hfe-na.*
 Jusuf Derbent-INEL already leave-AOR
 'Jusuf has already left Derbent.'

'Not yet' is expressed by *hele* plus affixal negation on the verb:

- (504) *Jusuf hele Derbent.d-a awa-č.*
 Jusuf yet Derbent-INESS be.in-NEG
 'Jusuf is not in Derbent yet.'

'Still' is expressed by the Continuative aspect (9.6.5).

- (505) *Jusuf.a k'walax-zama.*
 Jusuf(ERG) work-IMPF.CONT
 'Jusuf is still working.'

'No longer' is expressed by the Continuative aspect plus affixal negation on the verb:

- (506) *Jusuf.a k'walax-zama-č.*
 Jusuf(ERG) work-IMPF.CONT-NEG
 'Jusuf is no longer working.'

The Continuative is often not the only element in the sentence that expresses the meaning 'still'. The particles *hele* (also 'already', cf. above), *helelig*, and *gilani* (*gila* 'now' plus *-ni* 'also, even') can be used to make the 'still' meaning more explicit. *Hele* is illustrated in (507a), *helelig* in (507b), and *gilani* in (507c).

- (507) a. *Am fadlaj pensijadi-z eqeč'-na k'an-zawa-j-di ja,*
 [he:ABS long pension-DAT go.out-AOP] must-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP
amma am hele k'walax.a-l xü-zma. (Du61,4:70)
 but he:ABS still work-SRESS keep-IMPF.CONT
 'He ought to have retired long ago, but they're still keeping him at work.'
- b. *Hajif xi a ewer gu-n-ar helelig čar-ar.a-l alama.*
 sad PT that call give-MSD-PL still paper-PL-SRESS be.on.still
 'Unfortunately, those appeals are still on paper.' (DD89,4:6)

- c. *Wučiz bilbil.di gila-ni azad-diz mani-jar ja-zama?*
 why nightingale(ERG) now-also free-ADV song-PL strike-IMP.F.CONT
 ‘Why does the nightingale still sing freely?’ (Q81:6)

The meaning ‘no longer’ can also be made more explicit by the addition of the particle *mad* ‘still’ (cf. 13.2.3).

- (508) a. *A jīq-ar-a Jusuf Derbentdi-z mad xkwe-zma-č-ir.*
 that day-PL-INNESS Jusuf Derbent-DAT still return-IMP.F.CONT-NEG-PST
 ‘In those days Jusuf didn’t go back to Derbent any more.’
- b. *Ne-da-j mad zat’-ni ama-č.* (X89:41)
 [eat-FUT-PTP] still thing-even be.still-NEG
 ‘There isn’t anything to eat any longer.’

When the verb is in a tense that cannot have a Continuative (e.g. Future, Aorist), the particle *mad* alone can express this meaning. In some of these examples the meaning ‘again’ seems to be present as well, especially in (509b), where the verb is marked as Repetitive.

- (509) a. *Ada-waj mad wič xū-z ŷa-na-č.* (AM87:15)
 he-ADEL [still self keep-INF] can-AOR-NEG
 ‘He couldn’t control himself any more.’
- b. *Ha qhūt’ū-z meq’i ful mad aqat qhuwu-na-č.* (K90,12:2)
 that winter-DAT cold chill still go.away REPET-AOR-NEG
 ‘In that winter the cold chill didn’t go away anymore/again.’

12.1.3. Causal adverbs

There are a few causal adverbs which are characterized by the suffix *-la* and which are derived from adjectives denoting a transitory state (especially a bodily or psychological experience).

- | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------------|--------------|----------|
| (510) <i>meq’ila</i> | ‘from the cold’ | <i>meq’i</i> | ‘cold’ |
| <i>kič’ela</i> | ‘out of fear’ | <i>kič’e</i> | ‘afraid’ |
| <i>gišila</i> | ‘from hunger’ | <i>gišin</i> | ‘hungry’ |
| <i>čimila</i> | ‘from the heat’ | <i>čimi</i> | ‘hot’ |
| <i>xwešila</i> | ‘out of joy’ | <i>xweši</i> | ‘glad’ |

12.1.4. Degree adverbs

Degree adverbs mostly modify adjectives (cf. 14.5.2.). Formally, they are rather heterogeneous. The Lezgian equivalent of ‘very’ is *lap* or (rarely) *ažeb*, or *gzaf* ‘much’. ‘Little’ is *t’imil* or *žizwi*, ‘somewhat’ is *sa q’adar*. A few examples:

- (511) a. *Abur.u-kaj kürü maḡala-jar gu-n aḡeb q^hsan*
 [they-SBEL short article-PL give-MSD] very good

kar ḡe-da-j. (L89,6:71)

thing be-FUT-PST

'It would be a very good thing to publish short articles about them.'

- b. *Abur sad=sad.a-z gzaḡ uxṡar tir.* (J89,27)

they one=one-DAT much similar COP:PST

'They were very similar to each other.'

- c. *Ada-n ḡin sa t'imil jaru ḡa-na.* (R66:13)

she-GEN face one little red become-AOR

'Her face blushed a little (lit. became a little red).'

The demonstrative degree adverb 'so' is *aq'wan*:

- (512) *Gah=gah lak'ab aq'wan mähkem-diz*

sometimes nickname so.much firm-ADV

alk'i-zwa-j ḡi... (L87,2:74)

stick-IMPF-PST PT

'Sometimes a nickname stuck so firmly that...'

Of course, degree adverbs may also modify adverbs, as in (512) and (513).

- (513) *Nadja anriz gzaḡ taḡub-dakaz wa hejranwil.e-ldi*

Nadja thither much amazed-ADV and wonder-SRDIR

kilig-zawa-j. (S88:168)

look-IMPF-PST

'Nadja looked there greatly amazed and in wonder.'

12.1.5. Other adverbs

12.1.5.1. Solitary Aorist converbs. There are several manner adverbs which end in *-na* and thus look like Aorist converb forms, but whose root is never used as a verb in other forms. They all have a sound symbolic form.

- (514) *furtna* 'lightly':

furtna fin

'whisk, slip'

lanq^hna 'violently':

rak'ar lanq^hna aq'alun

'slam the door shut'

tarpna 'suddenly':

tarpna ḡaraḡun

'jump up'

t'amp'na 'immediately':

t'amp'na aḡwazun

'stop immediately'

12.1.5.2. X-ba-X adverbs. Such adverbs are formed by reduplicating a noun and putting *-ba-* between the two copies of the noun. The meaning is distributive, ‘X by X’.

- (151) *harfba-harf* ‘letter by letter’ *harf* ‘letter’
 k’walba-k’wal ‘house by house’ *k’wal* ‘house’

12.2. Postpositions

Lezgian adpositions are exclusively postpositions. Postpositions are easily distinguished from case suffixes: they are written separately, are longer, and generally have internal structure. In addition, postpositions generally combine with inflected forms of nouns.

For most postpositions it is synchronically transparent that they are derived from spatial adverbs (12.2.1.), spatial nouns (12.2.2.), or converbal verb forms (12.2.3.), and they still share many morphological and syntactic properties with the forms which they were derived from. In other words, postpositions in Lezgian exhibit a low degree of grammaticization, which is hardly surprising in view of the large number of highly grammaticized case markers. Among the synchronically non-derived postpositions (12.2.4.), only one or two are not loanwords.

12.2.1. Postpositions that are identical to spatial adverbs

Most spatial postpositions are identical in form to spatial adverbs (cf. 12.1.1.). They are either derived from the spatial adverbs, or they are perhaps derived in the same way from the same spatial nouns as the spatial adverbs.

Generally both the Essive and the Elative forms are used as postpositions, the meaning difference being completely parallel to that in the local cases (cf. 7.2.2.5.-18.).

As one would expect for postpositions based on nouns, they generally govern the Genitive case of their argument. However, some postpositions take Absolutive, Dative, Superrelative or Inessive arguments.

12.2.1.1. *q̄ene* ‘inside; within’ (cf. 12.1.1.1.) takes a Genitive argument. The meaning is most often temporal, ‘within’.

- (516) a. *Wučiz i pud jis.a-n q̄ene xp-er.i-n sar*
 why this three year-GEN within sheep-PL-GEN wool
 artux xa-na-č? (R66:20)
 more become-AOR-NEG

‘Why didn’t the sheep’s wool increase within the last three years?’

b. *Daban-r.a-l ala-j q'ac'-ar 7-10 jūq.a-n qene*
 [heel-PL-SRESS be.on-PTP] incision-PL 7-10 day-GEN within

sağ q^hize-da. (DD89,4:23)
 healthy become.again-FUT

'The incisions on the heels will heal within 7-10 days.'

The Dative form is *qenez* '(to the) inside':

(517) *Sa šumud kas elektrostancija.di-n qenez haš-na.* (J89:29)
 one several person power.station-GEN inside enter-AOR

'Several people went inside the electric power station.'

The Elative form is *qenäj* 'from inside':

(518) *Rik'.i-n qenäj Nadir.a šadwal iji-zwa-j.* (K89,12:12)
 heart-GEN from.inside Nadir(ERG) happiness do-IMPF-PST

'Nadir was happy (from) inside his heart.'

12.2.1.2. *qece* 'outside' (cf. 12.1.1.2.) takes a Superrelative argument.

(519) *Alfija.di-z, škola.d-a xiz, škola.di-laj qece-ni hürmet-zawa.*
 Alfija-DAT school-INNESS like school-SREL outside respect-IMPF

'Alfija is respected in school as well as outside of school.' (K86,3:1)

12.2.1.3. *winel* 'above'; *winiz* 'up' (cf. 12.1.1.3.). The Superessive form *winel* 'above, over' takes a Genitive argument.

(520) a. *Č'ulaw cif-er.i xür.ü-n winel mič'i q^hen wehe-nwa-j.*
 black cloud-PL(ERG) village-GEN above dark shadow throw-PRF-PST

'Black clouds had cast a dark shadow over the village.' (DD77,6:12)

b. *Či asker-r.i Berlin.di-n winel jaru pajdax*
 we:GEN soldier-PL(ERG) [Berlin-GEN above red flag

ak'ur-un patal exirimži hužum awu-na. (DD77,2:18)
 hoist-MSD] for last attack do-AOR

'Our soldiers made the last attack to hoist the red flag above Berlin.'

c. *Dere-jr-a wahši hajwan-r.i sa wuč jat'ani*
 valley-PL-INNESS wild animal-PL(ERG) one what:ABS INDEF

taraš-zawa, abur.u-n winel quzğun-ar elqwe-zwa,
 catch-IMPF they-GEN above vulture-PL circle-IMPF

čpi-n nubat gūzet-zawa. (M83:74)
 selves-GEN turn wait-IMPF

'In the valleys the wild animals catch something; above them the vultures circle and wait for their turn.'

The Superrelative form *winelaj* means ‘from above’.

- (521) *I aslan čna či winelaj alud-in.* (X89:6)
 this lion we:ERG we:GEN from.above take.away-HORT
 ‘Let’s take this lion from above us.’ (i.e. ‘Let’s overthrow him.’)

The Dative form *winiz* means ‘up (along)’ and takes an Inelative argument. The Superessive form *winel* can also be used in this function, cf. (522b).

- (522) a. *Zun taxta.di-n gurar-aj winiz xkaž xa-na.* (Š83:99)
 I:ABS plank-GEN stairs-INEL up raise ANTIC-AOR
 ‘I walked up the plank stairs.’
- b. *Sa dağwi žiğir.d-aj winel jajlax.di-z fi-zwa-j.* (M83:33)
 one mountaineer path-INEL up pasture-DAT go-IMPF-PST
 ‘A mountaineer was going to a pasture up a path.’

Winiz also means ‘over, more than’:

- (523) *1959=jis.a-n perepis.di qalur-zawa-j-wal, lezgi xalq’.di-n*
 [1959=year-GEN census(ERG) show-IMPF-PTP-MAN] Lezgian people-GEN
q’adar 223 ağzur-da-laj winiz ja. (Du68,2:98)
 amount 223 thousand-SBST.SG-SREL over COP
 ‘As the 1959 census shows, the number of the Lezgian people is over 223 000.’

12.2.1.4. ağuz ‘down’ (cf. 12.1.1.4.). Like *winiz* ‘up’, this postposition takes an Inelative argument.

- (524) a. *Gurar-aj ağuz buba-ni xwa jawaš-diz ewiç-zawa.* (Š83:71)
 stairs-INEL down father-and son slow-ADV go.down-IMPF
 ‘The father and the son are slowly walking down the stairs.’
- b. *Abur q’wed-ni qün=qün-e awa-z küçe.d-aj*
 they two-also [shoulder=shoulder-INESS be.in-IMC] street-INEL
ağuz q^hfe-na. (N88:89)
 down return-AOR
 ‘They both went back down the street, shoulder to shoulder.’

12.2.1.5. wilik ‘in front of; before’ (12.1.1.5.) takes a Genitive argument in its spatial sense ‘in front of’ (cf. 525), and a Superrelative argument in its temporal sense ‘before’ (cf. 526).

- (525) a. *Inal abur.u-n wilik çetin çarçar aqat-nawa.* (M83:31)
 here they-GEN in.front difficult waterfall appear-PRF
 ‘Here in front of them a difficult waterfall has appeared.’

- b. *Šarwil.i-n wilik hūri ūtin gūzel sa peri aq̄waz-nawa-j.*
 Šarwili-GEN in.front houri like beautiful one fairy stand-PRF-PST
 'In front of Šarwili stood a fairy as beautiful as a houri.' (X89:31)

- (526) a. *dāwe.di-laj wilik*
 war-SREL before
 'before the war'

- b. *Leq'.re hele gūrčeq^han.di-laj wilik gūrč iji-z*
 [eagle(ERG) already hunter-SREL before hunt do-INF]
bašlamiš-da-j. (M83:74)
 begin-FUT-PST
 'The eagle began hunting before the hunter.'

The Elative form is *wilikaj*; it has the meaning of a path in (527).

- (527) *Šarwili xendeda dišehli Cpezaj.a-n k'wal.i-n*
 Šarwili widow woman Cpezaj-GEN house-GEN
wilikaj fi-zwa-j. (AM87:29)
 in.front go-IMPF-PST

'Šarwili was walking by in front of the house of the widow Cpezaj.'

12.2.1.6. *q'uluq^h* 'behind; after' (12.1.1.6.). Like *wilik*, *q'uluq^h* takes a Genitive argument in its spatial sense 'behind' (cf. 528), and a Superrelative argument in its temporal sense 'after' (cf. 529).

- (528) a. *Rağ dağ-lar.i-n q'uluq^h akat-zawa-j.* (R66:25)
 sun mountain-PL-GEN behind set-IMPF-PST
 'The sun was setting behind the mountains.'

- b. *Baku-d q'uluq^h sa tar gala,*
 Baku-GEN behind one tree be.behind
Ada-n q'uluq^h hül gala, jar. (Mejlanova 1983b:209)
 it-GEN behind sea be.behind beloved
 'Behind Baku there is a tree,
 And behind it there is the sea, beloved one.'

- (529) a. *dāwe.di-laj q'uluq^h*
 war-SREL after
 'after the war'

- b. *Sa t'imil k'walax.di-laj q'uluq^h a m galat-na.* (Q89,10,19:3)
 one little work-SREL after she:ABS tire-AOR
 'After a little work she became tired.'

12.2.1.7. *güğūna* ‘behind’; *güğūniz* ‘after’ (12.1.1.6.). These postpositions are synonymous with *q’uluq^h*. Again, the spatial postposition (cf. 530) takes a Genitive argument, and the temporal postposition (cf. 531) takes a Superlative argument. In addition, there is a formal difference between the two postpositions.

(530) a. *Žehil zootexnik.di-n güğūna xūr.ū-n wiri žehil-ar hat-na.*
 young zootechnician-GEN behind village-GEN all youth-PL come-AOR
 ‘All the young people of the village followed the young live-stock specialist.’ (R66:29)

b. *Cükwer.a-z čpi-n güğūna awa-z sa žehil qwe-z*
 Cükwer-DAT [[selves-GEN behind be-IMC] one young come-INF]
aku-na. (S88:5)
 see-AOR
 ‘Cükwer saw a young man coming after them.’

(531) a. *Zalzal.di-laj güğūniz wad ağzur-ni wad wiš*
 quake-SREL after five thousand-and five hundred
ajal masa respublika-jr.i-z req’e tu-na. (DD71,2:10)
 child other republic-PL-DAT way-INESS put-AOR
 ‘After the earthquake, 5500 children were sent to other republics.’

b. *Ali k’wal-e dax.di-laj güğūniz itim-r.i-kaj č’exi-di tir.*
 Ali house-INESS dad-SREL after man-PL-SBEL big-SBST.SG COP:PST
 ‘Ali was the oldest male at home after dad.’ (J89:5)

The Dative form *güğūniz* is not only used in a temporal sense as in (531). It can also be used spatially when a directional sense is intended.

(532) a. *Gada-jar ada-laj wil-er alud t-iji-z ada-n*
 boy-PL [he-SREL eye-PL take.off(PER) NEG-do-IMC] he-GEN
güğūniz kilig-zawa-j. (J89:5)
 after look-IMPF-PST
 ‘Without taking their eyes off him, the boys were looking after him.’

b. *Za q^hfi-zwa-j ruš-ar.i-n güğūniz zwer-na.* (S88:157)
 I:ERG [return-IMPF-PTP] girl-PL-GEN behind run-AOR
 ‘I ran behind the girls who were going back.’

The Inelative form *güğūnaj* means ‘from behind’ in (533).

(533) *Šarwili.di-k wiči-n güğūnaj Cpezaj.a-n qarğiš-r.i-n wan*
 Šarwili-SBESS self-GEN from.behind Cpezaj-GEN curse-PL-GEN sound
ata-na. (AM87:30)
 come-AOR
 ‘Šarwili heard from behind him Cpezaj’s curses.’

The Superessive form *güğünal* is also occasionally used in the sense 'behind' (e.g. sentence (11) of text 25.4.)

12.2.1.8. *pataw* 'near, to' (cf. 12.1.1.7.) takes a Genitive argument. It is mainly used when the argument is human. E.g.

(534) a. *Am za wi pataw raqur-na.* (DD77,1:12)
 she:ABS I:ERG you:GEN to send-AOR
 'I sent her to you.'

b. *Sik' Mu'min buba.di-n pataw ata-na.* (Q89,10,19:3)
 fox Mu'min father-GEN to come-AOR
 'The fox came to father Mu'min.'

The low degree of grammaticization is confirmed by the fact that *pataw* can even be used in the plural (*pat-ar.i-w*) when the argument is plural:

(535) *Duxtur-r.i-n patariw fe-na.* (Š83:54)
 doctor-PL-GEN to go-AOR
 'She went to doctors.' (lit. 'She went to the sides of doctors.')

The Elative form *patawaj* 'away from' is used rarely:

(536) *Ali.di-n i gaf-ar.i-n wan wiči-n jap-ar.i-q^h galuq'-daldi*
 [Ali-GEN this word-PL-GEN sound self-GEN ear-PL-POESS reach-POSTR]
wilik Nisred xalu ada-n patawaj qeqeč'-nawa-j. (J89:27)
 before Nisred uncle he-GEN from go.away-PRF-PST
 'Before he had heard these words of Ali's, Nisred-xalu had gone away from him.'

The Directive form *patawdi* 'to' is archaic. The following example is from Jetim Emin's poetry (19th c.).

(537) *Zun ata-nwa wi patawdi, qwaz, güzel.*
 I:ABS come-PRF you:GEN to stand(IMPV) beautiful
 'I have come to you, wait, beautiful one.' (Mejlanova 1960:60)

12.2.1.9. *muq'uw* 'near, by' (cf. 12.1.1.7.). This postposition, which takes a Genitive argument, is more or less synonymous with *pataw*.

(538) *Čun i gweč'i čarčar.di-n muq'uw sa pud*
 we:ABS this little waterfall-GEN by one three
sāt q'wan acuq'-na. (M83:31)
 hour as.much.as sit-AOR
 'We sat by this little waterfall for about three hours.'

12.2.1.10. *iniq^h* ‘since’ takes a Superrelative argument. The spatial sense ‘on this side of’ is much rarer than the temporal sense ‘since’.

- (539) A *č’aw.a-laj iniq^h 20 jis alat-nawa.* (Ko89,10,18:4)
 that time-SREL since 20 year pass-PRF
 ‘Since that time, 20 years have gone by.’

12.2.1.11. *aniq^h* ‘beyond, on the other side of’ also takes a Superrelative argument.

- (540) a. *Aždahan-ar irid dağ.di-laj aniq^h gala-j hajwan-ar*
 dragon-PL [seven mountain-SREL beyond be.behind-PTP] animal-PL
ja-ni? (K84,1:11)
 COP-Q

‘Are dragons animals that are on the other side of seven mountains?’

- b. A *dağ.di-n kuk’uš.di-laj aniq^h xalu.di*
 that mountain-GEN peak-SREL beyond [uncle(ERG)]
k’walax-zawa-j ferma gala-j. (J89:20)
 work-IMPF-PTP farm be.behind-PST

‘On the other side of that mountain’s peak was the farm where the uncle worked.’

12.2.2. Postpositions based on spatial nouns

These postpositions are quite similar to the postpositions described in section 12.2.1., both in their morphology and in their syntactic properties. The only difference is that the postpositions in 12.2.1. are also commonly used as spatial adverbs (cf. 12.1.). But the boundary between the two is not clear-cut. It cannot be excluded that some of the postpositions in this section also have uses as spatial adverbs.

12.2.2.1. *k’anik* ‘under, below’ takes a Genitive argument. It is based on the Subessive case of *k’an* (-i) ‘bottom’.

- (541) a. *Vezuvija vulkan.di-n k’anik kučud-nawa-j*
 [Vesuvio volcano-GEN under bury-PRF-PTP]
qadim šeher-ar (Ko89,10,13:3)
 ancient city-PL

‘the ancient cities buried under the Vesuvio volcano’

- b. *Nek řtin lacu wac.ra-n ek.üni-n k’anik*
 milk like white moon-GEN light-GEN below

Allahquli.di Dilber a řqi.da-ldi řu řaxlami ř-na. (R66:8)
 Allahquli(ERG) Dilber passion-SRDIR embrace-AOR

‘Under the milk-white moonlight Allahquli passionately embraced Dilber.’

- c. *Xalq'di laha-j-wal ič tar.a-n k'anik awat-da.*
 [people(ERG) say-PTP-MAN] apple-GEN tree-GEN under fall-FUT
 'As the people say, the apple falls under the tree.' (R66:17)

The Elative form *k'anikaj* expresses both source (cf. 542) and path (cf. 543).

- (542) a. *Šenp'i gurc'uld.i-n k'anikaj xkat-na.* (A90:21)
 kitten puppy-GEN from.under run.away-AOR
 'The kitten ran away from under the puppy.'
- b. *Zun zont.di-n k'anikaj Nadja.di-n čin.i-z kilig-na.* (S88:163)
 I:ABS umbrella-GEN from.under Nadja-GEN face-DAT look-AOR
 'I looked at Nadja's face from under the umbrella.'
- (543) a. *c.i-n k'anikaj fi-da-j gimi* (K87,2:15)
 [water-GEN below go-FUT-PTP] boat
 'submarine boat' (lit. 'boat that goes under the water')
- b. *Sa žins.ini-n člen-ar žuğur-a wa abur*
 one kind-GEN constituent-PL find-IMPV and [they
galk'ur-zawa-j sojuz-r.i-n k'anikaj c'ar č'ugu. (G57:46)
 connect-IMPV-PTP] conjunction-PL-GEN below line draw(IMPV)
 'Find the coordinate constituents and draw a line below the
 conjunctions that connect them.'

12.2.2.2. *q'iliw, q̄walaw* 'near, to'. These are less common equivalents of *pataw* (based on the nouns *q'il* 'head' and *q̄wal* 'side'). They take a Genitive argument and are mainly combined with human arguments.

- (544) a. *Zun mad wi q'iliw ata-nwa.* (DD85,2:20)
 I:ABS again you:GEN to come-PRF
 'I have come to you again.'
- b. *Za zi q'iliw bol'nica.di-z ata-nwa-j zi pap.a-z*
 I:ERG [I:GEN to hospital-DAT come-PRF-PTP] I:GEN wife-DAT
jab-ni ga-na-č-ir. (S88:157)
 ear-even give-AOR-NEG-PST
 'I did not even listen to my wife who had come to me in the
 hospital.'
- (545) a. *Za-z či-zwa, Šarwili, wun zi q̄walaw ata-nwa.* (X89:34)
 I-DAT know-IMPV Šarwili you:ABS I:GEN to come-PRF
 'I know, Šarwili, you have come to me.'
- b. *Axp̄a buba-ni Xatimat sad=sada-n q̄walaw acuq'-na.*
 then father-and Xatimat one=one-GEN beside sit-AOR
 'Afterwards father and Xatimat sat down beside each other.'
 (DD77,1:11)

12.2.2.3. *arada* ‘between, among’ takes a Genitive argument. It is based on the spatial noun *ara* ‘space in between’.

- (546) a. *Čarx-ar.i-n arada xür kutu-nwa.* (Mejlanova 1983b:208)
 rock-PL-GEN between village found-PRF

‘A village has been founded between the rocks.’

- b. *Güldeste.di kartuf-ar wiči-n-ni wax.a-n ajal-r.i-n*
 Güldeste(ERG) potato-PL [self-GEN-and sister-GEN child-PL-GEN

arada sa tafawatluwal t-awu-na paj-da-j. (Š83:5)
 between one difference NEG-do-AOC divide-FUT-PST

‘Güldeste distributed the potatoes without making a distinction between her own and her sister’s children.’

- (547) *Dağustanwi-jr.i-n arada lak’ab-ar jağ-un, šaksuz,*
 Dagestani-PL-GEN between [nickname-PL hit-MSD] doubtless

fadlaj deb xa-nwa-j kar ja. (L87,2:74)
 [long.since custom become-PRF-PTP] thing COP

‘Giving nicknames is undoubtedly a thing that has long since become usual among Dagestanians.’

The Elative form *aradaj* expresses source (cf. 548) and path (cf. 549).

- (548) a. *Cif-er.i-n aradaj raq̄ini-n nur-ni kwat-na.* (Du61,5:22)
 cloud-PL-GEN between sun-GEN ray-also appear-AOR

‘The sun’s rays, too, appeared (from) between the clouds.’

- b. *I xalq’.di-n aradaj Nizami, Fizuli, Wakif*
 this people-GEN from.among Nizami Fizuli Wakif

xtin č’exi šair-ar aq̄at-na. (A55:12)
 like great poet-PL emerge-AOR

‘Great poets like Nizami, Fizuli, Wakif emerged from among this people.’

- (549) *Bağ.di-n tar-ar.i-n taza peš-er.i-n aradaj gweč’i*
 garden-GEN tree-PL-GEN fresh leaf-PL-GEN between little

jemiš-ar akwa-zwa. (M83:19)
 fruit-PL see-IMPF

‘One can see little fruits through the fresh leaves of the trees of the garden.’

The Dative case *aradiz*, expressing direction, also exists:

- (550) *Lezgi xalq’.di-n aradiz arab č’al čk’a-na.* (K89,7:15)
 Lezgian people-GEN among Arab language spread-AOR

‘The Arabic language spread among the Lezgian people.’

12.2.2.4. *patal* 'for'. This postposition, originally the Superessive case of *pad* 'side', inexplicably takes an Absolutive argument.

- (551) a. *Insan baxt patal jašamiš že-zwa-j-di ja, exir.*
 human happiness for living be-IMPF-PTP-SBST.SG COP PT
 'After all, people live for happiness.' (L87,3:77)
- b. *Suna xala.di nāni-n xürek patal kartuf-ar*
 [Suna aunt(ERG) evening-GEN meal for potato-PL
alağr-iz bašlamiš-na. (R66:16)
 peel-INF] begin-AOR
 'Suna-xala began to peel potatoes for dinner.'
- c. *Xatimat k'wal patal q^hsan dišehli tir.* (DD77,1:10)
 Xatimat house for good woman COP:PST
 'Xatimat was a good woman for the house.'

When combined with a Masdar, *patal* means 'in order to' (cf. also 21.6. on purpose clauses).

- (552) *I čarčar.di-laj eläč'-un patal baluğ-ar wineldi*
 [this waterfall-SREL pass-MSD] for fish-PL up
gadar že-zwa. (M83:31)
 throw ANTIC-IMPF
 'The fish jump upward in order to get across these falls.'

Less common variants of *patal* are the Superdirective form *pataldi* 'for' (cf. 553), which also takes an Absolutive argument, and the Postrelative form *pataq^haj* (cf. 554), which takes a Genitive argument.

- (553) *Dağustan.di-n hukumat.di mualim-ar pataldi*
 Daghestan-GEN government(ERG) teacher-PL for
kurs-ar teşkil-na. (Du68,2:24)
 course-PL organize-AOR
 'The Daghestanian government organized courses for teachers.'
- (554) *Četin i šart'-ar-a či ajal-r.i-n pataq^haj jeke*
 difficult this condition-PL-INESS we:GEN child-PL-GEN for great
qajğudarwal awu-na. (DD71,2:10).
 concern do-AOR
 'Under these difficult conditions great concern was displayed for our children.'

12.2.2.5. *pataj* 'from'. This is the Inelative form of *pad* 'side'. It takes a Genitive argument, and the argument is generally human.

- (555) a. *ja dide.di-n, ja buba.di-n pataj k'aniwil.i-n sa gaf*
 or mother-GEN or father-GEN from love-GEN one word
wan te-že-z (DD77,1:10)
 sound NEG-be-IMC
 'without hearing a word of love from either his father or his mother'
- b. *Im kü pataj či k'walax.di-z jeke kümek že-da.*
 this:ABS you.all:GEN from we:GEN work-DAT big help be-FUT
 'This will be a big help for our work from you.' (S88:14)
- c. *wa-z wi ruš Marija.di-n pataj front.d-aj salam-ar!*
 you-DAT you:GEN daughter Marija-GEN from front-INEL greeting-PL
 'Greetings to you from your daughter Marija from the front!'
 (M79:6)

12.2.2.6. *galaj pataq^h* 'toward'. This complex postposition takes an Absolutive argument. The first word, *galaj*, is the participial form of the verb *gala* 'be behind' (cf. 17.6.3.). And *pataq^h* is the Postessive of *pad* 'side'. Thus, an expression of the type *X galaj pataq^h* literally means something like 'to the side behind which (=where) X is', i.e. 'toward X'.

- (556) a. *Nazlu asker galaj pataq^h üteri kilig-na.* (R66:4)
 Nazlu soldier toward cursorily look-AOR
 'Nazlu glanced toward the soldier.'
- b. *Q'if wiči-n t'ekwen galaj pataq^h kat-na.* (X89:16)
 mouse self-GEN hole toward run-AOR
 'The mouse ran toward its hole.'

The Elative form is *galaj pataq^haj* 'from (the direction of)'.

- (557) *Xür galaj pataq^haj gweč'i gada.di zwer-zawa-j.* (J89:4)
 village from little boy(ERG) run-IMPF-PST
 'A little boy came running from the village.'

12.2.2.7. *čkadal* 'instead of'. This is the Superessive case of *čka* 'place', and it takes a Genitive argument.

- (558) *Muallim.di-n čkadal ada-z wiči-n buba akwa-zwa-j.*
 teacher-GEN instead he-DAT self-GEN father see-IMPF-PST
 'Instead of the teacher he saw his father.' (DD77,1:11)

12.2.2.8. *q̄anšardiz* ‘toward’. This is the Dative case of *q̄anšar* ‘opposite side’, and it takes a Genitive argument. Its meaning corresponds most closely to German *entgegen*.

- (559) *Ada-n q̄anšardiz Alibeg wa sa jašlu itim q̄we-zwa-j.* (Q81:105)
 self-GEN entgegen Alibeg and one elderly man come-IMPf-PST
 ‘Alibeg and an elderly man came to meet him.’
 (German: Alibeg und ein älterer Mann kamen ihm entgegen.)

12.2.3. Postpositions derived from converbs

Postpositions that come from converbs also show a low degree of grammaticization. They tend to show most of the formal and semantic properties of the verbs from which they were derived. In several cases both the non-negated and the negated converb forms occur as postpositions.

12.2.3.1. *kiligna* ‘according to; because’ is the Aorist converb of *kiligun* ‘look’, i.e. literally it means ‘having looked, having considered, in view of’. Like the verb *kiligun*, *kiligna* takes a Dative argument.

- (560) a. *C’iji xa-ji k’el-er čpi-n rang-ar.i-z kiligna q’ildi*
 new [bear-AOP] lamb-PL selves-GEN color-PL-DAT according separately
ktab.di-z k̄xi-zwa. (R66:19)
 book-DAT write-IMPf
 ‘The newly born lambs are written into a book separately according to their colors.’

- b. *Muq’wal=muq’wal passažir-r.i-n t’alabun-r.i-z*
 often passenger-PL-GEN demand-PL-DAT
kiligna-ni koncert-ar gu-zwa. (DD71,6:13)
 according-also concert-PL give-IMPf
 ‘Often they also give concerts according to the passengers’ demands.’

The meaning ‘because’ is particularly prominent when *kiligna* is combined with a Masdar (cf. also 21.5.1).

- (561) *Dide=buba kesib řu-n.i-z kiligna, Mehamed.a*
 [mother=father poor be-MSD-DAT] because Mehamed(ERG)
anřax sa řis.u-z k’el-na. (Šejxov 1983b:112)
 only one year-DAT learn-AOR
 ‘Because his parents were poor, Mehamed learned only for one year.’

The negated form *kilig tawuna* has the meaning ‘despite’ (literally ‘not looking, disregarding, irregardless of’).

- (562) *Zul.u-n jife-n meq'i hawa.di-z-ni kilig tawuna*
 autumn-GEN night-GEN cold weather-DAT-even despite
šadwil-er geždaldi dawam ša-na. (R66:5)
 joy-PL until.late continuing be-AOR
 ‘Despite the cool weather of the autumn night, the merrymaking continued until late.’

12.2.3.2. *kwačiz* ‘except’ is the negated converb of the locative copula *kwa* ‘be under’ (cf. 17.6.4.). It takes an Absolutive argument.

- (563) a. *Bujruğ, oficial'nyj stil' kwačiz, wiri stil-r-a,*
bujruğ official style except all style-PL-INESS
prikaz oficial'nyj stil.d-a išlamiš-zawa. (G82:17)
prikaz official style-INESS use-IMPF
 ‘*Bujruğ* is used in all styles except the official style, *prikaz* is used in the official style.’ (*bujruğ, prikaz*: ‘order’)
- b. *Sa bāzi ġweč'i millet-ar kwačiz, ama-j*
 one several little nation-PL except [remain-PTP]
wiri-bur.u-q^h čpi-n literatura-ni awa. (AM87:2)
 all-SBST.PL-POESS selves-GEN literature-also be
 ‘Except for some small nations, all the others also have have their literature.’

The non-negated converb form *kwaz* occurs as a particle (‘even’), cf. 13.2.1.

12.2.3.3. *galaz* ‘with’ is the converb of the locative copula *gala* ‘be behind’ (cf. 17.6.3.). The argument is in the Postessive case. Thus, *X-q^h galaz* literally means something like ‘being behind/with X’. *Galaz* expresses accompaniment, not instrument.

- (564) a. *I kolkhoz-r-a lezgi-jr.i-q^h galaz azerbajžan-r.i,*
 this kolkhoz-PL-INESS Lezgian-PL-POESS with Azerbaijan-PL(ERG)
ermeni-jr.i stxawil.e-ldi zehmet čugwa-zwa. (Du68,2:113)
 Armenian-PL(ERG) fraternity-SRDIR work pull-IMPF
 ‘Azerbaijanis and Armenians work fraternally together with the Lezgians in these collective farms.’
- b. *Ča-z kwe-q^h galaz k'wal-er degišar-iz k'an-zawa.*
 we-DAT [you.all-POESS with house-PL change-INF] want-IMPF
 ‘We want to exchange apartments with you-all.’ (Q81:26)

The argument can also be in the Absolutive case. *X galaz* literally means something like 'X being behind/with...'.¹

- (565) *K'wal.i-n pol.di-n k'anik wiči-n šarag-ar galaz*
 house-GEN floor-GEN below self-GEN young-PL with
dide q'if jašamiš že-zwa-j. (A90:16)
 mother mouse living be-IMPF-PST

'Below the floor of the house lived mother mouse with her young mice (lit. her young mice being with (her)).'

The negated form *galačiz* (plus Absolutive argument) expresses the notion 'without'.²

- (566) a. *Čna ferma.d-a wun galačiz wuč-na-t'a kilig-a!*
 [we:ERG farm-INESS you:ABS without what.do-AOR-CND] look-IMPV
 'Look what we did on the farm without you.' (R66:14)
- b. *C'ud-r.a-ldi insan-ar čünüx-na wa ja gel galačiz*
 ten-PL-SRDIR human-PL steal-AOR and or trace without
kwaš-na. (Ko89,9,17:3)
 disappear-AOR

'Dozens of people were kidnapped or disappeared without a trace.'

12.2.3.4. *gwaz* 'with' is the converb of the locative copula *gwa* 'be at' (cf. 17.6.2.). It takes an Absolutive argument.

- (567) a. *Gada gürč-äj sa qizil.di-n k'ek gwaz xta-na.* (AM87:23)
 boy hunt-INEL one gold-GEN rooster with return
 'The boy returned from hunting with a golden rooster.'
- b. *VIII asir.d-a lezgi čil-er.a-l arab-ar tur-ni zur*
 8 century-INESS Lezgian land-PL-SRESS Arab-PL sword-and violence
gwaz ata-na. (K89,7:15)
 with come-AOR
 'In the 8th century, the Arabs came to the Lezgian lands with sword and violence.'
- c. *Zul.u wiči-n cif-er, čig-er, meq'-er gwaz*
 autumn(ERG) self-GEN cloud-PL drizzle-PL cold-PL with
dağlux xür-er-a ağawal-zawa-j. (N88:72)
 mountainous village-PL-INESS reign-IMPF-PST
 'Fall was reigning in the mountain villages with its clouds, drizzles, and cold weather.'

The negated form *gwačiz* expresses the notion ‘without’.

- (568) a. *Ajna-jar gwačiz za-waj k'el-iz xa-na-č*. (M79:6)
 glass-PL without I-ADEL read-INF can-AOR-NEG
 ‘Without glasses I could not read.’
- b. *Balk'an gwačiz ada-waj q^hfi-z že-da-č exir*. (J89:25)
 horse without he-ADEL [return-INF] can-FUT-NEG PT
 ‘Without a horse he cannot go back, after all.’

12.2.4. Synchronically non-derived postpositions

12.2.4.1. *žejri/bašqa* ‘besides, except for’. These two synonymous postpositions take a Superrelative argument.

- (569) a. *Či req^h ağur-di xu-n.i-laj žejri,*
 we:GEN way [difficult-SBST.SG be-MSD-SREL] besides
xatalu-di-ni ja. (M83:73)
 dangerous-SBST.SG-also COP
 ‘Besides being difficult, our way is dangerous, too.’
- b. *Ana gila sa dišehli-jr.i-laj žejri kas-ni ama-č-ir*. (S88:40)
 there now only woman-PL-SREL besides person-also be.still-NEG-PST
 ‘There was nobody left there anymore now except for (only) the women.’

12.2.4.2. *haqindaj/baradaj* ‘about, concerning’. These two synonymous postpositions take a Genitive argument.

- (570) a. *Nazlu.di wiči-n buba.di-n haqindaj fikir-na*. (R66:15)
 Nazlu(ERG) self-GEN father-GEN about think-AOR
 ‘Nazlu thought about her father.’
- b. *I kar.di-n haqindaj čna kü škola.di-z-ni xabar*
 this matter-GEN about we:ERG you.all:GEN school-DAT-also news
gu-da. (J84:55)
 give-FUT
 ‘We will also inform your school about this matter.’

12.2.4.3. *aksi* ‘against’ takes a Dative argument, its synonym *aksina* (or *aksiniz*) takes a Genitive argument. *Aksi* and *aksina* are also used as adverbs.

- (571) a. *Student-r.i pačah.di-z aksi šudurğa-jr-a iştirak-zawa*.
 student-PL(ERG) czar-DAT against riot-PL-INCESS participate-IMPF
 ‘The students are participating in the riots against the czar.’
 (L86,3:25)

- b. *Insan-ar haq^hsuz insan-r.i-z aksi eqeč'-zawa.* (S88:10)
 human-PL unjust human-PL-DAT against go.out-IMPF

'The people are going out against unjust people.'

- (572) a. *Jarab Isa.di Ali.di-n aksina hičtin fend*
 PT Isa(ERG) Ali-GEN against what.kind trick
qurmiš-na-t'a? (J89:24)
 build-AOR-CND

'What kind of trick did Isa do against Ali?'

- b. *Hukumat.di ekstremist-r.i-n aksina q'et'ni*
 government(ERG) extremist-PL-GEN against decisive
serenžem-ar q'abul-da. (Ko89,9,17:3)
 step-PL take-FUT

'The government will take decisive steps against the extremists.'

12.2.4.4. *t'uz* 'along' takes an argument in the Elative case of any localization.

- (573) a. *küče.d-aj t'uz fi-zwa-j dišehli* (S88:6)
 [street-INEL along go-IMPF-PTP] woman

'a woman who is walking along the street'

- b. *Araba-jar qwan-er awa-j kakur req'-äj t'uz fe-na.* (S88:5)
 cart-PL [stone-PL be.in-PTP] curved road-INEL along go-AOR

'The carts went along a stony curved road.'

- c. *Čačal čil.e-laj t'uz jarği xa-na.* (AM87:13)
 jackal ground-SREL along long become-AOR

'The jackal stretched out on the ground.'

12.2.4.5. *q'wan* 'up to, as far as' often takes a Superessive argument.

- (574) a. *Req^h čara že-da-j čka.da-l q'wan zun wa-z*
 [way separate become-FUT-PTP] place-SRESS up.to I:ABS you-DAT
juldaš že-da. (R66:14)
 companion be-FUT

'I will be your companion up to the place where the road divides.'

- b. *Mirg hele juq'w.a-l q'wan ülen.d-a ak'a-nwa.* (X89:11)
 deer already middle-SRESS up.to swamp-INNESS stick-PRF

'The deer is already stuck in the swamp up to the middle (of its body).'

Q'wan can also have the temporal sense 'until'.

- (575) *Či buba.di dāwe.di-n sifte jīq̄.a-laj bašlamiš-na*
 we:GEN father(ERG) [war-GEN first day-SREL begin-AOC]
exir.da-l q'wan ženg č'ugu-na. (S88:164)
 end-SRESS until fight pull-AOR
 'Our father fought from the first day of the war until the end.'

The argument of *q'wan* can also be in other local cases, e.g. the Dative in (576) or the Adessive in (577). Note that the Adessive in (577) is the case required by the verb *agaq'un* 'reach' (cf. 15.3.3.1.). This indicates that perhaps *q'wan* should be regarded as a kind of emphatic particle rather than as a postposition that governs an argument.

- (576) *Zun-ni q̄we-da Biliž.di-z q'wan.* (G54:186)
 I:ABS-also come-FUT Biliž-DAT up.to
 'I, too, will come all the way to Biliž.'
- (577) *Poezd šeher.di-w q'wan agaq'na.* (Mejlanova 1983b:311)
 train town-ADESS up.to reach-AOR
 'The train went as far as the town.'

There is clearly a close connection between the meaning 'up to, as far as' of *q'wan* and its meaning 'as much as' (cf. 24.2.3.).

12.2.4.6. *q̄arši* 'opposite, vis-à-vis, toward' takes a Dative argument.

- (578) *Zi gada.di-n rik'e wa-z q̄arši mūhūbbat xu-raj.*
 I:GEN boy-GEN heart-INESS you-DAT opposite love be-OPT
 'May there be love in my son's heart toward you.' (R66:18)

Chapter 13

Numerals and particles

13.1. Numerals

13.1.1. Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are shown in (579). The *-d* that is common to all of them is a petrified old gender marker.

(579) 1	<i>sad, sa</i>
2	<i>q'wed, q'we</i>
3	<i>pud</i>
4	<i>q'ud</i>
5	<i>wad</i>
6	<i>rugud</i>
7	<i>irid</i>
8	<i>müžüd</i>
9	<i>k'üd</i>
10	<i>c'ud</i>

The forms without *-d* of the numerals '1' and '2' are used when the numeral is used attributively in a noun phrase, e.g. *sa tar* 'one tree', *q'we xür* 'two villages'. The forms with *-d* are used when the numeral stands alone, i.e. in counting or when it is substantivized. An example of anaphoric substantivization of *sad* is given in (580):

(580) *Za-z q'we nük' aku-na. Sad tar.ce-l acuq'-nawa-j,*
I-DAT two bird see-AOR one tree-SRESS sit-PRF-PST

sada luw gu-zwa-j.
one(ERG) wing-IMPF-PST give-IMPF-PST

'I saw two birds. One was sitting on a tree, one was flying.'

The numeral *sa* 'one' is often used like an indefinite article, but it is by no means obligatory in this function, e.g.

(581) *Žiraf.di qib sa q'aq'an tar.ci-n xil.e-l ecig-na.*
giraffe(ERG) frog one high tree-GEN twig-SRESS put-AOR

'The giraffe put the frog on a twig of a tall tree.' (K86,3:2)

The cardinal numerals from 11 to 19 consist of '10' + '1, 2, 3, etc.', with certain changes in the form of '10'. These numerals are all stressed on the first syllable.

(582)	11	<i>c'úsad</i>	
	12	<i>c'íq'wed</i>	
	13	<i>c'ípud</i>	
	14	<i>c'úq'ud</i>	
	15	<i>c'úwad</i>	
	16	<i>c'úrugud</i>	
	17	<i>c'érid</i>	
	18	<i>c'éműžüd</i>	
	19	<i>c'ék'üd</i>	

The cardinals from 20 to 100 (except for 40) are based on a vigesimal system, i.e. *qad* '20' is a base, preceded by the multiplier. The word for 40 is not synchronically transparent (but cf. Šaumjan 1938).

(583)	20	<i>qad</i>	
	40	<i>jaxc'ur</i>	
	60	<i>pudqad</i>	(=3 × 20)
	80	<i>q'udqad</i>	(=4 × 20)

The numbers between these are formed by coordinating them with the numbers from 1 to 19:

(584)	41	<i>jaxc'ur-ni sa(d)</i>	(=40 + 1)
	42	<i>jaxc'ur-ni q'we(d)</i>	(=40 + 2)
	43	<i>jaxc'ur-ni pud</i>	(=40 + 3)

	50	<i>jaxc'ur-ni c'ud</i>	(=40 + 10)
	51	<i>jaxc'ur-ni c'usad</i>	(=40 + 11)

	59	<i>jaxc'ur-ni c'ek'üd</i>	(=40 + 19)

When the morpheme *qad* '20' is followed by *-ni* in this construction, its final *-d* is assimilated to the following *n*:

(585)	24	<i>qan-ni q'ud</i>	(=20 + 4)
	65	<i>pudqan-ni wad</i>	(=3 × 20 + 5)
	86	<i>q'udqan-ni rugud</i>	(=4 × 20 + 6)

There are traditional numerals for 100 and 1000, but above that there are only loans from Russian.

(586)	100	<i>wiš</i>	
	200	<i>q'we wiš</i>	(=2 × 100), etc.
	1 000	<i>ağzur</i>	
	2 000	<i>q'we ağzur</i>	(=2 × 1000), etc.
	1 000 000	<i>million</i>	
	1 000 000 000	<i>milliard</i>	
	etc.		

In complex numerals, addition is always signaled by *-ni* 'and':

- (587) 3895 *puđ ađzur-ni müžüđ wiš-ni q'udđan-ni c'uwad*
 3 1000-and 8 100-and 80-and 15
 (= 3 x 1000 + 8 x 100 + 4 x 20 + 15)

When the cardinal numbers are used attributively, the counted noun is always singular, e.g. *c'ud nüķ* 'ten birds' (**c'ud nüķ'er*).

However, according to Gadžiev (1954:155), the counted noun may be in the plural when one cardinal numeral modifies several nouns that denote different things, e.g.

- (588) *wiš-ni jaxc'ur-ni c'ud k'el-er wa bac'i-jar.*
 100-and 40-and 10 lamb-PL and kid-PL
 'a hundred and fifty lambs and kids'

13.1.2. Substantivized cardinal numerals

All cardinal numbers can be used either attributively or independently, just like other modifying expressions. When used independently, the last component of the numeral is inflected for case and even number, much like substantivized adjectives and demonstratives. Numerals ending in *-d* follow the case inflection pattern of substantivized adjectives (cf. 8.1.1.), except that in the singular they do not add a suffix *-da*, but only a suffix *-a*. Synchronically this is a kind of morphological haplology, but diachronically, the final *-d* of these numerals is apparently the substantivizing *-d*, which was extended (in all numerals except 1 and 2) also to the attributive forms.

- (589) Abs. Sg. *wad* 'five' Pl. *wád-bur*
 Erg. *wad-a* *wád-bur-u*
 Gen. *wád-a-n* *wád-bur-u-n*
 Dat. *wád-a-z* *wád-bur-u-z*
 Adess. *wád-a-w* *wád-bur-u-w*
 etc.

The numeral *wiš* '100' has the forms Erg. *wiš-é*, Gen. *wiš-é-n*, etc.

The substantivized numerals are also used in referring to the numbers themselves, e.g. to school grades. They can have plural forms (ending in unstressed *-ar*):

- (590) a. *Qe za wa-z q'wed ecig-da.* (K85,6:6)
 today I:ERG you-DAT two put-FUT
 'Today I will give you a two (school grade).'
- b. *Za-q^h «q'ud-r.i-laj» gzaf «wad-ar» awa.* (K85,7:4)
 I-POESS four-PL-SREL many five-PL be
 'I have more fives than fours.'

The substantivized numerals are used when a numeral modifies a personal pronoun, which it must follow.

- (591) a. *abur.u-n q'wed.a-n kefi-jar* (D57:134)
 they-GEN two-GEN mood-PL
 'the moods of the two of them'
- b. *Čna q'wed.a-ni xipeq^hanwil.i-n sovhoz.d-a k'walax-zawa.*
 we:ERG two(ERG)-also sheep.breeding-GEN sovkhov-INESS work-IMPF
 'The two of us are working in a sheep-breeding sovkhov.' (Š83:98)
- c. *Či q'wed.a-n q'ep'-er.a-l-ni lišan-ar awu-na.* (S88:154)
 we:GEN two-GEN cradle-PL-SRESS sign-PL make-AOR
 'They made signs on both our cradles. (=We got engaged as babies.)'

The numerals with the Plural substantivizing suffix *-bur* are used, according to Gajdarov (1987:62), to refer to quantifying nouns of the type mentioned in 14.2.2. Example (592a) contrasts with (592b).

- (592) a. *Šumud sigaret č'ugu-na? — Wad.*
 how.many cigarette pull-AOR five
 'How many cigarettes did you smoke? — Five.'
- b. *Šumud pačka sigaret qaču-na? — Wad-bur.*
 how.many package cigarette buy-AOR five-SBST.PL
 'How many packages of cigarettes did you buy? — Five (i.e. packages).'

13.1.3. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by means of the word *lahaj* following the independent form of the numeral, e.g.

- (593) *sad lahaj* 'first'
q'wed lahaj 'second'
k'üd lahaj 'ninth'
wiš lahaj 'one hundredth'
ağzur-ni k'üd wiš-ni q'udqan-ni c'ipud lahaj '1993rd'
 etc.

The ordinal marker *lahaj* is the Aorist participle of *luhun* 'say', so a phrase like *q'ud lahaj nük* 'the fourth bird' literally means something like 'the bird about which four was said'.

Since they are based on a participial form, ordinal numerals can be substantivized in the same way as participles, e.g. *Wad lahajdi hatna*. 'The fifth one came in.'

13.1.4. Fractions

In fractions, the denominator is in the Inelative case and immediately precedes the numerator, e.g.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------|---------------------|-----------------------------|------|
| (594) | 3/5 | <i>wadaj pud</i> | (lit. 'three out of five') | |
| | 4/10 | <i>c'udaj q'ud</i> | (lit. 'four out of ten') | |
| | 7/8 | <i>müžudaj irid</i> | (lit. 'seven out of eight') | etc. |

13.1.5. Inclusive numerals

When a noun phrase containing a cardinal numeral is followed by *-ni* 'and, too', the meaning 'both' or 'all' may result, e.g.

- (595) a. *Q'we pat-a-ni gürčeg k'wal-er awa.* (K84,2:17)
 two side-INESS-also beautiful house-PL be.in
 'On both sides there are beautiful houses.'

- b. *Q'we žehil-ni biblioteka.di-z haŝ-na.* (R66:13)
 two youth-also library-DAT enter-AOR
 'Both young men entered the library.'

- (596) *Pud mašin-ni c'irg.in-a awa-z šeher.di-z*
 three car-also [convoy-INESS be.in-IMC] town-DAT
req'-e hat-na. (S88:156)
 way-INESS get-AOR
 'All three cars set out toward the town in a convoy.'

This construction replaces *wiri* 'all'. Combinations of *wiri* + cardinal numeral are not felicitous. Like *wiri* (11.7.1.), inclusive numerals can float:

- (597) *Abur pud-ni q'hüre-na.* (S88:9)
 they three-also laugh-AOR
 'They laughed all three.'

13.1.6. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by means of the unstressed suffix *-ra* attached to the independent form of the corresponding cardinal, e.g.

- | | | |
|-------|-------------------------|-------------------|
| (598) | <i>sád-ra</i> | 'once' |
| | <i>q'wéd-ra</i> | 'twice' |
| | <i>q'úd-ra</i> | 'four times' |
| | <i>c'erid-ra</i> | 'seventeen times' |
| | <i>jaxc'ur-ra</i> | 'forty times' |
| | <i>pudqan-ni sad-ra</i> | 'sixty-one times' |
| | <i>wiš-ra</i> | 'a hundred times' |
| | <i>sa šumud-ra</i> | 'several times' |

13.1.7. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplication. The stress is on the first instance of the numeral.

- (599) *sá-sa(d)* 'one each'
q'wé-q'we(d) 'two each'
púd-pud 'three each'
c'uwad-c'uwad 'fifteen each', etc.

In complex numerals, only the last component is reduplicated (Gajdarov 1987:63).

- (600) *wiš-ni ħan-ni wad-wad* '125 each'
q'ud wiš-ni c'urugud-c'urugud '416 each'

If the last component is *wiš* '100', *ağzur* '1000', or *million/milliard*, the component that precedes it is reduplicated.

- (601) *ağzur-ni q'ud-q'ud wiš* '1400 each'
ħan-ni irid-irid million '27 000 000 each'

Examples for the use of distributive numerals:

- (602) a. *Ča-z q'we=q'we ič ħa-na.* (G54:155)
 we-DAT two=two apple become-AOR
 'We received two apples each.'
- b. *Fejzillah sa=sa xürünwi.di-n wil-er.i-z kilig-na.* (HQ89:8)
 Fejzillah one=one villager-GEN eye-PL-DAT look-AOR
 'Fejzillah looked into the eyes of the villagers, one (villager) at a time.'
- c. *Emirmet.a muhman-ar acuq'ar-na. Axpa sa=sada-waj*
 Emirmet(ERG) guest-PL make.sit-AOR then one=one-ADEL
žuzun-ar awu-na. (Q81:112)
 question-PL do-AOR
 'Emirmet made the guests sit down. Then he asked them questions, one (guest) at a time.'

13.1.8. Approximate numeral expressions

Approximate large numbers ('hundreds, thousands of...') are expressed by the plural form of the numeral in the Superdirective case, placed before the counted noun. In this construction the counted noun is in the plural form.

- (603) a. *Lezgi-jr.i-n fol'klor c'ud-r.a-ldi žanr-ajr.i-kaj ibarat tir.*
 Lezgian-PL-GEN folklore ten-PL-SRDIR genre-PL-SBEL consisting COP:PST
 'Lezgian folklore consisted of dozens (lit. tens) of genres.' (A55:11)

- b. *Žurnal.d-a c'ud-r.a-ldi lezgi šair-r.i wa*
journal-INNESS ten-PL-SRDIR Lezgian poet-PL(ERG) and
pisatel-r.i ištirak-zawa. (Šejxov 1983b:112)
writer-PL(ERG) participate-IMPF

'Dozens of Lezgian poets and writers are participating in the journal.'

Approximate small numbers are expressed by *sa* '1' before the numeral (cf. 604) or two minimally different numerals are placed next to each other (cf. 605, 604a).

- (604) a. *Sa wad=rugud jis alat-na.* (X89:70)
one five=six year pass-AOR

'About five or six years went by.'

- b. *sa wad deq'iq'a.di-laj* (M83:31)
one five minute-SREL

'about five minutes later'

- (605) *Širinbala.di-n q'wed=pud juldaš* (S88:58)
Širinbala-GEN two=three friend

'a couple of Širinbala's friends'

The counted noun is also in the Plural in special constructions that mean 'up to' (involving the Aorist converb of *agaq'un* 'reach') and 'over, more than' (involving the postposition *winiz*, 12.2.1.3.).

- (606) *Ina 30 kas.di-w agaq'-na insan-r.i k'walax-zawa.*
here 30 person-ADESS reach-AOC person-PL(ERG) work-IMPF

'Up to thirty people work here.' (DD71,6:11)

- (607) *Wad ağzur-da-laj winiz insan-r.i ištirak awu-r*
[five thousand-SBST.SG-SREL over person-PL(ERG) participation do-PTP]

marš q'il-e fe-na. (Ko89,9,17:3)
march head-INNESS go-AOR

'A march took place in which over five thousand people participated.'

13.2. Focus particles

Native focus particles (*-ni*, *kwaz*, *šajit'ani*, *q'wanni*) generally follow the focused constituent, borrowed focus particles (*hatta*, *anžax*, *illaki*, *tek*) precede it. An exception is the native *sa* 'only', and also *mad* 'still'.

13.2.1. Additive focus particles

The most important additive focus marker, the suffix *-ni* 'and, also, even', is treated in 18.1.2. To make the meaning 'even' more explicit, *kwaz* (originally converb of *kwa* 'be under/among') is placed after the focused constituent in addition to the suffix *-ni*.

- (608) a. *Či Qabustan=ba.di-kaj sew-er-iz-ni kwaz kič'e-da!*
 we:GEN Qabustan=ba-SBEL bear-PL-DAT-also even afraid-FUT
 'Even bears are afraid of our Qabustan-ba!' (H77:7)
- b. *Sa šumud jis.a-n waxt.und-a dağustanwi-jar Stambul.d-a,*
 one some year-GEN time-INESS Daghestanian-PL Istanbul-INESS
Kair.d-a, Marokko.d-a wa Indija.d-a-ni kwaz ša-na.
 Cairo-INESS Morocco-INESS and India-INESS-also even be-AOR
 'For a couple of years the Daghestanians were in Istanbul, Cairo, Morocco, and even India.' (DD71,3:19)

Another particle that means 'even' is *hatta* (borrowed ultimately from Arabic *hattaa* 'until; even'). This is placed before the focused constituent in addition to the suffix *-ni*:

- (609) a. *Däwe.di, hatta kino-jr-aj akwa-da-j-la-ni, insan-r.i-n*
 war(ERG) even [cinema-PL-INEL see-FUT-PTP-TEMP]-also human-PL-GEN
rik'er-a xir-er c'iji q'hiji-zwa. (K86,2:8)
 heart-PL-INESS wound-PL new do:REPET-IMPF
 'War, even when one sees it in the movies, renews the wounds in people's hearts.'
- b. *I waqia hatta elektronno=vyčislitel'nyj mašin.di-waj-ni*
 this event [even electronic=computational machine-ADEL-also
q'at'u-z te-že-da-j sekund-r.i-n paj-ar-a q'il-e
 [perceive-INF] NEG-be-FUT-PTP] second-PL-GEN part-PL-INESS head-INESS
fe-na. (N88:75)
 go-AOR
 'This event took place within fractions of seconds that not even a computer can perceive.'

A particularizing additive focus particle is *illaki* ‘especially’, placed before the focused constituent.

- (610) *Tamašači-jr.i-z illaki Alfija.di luhu-zwa-j mani-jar*
 spectator-PL-DAT especially [Alfija(ERG) say-IMPF-PTP] song-PL
xuš že-zwa.
 pleasant be-IMPF

‘The audience likes especially the songs that Alfija sings.’ (K86,3:1)

13.2.2. Restrictive focus particles

‘Only’ is expressed by *sa* (‘one’), *tek* (‘single, only, odd’, borrowed ultimately from Persian), or *tek sa*, placed before the focused constituent.

- (611) *Sa za-z wa?, či wiri xür.ü-n-bur.u-z či-da.* (S88:46)
 only I-DAT not we:GEN all village-GEN-SBST.PL-DAT know-FUT

‘Not only I, everyone in our village knows (it).’

- (612) a. *Isabeg.a tek c’ud jiqa-laj meq’her awu-n q’et’-na.* (S88:27)
 Isabeg(ERG) [only ten day-SREL wedding do-MSD] decide-AOR

‘Isabeg decided to hold the wedding only ten days later.’

- b. *Tek sa sefer.d-a aku-r-la hamiša rik’e-l*
 [[only one time-INESS see-AOP-TEMP] always heart-SRESS

alamuq’-da-j insan-ar že-da. (S77:31)
 stay.on-FUT-PTP] human-PL be-FUT

‘There are people who we always remember when we’ve seen them only once.’

- (613) *I kar.di-n šahid tek sa C’ic’ali řa-na.* (Du85,3:115)
 this deed-GEN witness only only C’ic’ali become-AOR

‘Only C’ic’ali became a witness of this event.’

Another particle that means ‘only’ is *anřax* (borrowed from Turkic), placed before the focused constituent, just like *tek* and *sa*:

- (614) *Zi metleb anřax za-z xürek řu-n ja.* (X89:6)
 I:GEN wish only [[I-DAT food be-MSD] COP

‘My wish is only that I have food.’

Note that (614) is potentially ambiguous; *anřax* could have narrower scope, with the resulting meaning ‘My wish is that only I have food.’

There are two particles meaning 'if only, at least': *šajit'ani* (concessive conditional of *šun* 'be': 'even if it is') and *q'wanni* (cf. *q'wan* 'as much as', see 24.2.3.). Both of them follow the focused constituent.

- (615) a. *Sadra šajit'ani za-z sa šweč'i kùmek ce.* (K84,1:6)
 once if.only I-DAT one little help give:IMPV
 'Give me a little help at least once.'
- b. *Pačah.di-n xatur.d-aj šajit'ani zun qe jif.i-z*
 king-GEN respect-INEL if.only I:ABS today night-DAT
k'wal-e tu-r. (X89:114)
 house-INESS leave-IMPV
 'Let me inside tonight, if only out of respect for the king.'
- (616) a. *Eger kwe-q^h dašwi namus.di-n sa zerre q'wanni*
 [if you.all-POESS mountaineer honor-GEN one particle if.only
ama-t'a, xkaž šu-š zi k'wal.i-z. (L86,3:10)
 be.still-CND] raise ANTIC:IMPV I:GEN house-DAT
 'If you-all have at least a trace of mountaineer dignity left, come up into my house.'
- b. *Za sa qatir q'wanni qacu-na k'an-da.* (Uslar 1896:255)
 [I:ERG one mule if.only buy-AOC] want-FUT
 'I have to buy at least a mule.'

13.2.3. The particles *mad* 'still' and *hele* 'already'

The meaning of the particle *mad* is quite similar to that of German *noch*. When preceding an indefinite noun phrase, *mad* is translated as '(yet) another' or 'else'.

- (617) a. *Sa ara.di-laj za-z mad qüğür-r.i-n k'we xizan žağa-na.*
 one while-SREL I-DAT yet hedgehog-PL-GEN two family find-AOR
 'After some time I found another two families of hedgehogs.'
 (M83:44) (German: ...*noch* zwei Igelfamilien.)
- b. *Ibur-al mad sa ülen halt-na.* (X89:12)
 these-SRESS yet one swamp meet-AOR
 'They encountered yet another swamp.'
- c. *Ferma.da-l mad kas-ni ala-č.* (Ko89,10,18:4)
 farm-SRESS yet person-even be.on-NEG
 'There's nobody else on the farm.'

In other contexts *mad* means 'again', or (negative) 'anymore' (cf. also 12.1.2.7.).

- (618) a. *Za mad gež-da-č* (N88:73)
 I:ERG yet be.late-FUT-NEG
 'I won't be late again/anymore.'
- b. *Ada-waj mad wič xü-z řa-na-č* (AM87:15)
 he-ADEL [yet self keep-INF] can-AOR-NEG
 'He couldn't control himself anymore.'
- c. *Wa?, ne-da-j mad zat'-ni ama-č* (X89:41)
 no eat-FUT-PTP yet thing-even be.left-NEG
 'No, there's nothing more to eat.'

Example (619) shows a fixed expression.

- (619) *wa ik' mad* (e.g. L87,2:75)
 and so yet
 'and so on'

Madni (= *mad* + additive *-ni*) means 'still' or 'even' in comparatives.

- (620) *Šalbuzzdağ q'aq'an ja, amma Šahdağ madni q'aq'an ja.*
 Šalbuzzdağ high COP but Šahdağ still high COP
 'The Šalbuzzdağ mountain is high, but the Šahdağ mountain is higher still.'

- (621) *Č'ulaw jajlux.di ada-n jaxun čin.i-n sefilwal*
 black kerchief(ERG) she-GEN lean face-GEN sadness
madni artux-diz řalur-zawa.j. (DD77,1:12)
 yet more-ADV show-IMPV-PST
 'The black kerchief showed the sadness of her lean face even more.'

Hele 'already' can also be used as a focus particle. It is used both with temporal adverbial focus (cf. 622) and with quantifier focus (cf. 623).

- (622) Temporal adverbial

Jusuf hele naq' ata-na.
 Jusuf already yesterday come-AOR
 'Jusuf already came yesterday.'

- (623) Quantifier

Jusufa-q^h hele wad ktab řa-nwa.
 Jusuf-POESS already five book become-PRF
 'Jusuf already has five books.'

13.3. Discourse particles

Discourse particles express various subtle pragmatic meanings that are hard to render in a language like English which makes little use of discourse particles. In this section, some example sentences are also accompanied by German translations where a German equivalent is available.

Lezgian discourse particles generally occupy a marginal position in the sentence. Most of them are sentence-final (after the finite verb), but a few are sentence-initial.

The question particles *bes*, *jarab*, *meger*, *žal*, *q'wan*, which are also discourse particles, are treated in 23.5.

13.3.1. The particle *man*

This particle is used in Imperative sentences to express a weak exhortation or request.

(624) a. *Televizor agal-a man.* (K86,2:7)
TV close-IMPV PT

'Why don't you switch off the TV?'

b. *Sa max aqhaj-a man.* (K85,7:4)
one fairy.tale tell-IMPV PT

'Please tell [us] a fairy tale.'

In declarative sentences, *man* expresses a conclusion reached on the basis of indirect evidence. It often occurs in conjunction with sentence-initial *ak'* *žajila* 'hence, lit. since it is so'.

(625) *Ak' ža-ji-la, Šafiga Dewlet.a-n ruš ja man.* (N88:80)
so be-AOP-TEMP Šafiga Dewlet-GEN daughter COP PT

'So Šafiga must be Dewlet's daughter.'

Such conclusions sometimes occur in the form of questions expecting a positive answer:

(626) *Ak' ža-ji-la, gila kwe-qh elektrik.di-n ekw že-da man?*
so be-AOP-TEMP now you.all-POESS electricity-GEN light be-FUT PT

'So now you-all will have electric light?' (J89:22)

In other contexts, *man* means 'after all'.

(627) a. *Gzaf čka-jar aku-n-al zi rik' ala-j.*
[many place-PL see-MSD]-SRESS I:GEN heart be.on-PST

Žehil tir man...
young COP:PST PT

'I liked seeing many places. After all, I was young...' (HQ89:16)

- b. *Bujruğ bujruğ ja man!* (S88:156)
 order order COP PT
 'After all, orders are orders!'

13.3.2. The particle *xi*

The meaning of *xi* is very similar to that of German *doch*.

- (628) a. *Buba.di-waj wun guž.una-ldi ğül.ü-z gu-z*
 father-ADEL [you:ABS force-SRDIR husband-DAT give-INF]
že-da-č xi. (N88:77)
 can-FUT-NEG PT
 'Your father cannot marry you off forcibly.'
 (German: 'Dein Vater kann dich *doch* nicht gewaltsam
 verheiraten.')
- b. *Za-z hajwan-r.i hik' ikram iji-zwa-t'a, wa-z aku-na xi!*
 [I-DAT animal-PL(ERG) how bowing do-IMPFCND] you-DAT see-AOR PT
 'You saw how the animals are bowing to me.' (AM87:15)
 (German: 'Du hast *doch* gesehen, wie sich die Tiere vor mir
 verbeugen.')
- c. *Wun ğweč'i ajal tuš xi.* (H77:8)
 you:ABS small child COP:NEG PT
 'You are not a small child.'
 (German: 'Du bist *doch* kein kleines Kind.')

The particle *xi* is also used as an emphasizer in a special construction where the finite verb is repeated after *xi*:

- (629) *Dağwi lam hal-iz alağ^h-na, amma am*
 mountaineer [donkey chase-INF] endeavor-AOR but it
juza-na-č xi, juza-na-č. (M83:33)
 move-AOR-NEG PT move-AOR-NEG
 'The mountaineer tried to chase the donkey, but it simply wouldn't
 budge.'

For other, more syntactic functions of *xi*, see 20.7. and 13.5.1.

13.3.3. The particle *kwan*

Like *man*, *kwan* is used in Imperatives to soften the tone of the utterance.

- (630) *Pul hik' čünüx-na-t'a sadra sühbet aja kwan.* (S83:63)
 [money how steal-AOR-CND] once conversation do:IMPV PT
 'Why don't you tell us how the money got stolen.'
 (German: 'Erzähl *doch mal*, wie das Geld gestohlen wurde.')

13.3.4. The particle *t'un*

This particle is also used in Imperative sentences, but it rather reinforces the utterance.

- (631) a. *Za-z gaf luhu-da-j mumkinwal ce t'un!* (Du61,4:71)
 I-DAT [word say-FUT-PTP] possibility give:IMPV PT
 'Give me a chance to say something!'
- b. *Wuna i hajasuz ruš.a-z kilig-a t'un!* (R66:6)
 you:ERG this shameless girl-DAT look-IMPV PT
 'Just look at this shameless girl.'

13.3.5. The particle *ha*

This particle expresses surprise:

- (632) *Alamat.di-n kar ja, siw-e q'ener-ar-ni awa-z*
 wonder-GEN thing COP [mouth-INESS bridle-PL-even be-IMC]
balk'an.di weq'er-ni žaq'wa-zwa ha! (J89:21)
 horse(ERG) grass-PL-also chew-IMPV PT
 'It's an amazing thing, even with the bridles in [its] mouth, the horse is also chewing the grass!'

In Imperative and Prohibitive sentences, *ha* has a reinforcing function.

- (633) *Wun a m t-aku-na xkwe-mir ha.* (TG66:96)
 you:ABS [he NEG-see-AOC] return-PROHIB PT
 'Don't come back without having seen him.'

13.3.6. The particle *q'wan*

When *q'wan* follows a declarative sentence, it means 'it turned out'.

- (634) a. *Za im či pačah ja luhu-zwa-j, im čaqal ja q'wan.*
 I:ERG [this we:GEN king COP] say-IMPV-PST this jackal COP PT
 'I thought this was our king, (but it turns out) this is a jackal.'
 (AM87:16)
- b. *Muhman.di wič.i-n t'war q'u-na. Am lezgi-jr.i-n*
 guest(ERG) self-GEN name hold-AOR he [Lezgian-PL-GEN]
t'war=wan awa-j Kasbuba tir q'wan! (X89:28)
 renown be-PTP] Kasbuba COP:PST PT
 'The guest told his name. (It turned out that) he was Kasbuba, who was famous among the Lezgians!'

See example (814) for the use of *q'wan* in the formulaic beginning of a fairy tale.

13.3.7. The particle *xup'*

This particle is used sentence-initially in exclamations and translates as 'how...!'

- (635) *Xup' q^hsan tir, Širinbala, wun ina, dağ-lar-a*
 PT good COP:PST Širinbala [you:ABS here mountain-PL-INESS
awa-j-t'a. (S88:36)
 be-PST-CND]
 'How good would it be, Širinbala, if you were here, in the mountains.'

13.3.8. The particle *sadra*

This particle is used with Imperatives and has much the same function as *t'un* and *ha*. In (636) it even cooccurs with *ha*. *Sadra* literally means 'once' (13.1.6.) (cf. German *mal*, short for *einmal* 'once').

- (636) *Hiq'wan q^hsan-diz k'walax-zawa-t'a kilig sadra ha.*
 [how.much good-ADV work-IMPV-CND] look(IMPV) PT PT
 'Just look how well she is working.' (K84,4:11)
 (German: 'Schau *mal*, wie gut sie arbeitet.')

In contrast to the other particles of this section, *sadra* normally occurs sentence-internally, reflecting its origin as an adverb (see also examples (630), (1197), (1198c)).

13.3.9. The particle *ša*

This sentence-initial particle is used in Imperative and Hortative sentences. It is of course originally the same word as the Imperative of *atun* 'come', *ša* (9.3.1.3.).

- (637) a. *Ša q^hu-q^h wuna!* (X89:31)
 PT drink-IMPV you:ERG
 'Come on, drink!'
 b. *Ša čun ina dulanmiš že-n.* (M83:32)
 PT we:ABS here living be-HORT
 'Let us live here.'

13.4. The negative particle *wa?*

As has been noted in 9.3.5., verbs are negated by the negative suffix *-č* or by the negative prefix *tA-*. Such verbal negation is the normal sentence negation in Lezgian, e.g.

- (638) a. *Xürünwi-jr.i ada-waj meslät-ar ħaču-zwa.* (HQ89:14)
villager-PL(ERG) he-ADEL advice-PL take-IMPF

'The villagers take advice from him.'

- b. *Xürünwi-jr.i ada-waj meslät-ar ħaču-zwa-č.*
villager-PL(ERG) he-ADEL advice-PL take-IMPF-NEG

'The villagers do not take advice from him.'

But when a constituent that is in contrastive focus is negated, the negative particle *wa?* is postposed after the constituent. (This particle also serves as a negative pro-sentence in answers to polar questions, cf. 23.1.5.) The contrasting constituent is usually also present in the sentence.

- (639) a. *Am wa-laj-ni za-laj aslu k'walax ja,*
that:ABS you-SREL-and I-SREL depending thing COP

Zerli.di-laj wa? (S88:171)
Zerli-SREL not

'That is a matter that depends on you and me, not on Zerli.'

- b. *Za har-da sa ttar wa?, q'we ttar ak'ur-un*
I:ERG [every-SBST.SG(ERG) one tree not two tree plant-MSD]
teklif-zawa. (Du61,4:70)
propose-IMPF

'I propose that everyone plant not one, (but) two trees.'

- c. *Ġweč'i Šarwili jis-ar.a-ldi wa?, jič-ar.a-ldi wa?*
little Šarwili year-PL-SRDIR not day-PL-SRDIR not

sät-er.a-ldi č'exi že-zwa-j. (X89:29)
hour-PL-SRDIR big become-IMPF-PST

'Little Šarwili grew not by years, not by days, (but) by hours.'

- d. *Düz ja, rik' t'ar že-da. Amma zi rik' wa?*
correct COP heart hurt be-FUT but I:GEN heart not

wi rik'. (K87,2:14)
you:GEN heart

'Right, the heart hurts. But not my heart, your heart.'

When a focused constituent is negated but the contrasting constituent is not present, verbal negation is used. In (640), the context makes it clear that the addressees were indeed invited, but also for some other reason.

- (640) *Čna kwe-z in iz anžax čaj q^hwa-z teklif-nawa-č.* (L86,3:23)
 we:ERG you.all-DAT here only [tea drink-INF] invite-PRF-NEG
 'We have not invited you-all here only to drink tea.'

The following examples are similar in that the verbal negation affects not the verb but another constituent.

- (641) a. *Kazbegov.a-z Tezetdin.a-n barak sadlahana žağa-na-č-ir.*
 Kazbegov-DAT Tezetdin-GEN hut immediately find-AOR-NEG-PST
 'Kazbegov did not find Tezetdin's hut immediately. [But he found it later.]' (L86,3:20)
- b. *Wun tars čir t-awu-na sadra q'wanni*
 you:ABS [lesson learn NEG-do-AOC] once even
škola.di-z qwe-da-č. (A90:13)
 school-DAT come-FUT-NEG
 'You never come to school without having learned your lesson.'

The substantivized participle construction, which sometimes marks focus (cf. 19.3.2.), may be used for negating focused constituents, as in (642). However, as examples like (640)-(641) show, this is not obligatory.

- (642) *Ada ixtilat hawaja kud-nawa-j-di tuš.* (L86,3:17)
 he(ERG) conversation in.vain start-PRF-PTP-SBST COP:NEG
 'He started the conversation not without reason.'

13.5. Other particles

13.5.1. The particle *xi* in degree consecutive constructions

Degree consecutive constructions consist of two sentences, the first of which contains a distal demonstrative degree expression (*aq'wan* 'so much', *ak* 'so') and is followed by the sentence-final particle *xi*. As in a certain type of complement clause (cf. 20.7.), *xi* appears to correspond to *that* here. However, *xi* belongs to the first sentence and has no properties of a conjunction. The second sentence of this construction contains the consequence and corresponds to the subordinate *that* clause of the translation.

- (643) a. *Zun aq'wan wa-q^h galaz werdiš xa-na xi*
 I:ABS so.much you-POESS with used get-AOR PT
gila wun fe-ji-la za-z madni zalan že-da. (M79:9)
 [now you:ABS go-AOP-TEMP] I-DAT still heavy be-FUT
 'I have gotten so much used to you that when you leave now it will be harder for me.'

- b. *Gah=gah lak'ab aq'wan mähkem-diz alk'i-zwa-j xi*
 sometimes nickname so.much firm-ADV stick-IMPF-PST PT
insan.di-n xalis t'war kwa&zawa-j. (L87,2:74)
 person-GEN real name get.lost-IMPF-PST
 'Sometimes the nickname stuck so firmly that the real name of the person was lost.'
- c. *Ru& wi&i-n fikir-r.a-l aq'wan ma&gul tir xi*
 girl self-GEN thought-PL-SRESS so.much occupied COP:PST PT
ada-z tar-ar.a-l ala-j jaru i&-er akwa-zwa-ê-ir.
 she-DAT [tree-PL-SRESS be.on-PTP] red apple-PL see-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'The girl was so absorbed in her thoughts that she did not notice the red apples on the trees.' (R66:16)

Often the particle *na luhudi* or *guja* 'as if' is found in the second sentence of the degree consecutive construction (cf. 13.5.2.).

13.5.2. The particles *guja* and *na luhudi* 'as if'

These particles are used in counterfactual comparison and can be translated as 'it is as if'. However, they are not conjunctions like *as if* or Russian *kak budto*, and the sentence in which they are used is not subordinate. *Guja* is illustrated in (644).

- (644) a. *Šalbuz da&.di, hami&a xi&, gila-ni,*
 Šalbuz mountain(ERG) always like now-too
guja Samur dere q&rawul.d-a xü-zwa. (Š83:99)
 as.if Samur valley guard-INESS keep-IMPF
 'Now too, as always, it is as if the Šalbuzda& mountain is guarding the Samur valley.'
- b. *Kalimat.a guja ada-n fikir-ar q'at'a-na.* (DD77,1:12)
 Kalimat(ERG) as.if he-GEN thought-PL understand-AOR
 'Kalimat appeared to understand his thoughts.'

A more colloquial, less bookish variant of *guja* is *na luhudi*. This is a fixed expression and is synchronically best regarded as a single particle. Etymologically, *na luhudi* means 'you would say'. (*Na* is the Ergative case of *wun* 'you', and *luhudi* is the Archaic Future of *luhun* 'say'.)

- (645) *Na luhudi, abur.u-z aku-r-di axwar tir.* (X89:28)
 as if [they-DAT see-AOP-SBST.SG] dream COP:PST
 'It was as if what they had seen was a dream.'

Both *guja* and *na luhudi* are commonly used in the consequence sentence of the degree consecutive construction (13.5.1.).

- (646) *Nasir ada-n wil-er.i-z ak' kilig-zawa-j xi guja Sajida.di-n*
 Nasir she-GEN eye-PL-DAT so look-IMPf-PST PT as.if Sajida-GEN
žawab.di-laj ada-n wiri ümür aslu ja. (N88:77)
 answer-SREL he-GEN all life dependent COP
 'Nasir looked into her eyes in such a way as if all his life depended on Sajida's answer.'
- (647) *Inal aq'wan gzaf insan-ar k'wat' xa-nwa-j xi na*
 here so.much many person-PL gather ANTIC-PRF-PST PT as
luhudi, abur insan-ar wa?, künü.d-aj eqeč'-nawa-j kul ja.
 if they person-PL not [beehive-INEL go.out-PRF-PTP] swarm COP
 'There were so many people gathered here that it was as if they were not people but a swarm of bees that had left their beehive.' (J89:23)

13.5.3. *Saki* 'almost'

This particle precedes the element it modifies, much like the borrowed focus particles.

- (648) a. *Am ecig-un patal majišat.di saki 140 ağzur*
 [it:ABS build-MSD] for business(ERG) almost 140 thousand
manat xarž-na. (Ko89,10,13:1)
 rouble spend-AOR
 'In order to build it, the business spent almost 140 000 roubles.'
- b. *Rahman.a wuč luhu-zwa-t'a Ali.di-z saki wan*
 [Rahman(ERG) what:ABS say-IMPf-CND] Ali-DAT almost sound
qwe-zwa-č-ir. (J89:23)
 come-IMPf-NEG-PST
 'Ali almost didn't hear what Rahman was saying.'

13.5.4. *Jerli* and *esillah* 'at all'

These particles are used with negation and have an emphasizing function.

- (649) *Za jerli q^hwa-da-j-di tuš* (Du68,2:121)
 I:ERG at.all drink-FUT-PTP-SBST COP:NEG
 'I do not drink at all.'
- (650) *A čaw.u-z tabasaran č'al.a-l kxi-zwa-j-bur*
 that time-DAT [Tabasaran language-SRESS write-IMPf-PTP-SBST.PL]
esillah awa-č-ir. (Ko89,10,18:4)
 at.all be.in-NEG-PST
 'At that time there was no one at all writing in Tabasaran.'

13.5.5. *Lap* ‘exactly, right’

This particle is also used as a degree adverb ‘very’ (cf. 12.1.4., 14.5.2.). When it is used before an adverbial expression, it means ‘exactly’.

- (651) a. *K'an-da-t'a, lap paka.di-n jiqa-laj bašlamiš-da za.*
 [want-FUT-CND] right tomorrow-GEN day-SREL start-FUT I:ERG
 ‘If you want, I’ll start working (on the very day of) tomorrow.’
 (R66:12)
- b. *Za daldam lap qe xür.ü-z xutax-un lazim ja.*
 [I:ERG drum right today village-DAT bring.back-MSD] necessary COP
 ‘I have to bring the drum back to our village (on the very day of) today.’ (J89:22)

13.5.6. The vocative particle *ja*

This particle is often used preceding a vocative expression, e.g.

- (652) *Aqwaz, ja juldaš-ar, za-q^h jab akal-a.* (Du61,4:70)
 stop(IMPV) PT comrade-PL I-POESS ear attach-IMPV
 ‘Stop, comrades, listen to me.’

13.6. Interjections

No attempt is made here at a systematic description of Lezgian interjections. The following examples illustrate some possibilities.

- (653) a. *Ah, a m hiq'wan q^hsan insan tir!* (R66:19)
 INTJ he:ABS which good person COP:PST
 ‘Oh, what a good person he was!’
- b. *Ej, giži hajwan, wun hiniz kat-zawa?* (R66:21)
 INTJ crazy animal you:ABS whither run-IMPV
 ‘Hey, crazy animal, where are you running?’
- c. *Wah, a m wun ja-ni, Ali?* (J89:22)
 INTJ it:ABS you:ABS COP-Q Ali
 ‘Oh, is it you, Ali?’
- d. *Pah, a m hiq'wan q^hsan kar že-da!* (J89:23)
 INTJ that:ABS which good thing be-FUT
 ‘Wow, what a good thing that will be!’

(654) a. *Wallah, dust, za-z iq'wan kr-ar ċi-da-ċ-ir.* (J89:26)
INTJ friend I-DAT so.many thing-PL know-FUT-NEG-PST

'Indeed, friend, I didn't know so many things.'

b. *Wun sefih ħa-nwa-ni, waj=babaj!* (DD77,1:12)
you:ABS crazy become-PRF-Q INTJ

'Hey, have you gone crazy???'

(655) *Ma, teklif.di-n bilet ja, q̄a ċu.* (N88:118)
INTJ invitation-GEN ticket COP take(IMPV)

'Here you are, the invitation ticket, take it.'

Chapter 14

The noun phrase and the adjective phrase

In this chapter, sections 14.1.-4. deal with the noun phrase, and section 14.5. describes the adjective phrase.

14.1. General properties of the noun phrase

A noun phrase (NP) consists of either (i) a pronoun (in the strict sense, i.e. a pro-NP), or (ii) a noun head and optional preceding modifiers (quantifiers, demonstratives, adjective phrases, Genitive NPs, relative clauses), or (iii) a nominalized clause, i.e. either a substantivized relative clause (with a substantivized participle as its head) or a noun clause (with a Masdar or a substantivized participle as its head). Examples:

(656) Pronoun:

Zun ata-na.
I:ABS come-AOR

'I came'

(657) Noun head plus preceding modifiers:

Zi ġweč'i wax ata-na.
I:GEN little sister come-AOR

'My little sister came.'

(658) Nominalized clauses:

a. Substantivized relative clause:

Gar.u ġa-ji-di gar.u xutax-da. (TG66:82)
[wind(ERG) bring-AOP-SBST.SG] wind(ERG) carry.away-FUT

'What is brought by the wind is carried away by the wind.'

b. Masdar noun clause:

Ida-z zun aku-n xuš tuš. (M83:19)
this-DAT [I:ABS see-MSD] pleasant COP:NEG

'He does not like seeing me.'

c. Participial noun clause:

Halistan hasätda am ana awa-j-da-n
Halistan immediately [he:ABS there be.in-PTP-SBST.SG]-GEN

ġawur.d-a aq'u-na. (DD71,3:21)
understanding-INESS get-AOR

'Halistan immediately understood that he was there.'

Nominalized clauses have the external syntax of NPs but the internal syntax of clauses (cf. the examples in (658)). They are therefore not discussed in this chapter; see 19.1.2. for substantivized relative clauses, 20.3. for Masdar noun clauses, and 20.4. for participial noun clauses).

Pronouns in the strict sense are first and second person pronouns (*zun*, *wun*, *čun*, *kün*), reflexive pronouns (*žuw*, *wič*, *čeb*), and interrogative pronouns (*wuž*, *wuč*). The other "pronouns" are all substantivized NP modifiers, e.g. *im* 'this one', *am* 'that one, he/she/it' (substantivized forms of *i* 'this', *a* 'that'), *sadni* 'nobody' (substantivized form of *sa-...-ni* 'no', lit. 'even one'). See Ch. 11 for details on pronouns.

Non-pronominal NPs generally have nouns as their head, but the head may also be a substantivized NP modifier: a substantivized adjective, a substantivized quantifier or demonstrative, or a substantivized Genitive NP (cf. 8.1.1.).

For apposition, see 14.3.

Note that the above list of possible nominal modifiers does not include postpositional phrases, NPs in oblique cases, or adverbs. Thus, a noun phrase like 'stories about farm life' needs an additional verb ('written') to make a relative clause:

- (659) *Kolhoz.di-n jašajiš.di-kaj kše-nwa-j rasskaz-ar* (E56:3)
 [kolkhoz-GEN life-SBEL write-PRF-PTP] story-PL
 'stories about collective farm life'

Or an adjective based on a postposition may be used, e.g. *wilikan* 'previous' for *wilik* 'before'.

- (660) *revoljucija.di-laj wilikan ümür*
 revolution-SREL previous life
 'life before the revolution'

Not infrequently the participial form of the copula *tir* is used to create a possible nominal modifier.

- (661) a. *hajwan-r.i-kaj tir max-ar* (Du85,3:114)
 [animal-PL-SBEL COP:PTP] story-PL
 'fairy tales about animals (lit. fairy tales which are about animals)'
 b. *Čexoslovakija.d-aj tir ajal-ar* (K85,7:1)
 [Czechoslovakia-INEL COP:PTP] child-PL
 'children from Czechoslovakia'

However, the rule that postpositional phrases, oblique-case NPs, and adverbs may not be nominal modifiers is now sometimes violated under the influence of Russian.

14.2. Quantifiers

Quantifiers comprise the following classes: (i) cardinal numerals, (ii) partitive phrases, (iii) universal quantifiers (*wiri* 'all', *har sa* 'every'), (iv) scalar quantifiers (*t'imil* 'little', *bäzi* 'a few', *gzaf* 'much, many').

Cardinal numerals are treated in 13.1.1., universal quantifiers in 11.7.1.-2. Here only scalar quantifiers and partitive phrases are described, as well as a special construction of quantifier float in existential sentences.

14.2.1. Scalar quantifiers

The most important scalar quantifiers are listed in (662).

(662) (<i>sa t'imil</i>)	'(a) little, (a) few'
(<i>sa bäzi</i>)	'some, several'
<i>sa šumud</i>	'several'
<i>sa q'adar</i>	'a certain amount'
<i>gzaf</i>	'a lot'
<i>xejlin</i>	'a lot'
<i>iq'wan</i>	'so much, so many'

Scalar quantifiers can be used with singular mass nouns or with plural count nouns.

- (663) a. *sa t'imil waxt* (Du85,3:147)
 one little time
 'a little time'
- b. *xejlin pul* (TG66:344)
 much money
 'a lot of money'
- (664) a. *gzaf insan-ar* (DD85,2:13)
 many human-PL
 'many people'
- b. *iq'wan tup-ar* (K87,1:7)
 so.many cannon-PL
 'so many cannons'
- c. *sa bäzi ajal-ar* (K87,2:6)
 one several child-PL
 'several kids'

The expression *sa šumud* 'some, several' consists of the interrogative pronoun *šumud* 'how many?' (11.5.5.) plus the numeral 'one'. (The regular indefinite pronoun according to the pattern in 11.6.1. would be **sa šumud jat'ani*, but this is not used.) Like the cardinal numerals, *sa šumud* takes singular nouns.

(665) a. *sa šumud ktab* (Du85,3:127)
 one how.many book
 'some books'

b. *Ada sa šumud sefer.d-a Nurbala.di-q^h galaz q'üler-na.*
 she(ERG) one how.many time Nurbala-POESS with dance-AOR
 'She danced with Nurbala several times.' (R66:5)

Scalar quantifiers may take the substantivizing suffix *-bur*:

(666) a. *gzaf-bur*
 many-SBST.PL
 'many'

b. *Abur.u-kaj sa q'adar-bur masterskoj a čux-aj jiq̄.a-laj*
 they-SBEL one several-SBST.PL [workshop open-AOP] day-SREL
iniq^h, sa bāzi-bur-ni i muq'wara aniz
 since one several-SBST.PL-and this recently there
ata-nwa-j-bur ja. (DD71,6:11)
 come-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL COP
 'A number of them (have been working there) since the workshop
 was opened, and some have come there recently.'

Some scalar quantifiers were originally partitive noun phrases (cf. 14.2.2.), e.g. *sa q'adar*, originally 'a number, a quantity' (cf. *bes q'adar* 'sufficient quantity', etc.). However, the fact that *sa q'adar* can be used with the substantivizing suffix *-bur* as in (666b) shows that it has been grammaticized to a determiner-like quantifier.

14.2.2. Partitive phrases

Partitive phrases are NPs in the Absolute case which express a certain quantity of the modified head noun which they precede. This Lezgian construction corresponds to the English "pseudopartitive" construction. The nouns used in partitive phrases typically denote containers (667), collections (668), quantums (669), or abstract quantity nouns (670), and they are typically preceded by a cardinal numeral. Syntactically, partitive phrases are much like appositions (cf. 14.3.), but they are not treated as such here because their meaning is quantificational and not at all like the meaning of real appositions.

(667) a. *sa feŋzan čaj*
 one cup tea
 'a cup of tea'

b. *Ada q'we rjumka ereq' q^hwa-na.* (R66:9)
 he(ERG) two glass vodka drink-AOR
 'He drank two glasses of vodka.'

- (668) a. *pud žūt č'uru čubaruk-ar* (M83:32)
 five couple wild swallow-PL
 'five couples of wild swallows'
- b. *Qari.di-w č'exi k'unč' qzilgül-ler gwa.* (Q81:45)
 woman-ADESS big bouquet rose-PL be.at
 'The old woman has a large bouquet of roses.'
- c. *Ana lap jarğa, sa luž wahši quh-ar.i sirnaw*
 there very far one group wild swan-PL(ERG) swimming
iji-zwa-j. (K57:8)
 do-IMPF-PST
 'Over there, very far, a group of wild swans were swimming.'
- (669) a. *Čanta.d-a sa q'as mux.a-n fu awa-č.* (Š83:18)
 bag-INESS one piece barley-GEN bread be.in-NEG
 'In my bag there is not a piece of barley bread.'
- b. *Peleng.di-n mam-ar-a st'al-ni nek awa-č.ir.* (K89,12:15)
 tiger-GEN breast-PL-INESS drop-even milk be.in-NEG-PST
 'In the tiger's udders there wasn't a drop of milk.'
- (670) a. *gzaf paj alim-ar* (Du85,3:143)
 much part scientist-PL
 'a large part of the scientists'
- b. *sa zur sät* (Š83:64)
 one half hour
 'half an hour'
- c. *gzaf q'adar cükw-er* (Q81:45)
 much amount flower-PL
 'a large amount of flowers'

14.2.3. Quantifier float in existential sentences

Scalar quantifiers (including numerals) typically float to the preverbal position when the quantified NP occurs in an existential sentence. In the examples in (671), the existential verbs are *awa* (*ama*) or *šun* 'be'.

- (671) a. *Ča-z waxt t'imil awa.* (K87,1:7)
 we-DAT time little be
 'We have little time.'
- b. *Qhsan kolxozč-i-jar ča-q^h gzaf awa.* (E56:12)
 good kolkhoznik-PL we-POESS many be
 'We have many good kolkhoz farmers.'

- c. *Küče-jr-a insan-ar t'imil xa-nwa-j.* (S88:9)
 street-PL-INESS human-PL little be-PRF-PST
 'On the streets there were few people.'
- d. *Dağ-lar.i-q^h çpi-n dewlet-ar, çpi-n güzelwil-er*
 mountain-PL-POESS selves-GEN richness-PL selves-GEN beauty-PL
gzaf awa. (M83:44)
 many be
 'The mountains have many riches and beauties of their own.'
- e. *Alaqli.di sa şumud güläg q'e-na, amma abur hele*
 Alaqli(ERG) one how.many snake kill-AOR but they still
gzaf ama-j. (M83:44)
 many be.still
 'Alaqli killed a certain number of the snakes, but many of them are still left.'
- f. *Abur wad awa.* (Mejlanova 1960:39)
 they five be
 'There are five of them.'

However, action verbs may also occur in this construction if they have an existential sense, as in (672).

- (672) A *jis-ar-a xür-er-a škola-jar gzaf ecig-zawa-j.*
 that year-PL-INESS village-PL-INESS school-PL many build-IMPF-PST
 'In those years many schools were built in the villages.' (D77,1:10)

For floating universal quantifiers, see 11.7.1.-2.

14.3. Apposition

Appositions (NPs that serve as modifiers of nouns and have the same referent as the modified noun) precede their head noun and are always in the Absolutive case, independently of the case of the head noun.

Most instances of apposition involve a proper name. When the additional information consists of just a single noun, this single noun may be the head of the NP and the proper name the apposition. The head noun in this construction is typically a kinship term (673), a title (674), or a noun that indicates which type of place a toponymic refers to (city, river, etc.) (675).

- (673) a. *Nurali buba.di čanta wiči-n wilik ecig-na.* (M83:74)
 Nurali father(ERG) bag self-GEN in.front put-AOR
 'Father Nurali put the bag in front of him.'

- b. *Salihat xala.di za-z laha-na...* (G63:127)
 Salihat aunt(ERG) I-DAT say-AOR
 'Aunt Salihat said to me...'
- (674) a. *Nadir Afšar šah.di-z a m amal.da-ldi q'a-z k'an ša-na.*
 Nadir Afšar shah-DAT [he:ABS trick-SRDIR catch-INF] want be-AOR
 'Shah Nadir Afšar wanted to catch him with a trick.' (K87,1:6)
- b. *Qajib muallim.di ada mad wuč luhu-da-t'a*
 Qajib teacher(ERG) [he:ERG still what:ABS say-FUT-CND]
güzet-zawa-j. (K85,7:9)
 wait-IMPF-PST
 'Teacher Qajib waited (to see) what else he would say.'
- (675) a. *Zeravšan wac'.u-n dug.un-a* (K87,1:5)
 Zeravšan river-GEN valley-INNESS
 'in the valley of the river Zeravšan'
- b. *Šal buz dağ.di-n kuk'uš-ar* (Š83:99)
 Šal buz mountain-GEN peak-PL
 'the peaks of the Šal buzdağ mountain'
- c. *Kentukki štat.d-a* (Ko89,10,13:3)
 Kentucky state-INNESS
 'in the state of Kentucky'

This type of apposition is also used with other things that have proper names, e.g. journals, and it can be used when citing linguistic units (words, letters).

- (676) a. «*Literatura.di-n Dağustan*» žurnal (L87,2:77)
 literature-GEN Dagestan journal
 'the journal *Literary Dagestan*'
- b. *ë, o wa y harf-ar urus č'al-aj ata-j gaf-ar-a*
 ë o and y letter-PL [Russian language-INEL come-AOP] word-PL-INNESS
kxi-da. (HHM79:141)
 write-FUT
 'The letters ë, o, and y are used in loanwords from Russian.'

When a noun is modified in any way, it cannot have a proper name as an apposition. Thus, in (677) one could not say **Kristina q'wed lahaj wax* (only *Kristina wax* is possible).

- (677) *Q'wed lahaj wax Kristina xudožnik ja.* (Ko90,2,7:4)
 two ORD sister Christine artist COP
 'My second sister Christine is an artist.'

In such cases the proper name is the head noun that inflects for case, and the additional information becomes the appositional Absolutive NP:

- (678) a. *Ajnise.di wiči-n juldaš Sabir.a-z zeng ja-na.* (Š83:61)
 Ajnise(ERG) self-GEN husband Sabir-DAT ring hit-AOR
 'Ajnise phoned her husband Sabir.'
- b. *kühne bağmanči Alaçuli* (M83:43)
 old gardener Alaçuli
 'the old gardener Alaçuli'
- c. *Isaq'.a-n xala Güldeste* (Š83:40)
 Isaq'-GEN aunt Güldeste
 'Isaq's aunt Güldeste'
- d. *zi wax.a-n gada Isaq'* (Š83:21)
 I:GEN sister-GEN boy Isaq'
 'my sister's son Isaq'.'

An appositional proper name (as in (673-676)) may itself be modified by a preceding apposition:

- (679) *Zühre.di-n buba Rustam xan* (K87,1:5)
 Zühre-GEN father Rustam khan
 'Zühre's father Khan Rustam'

In more traditional Lezgian, a Lezgian surname is treated as an apposition of the given name and therefore precedes it:

- (680) a. *Mühüdinova Alfija Meharamdxür.ü-n škola.di-n*
 Mühüdinova Alfija Meharamdxür-GEN school-GEN
učenica ja. (K86,3:1)
 student COP
 'Alfija Mühüdinova is a student of the Meharamdxür (Magaramkent) school.'
- b. *Slovar' Mehamed.a-n učenik Talibov Bukar.a kütäh-na.*
 dictionary Mehamed-GEN student Talibov Bukar(ERG) finish-AOR
 'The dictionary was completed by Mehamed's student Bukar Talibov.' (Du68,2:27)
- c. *Maksim Gor'kij.di St'al Sulejman.a-z «XX esir.di-n*
 Maksim Gor'kij(ERG) St'al Sulejman-DAT [20 century-GEN
Gomer» laha-j t'war ga-na. (Du83,1:125)
 Homer say-AOP] name give-AOR
 'Maksim Gor'kij gave Sulejman St'al (Stal'skij) the name "Homer of the 20th century".'

However, the Russian order "given name - surname" is also common. When this order is chosen, the given name is in apposition and the surname inflects for case (cf. the examples in the newspaper text, 25.5.).

Appositions where no proper name is involved are much rarer. Some examples:

- (681) a. *zi dust-ar nük'er.i-z* (M83:44)
I:GEN friend-PL bird-PL-DAT
'to my friends the birds'
- b. *Dide q'üğür.di sa ğweč'i murmur awu-na.* (M83:45)
mother hedgehog(ERG) one little murmur do-AOR
'The mother hedgehog made a little murmur.'
- c. *Isabeg.a-n ğulluğči ruš* (S88:17)
Isabeg-GEN servant girl
'Isabeg's maid (lit. servant girl)'

In connection with pronouns of the 1st and 2nd person, postposed appositions occur:

- (682) a. *Ča-z čuban-r.i-z, wun har näni-q^h k'wal.i-z*
we-DAT shepherd-DAT [you:ABS every night-POESS house-DAT
q^hifi-zwa-j-di q^hsan či-zwa. (R66:23)
return-IMPf-PTP-SBST] good know-IMPf
'We shepherds know well that you go home every night.'
- b. *Čun, oficer-r.i-n ajal-ar gala-j pap-ar, šeher.d-a*
we:ABS officer-PL-GEN [child-PL be.behind-PTP] wife-PL town-INESS
ama-j. (DD85,2:20)
be.still-PST
'We, the officers' wives with children, were still in the city.'

According to Gadžiev (1954:162), such constructions are not characteristic of Lezgian and are due to the influence of Russian, especially when used to modify a full noun rather than a pronoun.

14.4. Word order in the noun phrase

Noun phrases are strictly head-final. All types of modifiers precede their head: quantifiers (see 14.2.), appositions (see 14.3.), demonstratives (cf. 683), adjective phrases (cf. 684), Genitive NPs (cf. 685), and relative clauses (see 19.1.).

- (683) *a insan-ar* (J89:21)
that human-PL
'those people'

(684) *ask'an k'wal-er* (Q81:69)
 low house-PL

'a low house'

(685) *Dağustan.di-n šeher-r-a* (HQ89:94)
 Daghestan-GEN city-PL-INESS

'in the cities of Daghestan'

The order of noun modifiers with respect to each other is relatively free, and the generalizations below reflect only the orders that are used most commonly. Native speakers tend to accept most possible orders. In many cases there may be semantic differences between different orders (e.g. reflecting different scope relations), but they are too subtle to be described here.

14.4.1. The position of the Genitive NP

The Genitive NP generally precedes all other modifiers because otherwise those modifiers could be taken as modifying the Genitive noun rather than its head. In example (686), the Genitive NP precedes an adjective (a), a demonstrative (b), a quantifier (c), a numeral (d), and even a relative clause (e) (but see 14.4.2. for the order of relative clauses).

(686) a. *gatfar.i-n čimi juğ* (A90:5)
 spring-GEN warm day

'a warm day of spring'

b. *Sa xwa šeher.di-n i q'il-e, mükü-di-ni*
 one son town-GEN this end-INESS other-SBST.SG-and

a q'il-e jašamiš že-zwa. (Š83:55)
 that end-INESS living be-IMPF

'One son lives at this end of town, the other at the other end.'

c. *lezgi pisatel-r.i-n-ni šair-r.i-n sa šumud ktab*
 Lezgian writer-PL-GEN-and poet-PL-GEN one how.many book

'a couple of books by Lezgian writers and poets' (Du85,3:127)

d. *külü quš-ar.i-n pud mug* (M83:43)
 little bird-PL-GEN three nest

'three nests of little birds'

e. *Güldeste.di-n wiči-n juldaš.di-n t'war ala-j xtul* (Š83:21)
 Güldeste-GEN [self-GEN husband-GEN name be.on-PTP] grandson

'Güldeste's grandson, who bears her husband' name'

However, two types of Genitive NPs prefer a position closer to the head noun: short pronominal Genitives (cf. 687) and non-referential Genitive modifiers that correspond to English first compound members and to Russian relational adjectives (cf. 688).

- (687) a. *rahmetlu zi wax* (Š83:22)
 deceased I:GEN sister
 'my deceased sister' (not: sister of deceased I)
- b. *i zi kic'* (K85,4:7)
 this I:GEN dog
 'this my dog' (not: dog of this I)
- (688) a. *jeke rik'i-n t'arwal* (Š83:63)
 big heart-GEN pain
 'a big heart pain' (not: pain of big heart)
- b. *i jeke gatu-n xali-jar*
 this big summer-GEN melon-PL
 'these big muskmelons (lit. summer melons)' (not: melons of this big summer)

All these examples are syntactically ambiguous, but since the other reading is extremely unlikely in (687) (personal pronouns are hardly ever modified), and non-referential Genitives form fixed expressions with their head nouns in (688), the danger of confusion is small.

When a plausible meaning results, two Genitive NPs may modify the same head noun:

- (689) a. *či a č'aw.a-n predsedatel'* (R66:12)
 we:GEN that time-GEN chairperson
 'our chair of that time'
- b. *zi gat.u-n kanikul-ar* (M83:64)
 I:GEN summer-GEN vacation-PL
 'my summer vacations'

14.4.2. The position of the relative clause

The participial relative clause is generally the first constituent of its NP because of its heaviness. If other modifiers preceded the relative clause, these would be relatively far away from their head nouns. E.g.

- (690) *wa-l tapšurmiš-da-j sa c'iji kar* (E56:14)
 [you-SRESS entrust-FUT-PTP] one new job
 'a new job that will be entrusted to you'

When this preference is in conflict with the preference that the Genitive NP should be the first constituent of the NP (14.4.1.), both orders are possible, and the order which causes least ambiguity in the context wins out.

(691) a. *k'wal.i-z xta-j Farid.a-n wax*
 home-DAT return-PTP Farid-GEN sister
 'Farid's sister, who returned home' (or: 'the sister of [Farid, who returned home]')

b. *Farid.a-n k'wal.i-z xta-j wax*
 Farid-GEN home-DAT return-PTP sister
 'Farid's sister, who returned home' (or: 'the sister who returned to Farid's house')

When the relative clause is short or when it forms a fixed expression, modifiers other than Genitives may precede it:

(692) a. *i darwal ala-j ajal-ar* (M83:30)
 this [poverty be.on-PTP] child-PL
 'these poor children (lit. these children on whom there is poverty)'

b. *wiri ačux tuš-ir fonema-jar* (H82:12)
 all [open COP:NEG-PTP] phoneme-PL
 'all the consonant phonemes (lit. all the phonemes which are not open)'

In such cases a head noun may be modified by two stacked relative clauses:

(693) *bomba.di jeke zijan ga-ji c.i-n k'anikaj fi-da-j gimi*
 [bomb(ERG) big damage give-AOP] [water below go-FUT-PTP] boat
 'the submarine which was heavily damaged by a bomb (lit. the boat [that goes below the water] [that a bomb damaged heavily])' (K87,2:15)

14.4.3. The position of demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals

The position of demonstratives, adjectives, and numerals with respect to each other seems to be quite free, except that the demonstrative may not follow the numeral. The demonstrative may precede or follow the adjective:

(694) a. *i güzel cükw-er*
 this beautiful flower-PL
 'these beautiful flowers'

b. *a baxtlu deq'iq'a-jar* (J84:5)
 that happy minute-PL
 'those happy minutes'

(695) *güzel i cükw-er*
 beautiful this flower-PL
 'these beautiful flowers'

- (696) *četin i šart'-ar-a* (DD71,2:10)
 difficult this condition-PL-INNESS
 'under these difficult circumstances'

But the demonstrative precedes the numeral:

- (697) a. *i wad cük* (**wad i cük*)
 this five flower
 'these five flowers'
- b. *i q'we govor* (H63:52)
 this two subdialect
 'these two subdialects'

The numeral or quantifier may precede or follow the adjective:

- (698) a. *wad güzel cük*
 five beautiful flower
 'five beautiful flowers'
- b. *pud č'exi q'üğür* (M83:44)
 three big hedgehog
 'three big hedgehogs'
- c. *hiq'wan c'iji škola-jar* (DD85,2:21)
 how.many new school-PL
 'how many new schools'
- (699) a. *güzel wad cük*
 beautiful five flower
 'five beautiful flowers'
- b. *lap q'üzü sa itim* (X89:28)
 very old one man
 'a very old man'
- c. *wiče-laj gweč'i xejlin dišehli-jar* (Š83:6)
 self-SREL small many woman-PL
 'many women who were younger than she'

(700) is an example of two stacked adjectives modifying one head noun:

- (700) *jaxun rağul sa tula* (K85,4:6)
 lean gray one pointer
 'a lean gray pointer (dog)'

14.5. The adjective phrase

14.5.1. Adjectival valence

There are a substantial number of adjectives that have an oblique argument (in addition to their subject argument, i.e. the argument toward which they are oriented and which they modify). What follows is a list of the most common adjectives that take an oblique argument, accompanied by a few examples for their use. Oblique adjectival arguments always precede the adjective.

For zero-argument adjectives in subjectless copular clauses, see 17.3.

14.5.1.1. Adjectival arguments in the Dative case

(701) <i>wafalu</i>	'faithful to'
<i>xas</i>	'peculiar to, characteristic of'
<i>taniš</i>	'known to'
<i>taluq'</i>	'concerning, related to'
<i>müt'üğ</i>	'obedient to'
<i>lazim</i>	'necessary for'
<i>begenmiš</i>	'pleasing to'

- (702) a. *Wun kolxoz.di-z lazim itim ja.* (R66:14)
 you:ABS kolkhoz-DAT necessary man COP

'You are a person that the collective farm needs (lit. a person necessary for the collective farm).'

- b. *wiri insan-r.i-z xas tir sinix-ar* (Du85,3:147)
 [all human-PL-DAT characteristic COP:PTP] defect-PL
 'defects characteristic of all people'

14.5.1.2. Adjectival arguments in the Postessive case

(703) <i>qanix</i>	'longing for, eager for'
<i>tamarzu</i>	'desirous of'
<i>inanmiš</i>	'believing'

- (704) *Abur watan aku-n.i-q^h qanix řa-na.* (DD71,3:19)
 they [fatherland see-MSD-POESS] eager become-AOR

'They became eager to see their native country.'

14.5.1.3. Adjectival arguments in the Subelative case

(705) <i>čara</i>	'separate from'
<i>azad</i>	'free of'
<i>ibarat</i>	'consisting of'
<i>mahrum</i>	'deprived, rid of'

- (706) *fašist-r.i-n čapxunči-jr.i-kaj azad* (DD85,2:21)
 fascist-PL-GEN aggressor-PL-SBEL free
 'free from the fascist aggressors'

14.5.1.4. Adjectival arguments in the Superessive case

- (707) *pexil* 'envious of'
a šqilu 'enthusiastic about'
takaburlu 'proud of'
šad 'glad about'
a šuq' 'in love with'
(na)razi '(dis)satisfied with'
ma šgul 'occupied with'
dewletlu 'rich in'
- (708) a. *Amma zun ixtin žawab.da-l razi ša-na-č* (N88:145)
 but I:ABS such answer-SRESS satisfied be-AOR-NEG
 'But I was not satisfied with such an answer.'
- b. *Azerbajdžan fadlaj iniq^h šair-r.a-l-ni a šuq'-r.a-l*
 Azerbaijan early since poet-PL-SRESS-and ashug-PL-SRESS
dewletlu čka ja (A55:12)
 rich place COP
 'Azerbaijan has long been a place rich in poets and ashugs.'
 (ashug = traditional bard)

14.5.1.5. Adjectival arguments in the Superlative case

- (709) *aslu* 'dependent on'
tafawatlu 'different from'
alawa 'additional to'
wilikan 'previous to' (cf. N_{SREL} *wilik* 'before N',
 12.2.1.5.)

- (710) *Literatura.di-n eser jašajiš.d-aj qaču-r čirwil-er.i-laj*
 literature-GEN work [life-INEL take-AOP] knowledge-PL-SREL
aslu ja. (Mejlanova 1986:203)
 dependent COP
 'A literary work depends on knowledge taken from life.'

14.5.1.6. Adjectival arguments marked by the postposition *galaz* 'with'

- (711) *alaqalu* 'connected with'
taniš 'acquainted with' (cf. also 14.5.1.1.)

14.5.2. Adjuncts in the adjective phrase

The most common type of adjectival adjunct is the degree adverb (cf. 12.1.4.). Degree adverbs immediately precede the adjective and follow any oblique arguments. Examples:

(712) a. *Am lap q^hsan ust'ar ja.* (J89:26)
 he:ABS very good master COP
 'He is a very good master.'

b. *Nurbala.di-n rik'i-z sa q'adar rehät řa-na.* (R66:29)
 Nurbala-GEN heart-DAT one quantity easy become-AOR
 'Nurbala's heart became somewhat relieved.'

Example (713) shows a locative adverb that functions like a degree adverb.

(713) *Zi murad i xalq'ar.i-q^h galaz muq'uway taniř*
 I:GEN wish [this people-PL-POESS with close acquainted
řu-n tir. (Q81:42)
 become-MSD] COP
 'My wish was to become closely acquainted with these peoples.'

The standard of comparison can also be thought of as an adjectival adjunct. For the grammar of comparative constructions, see Ch. 24.

14.5.3. Predicative-only adjectives

A number of adjectives are generally restricted to the predicative function. When they are to be used attributively, they must be in the predicative position of a relative clause with the participle of the copula (*tir*, cf. 9.5.1.). The adjectives in this class are generally Oriental loanwords, e.g. *lazim* 'necessary', *taniř* 'known, acquainted', *taluq'* 'belonging to'.

(714) a. *Abur.u-z lazim tir řimet ga-na k'an-da.* (D85,3:143)
 [they-DAT [necessary COP:PTP] price give-AOC] must-FUT
 'One has to give them the necessary price.'

b. *Ali.di ina wiči-z taniř tir sa kas-ni awa-č*
 Ali(ERG) [here [self-DAT known COP:PTP] one person-also be-NEG
laha-na fikir-na-j. (J89:21)
 say-AOR] think-AOR-PST
 'Ali had thought that there was nobody here that he knew.'

This rule seems to be a preference only, and direct attribution of such adjectives is not totally excluded (cf. (702a) above, where *lazim* is used attributively without a relative clause).

14.5.4. Different-subject adjectives

Although adjectives are normally oriented toward their subject (like same-subject relative clauses, e.g. Indo-European participles), they may also have a subject of their own. In such cases they are oriented toward the possessor of their subject, i.e. they look somewhat like relative clauses with a relativized possessor. This type of construction is usually used for descriptions of people or animals in terms of characteristic properties of their body parts.

(715) a. *mez xci kas* (Du85,4:121)

tongue sharp person

'a sharp-tongued person, a person whose tongue is sharp'

b. *ner jarği, q^hüq̄w-er jaru, wil-er c'aru Jarali* (A90:13)

nose long cheek-PL red eye-PL gray Jarali

'long-nosed, red-cheeked, gray-eyed Jarali'

c. *xur lacu, q'ıl, dalu, luw-ar rağul i ĉubaruk-ar* (M83:32)

breast white head back wing-PL gray this swallow-PL

'these swallows with a white breast and a gray head, back and wings'

The similarity to relative clauses with relativized possessors is underlined by examples like (716) where such a relative clause is used in parallel to a different-subject adjective.

(716) *Abur q'wed-ni elq̄wej ĉin ala-j-bur, rc'am-ar*
 they two-also round face be.on-PTP-SBST.PL eyebrow-PL

härq'ü-bur tir. (J89:27)

wide-SBST.PL COP:PST

'They both had a round face and wide eyebrows (lit. were wide-eyebrowed).'

Chapter 15

Verbal valence

15.1. Verbal valence patterns: introduction

Verbal valence patterns are represented here in the following format:

V (A_{CASE1}, B_{CASE2,...})

where V stands for the verb, and A and B stand for arguments in the case indicated by the subscript (the order of the arguments is arbitrary). The letters used as variables for arguments are arbitrary and serve only to distinguish different arguments. However, I will often use letters that can be thought of as mnemonic for particular semantic roles (A: "agent", T: "theme", L: "location", E: "experiencer", R: "recipient"). Otherwise no attempt is made to systematically describe the semantic roles expressed by the arguments; this information is left implicit in the translations of the individual verbs.

Let us take a concrete example: The verb *ilisun* has the valence pattern:

V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SRESS})

and means 'A presses L by putting T in contact with L (= A presses L with T)'. This means that it has an ("agent") argument in the Ergative case which corresponds to the subject of 'press' in the translation, a ("theme") argument in the Absolutive case which corresponds to the object of 'put in contact with', and a ("location") argument in the Superessive case corresponding to the object of 'press'. This is all the information contained in a valence frame, and it is sufficient, for example, to obtain the correct translation of the following sentence:

(717) *Ada knopka.da-l t'ub ilis-na.* (R66:9)
he(ERG) button-SRESS finger press-AOR

'He pressed the button by putting his finger in contact with it.'

(= 'He pressed the button with his finger.'

Lit. 'He pressed his finger on the button.')

15.2. General characteristics of verbal valence patterns

There are very tight restrictions on possible verbal valence patterns, especially the following:

(i) There are no verbs that take fewer than one argument. Weather situations (rain, snow, etc.), which are expressed by zero-argument verbs in many

languages, are expressed as 'rain is falling' (*marf q̄wazwa*), etc. (However, predicative adjectives may be subjectless, cf. 17.3.)

(ii) There are no verbs that take more than three arguments.

(iii) Most of the valence patterns contain an Absolutive argument. There are a few exceptions which belong to the "non-standard valence patterns" and are discussed in 15.4. below.

(iv) For each intransitive valence pattern with an Absolutive argument there is a corresponding transitive valence pattern which contains the same arguments plus an Ergative argument.

(v) Except for the purely adnominal Genitive case and the rare Directive cases, all cases occur in at least one valence pattern together with an Absolutive argument (but see 15.3.15. for "Genitive arguments").

Thus, the valence patterns in (718) are the most typical, and they are therefore called "standard valence patterns" here. Each of them is exemplified in one subsection of 15.3.

(718) The standard valence patterns

intransitive	transitive	
V (T _{ABS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS})	(15.3.1.)
V (T _{ABS} , E _{DAT})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , R _{DAT})	(15.3.2.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{ADESS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{ADESS})	(15.3.3.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{ADEL})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{ADEL})	(15.3.4.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{POESS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{POESS})	(15.3.5.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{POEL})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{POEL})	(15.3.6.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{SBESS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SBESS})	(15.3.7.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{SBEL})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SBEL})	(15.3.8.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{SRESS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SRESS})	(15.3.9.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{SREL})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SREL})	(15.3.10.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{SRDIR})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SRDIR})	(15.3.11.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{INESS})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{INESS})	(15.3.12.)
V (T _{ABS} , L _{INEL})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{INEL})	(15.3.13.)

There are also arguments that have the form of an adverbial (without any restrictions on the form that the adverbial will take).

V (T _{ABS} , L _{ADV})	V (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{ADV})	(15.3.14.)
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In addition, there are two groups of "non-standard valence patterns". In the first group, there is a Dative argument with subject properties (15.4.1.), and in the second group, the Absolutive argument has been incorporated into the verb so that there is no Absolutive argument in the valence pattern ("Absolutive absorption", 15.4.2.1.).

The valence patterns of verbs that take clausal arguments (=complement clauses) have not been taken into account here. For such complement-taking verbs, see Ch. 20.

The general principles to which Lezgian valence patterns conform (especially (i)-(v) above) are not particularly exotic or exceptional. Aside from Ergativity, there are only two features that set Lezgian off from the familiar European languages: Dative experiencers and consistent Absolutive

themes. Thus, in an experiential verb like *akun* 'see' and other experiential expressions (cf. 15.4.1.), the experiencer is expressed in the Dative case:

- (719) *Zamira.di-z Diana aku-na.*
 Zamira-DAT Diana see-AOR

'Zamira saw Diana. (lit. Diana was visible to Zamira.)'

And themes are consistently in the Absolutive case, even where a patient argument is also present and would be the direct object in the familiar European languages. In Lezgian, this patient is expressed in one of the local cases. For example, the patient arguments of the verbs 'stroke' and 'sweep' appear in the Adelative and Superrelative cases, respectively, in the following examples (an analogous example is (717) above).

- (720) *Emirmet.a q^hüq̄w.e-waj ğil güc'-na.* (Q81:113)
 Emirmet(ERG) cheek-ADEL hand stroke-AOR

'Emirmet stroked her cheek with his hand.' (Lit. 'Emirmet stroked his hand along her cheek.')

- (721) *Aminat.a k'wal.e-laj k̄kul elä-na.* (Talibov 1958:241)
 Aminat(ERG) room-SREL broom sweep-AOR

'Aminat swept the room with a broom.' (Lit. 'Aminat swept the broom through the room.')

In the familiar European languages, the Lezgian local patients have to be rendered as direct objects, and the Lezgian Absolutive themes correspond to instrumental phrases. These instrumental phrases sound somewhat redundant in the translations of (720)-(721) because the verbal actions ('stroke', 'sweep') are such that they are exclusively or typically carried out with these instruments. But this is not the case in Lezgian because quite generally verb meaning is more general than in the familiar European languages. For example, *güc'un* not only means 'stroke', but also 'wipe' (*stoldiwaj pek güc'un* 'wipe a table with a cloth') or 'rub', and *elägun* not only means 'sweep', but also 'wave (with a cap)' and 'nod (one's head)'.

These characteristics of Lezgian valence patterns can be generalized and we can say that Lezgian shows a tendency toward a closer correspondence between semantic roles and case-marking: Agents are always in the Ergative case, themes are always in the Absolutive, recipients and experiencers are always in the Dative, patients are always in one of the local cases. This is in marked contrast to the familiar European languages, where nominative subjects can be agents, themes, experiencers, and sometimes even patients, accusative direct objects can be themes, patients, or experiencers, etc. It is true that there are exceptions in Lezgian as well; for instance, the Absolutive argument of *kiligun* (C_{ABS}, D_{DAT}) 'C looks at D' would appear to be an agent rather than a theme, and Lezgian also has metaphorical expressions like *i banka.di pud litr q'ada* (Talibov & Gadžiev 1966:207) 'this can holds three liters'. But it cannot be denied that there is a tendency toward a closer link between semantic roles and case-marking, so that we can call Lezgian a "role-dominated language" (cf. Foley & Van Valin 1984, A. E. Kibrik 1980b).

15.3. Standard valence patterns

15.3.1. Valence patterns with only an Absolutive argument

15.3.1.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS})

This is the most common pattern for single-argument verbs.

E.g.	<i>qarağun</i>	'get up'
	<i>qeqün</i>	'walk around'
	<i>kisun</i>	'fall silent'
	<i>kusun</i>	'fall asleep'
	<i>tük'ün</i>	'work well, get along'
	<i>q^hürün</i>	'laugh'
	<i>qūğun</i>	'play'
	<i>ifin</i>	'become hot'
	<i>qun</i>	'become cold'
	<i>q'ežin</i>	'become wet'
	<i>juzun</i>	'move'

15.3.1.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS})

This is the standard pattern for monotransitive verbs.

E.g.	<i>kxin</i>	'write'
	<i>at'un</i>	'cut'
	<i>cun</i>	'plow'
	<i>q^hun</i>	'drink'
	<i>gatun</i>	'beat'
	<i>č'ugun</i>	'pull, draw'
	<i>xt'unun</i>	'take off (clothes)'
	<i>xkažun</i>	'lift'

15.3.2. Valence pattern with a Dative argument

15.3.2.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, C_{DAT})

E.g.	<i>qeqün</i>	'T looks for C'
	<i>kiligun</i>	'T looks at C'

In these verbs the Absolutive argument is an agent, and the Dative argument is some kind of mental goal. An example of the use of such a verb:

(722) *Am gila kuk'un patal sa bahna.di-z qeque-zwa-j.*
 he:ABS now row for one pretext-DAT seek-IMPf-PST

'He was now looking for a pretext for a row.' (Šejxov 1983c:16)

There is also a group of verbs with the same valence pattern (X_{ABS}, Y_{DAT}) but different semantic roles of the participants (stimulus and experiencer).

Since the Dative argument in these verbs behaves very differently, these verbs are treated separately below (15.4.1.).

15.3.2.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, C_{DAT})

This is the pattern of standard ditransitive verbs, where the Dative argument is a recipient:

E.g.	<i>gun</i>	'give'
	<i>raḡurun</i>	'send'
	<i>ḡalurun</i>	'show'
	<i>aq^hajun</i>	'tell'
	<i>ḡun</i>	'bring'

The Dative argument is a kind of location in the following verbs:

<i>ḡugun</i>	'A covers C with T'
<i>jaḡun</i>	'A covers C with T'

- (723) a. *Čna škola.di-n ḡaw.u-z šir ja-na.* (G54:134)
 we:ERG school-GEN roof-DAT paint hit-AOR

'We painted the roof of the school.' (lit. 'We hit paint to the roof.')

- b. *Za ada-z sa ḡud wihe-na.* (G54:134)
 I:ERG he-DAT one fist throw-AOR

'I hit him with the fist.' (Lit. 'I threw a fist on him.')

15.3.3. Valence patterns with an Adessive argument

15.3.3.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{ADESS})

E.g.	<i>werdiš ḡun</i>	'T gets used to L'
	<i>ac'un</i>	'T becomes full of L'
	<i>raxun</i>	'T talks to L'

(verbs with the preverb (*a*)*g*-:)

<i>agaq'un</i>	'T reaches L'
<i>agatun</i>	'T approaches L'
<i>egeč'un</i>	'T approaches L'
<i>gwa</i>	'T is near L' (cf. 17.6.2.)

- (724) a. *Ruš.a-z a m wiči-w raxa-zwa-j ḡiz ḡa-na.* (S88:22)
 girl-DAT [he:ABS self-ADESS talk-IMPF-PTP like] be-AOR

'It seemed to the girl as if he was talking to her.'

- b. *Mašin-ar xür.ü-w agaq'-na.* (Š83:40)
 car-PL village-ADEL reach-AOR

'The cars reached the village.'

c. *Ada-n rik' pašmanwil.i-w ac'a-nwa.* (Š83:39)
 she-GEN heart sadness-ADESS become.full-PRF

'Her heart has become full of sadness.'

15.3.3.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{ADESS})

E.g. (verbs with the preverbs (A)g-/wu-)

wugun 'A (temporarily) gives T to L'
agudun 'A brings T closer to L'
geq̄igun 'A compares T to/with L'

(725) *Za Nadja.di-n q̄hweq̄h žuwa-n q̄hüq̄w.e-w agud-na.*
 I:ERG Nadja-GEN cheek self-GEN cheek-ADESS approach-AOR

'I pressed Nadja's cheek to my cheek.' (S88:165)

(And see also *tun* 'cause', 20.2.4.)

15.3.4. Valence patterns with an Adelative argument

15.3.4.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{ADEL})

E.g. *q̄aq̄atun* 'T falls off of L, goes away from L'
ajrutmiš žun 'T separates from L'

(726) a. *Čun ada-waj q̄a q̄at-na.* (G54:141)
 we:ABS he-ADEL go.away-AOR

'We went away from him.'

b. *Zun kwe-waj ajrutmiš že-da-č.* (S88:31)
 I:ABS you.all-ADEL separating be-FUT-NEG

'I won't separate from you-all.'

15.3.4.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{ADEL})

E.g. *q̄a q̄udun* 'A takes T away from L'
(xabar) q'un 'A asks L'
güc'un 'A wipes L with T, A rubs T along L'

(727) a. *Wiči-n ḡül.ü-waj ada xabar q'u-na.* (Š83:27)
 self-GEN husband-ADEL she(ERG) news hold-AOR

'She asked her husband.'

b. *Stold.di-waj pek güc'.* (TG66:91)
 table-ADEL cloth wipe(IMPV)

'Wipe the table with the cloth.'

15.3.5. Valence patterns with a Postessive argument

15.3.5.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{POESS})

E.g.	<i>qe qūn</i>	'T looks for L'
	<i>elqūn</i>	'T turns toward L'
	<i>aḡun</i>	'T believes (in) L'
	<i>inanmiš xun</i>	'T believes (in) L'
	<i>č'alaq^h xun</i>	'T believes (in) L'
	(verbs with the preverb (A)gAl-:)	
	<i>galuq'un</i>	'T hits against L'
	<i>galtugun</i>	'T takes care of L; T chases after L'
	<i>agaltun</i>	'T joins L, leans against L; L feels inclined toward T'
	<i>gelqūn</i>	'T takes care of L'
	<i>galk'un</i>	'T clings to L'
	<i>gala</i>	'T is behind L' (cf. 17.6.3.)

(728) a. *Či kolxozči-jar nik'er.i-q^h q^hsan-diz gelqwe-zwa.* (J89:6)
 we:GEN kolkhoznik-PL field-PL-POESS good-ADV care-IMPF
 'Our kolkhoz farmers are taking care of the fields well.'

b. *Req'e ča-q^h mad juldaš-ar agalt-na.* (TG66:31)
 way-INESS we-POESS still friend-PL join-AOR
 'On the way some more friends joined us.'

15.3.5.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{POESS})

E.g.	<i>akalun</i>	'A attaches T to L'
	<i>pajun</i>	'A divides T into L'
	<i>inanmišarun</i>	'A convinces T of L'
	(verbs with the preverb gAl-:)	
	<i>geläḡun</i>	'A hits against L with T'
	<i>giligun</i>	'A attaches T to L'
	<i>galuq'arun</i>	'A hits against L with T'

(729) a. *baḡ q'we pat.a-q^h paj-nawa-j req'* (M83:19)
 [garden two part-POESS divide-IMPF-PTP] path
 'the path that divides the garden into two parts'

b. *Ada q'il cl.a-q^h galuq'ar-na.* (Šejxov 1983c:17)
 she(ERG) head wall-POESS hit-AOR
 'She hit her head against the wall.'

15.3.6. Valence patterns with a Postelative argument

15.3.6.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{POEL})E.g. (verb with the preverb *gal-*):*galatun* 'T falls off from L'15.3.6.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{POEL})E.g. (verb with the preverb *gal-*):*galudun* 'A takes T off/away from L'(730) *Il'ič.a hasätda qün.ü-qhaj tfeng galud-na.* (K57:7)
Il'ič(ERG) immediately shoulder-POEL rifle take.off-AOR

'Il'ič immediately took the rifle off his shoulders.'

15.3.7. Valence patterns with a Subessive argument

15.3.7.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{SBESS})E.g. *qarišmiš xun* 'T mixes with L'(verbs with the preverb (*A*)*k-*):*kuk'un* 'T sticks to L'*ekeč'un* 'T joins L, starts participating in L'*akašun* 'T mixes with L'*xk'un* 'T touches L'*akatum* 'T turns up in L; L is filled with T'*kwa* 'T is under L' (cf. 17.6.4.)15.3.7.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SBESS})E.g. (verbs with the preverbs *k-*, *xk-*):*kägun* 'A touches L with T'*kutun* 'A puts T under L, A wraps T in L'*kut'unun* 'A wraps T in L, A attaches T to L'*ktadun* 'A touches L with T; A mixes L with T'*xkürun* 'A touches L with T; A mixes L with T'(731) a. *Zi mani-jr.i insan-r.i-n rik'er.i-k šadwal kuta-zwa.*
I:GEN song-PL(ERG) people-PL-GEN heart-PL-SBESS joy put-IMPF

'My songs put joy in people's hearts.' (K86,3:1)

b. *Kat.ra jak'.u-k xkür-na-č* (K86,3:10)

falcon(ERG) meat-SBESS touch-AOR-NEG

'The falcon did not touch the meat.'

- c. *Za wa-k kä-zawa-č* (DD71,3:21)
I:ERG you-SBESS touch-IMPF-NEG
'I'm not touching you.'
- d. *Ada za-k ğil ktad-zawa.* (Šejxov 1983c:17)
he(ERG) I-SBESS hand touch-IMPF
'He is touching me with his hand.'

15.3.8. Valence patterns with a Subrelative argument

15.3.8.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{SBEL})

- E.g. *bizar ħun* 'T gets fed up with L'
kürs ħun 'T hangs on L'
ħun 'L becomes T'
(verbs with the preverbs *kw-*, *xk-*:)
xkatun 'T gets rid of L, T avoids L'
xkeč'un 'T creeps out of L, T gets out of L'
kwatun 'T falls from L; T awakes from (sleep)'

- (732) a. *Har-da-kaj k'wal.i-n=jič.a-n ijesi ħa-nwa.* (Š83:21)
every-SBST.SG-SBEL house-GEN=day-GEN owner become-PRF
'Each one has become the owner of a house and family.'
- b. *Guržistan Urusat.di-kaj xkeč-na.* (HQ89:7)
Georgia Russia-SBEL secede-AOR
'Georgia seceded from Russia.'

15.3.8.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SBEL})

- E.g. *kürsarun* 'A hangs T on L'
čutarmišun 'A saves T from L'
awun 'A makes L T'
(verb with the preverb *xk-*:)
xkäğun 'A elects L T'
- (733) a. *Fežillah.a-kaj revkom.di-n predsedatel' xkä-na.* (HQ89:14)
Fežillah-SBEL rev.comm.-GEN chairman elect-AOR
'Fežillah was elected chairman of the revolutionary committee.'
- b. *Čna Rasul.a-kaj učitel' awu-na.* (G54:44)
we:ERG Rasul-SBEL teacher make-AOR
'We made Rasul a teacher.'

15.3.9. Valence patterns with a Superessive argument

15.3.9.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{SRESS})

- E.g. *düşüş xun* 'T meets L'
ewlenmiş xun 'T (husband) gets married to L (wife)'
rasalmış xun 'T meets L'
qhürün 'T laughs about L'
 (verbs with the preverbs *Al-*, *hAl-*:)
alamuq'un 'T remains on L'
haltun 'T meets L, L meets T'
ala 'T is on L' (cf. 17.6.5.)

15.3.9.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SRESS})

- E.g. *ewlenmişun* 'A marries T off to L'
tapşurmişun 'A entrusts T to L'
pajun 'A divides T into L'
 (verbs with the preverbs *Al*, *hAl-*:)
aluk'un 'A puts T (clothes) on L'
haldun 'A puts T (clothes) on L'

(734) a. *Za-l lent at'u-n tapşurmiş-nawa.* (J89:26)
 I-SRESS [ribbon cut-MSD] entrust-PRF

'I have been entrusted to cut the ribbon.'

b. *Čna daftar.di-n čar-ar q'we pat.a-l paj-da.* (K89,12:11)
 we:ERG notebook-GEN page-PL two part-SRESS divide-FUT

'We will divide the pages of the notebook into two parts.'

15.3.10. Valence patterns with a Superrelative argument

15.3.10.1. Intransitive: V (T_{ABS}, L_{SREL})

- E.g. (verbs with the preverb *Al-*:)
alaton 'T falls off of L; T passes L; T exceeds L'
 (E_{GEN} *rik'elaj alaton*: 'E forgets T (T falls from E's heart)')
eläč'un 'T crosses L'
alaq'hun 'T is busy with L'
alaq'un 'L is able to T'

(735) *Poezd serhät.di-laj alat-zawa.* (Q81:42)
 train border-SREL cross-IMPF

'The train is crossing the border.'

15.3.10.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SREL})E.g. (verbs with the preverb *Al-*·)

<i>aludun</i>	'A takes T away from L'
<i>elägun</i>	'A takes T away from L'
<i>ilit'un</i>	'A wraps T around L'
<i>iličun</i>	'A pours T over L'
<i>altadun</i>	'A strokes L with T'
<i>aladarun</i>	'A strokes L with T'

(736) *Dax.di gada.di-n q'il.e-laj kap aladar-na.* (K89,12:12)
 dad(ERG) boy-GEN head-SREL palm stroke-AOR

'Dad stroked the boy's head with his hand.'

15.3.11. Valence patterns with a Superdirective argument**15.3.11.1. Intransitive:** V (T_{ABS}, L_{SRDIR})E.g. *serhätlämiš xun* 'T restricts him/her/itself to L'**15.3.11.2. Transitive:** V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{SRDIR})

E.g. *taʔminarun* 'A supplies T with L'
tadaraklämišun 'A equips T with L'

One has to suspect that these valence patterns were borrowed from Russian, because the Russian argument corresponding to the Lezgian L argument here is in the Russian Instrumental case (*ograničit'sja čem-to, snabžat' čem-to, oborudovat' čem-to*).

15.3.12. Valence patterns with an Inessive argument**15.3.12.1. Intransitive:** V (T_{ABS}, L_{INESS})

E.g. *awa* 'T is in L' (cf. 17.6.1.)
aq'un 'T gets into L, T hits against L'

(737) *Sik'.r-e gülle aq'u-na.* (G54:94-5)
 fox-INESS bullet hit-AOR

'A bullet hit the fox.'

15.3.12.2. Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{INESS})E.g. *ecägun* 'A pushes/kicks L with T'

(738) *Ali.di kic'-e q'ül ecä-na.* (Klimov & Alekseev 1980:184)
 Ali(ERG) dog-INESS foot kick-AOR

'Ali kicked the dog with his foot.'

15.3.13. Valence patterns with an Inelative argument

Transitive: V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{INESS})

e.g. *q'un* 'A considers T L'

(739) *Za zun baxtlu insan.d-aj q'a-zwa.* (S88:4)
 I:ERG I:ABS happy person-INEL hold-IMP
 'I consider myself a happy person.'

15.3.14. Valence patterns with an adverbial argument

Adverbial arguments occur with intransitive verbs like 'go' and transitive verbs like 'put'. The adverbial argument generally expresses a direction.

V (T_{ABS}, L_{ADV}) e.g. *fin* 'go'
 V (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}, L_{ADV}) e.g. *ecigun* 'put', *tun* 'leave', *wehin* 'throw'

The formal variability of the directional adverbial argument can be illustrated with the verb *wehin* 'throw'. The adverbial argument is expressed as a Dative NP in (740a), as a Possessive NP in (740b), and as a Supressive NP in (740c).

(740) a. *Za im čemodan.di-z wehi-da.* (TG66:73)
 I:ERG this:ABS suitcase-DAT throw-FUT
 'I'll throw this into a suitcase.'

b. *Za q̄ün-er.i-gh k'urt wehe-na.* (TG66:73)
 I:ERG shoulder-PL-POESS fur.coat throw-AOR
 'I threw a fur-coat over my shoulders.'

c. *Ada za-l jarğan wehe-na.* (TG66:73)
 she(ERG) I-SRESS blanket throw-AOR
 'She threw a blanket on me.'

Distinguishing adverbial arguments from adverbial adjuncts is notoriously difficult in many languages, and this applies to Lezgian as well.

15.3.15. "Genitive arguments" in verbal idioms

Genitive noun phrases are normally only used as adnominal modifiers and do not occur in verbal valence patterns. However, there are a number of verbal idioms where one of the verbal arguments is a fixed part of the idiom and the adnominal modifier of this argument is the variable participant, corresponding to an argument in the translation into other languages.

Verbal idioms of this type include:

T _{ABS} X _{GEN}	<i>rik'elaj alatun</i>	'X accidentally forgets T, lit. T falls from X's heart'
T _{ABS} X _{GEN}	<i>ğawurda aq'un</i>	'T understands X, lit. T gets into X's understanding'
E _{DAT} X _{GEN}	<i>jazux atun</i>	'E is sorry for X, E pities X, lit. X's pity comes to E'
E _{DAT} X _{GEN}	<i>wan atun</i>	'E hears X, lit. X's sound comes to E'

An example:

- (741) *Amma za-z kü jazux ata-na.* (Du85,3:116)
 but I-DAT you.all:GEN pity come-AOR
 'But I was sorry for you-all.'

15.4. Non-standard valence patterns

15.4.1. Valence patterns with a Dative subject argument: the Affective Construction.

When Dative arguments represent experiencer participants, they play a privileged role and the case can be made that they are subjects (cf. 16.1.). The construction with a Dative subject is called the Affective Construction in Daghestanian linguistics (cf. Alekseev 1975, Šejxov 1986). The special status of the Dative argument is one of the reasons why valence patterns with Dative experiencers are given special treatment here. The valence pattern in (742) is formally identical to the valence pattern in 15.3.2.1., but the two arguments correspond to different semantic roles and show different syntactic behavior.

(742) V (E_{DAT}, X_{ABS})

E.g. <i>akun</i>	'E sees X'
<i>žuğun</i>	'E finds X'
<i>k'an-</i>	'E wants/loves X' (9.5.2.1.)
<i>či-</i>	'E knows X' (9.5.2.3.)
<i>awa</i>	'E has X' (17.6.1.)

Some verbs that show this valence pattern are compound verbs formed with *ɣun* 'become'.

- (743) *begenmiš ɣun* 'E likes X'
bizar ɣun 'E is fed up with X'
tak'an ɣun 'E hates X'
ɣiz ɣun 'E thinks X' (with a clausal argument, cf. 24.2.1.)

Examples:

- (744) a. *Za-z sa ktab žga-na.* (TG66:123)
 I-DAT one book find-AOR
 'I found a book.'
- b. *Zun mad wa-z akwa-n q^hiji-da-č.* (A90:8)
 I:ABS still you-DAT see-PER REPET-FUT-NEG
 'You will not see me again.'
- c. *Za-z-ni belki behem čir ta-šu-n mumkin ja.*
 [I-DAT-too maybe enough teach NEG-ANTIC-MSD] possible COP
 'It is possible that I do not know enough, either.' (S88:172)

Another reason for giving the Affective Construction special treatment is that verbs that occur in this construction may lack an Absolutive argument. While the stimulus participant is expressed as an Absolutive argument in the valence pattern (742), it may also be expressed as a Subelative or Postelative argument:

- (745) V (E_{DAT}, X_{SBEL})
 V (E_{DAT}, X_{POEL})

The fact that the Absolutive argument may be missing is in some cases perhaps due to the adjectival basis of the verb. (Predicative adjectives may lack an Absolutive subject under certain circumstances, cf. 17.3.)

- E.g. *kič'e šun* 'E is afraid of X' (9.5.2.2.) (*kič'e* 'afraid')
- reğü šun* 'E is ashamed of X' (*reğü* 'ashamed')
- bejkef šun* 'E is angry about X' (*bejkef* 'angry')

Some examples:

- (746) a. *Šarwili.di-z ada-q^haj kič'e ša-na-č.* (X89:29)
 Šarwili-DAT he-POEL afraid be-AOR-NEG
 'Šarwili was not afraid of him.'
- b. *Wa-z čar kše-na-č laha-na za-kaj bejkef že-mir.*
 you-DAT [letter write-AOR-NEG say-AOC] I-SBEL angry be-PROHIB
 'Don't be angry at me because I didn't write a letter.' (M79:7)
- c. *Wa-z wi tüt.ün-a awa-j galstuk.di-q^haj q'wanni*
 you-DAT you:GEN [neck-INESS be.in-PTP] necktie-POEL even
reğü ša-na-č-ni? (DD71,3:21)
 ashamed be-AOR-NEG-Q
 'Weren't you even ashamed of the tie round your neck?'

In other cases the verb is based on *atun* 'come' plus a noun. This noun is originally the Absolutive argument, so this is a case of Absolutive absorption through incorporation, as in 15.4.2.

- E.g. *q^hel atun* 'E is angry at X' (*q^hel* 'anger')
š^hel atun 'E feels like crying about X' (*š^hel* 'crying')
hajif atun 'E feels sorry about X' (*hajif* 'regret')

Two verbs with "Genitive arguments" (15.3.15.) are quite similar except that the stimulus participant is not expressed as a Subelative/Postelative argument, but as a Genitive modifier of the noun:

- X_{GEN} *jazux atun* 'E is sorry for X'
 X_{GEN} *wan atun* 'E hears X'

Examples of Affective verbs with *atun*:

- (747) a. *I kar.di-kaj aslan.di-z gzaf q^hel ata-na.* (X89:6)
 this thing-SBEL lion-DAT much anger come-AOR
 'The lion became very angry about this.'
- b. *Za-z š^hel q̄we-da.* (K85,7:4)
 I-DAT crying come-FUT
 'I feel like crying.'

The oblique stimulus argument is often absent, as in (747b) and in (748).

- (748) a. *Šičanbike.di-z gzaf šad xa-na.* (X89:14)
 Šičanbike-DAT much glad be-AOR
 'Šičanbike became very happy.'
- b. *Bedel.a-z q^hwer q̄we-zwa-č-ir.* (Q81:116)
 Bedel-DAT laughter come-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'Bedel did not feel happy.'

However, the combination of adjectives with *ɣun* and nouns with *atun* is not observed strictly. Example (749a) shows *xuš atun* 'be glad' (*xuš* 'glad'), and (749b) shows *hajif ɣun* 'be hurt' (*hajif* 'regret; resentment').

- (749) a. *Nurbala.di-z Akper.a-n xeset.di-kaj xuš ata-na.* (R66:24)
 Nurbala-DAT Akper-GEN character-SBEL glad come-AOR
 'Nurbala was glad about Akper's character.'
- b. *Ada-z rik'.i-waj hajif xa-nwa-j.* (Q81:116)
 he-DAT heart-INEL resentment be-PRF-PST
 'He was deeply hurt.'

A Dative experiencer subject is also used with some experiential adjectives like *gišin* 'hungry' and *meq'i* 'cold' where no stimulus is expressed, e.g.

(750) *Ada-z gišin-zawa žedi.* (A90:28)
it-DAT hungry-IMPF PT

'It (the bird) is probably hungry.'

The special status of the Dative argument in the Affective Construction is best illustrated by the fact that the Dative argument is the Imperative addressee. In verbs like *kiligun* 'look' (15.3.2.1.), only the Absolutive argument may be the Imperative addressee:

(751) a. *Ajal.di-z kilig!*
child-DAT look(IMPV)

'Look at the child!'

b. *Ajal, kilig!*
child look(IMPV)

'*Child, be looked at!' (Only possible interpretation: 'Child, look!')

In the Affective Construction, the Dative argument is the Imperative (or Prohibitive) addressee (cf. Alekseev 1975:10, Šejxov 1986:213-215); as in (746b) above and in (752).

(752) a. *Gila kwe-z za wuč-da-t'a aku!* (K90,3:2)
now you.all-DAT [I:ERG do.what-FUT-CND] see(IMPV)

'Now look (lit. see) what I am going to do!'

b. *Wa-z ada-kaj q^hel qwe-mir.* (J84:53)
you-DAT that-SBEL anger come-PROHIB

'Don't be angry about that.'

c. *Xendeda tir zi jazux ša.* (AM87:30)
[widow COP:PTP] I:GEN pity come:IMPV

'Have pity on me widow.'

d. *Wa-z, wi č'uru kr-ar xalq'di-z t-akwa-zwa-j-di*
you-DAT [you:GEN bad action-PL people-DAT NEG-see-IMPF-PTP-SBST]

šiz že-mir! (R66:24)
like be-PROHIB

'Don't think the people don't see your bad actions!'

15.4.2. Valence patterns of noun + *awun/xun* compounds

15.4.2.1. Absolutive absorption. Compound verbs of the type "noun + *awun/xun*" (cf. 10.6.) are special in that they often lack an Absolutive argument in their valence pattern. The Absolutive argument is incorporated into the verb as the first compound member and is thus "absorbed" from the valence pattern. The original situation, as in (753), gives way to the current situation in (754).

(753) *Ada k'walax iji-zwa.* *awun* (A_{ERG}, T_{ABS})
 she(ERG) work do-IMPF A = *ada*, T = *k'walax*
 'She is doing work.'

(754) *Ada k'walax-zawa.* *k'walaxun* (A_{ERG})
 she(ERG) work-IMPF A = *ada*
 'She is working.'

(Note that morphological incorporation is not obligatory and is not a necessary concomitant of "Absolutive absorption". See 10.6.1. on full and reduced *awun*-compounds.) While Absolutive absorption is normal in *awun*-compounds, it is rare in *xun*-compounds. More examples of the Absolutive-less valence pattern (A_{ERG}) are given in (755).

(755) a. *Šenp'i-jr.i c'uğ-zawa-j.* (K89,12:15)
 kitten-PL(ERG) howl-IMPF-PST
 'The kittens were howling.'

b. *Abur.u q'üler-zawa.*
 they(ERG) dances-IMPF
 'They are dancing.'

In addition to the valence pattern with a single Ergative argument, there are Absolutive-less valence patterns with all kinds of oblique arguments.

(756) V (A_{ERG})
 V (A_{ERG}, C_{DAT})
 V (A_{ERG}, L_{POESS})
 V (A_{ERG}, L_{SBEL})
 V (A_{ERG}, L_{SRESS})
 V (A_{ERG}, L_{INESS})

The choice of the case of the oblique argument seems to be largely semantically determined. When the participant is human, it is often in the Dative case, e.g.

hürmetun 'respect'
ewerun 'call'
ikramun 'bow to'
taʕsirun 'influence'
qarğışun 'curse'

- (757) a. *Ajal-r.i muallim.di-z hürmet-zawa.* (DD77,6:14)
 child-PL(ERG) teacher-DAT respect-IMPF
 'The children respect the teacher.'
- b. *Wiri hajwan-r.i paçah.di-z ikram-na.* (AM87:14)
 all animal-PL(ERG) king-DAT bow-AOR
 'All the animals bowed to the king.'
- c. *Ada abur.u-z qargiš awu-na.* (R66:7)
 she(ERG) they-DAT curse do-AOR
 'She cursed them.'
- d. *I kar.di Nazir.a-z gzaf taşir-na.* (N88:79)
 this thing(ERG) Nazir-DAT much influence-AOR
 'This event greatly influenced Nazir.'

Examples of a Postessive argument:

- (758) a. *Wučiz wa-q^h ixtibar iji-z že-da-č?* (N88:87)
 why [you-POESS trust do-INF] can-FUT-NEG
 'Why can one not trust you?'
- b. *Publicistika.d-a sadlahana gaf.uni-q^h majil iji-zwa.* (G82:80)
 journalism-INNESS *sadlahana* word-POESS tendency do-IMPF
 'In journalism one tends to (use) the word *sadlahana*.'

An example of a Superessive argument:

- (759) *Maslam.a q'we sefer.d-a Derbent.da-l huşum-na.* (Du68,2:99)
 Maslam(ERG) two time-INNESS Derbent-SRESS attack-AOR
 'Maslam attacked Derbent twice.'

An example of a Subrelative argument:

- (760) *Čna kwe-z a dewir.di-n alim-r.i-kaj ixtilat-da.* (K89,7:15)
 we:ERG you.all-DAT that period-GEN scholar-PL-SBEL tell-FUT
 'We will tell you-all about the scholars of that period.'

Sometimes one suspects Russian influence, not only in verbs borrowed from Russian, such as *otkazun* 'give up' (which takes a Subrelative argument in (761), corresponding to Russian *otkazat'sja ot*), but also in verbs like *iştirakun* 'participate', which takes an Inessive argument in (762).

- (761) *Čna c'iji-di kar.di-k kuta-daldi*
 we:ERG [new-SBST.SG thing-SBESS put.under-POSTR]
kühne-da-kaj otkaz-zawa. (Ko90,2,2:1)
 old-SBST.SG-SBEL give.up-IMPF
 'We give up the old (structures) before we realize the new (structures).'

- (762) *Ada 1812=jisu-z dawe.d-a iştirak awu-na.* (S88:164)
 he(ERG) 1812=year-DAT war-INESS participation do-AOR
 'He took part in the war in 1812.'

It is sometimes asserted in the literature on Lezgian that there are non-derived verbs with a single Ergative argument (e.g. Gadžiev 1954:97-98, Mejlanova & Talibov 1977:266). If such verbs really exist (i.e. if the cases cited cannot be explained as *awun*-compounds whose first member is no longer recognizable as such), they are at any rate extremely rare. The two most convincing cases are those in (763). (However, *čukurun* 'run' may be simply a use of *čukurun* 'chase' with omission of the Absolutive argument.)

- (763) *xkadarun* 'jump'
čukurun 'run' (but cf. *čukurun* 'chase')

- (774) a. *Buba.di xkadar-na.* (Mejlanova & Talibov 1977:266)
 father(ERG) jump-AOR
 'Father jumped.'

- b. *Gada.di čukur-zawa.* (Gadžiev 1954:98)
 boy(ERG) run-IMPF
 'The boy is running.'

15.4.2.2. Compound valence patterns with an Absolutive argument. Not all *awun/ɣun*-compounds lack an Absolutive argument. For example, *tebrikun* 'congratulate' may take an Absolutive argument although it is originally made up of *tebrik* 'congratulation' + *awun*:

- (775) *Xaji xür.ü-z xtu-n.a-ldi za wun rik'.i-waj*
 [native village-DAT return-MSD-SRDIR] I:ERG you:ABS heart-ADEL
tebrik-zawa. (R66:11)
 congratulate-IMPF

'I cordially congratulate you on returning to your native village.'

Thus, the valence pattern of verbs like *tebrikun* is in no way special (see 15.3.11.2. for this particular valence pattern).

It is unclear why some noun + *awun*-compounds take Absolutive arguments while others do not. Further examples of *awun*-compounds with an Absolutive argument are:

<i>ewezun</i> (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} , L _{SRDIR})	'A replaces T by L'	(<i>ewez</i> + <i>awun</i>)
<i>ajibun</i> (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS})	'A shames T'	(<i>ajib</i> + <i>awun</i>)
<i>hissun</i> (A _{ERG} , T _{ABS})	'A feels T'	(<i>hiss</i> + <i>awun</i>)

- (776) a. *Im Nurbala.di-ni hiss-zawa-j.* (R66:29)
 this:ABS Nurbala(ERG)-also feel-IMPF-PST
 'Nurbala felt this, too.'

- b. *Abur.u zun ajib-da.* (X89:7)
 they(ERG) I:ABS shame-FUT
 'They will shame me.'

Āun-compounds almost always take an Absolutive argument, e.g.

- düšüş Āun* (T_{ABS}, L_{SRESS}) 'L meets T'
ġalib Āun (T_{ABS}, L_{SRESS}) 'T defeats L, T is victorious over L'
q'ismet Āun (T_{ABS}, C_{DAT}) 'T is granted to C'

- (777) a. *Za-l jeke xizan düšüş ġa-na.* (M83:44)
 I-SRESS big family meeting be-AOR

'I met a big family.' (Lit. 'A big family happened upon me.')

- b. *Aburu-z ajal q'ismet ġa-na-ċ.*
 they-DAT child destiny become-AOR-NEG

'A child was not granted to them.'

15.5. Free omission of arguments

The arguments specified in a verb's valence pattern must normally be present for the sentence to be grammatical. However, arguments can be omitted under certain conditions. The most common reason for the absence of an argument is pronoun dropping (22.1.).

In this section I describe cases of missing arguments that cannot be recovered from the discourse context, but that do not involve a different valence pattern either (thus contrasting with labile verbs, 15.6.).

A very common type of argument omission is the omission of the subject argument (cf. 16.1. for the notion of 'subject'). The interpretation is 'an unspecified participant' or 'people in general'. When the verb is transitive, such subjectless sentences are best translated by means of passive sentences:

- (778) a. *Rossija.di-n ležber-r.i-n asocijacija teškil-nawa.* (Ko90,1,28:1)
 Russia-GEN farmer-PL-GEN association found-PRF

'An association of Russian farmers has been founded.'

- b. *Abur.u-kaj lajixlu-bur ċi gazet.di-n ċin-r-a*
 they-SBEL worthy-SBST.PL we:GEN paper-GEN face-PL-INESS

ċap-nawa. (Mejlanova 1986:204)
 print-PRF

'The best ones have been published on the pages of our newspaper.'

Not only the Ergative subject of transitive verbs can be freely omitted with the same interpretation, but also the Absolutive subject of intransitive verbs. This shows that the omissibility of the Ergative argument in sentences like (778) cannot be due to a special peripheral status of Ergative arguments (as claimed by Mel'čuk 1988). Languages that lack a subjectless pas-

sive, like English, must resort to expressions like ‘one’ in translating such Lezgian sentences.

- (779) a. *Za-z čil.e-l hawajda jašamiš te-že-zwa-j-di či-da.*
 I-DAT [earth-SRESS in.vain living NEG-be-IMPF-PTP-SBST] know-FUT
 ‘I know that one does not live in vain on earth.’ (DD85,5:5)
- b. *Dağustan.di-n č'al-ar-a lak'ab-r.i-n ğawur.d-a*
 Dagestan-GEN language-PL-INESS nickname-PL-GEN understanding-INESS
asant-diz aq'a-da. (L87,2:74)
 easy-ADV get-FUT
 ‘Nicknames are understood easily in Daghestanian languages.’

That the same phenomenon is involved both in the omission of Ergative and Absolutive arguments is confirmed by examples where both an Ergative subject and an Absolutive subject are omitted in the same sentence and with the same interpretation:

- (780) a. *∅ čara-da-n šej2.ini-z ğil jarġi awu-r-la,*
 [∅(ERG) alien-SBST.SG-GEN thing-DAT hand long do-AOP-TEMP]
∅ xalq'.di-n wilik bejabur že-da. (Š83:36)
 ∅(ABS) people-GEN before disgraceful become-FUT
 ‘When one steals someone else’s things, one disgraces oneself before the people.’
- b. *Hi hül-e, ∅ sirnaw t-awu-r-t'a-ni,*
 which sea-INESS [∅(ERG) swimming NEG-do-AOP-CND-even]
∅ batmiš že-da-č? (K84,2:16)
 ∅(ABS) sink ANTIC-FUT-NEG
 ‘In which sea does one not sink even if one does not swim?’

Arguments in other cases that correspond to English subjects may also be freely omitted with the same interpretation.

- (781) *∅ k'wal-er.i-n dak'ar-r-aj-ni ekw-er akwa-zwa.* (J84:19)
 ∅(DAT) house-PL-GEN window-PL-INEL-also light-PL see-IMPF
 ‘From the windows of the houses, too, one can see the lights.’
- (782) *∅ t'ebiat.di-q^h galaz aq̄až-iz že-da-č.* (K86,3:15)
 ∅(ADEL) [nature-POESS with compete-INF] can-FUT-NEG
 ‘One cannot compete with nature.’

Free omission of arguments corresponding to English direct objects is rarer. (783) is an example of a missing Adessive argument, again with the interpretation ‘one’.

- (783) *Qüğür-r.i ∅ čeb rehät-diz q'a-z tu-na.* (M83:44)
 hedgehog-PL(ERG) ∅(ADESS) [selves easy-ADV catch-INF] cause-AOR
 ‘The hedgehogs allowed one to catch them easily.’

A missing object argument is normally not interpreted as 'one', but as 'the object stereotypically associated with the verbal action'.

(784) *Raḡ.ini gzaḡ pis čra-zwa.* (TG66:374)
sun(ERG) much bad burn-IMPF

'The sun is burning (i.e. the earth) very badly.'

15.6. Labile verbs

As has been noted by Gadžiev (1954:100) and Šejxov (1987), there are a number of verbs associated with two valence patterns, a transitive valence pattern and an intransitive valence pattern that lacks the Ergative agent argument. Such verbs are generally referred to as LABILE in the Caucasian literature.

For instance, the verb *xun* 'break' is associated with the following two valence patterns and meanings:

(785) *xun* 1. {A_{ERG}, T_{ABS}} 'A breaks T'
 2. {T_{ABS}} 'T breaks'

The following eleven verbs have been identified as labile by Gadžiev (1954) and Šejxov (1987):

(786)	transitive {A _{ERG} , T _{ABS} }	intransitive {T _{ABS} }
<i>q'in</i>	'kill'	'die'
<i>xun</i>	'break(tr.); give birth to'	'break (intr.); be born'
<i>čurun</i>	'bake'	'ripen'
<i>kun</i>	'burn (tr.)'	'burn (intr.)'
<i>at'un</i>	'cut, tear off (tr.)'	'tear off (intr.)'
<i>rugun</i>	'boil, cook (tr.)'	'boil, cook (intr.)'
<i>qazunun</i>	'tear (tr.)'	'tear (intr.)'
<i>reḡün</i>	'grind (tr.)'	'be ground'
<i>eḡičun</i>	'spill (tr.)'	'spill (intr.)'
<i>rut'un</i>	'astringe (mouth)'	'become astringent'
<i>ruwun</i>	'set (teeth) on edge'	'be set on edge'

An example for the two different valence patterns and meanings of the labile verb *xun* is given in (787).

(787) a. *Get'e xa-na.* (Gadžiev 1954:100)
pot break-AOR

'The pot broke.'

b. *Ajal.di get'e xa-na.* (Gadžiev 1954:100)
child(ERG) pot break-AOR

'The child broke the pot.'

But how can we be sure that we are really dealing with two different valence patterns here, not merely with a freely omitted Ergative argument in (787a) (cf. 15.5. on such free omission of arguments)? Indeed, Mel'čuk (1988) claims that there are no labile verbs in Lezgian and that (787a) has the same syntactic structure as the sentences in (778) in 15.5. Conversely, Mejlanova & Talibov (1977) subsume both cases under labile verbs. Since the Ergative argument of any transitive verb can be freely omitted, they arrive at the astronomical number of "more than 150" labile verbs.

But contrary to Mel'čuk's and Mejlanova & Talibov's claims, there are in fact good reasons to treat the absence of an Ergative argument differently in labile verbs and in free omission. The arguments come from the scope of negation (15.6.1.), from imperatives (15.6.2.), and from the Involuntary Agent Construction (15.6.3.).

15.6.1. The argument from the scope of negation

This argument is semantic. Consider a sentence like (788), where the labile verb is negated.

(788) *Indija.d-a kal-er req'i-zwa-č.*
 India-INESS cow-PL kill/die-IMPF-NEG

- (i) 'In India cows don't die.' (intransitive labile)
- (ii) 'In India cows are not killed/one doesn't kill cows.'
 (free omission of the subject)

This sentence is ambiguous: On the first reading, the verb is intransitive and no argument is omitted; on the second reading, the verb is transitive, and the agent is omitted. This ambiguity affects all sentences with labile verbs in which there is no Ergative NP present—e.g. (787a) could also mean 'The pot was broken/one broke the pot.' But in such ordinary cases it is difficult to prove that there is real ambiguity in Lezgian, and not just two different Russian or English equivalents that correspond to no difference in Lezgian. However, when the verb is negated, as in (788), the semantic difference is so striking that translation is not necessary to bring out the ambiguity. On the intransitive reading, Indian cows are (falsely) said to be immortal, while on the transitive reading only that part of the lexical meaning of the verb is negated which specifies that death is caused by an agent. All native speakers that I consulted confirmed that (788) can have two meanings, the true meaning ('are not killed') and the false meaning ('do not die'). This shows that the meaning 'caused by an agent' is indeed part of the lexical meaning of a the transitive member of a labile verb pair.

15.6.2. The argument from Imperatives

Another piece of evidence for the distinction between labile verbs and free omission of arguments is the behavior of imperatives. As would be expected on semantic grounds, the Imperative addressee is the Absolutive argument of intransitive verbs or the Ergative argument of transitive verbs.

- (789) a. *Ja Farid, ša!*
 PT Farid come:IMPV
 'Farid, come!'
- b. *Ja Zamira, za-z gazet ħaču!*
 PT Zamira I-DAT newspaper buy(IMPV)
 'Zamira, buy me a newspaper!'

The Absolutive argument of transitive verbs cannot be the Imperative addressee (790a), not even where this would not be completely implausible semantically, as in (790b).

- (790) a. **Ja gazet, (Zamira.di) za-z ħaču!*
 PT newspaper Zamira(ERG) I-DAT buy(IMPV)
 'Newspaper, be bought (by Zamira) for me!'
- b. **Ja Allahħuli, policija.di jaħ!*
 PT Allahħuli police(ERG) catch:IMPV
 'Allahħuli, get caught by the police! (i.e. surrender to the police).'

If labile verbs were not different in any way from purely transitive verbs like *ħaču* 'take, buy', *q'un* 'hold, catch', etc., we would expect them to behave similarly. But in fact labile verbs do allow an intransitive Absolutive addressee, even in cases where this is not very plausible semantically, as shown in (791b) and (792b).

- (791) a. *Ja Musa, ħüħür jiq'!*
 PT Musa hedgehog die/kill:IMPV
 'Musa, kill the hedgehog!'
- b. *Ja dušman, jiq'!*
 PT enemy die/kill:IMPV
 'Enemy, die!'
- (792) a. *Ja Gülmehamed, get'e xu-x!*
 PT Gülmehamed pot break-IMPV
 'Gülmehamed, break the pot!'
- b. *Ja get'e, xu-x!*
 PT pot break-IMPV
 'Pot, break!'

15.6.3. The argument from the Involuntary Agent Construction

Finally, the difference between labile verbs and free omission of arguments can be seen in the Involuntary Agent Construction, in which the agent is in the Adelative case and the additional meaning is 'involuntarily, unwittingly, or in a very indirect manner'. This construction is illustrated in (793).

- (793) *Zamira.di-waj get'e xa-na.*
 Zamira-ADEL pot break-AOR
 'Zamira broke the pot accidentally/involuntarily.'

Meľčuk (1988:227) states that this type of sentence has the same syntactic structure as transitive sentences like (794)

- (794) *Zamira.di get'e xa-na.*
 Zamira(ERG) pot break-AOR
 'Zamira broke the pot.'

and that the only difference is the case-marking of the agent NP, with the Ergative case meaning 'caused by', and the Adelative meaning 'caused accidentally/indirectly by'.

However, Gadžiev (1954:98) correctly noted that the Adelative construction is only possible with such transitive verbs that also have a corresponding intransitive valence pattern, i.e. labile verbs. Thus, (795) is possible, whereas (796) is ungrammatical, although semantically just as plausible. This is again clear syntactic evidence for the class of labile verbs.

(795) Labile verbs

- a. *Zi dust.di-waj balk'an q'e-na.*
 I:GEN friend-ADEL horse die/kill-AOR
 'My friend accidentally killed the horse.'
- b. *Za-waj ada-n perem ka-na.*
 I-ADEL he-GEN shirt burn-AOR
 'I accidentally burnt his shirt.'

(796) Ordinary transitive verbs

- a. **Dide.di-waj gam xkaž-na.*
 mother-ADEL rug lift-AOR
 'Mother accidentally lifted the rug.'
- b. **Taibat.a-waj rak aq^haj-na.*
 Taibat-ADEL door open-AOR
 'Taibat accidentally opened the door.'

Although the Involuntary Agent Construction is not possible with ordinary transitive verbs, it is not restricted to the small class of labile verbs. An involuntary agent can be added quite generally to intransitive verbs which denote a non-agentive process, as illustrated by sentences (797a-c), which contain ordinary, non-labile intransitive-processual verbs.

- (797) a. *Dide.di-waj nek alaž-na.*
 mother-ADEL milk boil.over-AOR
 'Mother involuntarily allowed the milk to boil over.'

- b. *Muʔminat.a-waj wiči-n ktab stol.di-laj alat-na.*
 Muʔminat-ADEL self-GEN book table-SREL fall.off-AOR
 ‘Muʔminat accidentally caused her book to fall from the table.’
- c. *Maisa.di-waj cükw-er q’ura-na.*
 Maisa-ADEL flower-PL wilt-AOR
 ‘Maisa involuntarily allowed the flowers to wilt.’

The verb of the Involuntary Agent Construction need not even be intransitive—it is enough if the event is semantically non-agentive and potentially under the control of the Adelative NP, as illustrated by (798).

- (798) *Dide.di-waj perde.di c’aj q’u-na.*
 mother-ADEL curtain(ERG) fire catch-AOR
 ‘Mother accidentally caused the curtain to catch fire.’

Thus, the Adelative NP in (793) is not at all parallel syntactically to the Ergative NP in (794). The verb *xun* ‘break’ is transitive in (794), but intransitive in (793). While the Ergative NP behaves like an English subject in most respects, the Adelative NP can be likened to English *on*-phrases (‘The curtain caught fire on mother;’ ‘The flowers wilted on Maisa.’) or to the German *dativus incommodi* (‘Die Blumen sind ihr verwelkt.’).

Chapter 16

Syntax of the clause

The preceding chapter on verbal valence contains the central information on clause-internal syntax. This chapter deals with some further issues: the problem of grammatical relations (especially the subject, 16.1.), word order at the clause level (16.2.), and clausal adjuncts (16.3.).

16.1. Grammatical relations: the notion of subject

16.1.1. Subject properties

Notions such as subject, direct object, indirect object, etc. (i.e. grammatical relations, or syntactic functions) are generally used sparingly in this book. The reason is that their use is not as straightforward in role-dominated languages like Lezgian as it is in reference-dominated languages like English. There are very few generalizations that need to be stated over grammatical relations.

The subject is the most important grammatical relation, and I will mostly be concerned with this notion in this section. There is some evidence, albeit rather slight, that a notion of subject is needed in Lezgian grammar. The arguments that have subject status are the Absolutive argument of intransitive verbs, the Ergative argument of transitive verbs, and the Dative argument in the Affective Construction.

However, most of the properties that often serve to identify subjects in other languages do not uniquely identify subjects in Lezgian. Following Keenan (1976), we can divide subject properties into coding properties and behavioral properties. Coding properties are case marking, subject-verb agreement, word order and the like. Case marking would of course identify the Absolutive argument both of intransitive and of transitive sentences as the subject. However, case marking is not normally considered sufficient evidence for grammatical relations in languages with ergative case marking. Subject-verb agreement is lacking in Lezgian. There is some weak evidence from word order that Ergative agents and Dative experiencers are both subjects, because both precede the Absolutive argument in the unmarked order:

(799) *Alfija.di maqala kxe-na.*
Alfija(ERG) article write
'Alfija wrote an article.'

(800) *Mu'minat.a-z Ibrahim aku-na.*
Mu'minat-DAT Ibrahim see-AOR
'Mu'minat saw Ibrahim.'

However, since word order is very flexible (especially the order of arguments and clausal adjuncts, cf. 16.2.), this is very weak evidence. It is just as possible that the true word order generalization is a strong tendency for topics to precede non-topics, and for agents and experiencers to be topics.

Behavioral properties have to do with behavior in valence-changing (or relation-changing) operations and with behavior in various types of coreferential constructions. Valence-changing operations do not yield any criteria in Lezgian, because the only valence-changing verbal categories, the Causative and the Anticausative (cf. 10.1.-2.), affect only one type of argument (Causatives are formed only from intransitive verbs, Anticausatives only from transitive verbs). It is only in coreferential constructions that we begin to get some clearer evidence for a notion of subject in Lezgian, as discussed in the following two sections.

16.1.2. Evidence from coreferential constructions

Let us first consider constructions involving omission under coreference. In such constructions, there is a controller and an (omitted) target. For instance, in English *Maria promised Kim to meet Hans*, the subject of *to meet* is omitted under coreference with *Maria*; i.e. the subject of *to meet* is the target and *Maria* (the subject of *promised*) is the controller of the omission.

Across languages, the controller of coreferential omission is very often the subject. In Lezgian, too, subjects are commonly controllers. In (801a-c), an Ergative argument, an intransitive Absolutive argument, and a Dative experiencer control a complement clause target.

- (801) a. *Ada jarğ-ar.i-z kilig-un dawamar-na.* (M83:74)
 he(ERG) [distance-PL-DAT look-MSD] continue-AOR
 'He kept looking into the distance.'
- b. *Güldeste wiri žüre.di-n k'walax-ar awu-n.i-z*
 Güldeste [all kind-GEN work-PL do-MSD-DAT]
mažbur xa-na. (Š83:8)
 forced become-AOR
 'Güldeste was forced to do work of all kinds.'
- c. *Wa-z küđe.di-z fi-n.i-kaj kič'e-zwa-ni?* (DD85,3:23)
 you-DAT [street-DAT go-MSD-SBEL] afraid-IMP-F-Q
 'Are you afraid to go on the street?'

However, not only Ergatives, intransitive Absolutives, and Dative experiencers can control omitted targets. Other arguments that are salient in the clause can do so as well, such as Genitive experiencers (802a) or Subrelative arguments (802b).

- (802) a. *Č'ul qāču-z či rik'.e-laj alat-na.* (K57:7)
 [belt take-INF] we:GEN heart-SREL fall.off-AOR
 'We forgot to take a belt along.'

- b. *Siw-äj gadr-aj cük'ün.di-kaj čil.e-l awat-daldi*
 [mouth-INEL throw-AOP] spittle-SBEL [earth-SRESS fall-BEFORE]
murk že-da-j. (K90,12:2)
 ice become-FUT-PST

'Spittle thrown out of the mouth turned into ice before falling on the ground.'

The referential control of reflexive pronouns works very similarly: although reflexives are most commonly controlled by subjects, they may also be controlled by other salient arguments (see 22.4.).

A property that is much more restricted than controllership is the property of being the target of coreferential omission. As the above examples show, the omitted argument is generally the Ergative or Absolutive subject. Coreferential omission of Dative experiencers is also possible:

- (803) a. *Gada.di-z ruš akwa-z k'an-zawa.* (cf. Kibrik 1980a, ex. 6)
 boy-DAT [girl see-INF] want-IMPF

'The boy wants to see the girl.'

- b. *Ø güläğ-ar qirmiš-da-j i q'ušun aku-r-la,*
 [Ø(DAT) [snake-PL exterminate-FUT-PTP] this army see-AOP-TEMP]

Alaḡuli serhätsuz šad xa-na. (M83:44)

Alaḡuli infinite glad become-AOR

'When seeing this snake-exterminating army, Alaḡuli became infinitely glad.'

But even though the property of being a target of omission is a better candidate for a true subject property, it is not completely reliable because of the general freedom of omitting pronominal arguments when they are recoverable from the context (cf. 22.1.). Thus, even here it is quite possible that other, pragmatic factors are at work. And Kibrik (1980a) reports that even non-subject arguments can sometimes be omitted optionally (Kibrik's examples are from the Axceh dialect; I have substituted the standard spelling).

- (804) a. *Ruš.a-z gada.di wič/Ø gata-z kič'e-zwa.*
 girl-DAT [boy(ERG) self/Ø(ABS) beat-INF] fear-IMPF

'The girl is afraid that the boy will beat her.'

- b. *Ruš.a-z gada wiči-z/Ø kilig-iz kič'e-zwa.*
 girl-DAT [boy self-DAT/Ø(DAT) look-INF] fear-IMPF

'The girl is afraid that the boy will look at her.'

- c. *Ruš.a-z gada.di-z wič/Ø akwa-z kič'e-zwa.*
 girl-DAT [boy-DAT self/Ø(ABS) see-INF] fear-IMPF

'The girl is afraid that the boy will see her.'

Nevertheless, there is one coreferential construction that seems to give reliable evidence for subjecthood in Lezgian. It distinguishes between Ergatives, intransitive Absolutives, and Dative experiencers (i.e. subjects)

and all other arguments, and is apparently not semantically or pragmatically determined. This is switch-reference with 'want'-complements.

16.1.3. Evidence from switch-reference with 'want'

As is noted in 20.2.1., complements to *k'an-* 'want' are in the Infinitive form when the subject of the complement clause is coreferential with the wanter (i.e. the matrix subject). This condition can only be stated in terms of the notion of subject. (805a) shows a coreferentially omitted Ergative complement subject, and (805b) shows an omitted Absolutive complement subject.

(805) a. *Nabisat.a-z ktab k'el-iz k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [book read-INF] want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants to read a book.'

b. *Nabisat.a-z q'hür.e-z k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [laugh-INF] want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants to laugh.'

But when the complement subject is not coreferential with the matrix subject, the complement verb is in the Aorist converb form (cf. 806). The Infinitive form is not possible here.

(806) a. *Nabisat.a-z ruš.a ktab k'el-na/*k'el-iz k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [girl(ERG) book read-AOC/read-INF] want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants her daughter to read a book.'

b. *Nabisat.a-z xwa k'wal.i-z xta-na/*xkwe-z*
 Nabisat-DAT [son house-DAT come.back-AOC/come.back-INF]
k'an-zawa.
 want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants her son to come home.'

This is thus a sort of syntactic switch-reference system in which the Infinitive is the same subject form and the Aorist converb is the different subject form. This criterion clearly shows that the 'direct object' Absolutive behaves differently from the Ergative and and Absolutive subject:

(807) **Musa.di-z dide.di šeher.di-z raqur-iz k'an-zawa.*
 Musa-DAT [mother(ERG) town-DAT send-INF] want-IMPF
 'Musa wants to be sent to town by his mother.'

It also shows that the Dative experiencer of experience verbs has subject status (cf. 808a) and the Absolutive stimulus does not have subject status (cf. 808b).

- (808) a. *Nabisat.a-z xwa akwa-z k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [son see-INF] want-IMPF

'Nabisat wants to see her son.'

- b. **Nabisat.a-z wič g'ül.ü-z akwa-z k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [self husband-DAT see-INF] want-IMPF

'Nabisat wants to be seen by her husband.'

Other experiencers, however, are not subjects. Example (809) shows an experiencer NP which is in the Genitive and dependent on *rik'* 'heart'.

- (809) *Nabisat.a-z wilikan g'ül wiči-i-n rik'-elaj*
 Nabisat-DAT [former husband self-GEN heart-SREL

*alat-na/*alat-iz k'an-zawa.*
 fall.off-AOC/fall.off-INF] want-IMPF

'Nabisat wants to forget her former husband (lit. wants her former husband to disappear from her heart).'

Another behavioral subject property that singles out Ergatives, intransitive Absolutives, and Dative experiencers is the possibility of being used as the addressee of the Imperative. This argument has already been used above to distinguish between Dative subjects and non-subject Dative arguments (cf. 15.4.1.), and to distinguish between labile verbs and free omission of the subject (cf. 15.6.2.).

Thus, there are two more or less clear criteria for subject status in Lezgian: switch-reference with 'want'-complements, and the Imperative addressee. These can be used to exclude certain types of arguments from subjecthood, but they are not ideal because they are both semantically restricted: Both subjects of 'want'-complements and of imperatives must be agentive for semantic reasons, so that there is no way to test for the subject status of arguments that are not semantically agentive.

To conclude, there is some restricted evidence for grouping together Ergatives, intransitive Absolutives and Dative experiencers as subjects in Lezgian. But on the whole, Lezgian is clearly role-dominated, and the form of sentences is largely determined by pragmatic factors rather than by syntactic rules.

16.2. Word order at the clause level

Like noun-phrase-internal and adjective-phrase-internal word order, clause-level word order is generally head-final, i.e. verb-final. However, whereas head-final word order is obligatory in noun phrases and adjective phrases, verb-final order is only the preferred word order in independent sentences. Alternative orders are possible, especially in the colloquial language. The order of the other major constituents of the clause (arguments and adjuncts) is quite free, although there is a strong tendency for the subject to precede the other arguments.

16.2.1. Position of the verb

The finite verb is in the sentence-final position in the overwhelming majority of cases, at least in the written standard language. This is illustrated by (810) and by many other examples in this grammar.

- (810) *Kamalov.a itim.di-z stol.di-q^h čka qalur-na.* (M90:76)
 Kamalov(ERG) man-DAT table-POESS place show-AOR
 'Kamalov showed the man a seat at the table.'

In subordinate clauses the clause-final position of the verb is practically obligatory, as illustrated in (811) and in many other examples, especially in Ch. 19-21.

- (811) *Xür-e-wa-j č'exi buba činiz, šher.di-z muhmanwil.i-z*
 [[village-INESS-be.in-PTP] great father to.us town-DAT visit-DAT
ata-j-la, aq'wan zun šad že-da xi! (K90,3:2)
 come-AOP-TEMP] so.much I:ABS happy be-FUT PT
 'When grandfather in the village comes to town on a visit to us, I am so happy!'

However, there are certain conditions under which non-verb-final order in independent sentences is possible or even required. One such condition is in reporting clauses where the object argument represents direct speech. This appears to be something of a literary convention (much like in English), but in narrative prose writing it is practically exceptionless. The reporting verb follows the direct speech immediately, followed by other constituents of the clause.

- (812) a. *Bedel, sa mani lah, — teklif-na Abil.a.* (Q81:114)
 [Bedel one song say:IMPV] propose-AOR Abil(ERG)
 'Bedel, sing a song, — proposed Abil.'
- b. *Dax, im qunši xür-äj ata-nwa-j zi dust ja,*
 [dad this:ABS [neighbor village-INEL come-PREF-PTP] I:gen friend COP]
 — *laha-na Rahman.a Ali.di-n qün.e-l gil ecig-na.*
 say-AOR Rahman(ERG) [Ali-GEN shoulder-SRESS hand put-AOC]
 'Dad, this is my friend who has come from the neighboring village,
 — said Rahman, putting his arm on Ali's shoulder.' (J89:27)

This convention is so strong that it is followed even when the reporting verb is not strictly speaking a speech act verb.

- (813) — *Lam? Ja-t'a zun-ni qwe-da, — laha-na žanawur.di.*
 [donkey COP-CND I:ABS-also come-FUT] say-AOR wolf(ERG)
 — *Ša man, — razi xa-na abur.* (K90,12:3)
 [come:IMPV PT] agreed be-AOR they
 '— The donkey? Then I'll come, too, — said the wolf.
 — Come along, then, — agreed they.'

Another condition under which non-verb-final word order is usual is in the formulaic beginning of a fairy tale:

- (814) *Āa-na q'wan, ĩa-na-č q'wan Abas luhu-da-j sa gada.*
 be-AOR PT be-AOR-NEG PT [Abas say-FUT-PTP] one boy

'Once upon a time there was a boy called Abas.' (Lit. 'There was, there was not, a boy called Abas.')

Outside of these literary conventions, non-verb-final order is not uncommon in direct speech in narrative prose, especially in questions (cf. 815) and in emphatic or emotional speech (cf. 816).

- (815) a. *Amma pul gwa-ni wa-w?* (K86,2:5)
 but money be.at-Q you-ADESS
 'But do you have money?'
 b. *Wa-z ĩi-da-ni zun jifi-z wučiz elüq'-zawa-t'a?* (A90:23)
 you-DAT know-FUT-Q [I:ABS night-DAT why bark-IMP-F-CND]
 'Do you know why I bark at night?'
 c. *Šad tuš-ni wun zi teklif.da-l?* (S88:162)
 glad COP:NEG-Q you:ABS I:GEN invitation-SRESS
 'Aren't you glad about about my invitation?'
 (816) a. *Paka hat-da kün ĩi ģil-e!* (H77:8)
 tomorrow get-FUT you.all:ABS we:GEN hand-INESS
 'Tomorrow you-all will fall into our hands!'
 b. *Akwa-n abur.u zun hik' q'abul-da-t'a.* (Š83:71)
 see-HORT [they(ERG) I:ABS how receive-FUT-CND]
 'Let's see how they will receive me.'
 c. A: *Im wuč ja?* B: *Či-da-č za-z! Isät da kilig-da!*
 this:ABS what COP know-FUT-NEG I-DAT now look-FUT
 'A: What's this? B: No idea! I'll check right away!' (M83:57)

16.2.2. Position of the arguments

The most common position is for the subject to precede the other arguments, as shown in (817) and in many other sentences in this grammar.

- (817) a. *Gada.di wiči-n žibin.da-j c'akul ačud-na.* (AM87:7)
 boy(ERG) self-GEN pocket-INEL feather take.out-AOR

'The boy took a feather out of his pocket.'

- b. *Za-z a m sa hina jat'ani aku-na.* (K90,3:2)
I-DAT it:ABS one where INDEF see-AOR

'I have seen it somewhere.'

- c. *Zun tadi-z xür.ü-z q^hfi-da.* (J89:27)
I:ABS quick-ADV village-DAT return-FUT

'I will quickly return to the village.'

However, the order of the arguments with respect to each other seems to be determined by information structure rather than by grammatical relations. Given information tends to precede new information, and the subject simply is most often given information. In those relatively infrequent cases where another argument is given and the subject is new, the subject follows that argument:

- (818) a. *Mizafer sifte č'exi xci-n k'wal.i-z fe-na-j. Wad*
Mizafer first big son-GEN house-DAT go-AOR-PST five
lahaj merteba.di-z xkaž xa-na. Rak č'exi xci-n
ORD floor-DAT raise ANTIC-AOR door big son-GEN
swas Ajnise.di aq^haj-na. (§83:61)
bride Ajnise(ERG) open-AOR

'Mizafer first went to his older son's house. He went up to the fifth floor. The door was opened by his older son's wife Ajnise.'

- b. *Čna wa-z xazina hina čünüx-nawa-t'a luhu-da, wuna*
we:ERG you-DAT [treasury where hide-PRF-CND] say-FUT you:ERG
pačah.di-z a xazina žin-err.i čünüx-na lah. (Du85,3:116)
king-DAT [that treasury jinn-PL(ERG) hide-AOR] say:IMPV

'We'll tell you where the treasury is hidden, and you tell the king that that treasury was hidden by jinns.'

When the Absolutive object is given information, the sentence can be translated by means of a passive (as in 818a-b). When the given element is not a direct object, other constructions (e.g. existential constructions) must be used in the English translation:

- (819) *Abur.u-z gila k'walax že-da, žibin.di-z dullux*
they-DAT now work be-FUT pocket-DAT salary
q̄we-da, k'wal-e-ni sa kap halal fu že-da. (HQ89:6)
come-FUT house-INESS-and one chunk self.earned bread be-FUT

'They will now have work, there will be a salary coming into the pocket, and a piece of self-earned bread will be in the house.'

Another reason for reversing the normal subject-first order may be the heaviness of an argument. Heavy arguments tend to be placed at the margin of the clause, i.e. clause-initially in verb-final clauses.

- (820) a. *Abur muq'uf.da-ldi k'el-un wa ezber-un za kwe-z*
 [they skill-SRDIR read-MSD and cram-MSD] I:ERG you.all-DAT
k'ewelaj meslät qalur-zawa. (K89,4:2)
 strongly advice show-IMPF
 'I advise you strongly to read and study them carefully.'
- b. *Xzan.di-n t'ün.i-z xarž-zawa-j-d.a-laj pud sefer.d-a*
 [family-GEN food-DAT spend-IMPF-PTP-SBST.SG-SREL] five time-INESS
gzaf pul za ički.di-q^h gu-zwa. (Q81:110)
 much money I:ERG booze-POESS give-IMPF
 'I spend three times as much money on booze than I spend for feeding my family.'

16.2.3. Position of the adjuncts

Like the position of arguments, the position of clausal adjuncts is primarily determined by information structure rather than by syntactic rules, and it is therefore quite variable. Only a few remarks will be made here.

Adverbials of setting are commonly placed clause-initially:

- (821) a. *I tam-a am sa juq.u-z qeqwe-na.* (AM87:4)
 this forest-INESS he:ABS one day-DAT search-AOR
 'In this forest he searched for one day.'
- b. *Či era.di-n VIII asir.d-a lezgi čil-er.a-l arab-ar*
 we:GEN era-GEN 8 century-INESS Lezgian land-PL-SRESS Arab-PL
tur-ni zur gwa-z ata-na. (K89,7:15)
 [sword-and violence be.at-IMC] come-AOR
 'In the 8th century of the common era, the Arabs came to the Lezgian lands with sword and violence.'

Adverbials of manner show a greater tendency for clause-medial position.

- (822) a. *Za suwar-ar hewes.di-wdi güzlemiš-zawa.* (N88:115)
 I:ERG holiday-PL enthusiasm-ADDIR await-IMPF
 'I enthusiastically look forward to the holidays.'
- b. *C'arak.a wiči-n sa tapac astawil.e-ldi Psit'.a-n*
 C'arak(ERG) self-GEN one paw slowness-SRDIR Psit'-GEN
q'il.e-l ecig-na. (A90:21)
 head-SRESS put-AOR
 'C'arak (the dog) slowly put one of its paws on Psi's (the cat's) head.'

Besides information structure, another important factor is clearly heaviness, which leads to the predominantly clause-initial position of adverbial clauses (cf. Ch. 21).

16.2.4. Discontinuous constituents?

While word order in Lezgian is generally rather free, there is a very strong tendency for the elements of a constituent to be adjacent. Discontinuous noun phrases, as can be found in languages like Latin or Warlpiri, are prohibited in Lezgian.

However, sometimes subordinate clauses appear to exhibit discontinuities. An example is (823) (cf. also (457a), (568a), (1156), (1163b)).

(823) *Am ni-waj aḡwazar-iz že-da?* (K90,3:2)
 he:ABS who-ADEL stop-INF can-FUT

'Who will be able to stop him?'

According to the analysis of this grammar (cf. 20.2.2.), [*am aḡwazariz*] 'to stop him' constitutes a subordinate Infinitival complement clause, which is an argument of the verb *ḡun* 'be able', and whose omitted subject is controlled by the "subject" of *ḡun*, *niwaj* 'who'. However, the argument of the main verb, *niwaj*, is in the middle of the subordinate clause [*am aḡwazariz*].

Since continuity is generally considered a strong argument for constituency, one might suspect that the analysis is not in fact correct, and that sentences like (823) are not biclausal but monoclausal.

More research is needed to decide whether discontinuous complement clauses are allowed or whether the analysis of complement clauses like (823) has to be revised.

16.3. Clausal adjuncts

Most of the clausal adjuncts (=adverbials) are described in other places in this grammar, especially in the sections on the functions of the cases (7.2.2.) on adverbs (12.1.), on postpositions (12.2.), and on adverbial clauses (Ch. 21).

This section deals with clausal adjuncts from a semantic (onomasiological, function-to-form) point of view. Since detailed description of the forms and illustration is provided elsewhere, much of this section consists of mere cross-references. It can largely be regarded as a systematic index to the form-to-function parts dispersed over the book where adverbials are described.

Adverbials can be divided into two main semantic groups: predication adverbials and sentence adverbials. Predication adverbials are dealt with in sections 16.3.1.-16.3.3, sentence adverbials in sections 16.3.4.-16.3.5.

16.3.1. Spatial adverbials

Spatial notions can be decomposed into two components: type of location (e.g. interior, posterior, inferior, etc.) and type of orientation (position, source, path, direction) (cf. Comrie & Smith 1977). The type of location is expressed by one of the localizations (Ad, Post, Sub, Super, In) or by the stem

of a postposition. Orientation is expressed by one of the local cases (Essive, Elative, Directive), or by an oblique-case form of a postposition. Furthermore, there are various spatial adverbs that are often formally identical to postpositions.

Position is expressed by an Essive case or by the basic form of a postposition; source and path are expressed by an Elative case or by an Elative form of a postposition; direction is occasionally by a Directive case or a Directive form of a postposition, but it is more commonly expressed in the same way as position (except in the most general type of location, where direction is expressed by the Dative case). Below only the expression of position is given for most of the locations.

16.3.1.1. General location ('at'): In localization (7.1.2.3.). Position: Inessive case (7.2.2.17.); source/path: Inelative case (7.2.2.18.); direction: Dative case (7.2.2.4.). The Post localization (7.2.2.8.-10.) is also sometimes used with general locative meaning.

16.3.1.2. Proximate ('near'): Ad localization (7.2.2.5.), postpositions *pataw*, *muq'uw*, *q'iliw* (12.2.1.8.-9., 12.2.2.2.).

16.3.1.3. Interior ('in(side)'): In localization (7.2.2.17.-18.); postposition *qen-* (12.2.1.1.).

16.3.1.4. Exterior ('out(side)'): Postposition *qec-* (12.2.1.2.).

16.3.1.5. Anterior ('in front of'): Postposition *wilik* (12.2.1.5.).

16.3.1.6. Posterior ('behind'): Post localization (7.2.2.8.-10.); postpositions *q'uluq^h*, *güğüna* (12.2.1.6.-7.).

16.3.1.7. Superior ('above, over'): Postposition *winel* (12.2.1.3.).

16.3.1.8. Superior-contact ('on'): Super localization (7.2.2.14.-16.).

16.3.1.9. Inferior ('under/below'): Sub localization (7.2.2.11.-13.); postposition *k'anik* (12.2.2.1.).

16.3.1.10. Ulterior ('beyond'): Postposition *aniq^h* (12.2.1.11.).

16.3.1.11. Medial ('between'): Postposition *arada* (12.2.2.3.).

16.3.2. Temporal adverbials

16.3.2.1. General temporal location. This is expressed by the Dative case with calendrical cyclic nouns (seasons, 'day', 'year') and with the noun 'time' (*e'aw*), cf. 7.2.2.4. and 12.1.2.4. With other nouns it is expressed by the Inessive case (7.2.2.17.).

16.3.2.2. Anterior ('before'): Postposition *wilik* (12.2.1.5.).

16.3.2.3. Anterior-durative ('until'): Superdirective case (7.2.2.16.).

16.3.2.4. Posterior ('after'): Postpositions *q'uluq^h*, *güğüniz* (12.2.1.6.-7.)

16.3.2.5. Posterior-durative ('since; after'): Postposition *iniq^h* (12.2.1.10.); Superrelative case (7.2.2.15.).

16.3.2.6. Distance-posterior ('in; after'): Superrelative case (deictic or non-deictic) (7.2.2.15.)

16.3.2.7. Distance-anterior ('ago'; 'before'): This temporal relation can be expressed in two ways:

(A) By the expression *X idalaj wilik* 'X ago', lit. 'X before this'. This expression can be used deictically (where the point of reference is identical to the moment of speech), as in (824), or non-deictically, as in (825).

(824) *dümdüz 250 jis ida-laj wilik* (K87,1:5)
 exactly 250 year this-SREL before
 'exactly 250 years ago'

(825) *Abur irid jis ida-laj wilik ewlenmiş ða-ji-bur*
 [they seven year this-SREL before marry ANTIC-AOP-SBST.PL
tir-t'a-ni, abur.u-q^h ajal awa-ðir. (X89:27)
 COP:PST-CND]-even they-POESS child be-NEG-PST
 'Although they had gotten married seven years before, they did not have a child.'

(B) By a copular clause and a converbal clause, where the event is coded in the converbal clause, while the distance is coded as the predicate nominal of the copular clause. The Aorist converb is used here.

(826) *Am fe-na wad warz ja.* (M79:6)
 [she:ABS go-AOC] five month COP
 'She went five months ago.' (Lit. 'She having gone, it has been five months.')

16.3.2.8. Distance-anterior-durative ('for'). This is also expressed by a copular clause plus a converbal clause (just as in 16.3.2.7. (B)), but here the Imperfective converb is used.

(827) a. *Wun za-z t-akwa-z sa şumud jis ja.* (H77:6)
 [you:ABS I-DAT NEG-see-IMC] one how.many year COP
 'I haven't seen you for a couple of years.' (Lit. 'I not seeing you, it has been a couple of years.')

- b. *Čna xipeq^hanwil.i-n sovhoz.d-a k'walax iji-z*
 [we:ERG sheep.breeding-GEN sovkhöz-INNESS work do-IMC]

gzaf waxt ja. (Š83:98)
 much time COP

'We have been working in a sheep-breeding sovkhöz for quite some time.'

16.3.2.9. Duration-atelic ('for'): Inessive case (7.2.2.17.)

16.3.2.10. Duration-telic ('in'): Postposition *čene* (12.2.1.1.).

16.3.2.11. Medial ('between'): Postposition *arada*.

16.3.2.12. Regular interval: expressed by *har* (11.7.2.) plus general temporal location, e.g. *har näni-z* 'every evening'.

16.3.3. Other predication adverbials

16.3.3.1. Beneficiary. The beneficiary is expressed by the Dative case (7.2.2.4.) or by the postposition *patal* 'for' (12.2.2.4.)

16.3.3.2. Comitative. An accompanying participant is expressed by the postpositions *galaz* 'with' (with human arguments) and *gwaz* 'with' (with non-human arguments) (12.2.3.3.-4.).

16.3.3.3. Instrument. An instrument is expressed by the Superdirective case (7.2.2.16.), the Supressive case (7.2.2.14.), or the Addirective case (7.2.2.7.).

16.3.3.4. Absence. The notion 'without' is expressed by the negative forms of the comitative expressions *galaz/gwaz: galáčiz/gwačž* (cf. 12.2.3.3.-4.).

16.3.3.5. Manner. This is expressed by deadjectival adverbs (8.1.2.), by converbial clauses (21.1.-3.), or by abstract nouns in the Superdirective or Addirective cases (7.2.2.7., 7.2.2.16.).

16.3.3.6. Cause. This is expressed by the Inelative case (7.2.2.18.), the Subdirective case (7.2.2.13.), the Supressive case (7.2.2.14.), and by various types of causal clauses (21.5.).

16.3.3.7. Purpose. This is expressed by the postposition *patal* 'for' (12.2.2.4.), and by various types of purpose clauses (21.6.).

16.3.3.8. Condition. This is expressed by conditional clauses (21.7.), and cf. also 16.3.5.4.

16.3.3.9. Topic. The notion 'about' is expressed by the Subelative case (7.2.2.12.) and by the postposition *hačindaj* (12.2.4.2.).

16.3.3.10. Quality/essive. The notion ‘as’ is expressed by the converb of the standard copula, *ja-z* (21.2.).

16.3.3.11. Source. The notion ‘from (a person)’ is expressed by the Adelative case (7.2.2.6.) or the postposition *pataj* (12.2.2.5.).

16.3.3.12. Price. The notion ‘in exchange for’ is expressed by the Postessive case (7.2.2.8.) or by the Inelative case (7.2.2.18.).

16.3.3.13. Concession. This is expressed by various types of concessive clauses (21.8.).

16.3.3.14. Exclusion. The notion ‘except’ is expressed by the postpositions *ğejri* (12.2.4.1.) and *kwāz* (12.2.3.2.).

16.3.3.15. Addition. The notion ‘besides’ is expressed by the postpositions *ğejri* and *bašqa* (12.2.4.1.).

16.3.4. Sentence adverbials

It is hard to say anything general about the form that sentence adverbials take (cf. Mejlanova 1986 for some discussion). They can be expressed by special sentence adverbs (e.g. *bažahat* ‘hardly’, *duğridanni* ‘really’), by deadjectival adverbs (*küreldi* ‘briefly’), by adjectives (*šaksuz* ‘no doubt’), by noun phrases in various cases (*helbetda* ‘of course’, *akwar halaraj* ‘apparently, lit. from the visible states’), and by adverbial clauses.

Sentence adverbials are often set off by commas from the rest of the sentence.

Below a few examples for different semantic classes of sentence adverbials are given.

16.3.4.1. Epistemic sentence adverbials.

(828) a. *Aştin ks-ar i dünja.da-l, helbetda, t'imil ala.* (Ş83:51)
such person-PL this world-SRESS of.course few be.on

‘Such people are, of course, few in this world.’

b. *Bažahat qwe-da-j jis.a-n beher c'inin-da-laj*
hardly [come-FUT-PTP] year-GEN crop this.year's-SBST.SG-SREL

q^hsan-di že-da. (Ko89,10,13:1)
good-SBST.SG be-FUT

‘Next year’s crop will hardly be better than this year’s.’

c. *Akwa-r hal-ar-aj Nazlu biblioteka.d-a k'el-da-j-bur*
see-AIMPP state-PL-INEL Nazlu [library-INESS read-FUT-PTP-SBST.PL

awa-č luhu-z darix xa-nwa. (R66:13)
be-NEG say-IMC] bored be-PRF

‘Apparently Nazlu was bored in the library because there were no readers.’

- d. *Evelin.a-kaj sa šak-ni ala-z xudožnik že-da.* (K85,7:4)
 Evelyn-SBEL [one doubt-even be.on-IMC] artist become-FUT

'No doubt Evelyn will become an artist.'

- e. *Jaqin xi, wiri ahali-jar ha i zun xiz awa.* (K90,3:3)
 evident PT all people-PL that this I:ABS like be

'Evidently all the people are in the same state as I.'

16.3.4.2. Evaluative sentence adverbials. E.g. *hajif xi* 'unfortunately', cf. 20.7.4.

16.3.4.3. Sentence adverbials expressing source of information. These are expressed by means of the postposition *kiligna* 'according to' (12.2.3.1.), and clauses with the Purpose/manner converb (21.9.1.).

16.3.4.4. Manner-of-speech sentence adverbials.

- (829) a. *Za-q^h, Nadja, düz laha-j-t'a, či xür-e lišanlu*
 I-POESS Nadja [right say-AOP-CND] we:GEN village-INESS betrothed
ruš awa-j-di tir. (S88:165)
 girl be.in-PTP-SBST COP:PST

'Honestly (lit. if (I) say (it) right(ly)), Nadja, I used to have a fiancée in our village.'

- b. *Kür-eldi, slovar' za masa qaču-na wa lezgi*
 brief-ADV dictionary I:ERG buy take-AOR and Lezgian
čir-un.i-n jiq-ar=warc-ar bašlamiš xa-na. (K90,2,7:4)
 study-MSD-GEN day-PL=month-PL begin ANTIC-AOR

'Briefly, I bought the dictionary and days and months of studying Lezgian began.'

16.3.4.5. Sentence adverbials of motivation of speech (metalinguistic cause). In the following example the clause marked by the temporal converb *-la* does not express temporal relation, but the speaker uses it to justify asking the question.

- (830) *Wiči-waj jağ-iz te-že-z xa-ji-la, Emirmet xalu.di-z*
 [[self-ADEL [play-INF] NEG-can-INF be-AOP-TEMP] Emirmet uncle-DAT
ištin güzel alat-ar hinaj ata-na-t'a jarab? (Q81:114)
 such beautiful instrument-PL whence come-AOR-CND PT

'Given that he is not able to play himself, how come Emirmet-xalu has such beautiful instruments?'

16.3.5. Conjunctional adverbs

These are quite heterogeneous as well, and only a few common conjunctional adverbs will be illustrated here.

16.3.5.1. Conjunctional adverbs of contrast. The most common element of this type is *amma* 'but'. However, it is a loanword from Arabic and seems to be restricted to the written language.

- (831) *Za-z St'al Sulejman aku-na-č, amma har juq̄.u-z*
 I-DAT St'al Sulejman see-AOR-NEG but every day-DAT
zun Maxačkala.d-a Kaspij hül.ü-n q̄erex.d-a awa-j
 I:ABS [Maxačkala-INESS Caspian sea-GEN shore-INESS be.in-PTP]
ada-n pamjatnik.di-n pataw fi-zwa. (K89,4:3)
 he-GEN monument-GEN to go-IMPF
 'I have not seen St'al Sulejman, but every day I go to his monument on the shore of the Caspian sea in Maxačkala.'

Other conjunctional adverbs of contrast are *anžax* 'only; but' (borrowed from Turkic), and *jat'ani* 'nevertheless (lit. although (it) is (so))'.

- (832) *Rufun tux xa-ji juğ a m patal xalis suwar tir.*
 [stomach satisfied become-AOP] day he:ABS for real holiday COP:PST
Anžax ixtin suwar-ar ada-q^h lap t'imil že-zwa-j. (K89,4:2)
 but such holiday-PL he-POESS very few be-IMPF-PST
 'A day when his stomach was full was a real holiday for him. But he had few such holidays.'

- (833) *Za-z alamat xa-na. Jat'ani zun fe-na.* (DD85,3:23)
 I-DAT surprise be-AOR nevertheless I:ABS go-AOR
 'I was surprised. Nevertheless I went.'

16.3.5.2. Conjunctional adverbs of consequence. Examples are *hawiläj* 'therefore' and *hak' xajila* 'since it is so, therefore'.

- (834) *Čarčar.i-laj gadar-zawa-j c.i-k jeke zwar kwa, hawiläj*
 [waterfalls-SREL throw-IMPF-PTP] water-SBESS big speed be.under therefore
wiri baluğ-r.i-waj anaj winel fi-z že-zwa-č. (M83:31)
 all fish-PL-ADEL [there up go-INF] can-IMPF-NEG
 'The water coming from the falls is very fast, therefore not all the fish can go up there.'

- (835) *Wa-z tar-ni awa, čüngür-ni. Amma Bedel.a-z sa*
 you-DAT tara-and be čüngür-and but Bedel-DAT one
alat-ni awa-č. Hak' řa-ji-la, wa-z čüngür bes ja,
 instrument-even be-NEG thus be-AOP-TEMP you-DAT čüngür enough COP
i tar Bedel.a-z ce. (Q81:115)
 this tara Bedel-DAT give:IMPV
 'You have a tara and a čüngür. But Bedel does not have any
 instrument. Therefore, the čüngür is enough for you, give this tara to
 Bedel.'

Another conjunction of consequence is *řat'a* (lit. 'if (it) is (so)'), cf. (813).

16.3.5.3. Conjunctional adverbs of reason. The most common conjunctional adverbial expressing reason is *wučiz lahajt'a*.

- (836) *Gila řa-w ři oficer-ar řpi-q^h galaz barabar-bur.u-w*
 now we-ADESS we:GEN officer-PL selves-POESS with equal-SBST.PL-ADESS
řiz řaxa-zwa-j. Wučiz lahajt'a, řun-ni gila oficer-ar tir.
 like talk-IMPF-PST why if.one.says we:ABS-also now officer-PL COP:PST
 'Now our officers talked to us as to their equals. For we, too, were
 officers now.' (S88:161)

In Gadžiev (1963:152), *wučiz lahajt'a* is treated as a conjunction that introduces a causal adverbial clause. However, the sentence introduced by *wučiz lahajt'a* has none of the properties that are characteristic of subordinate clauses in Lezgian. In particular, it cannot precede the "caused" sentence, and it cannot be focused. So his analysis of *wučiz lahajt'a* as a subordinating conjunction is probably only motivated by the fact that it often translates Russian subordinating conjunctions of cause.

However, Gadžiev presents a plausible and intriguing scenario for the diachronic source of *wučiz lahajt'a*: a rhetorical question "Why is it said?", anticipating a potential question by the interlocutor, which has later been grammaticized to a conjunction-like element. This explains both the interrogative word *wučiz* 'why?' and the conditional mood of *lahajt'a*. (Cf. Herring 1991 for a very similar change in Tamil.)

16.3.5.4. Conjunctional adverbs of condition. The adverbial expression *řaxajt'a* is used in the sense 'otherwise'. *Řaxajt'a* is the negated Conditional form of *řun* 'be', so *řaxajt'a* is literally 'if it is not'. (For *řaxajt'a* in the sense 'or', cf. 18.2.2.).

- (837) *Wuna k'el-na k'an-da, řaxajt'a wa-z i*
 [you:ERG study-AOC] must-FUT otherwise you-DAT this
k'wal-e čka awa-č. (Du85,3:115)
 house-INESS place be.in-NEG
 'You have to study, otherwise there is no room for you in this house.'

Chapter 17

Copular clauses

When the predicative phrase in a copular clause is a noun phrase or an adjective phrase, the standard copula *ja* (Past *tir*, negative *tuš*, Past negative *tuš-ir*, cf. 9.5.1.) is used. When the predicative phrase is an adverbial expression, one of the local copulas is used (*awa* 'be in', *kwa* 'be under', etc.). The verb *ɣun* 'become, be' may also be used in either function.

17.1. Copular clauses with a predicative noun phrase

The standard copula *ja* is used both for identification (cf. 838) and classification (cf. 839). Both the subject and the predicative argument are in the Absolutive case. Since there are few subject properties (cf. 16.1.), it is not always easy to say which Absolutive NP is the subject and which is the predicative argument.

(838) a. *Qenin juğ zi jašajiš.d-a wiri-d.a-laj-ni šad juğ ja.*
today's day I:GEN life-INESS all-SBST.SG-SREL-also glad day COP
'Today is the happiest day in my life.' (Q81:45)

b. *Wi ktab im ja.* (Mejlanova 1960:39)
you:GEN book this:ABS COP
'Your book is this one.'

(839) a. *Zi buba Joxanes kešiš ja.* (Ko90,2,7:4)
I:GEN father Johannes priest COP
'My father Johannes is a minister.'

b. *Suw.a-n c'eh-er gzaf muqajat hajwan-ar ja.* (Š83:101)
mountain-GEN goat-PL much careful animal-PL COP
'Mountain goats are very careful animals.'

c. *Pahliwan-ar či xwanaxwa-jar ja.* (J89:5)
artist-PL we:GEN guest-PL COP
'The artists are our guests.'

According to Gadžiev (1954:47), the copula *ja* can be omitted in certain fixed expressions (proverbs, etc.), but this is a very marginal possibility.

(840) *Qaḡra-jar ḡaz.ra-n-bur, kaka-jar nük'.re-n-bur.*
cackling-PL goose-GEN-SBST.PL egg-PL sparrow-GEN-SBST.PL
'The cackling is that of a goose, the eggs are those of a sparrow.' (said when someone talks a lot but does little)

When the predicate is a personal pronoun of the first or second person, the demonstrative pronoun *am* may be the subject:

(841) a. *Am wun ja-ni, Ali?* (J89:22)
 that:ABS you:ABS COP-Q Ali
 'Is it you, Ali?'

b. *Am zun tuš!* (D57:136)
 that:ABS I:ABS COP:NEG
 'It's not me!' (talking about a murder)

Copular clauses of this type can also be formed with *xun* 'be'. This is in fact the only possibility when the verb is in a form that the defective copula *ja* does not have, e.g. the Future:

(842) *Dağustan.di-n wiri territorija.d-a gosudarstvennyj*
 Daghestan-GEN all territory-INESS state
č'al anžax urus č'al že-da. (Ko89,9,17:2)
 language only Russian language be-FUT
 'The official language of the whole Daghestanian territory will only be Russian.'

17.2. Copular clauses with a predicative adjective phrase

The standard copula is used both with simple adjectives (cf. 843) and with substantivized adjectives (cf. 844).

(843) a. *Ruš šad ja.*
 girl glad COP
 'The girl is glad.'

b. *Kün wučiz iq'wan pašman ja?* (X89:69)
 you.all:ABS why so.much sad COP
 'Why are you-all so sad?'

c. *Q'ud pad sekin tir.* (R66:12)
 four side quiet COP:PST
 'Everywhere around it was quiet.' (lit. 'The four sides were quiet.')

The difference in meaning is small; (844a) is literally 'The girl is a glad one', but in fact it is used in the sense 'The girl is glad' (cf. 8.1.1.3.). The semantic difference here seems to be that simple predicative adjectives are used when the property is temporary, whereas substantivized adjectives are used when the property is more permanent or inherent.

- (844) a. *Ruš šad-di ja.*
 girl glad-SBST.SG COP
 'The girl is glad.'
- b. *Zi bluška jarği-di ja.* (Mejlanova 1960:39)
 I:GEN dress long-SBST.SG COP
 'My dress is long.'
- c. *Kün hamiša ümür.d-a baxtlu-bur şu-raj,*
 you.all:ABS always life-INESS happy-SBST.PL be-OPT
zi bala-jar. (S88:167)
 I:GEN child-PL
 'May you always in life be happy, my children.'

Note that the substantivized adjective agrees with the subject in number. This number agreement is optional for inanimate nouns.

In certain fixed expressions, the copula can be omitted. The following sentence is a riddle:

- (845) *Xam qacu-di, jak jaru-di, k'arab-ar č'ulaw-di.*
 skin green-SBST.SG flesh red-SBST.SG bone-PL black-SBST.SG
 'The skin is green, the flesh is red, the bones are black.' (Solution: the watermelon) (Mejlanova 1960:40)

The verb *şun* may also be used as an adjectival copula:

- (846) *Abur.u-n q'ismet-ar žüreba=žüre-bur şa-na.* (DD71,3:19)
 they-GEN destiny-PL varied-SBST.PL be-AOR
 'Their destinies were varied.'

Genitive noun phrases may also be used predicatively when the Genitive meaning is quality or material. Predicative Genitive NPs must be substantivized.

- (847) a. *Kü ğil-er qizil.di-n-bur ja, dişehli-jar.* (DD71,6:9)
 you.all:GEN hand-PL gold-GEN-SBST.PL COP woman-PL
 'Your hands are golden, women.'
- b. *Ruš-ar q'eleč' jak'-ar.i-n-bur ja.* (Q81:43)
 girl-PL thin flesh-PL-GEN-SBST.PL COP
 'The girls are lean (lit. of thin flesh).'
- c. *Ja pab, ajal alamat.di-n-di ja!* (X89:28)
 PT wife child amazement-GEN-SBST.SG COP
 'Oh wife, the child is wonderful!'
- d. *adet.di-n-bur tuş-ir waqia-jar* (Du85,3:117)
 [custom-GEN-SBST.PL COP:NEG-PTP] event-PL
 'unusual events (lit. events that are not ones of the custom)'

- e. *Juğ bazar.di-n-di xa-na.* (Q81:111)
 day bazar-GEN-SBST.SG be-AOR
 'The day was Sunday.'

17.3. Subjectless copular clauses

When the adjective describes an environmental condition, the copular clause may be subjectless.

- (848) a. *Tam-a serin tir.* (K57:7)
 forest-INNESS cool COP:PST
 'It was cool in the forest.'
- b. *Rağ ak'u-nwa-j-t'a-ni, hele mič'i xa-nwa-č-ir.* (N88:56)
 [sun set-PRF-PST-CND-even] yet dark become-PRF-NEG-PST
 'Although the sun had set, it had not grown dark yet.'
- c. *Aq'wan sekin tir xi, na luhudi, t'ebiat širin*
 so.much quiet COP:PST PT as if nature sweet
axwar.a-l fe-nwa. (N88:56)
 sleep-SRESS go-PRF
 'It was so quiet that one could think nature had fallen into a sweet sleep.'

In this use, the predicative suffix *-da* (8.1.3.1.) was common in earlier Lezgian.

Another type of subjectless copular clause is the description of the temporal setting. (849) is typical for the beginning of a story.

- (849) *Gatfar.i-n güzel waxt tir.* (DD61,5:66)
 spring-GEN beautiful time COP:PST
 'It was the beautiful time of spring.'

(850) is a similar "setting of circumstances":

- (850) *Dağ-lar-a isätda-ni hak' ja.* (S88.171)
 mountain-PL-INNESS now-even thus COP
 'In the mountains it is like that even today.'

17.4. 'Become' and 'remain'

'Become' is *ɣun*. This verb has the syntax of a copula only when it is used with adjectives.

- (851) *Č'exi xür itim-r.i-kaj-ni žehil-r.i-kaj miɣi ɣa-na.* (Š83:5)
 big village man-PL-SBEL-and youth-PL-SBEL clean become-AOR
 'The big village became empty of men and youths.'

When it is used with nouns, *ɣun* has the valence pattern V (T_{ABS}, L_{SBEL}) 'L becomes T (lit. T arises out of L)' (cf. 15.3.8.1.).

- (852) *Za-kaj pioner ɣa-nwa.* (TG66:356)
 I-SBEL pioneer become-PRF
 'I have become a pioneer.'

However, copular syntactic patterns are marginally possible as well, in expressions like:

- (853) *Juğ näni že-zwa.* (Q81:115)
 day evening become-IMPF
 'It is becoming evening.' (Lit. The day is becoming evening.)

(When *ɣun* means 'be' rather than 'become', this syntactic pattern is of course normal, cf. (842) above.)

'Remain' is *amuq'un*. This verb can only be combined with converbs, so *jaz* 'being' has to be used with a predicative adjective phrase or noun phrase.

- (854) a. *Mežlis.di-n baš k'wal.i-n ijesi.di-n amal-r.i-kaj*
 party-GEN head [house-GEN owner-GEN action-PL-SBEL
narazi ja-z amuq'-na.
 dissatisfied COP-IMC] remain-AOR
 'The toastmaster remained dissatisfied with the host's actions.'
- b. *Derbent XII wiš jis.a-ldi arab-r.i-n šeher ja-z*
 Derbent 12 hundred year-SRESS [Arab-PL-GEN city be-IMC]
amuq'-na. (Du68,2:99)
 remain-AOR
 'Derbent remained an Arab city until 1200.'

But *amuq'un* can also be combined with converb forms of non-copular verbs.

- (855) a. *Gimi hül.ü-n k'an.a-l alk'a-na amuq'-na.* (K87,2:15)
 boat [sea-GEN ground-SRESS get.stuck-AOC] remain-AOR
 'The boat remained stuck to the ground of the sea.'

- b. *Ğweč'i küče-jr-aj fi-da-j-la zun alamat xa-na*
 [little street-PL-INEL go-FUT-PTP-TEMP] I:ABS [astonished become-AOC]
amuq'-na. (DD71,6:9)
 remain-AOR

'When I walked through the little streets, I remained astonished.'

Another way of expressing 'remain' is by means of the Continuative local copula *ama* 'be still, remain' (cf. 17.6.6.1.).

17.5. Transitive copular clauses

The verb *awun* can be used as the transitive equivalent of the adjectival copula *zun* 'become'.

- (856) a. *Abur.u kesib-r.i-n ümür gülüşan iji-zwa.* (S88:46)
 they(ERG) poor-PL-GEN life sunny make-IMPF
 'They make poor people's life sunny.'

- b. *Q^hsan hawa awa-j-la, čna texnika taxsirlu iji-zwa.*
 [good weather be-PTP-TEMP] we:ERG technology guilty do-IMPF
 'When the weather is good, we blame the technology (lit. we make the technology guilty).' (Ko89,10,19:1)

- c. *insan ašqilu iji-da-j atir-ar* (M83:33)
 [person enthusiastic do-FUT-PTP] smell-PL
 'smells that make people enthusiastic'

The verb *tun* 'leave' can be used as the transitive equivalent of *amuq'un* 'remain'. Unlike *amuq'un*, *tun* can take adjectival arguments directly.

- (857) *Am sekin tu-r!* (S88:57)
 he:ABS quiet leave-IMPV
 'Leave him alone!' (Lit. 'Leave him quiet!')

17.6. Local copular clauses

When the predicative phrase is a local expression, one of the local copulas *awa*, *gwa*, *gala*, *kwa*, *ala* is used. These seem to consist of a local preverb plus the standard copula *ja*. Like other preverb verbs, they show a close association with the case to which their preverb corresponds. Thus, an Adessive expression takes the local copula *gwa* ('be at'), a Postessive expression takes *gala* ('be behind'), a Subessive expression takes *kwa* ('be below'), a Superessive expression takes *ala* ('be on'), and an Inessive expression takes *awa* ('be in'). *Awa* is the most general local copula, and it is often used with other types of local expressions (e.g. Dative noun phrases). For Continuative forms of the local copulas, cf. 17.6.6.

Besides the local copulas, the verb *ɣun* may also be used with predicative adverbial phrases. Since the local copulas are morphologically defective, this is the only way of expressing certain tense-aspect distinctions, e.g. the Future:

- (858) *Paka Jusuf Derbent.d-a že-da.*
 tomorrow Jusuf Derbent-INESS be-FUT
 'Tomorrow Jusuf will be in Derbent.'

17.6.1. The local copula *awa* 'be in'

Awa is used when the predicative expression is in the Inessive case.

- (859) *Tükwen.d-a gzaf mal awa.* (TG66:229)
 store-INESS many goods be.in
 'There are many goods in the store.'

Awa is sometimes reduced to *'wa*. In such cases it is written together with the preceding word:

- (860) a. *Karandaš ğil-e-wa-z Zaira ĩwe-da.* (Du85,3:78)
 [pencil hand-INESS-be.in-IMC] Zaira come-FUT
 'Zaira comes with a pencil in her hand (lit. a pencil being in her hand).'
- b. *req'-e-wa-j dađwi* (M83:33)
 [road-INESS-be.in-PTP] mountaineer
 'a mountaineer (who is) on the road'
- c. *Hin-wa wun, zi igrami-di?* (S88:35)
 where-be.in you:ABS I:GEN dear-SBST.SG
 'Where are you, my dear (one)?'

(In (860c), *hina* 'where' is also reduced to *hin-*.)

Awa is also used when only existence is expressed, not location in any particular place:

- (861) *Sa insan.da-l sa šumud lak'ab že-da-j düšüş-ar-ni awa.*
 [one person-SRESS one several nickname be-FUT-PTP] case-PL-also be
 'There are also cases in which one person has several nicknames.'
 (L87,2:74)

Furthermore, *awa* is used in the sense 'have', both with a Dative and with a Postessive possessor.

- (862) a. *Abur-ni axmaq'-ar tuš, abur.u-z-ni wil-er awa.* (K87,1:7)
 they-also fool-PL COP:NEG they-DAT-also eye-PL be.in
 'They aren't fools either, they too have eyes.'
- b. *Ada-z wiči-n k'walax, wiči-n senät awa-zwa.* (R66:17)
 he-DAT self-GEN work self-GEN profession be.in-IMPF
 'He has his work, his profession.'
- (863) a. *Zi qunši.di-qh wad ajal awa.* (M83:30)
 I:GEN neighbor-POESS five child be.in
 'My neighbor has five children.'
- b. *Pul ada-qh gzaf awa.* (Š83:58)
 money he-POESS much be.in
 'He has a lot of money.'

17.6.2. The local copula *gwa* 'be at'

This copula is mainly used to express temporary possession.

- (864) a. *Dušman-r.i-w tup-ar gwa-č.* (K87,1:7)
 enemy-PL-ADESS cannon-PL be.at-NEG
 'The enemies do not have cannons.'
- b. *Ada-w šad xabar gwa-č-ir.* (Š83:17)
 he-ADESS glad news be.at-NEG-PST
 'He didn't have joyful news.'
- c. *Dišehli.di wiči-w gwa-j šej?er.i-z kilig-iz tu-na.* (Š83:68)
 woman(ERG) [[self-ADESS be.at-PTP] thing-PL-DAT look-INF] cause-AOR
 'The woman let (people) look at the things she had with her.'

It is also used with postpositions and adverbs that are based on nouns in the Adelative case.

- (865) *Ruxwa-jar-ni ruš-ar sad-ni ada-n pataw gwa-č.* (Š83:55)
 son-PL-and daughter-PL one-even he-GEN near be.at-NEG
 'None of his sons and daughters are near him.'

17.6.3. The local copula *gala* 'be behind'

This copula is now rarely used with its apparently original meaning 'be behind' (but see also (868b)).

- (866) *At'a dağ.di-q^h ĉi xür gala.* (Gajdarov 1966:66)
 that mountain-POESS we:GEN village be.behind
 'behind that mountain is our village.'

It is now used for various local relationships which can be expressed by the Possessive case (cf. 7.2.2.8.).

- (867) a. *Gada rak'-ar.i-q^h gala.* (TG66:80)
 boy door-PL-POESS be.behind
 'The boy is standing by the door.'
- b. *Güzel.di-n qün.ü-q^h qizil.di-n kwar gala-j.* (X89:31)
 beauty-GEN shoulder-POESS gold-GEN pitcher be.behind-PST
 'The beautiful woman had a golden pitcher on her shoulder.'
- c. *irid q'il gala-j aždahan* (X89:35)
 [seven head be.behind-PTP] dragon
 'a dragon with seven heads (lit. 'on which are seven heads')
- d. *Gatfar.i-q^h qaj-ar, marf-ar gala-č-ni bes?* (Du61,5:66)
 spring-POESS wind-PL rain-PL be.behind-NEG-Q PT
 'Are there no winds and rains in the spring?'

It is also used with adverbs and postpositions based on nouns in the Possessive case.

- (868) a. *winiq^h gala-j misal-ar* (G57:41)
 [above be.behind-PTP] example-PL
 'the above examples'
- b. *A dağ.di-n kuk'uš.di-laj aniq^h xalu.di k'walax-zawa-j*
 that mountain-GEN peak-SREL beyond [uncle(ERG) father-IMPF-PTP]
ferma gala-j. (J89:20)
 farm be.behind-PTP
 'Beyond that mountain's peak there the farm where the uncle worked.'

17.6.4. The local copula *kwa* 'be under'

The original meaning 'be under' is now rare.

- (869) *Qwan.ci-k ġüläğ kwa.* (Mejlanova 1983b:209)
 stone-SBESS snake be.under
 'There is a snake under the stone.'

In general, *kwa* is used with a metaphorical or abstract meaning of some kind, e.g. 'among' (cf. 870), 'on' (cf. 871), 'married to (said of a woman)' (cf. 872), 'in (sleep)' (cf. 873).

- (870) *Karwan.di-k pačah.di-n rik' ala-j dewe-ni kwa-j.*
 caravan-SBESS [king-GEN heart be.on-PTP] camel-also be.under-PST
 'Among (the camels of) the caravan was also the king's favorite camel.' (Du85,3:115)

- (871) *Cl.a-k meq^her.i-n libasar ala-j q'we žehil.di-n*
 wall-SBESS [wedding-GEN clothes be.on-PTP] two youth-GEN
šikil kwa-j. (M79:5)
 picture be.under-PST
 'On the wall was a picture of two young people in wedding clothes.'

- (872) *Ali.di-n q'we ruš ġül-er.i-k kwa.* (Š83:21)
 Ali-GEN two girl husband-PL-SBESS be.under
 'Ali's two daughters are married (lit. are under husbands).'

- (873) *Zi ruš Asen'ka k'ewi axwar.i-k kwa-j.* (DD85,2:20)
 I:GEN girl Asen'ka firm sleep-SBESS be.under
 'My daughter Asen'ka was fast asleep.'

When the Subessive noun (L_{SBESS}) is a person and the Absolutive noun (T_{ABS}) is an abstract noun of some kind, a sentence "L_{SBESS} T_{ABS} *kwa*" is often equivalent to 'L is in T, L has the quality of T, L has T'.

- (874) a. *Širinbala.di-k tadi kwa-j.* (S88:12)
 Širinbala-SBESS hurry be.under-PST
 'Širinbala was in a hurry.'
- b. *Šq'aq'wal Alimat.a-k kwa-č-ir.* (N88:73)
 stinginess Alimat-SBESS be.under-NEG-PST
 'Stinginess was not on Alimat = Alimat was not stingy.'
- c. *namus kwa-č-ir kas* (Š83:22)
 [honor be.under-NEG-PTP] person
 'a dishonorable person (lit. a person in whom there is no honor)'

- d. *Habib q^hel kwa-z raxa-na.* (M83:57)
 Habib [anger be.under-IMC] talk-AOR
 'Habib spoke in anger (lit. anger being on him).'
- e. *gülüšan gaf.uni-k «ekü», «rağ awat-nawa-j» mana kwa.*
gülüšan word-SBESS bright [sun fall-PRF-PTP] meaning be.under
 'The word *gülüšan* has the meaning 'bright, sunny'.' (G82:28)

Kwa is also used with adverbs and postpositions based on nouns in the Subessive case.

- (875) a. *Ali balk'an.di-n wilik kwa-z jaxdiz fe-na.* (J89:21)
 Ali [horse-GEN in.front be.under-IMC] on.foot go-AOR
 'Ali walked on foot in front of the horse.'
- b. *sečki-jr.i-laj wilik kwa-j kampanija* (Ko89,9,17:3)
 [election-PL-SREL before be.under-PTP] campaign
 'pre-election campaign'

17.6.5. The local copula *ala* 'be on'

The basic meaning is the local notion 'be on', e.g.

- (876) a. *Ktab stol.da-l ala.*
 book table-SRESS be.on
 'The book is on the table.'
- b. *ğal ala-j tup'uč* (Š83:12)
 [thread be.on-PTP] spindle
 'a spindle with thread on (it)'
- c. *Isaq'a-n hajat.da-l ala-j-bur.a-l č'ulaw partal-ar*
 [Isaq'-GEN courtyard-SRESS be.on-PTP]-SBST.PL-SRESS black cloth-PL
ala. (Š83:48)
 be.on
 'The people on Isaq's courtyard wear black clothes.' (Lit. 'Black clothes are on those on Isaq's courtyard').

Like the other local copulas, *ala* can be used in various more abstract senses, e.g.

- (877) a. *Wun juğ-di k'walax.da-l ala-z, za-waj k'wal-e*
 [you:ABS day-ADV work-SRESS be.on-IMC] I-ADEL [house-INNESS
acuq'-iz že-da-č. (DD85,5:5)
 sit-INF] can-FUT-NEG
 'I cannot sit at home while you are at work during the day.'

- b. *q^hipiwal ala-j tumaž* (G54:151)
 [yellowness be.on-PTP] skin
 'yellowish skin (lit. skin with yellowness on it)'
- c. *Èvelin.a-kaj sa šak-ni ala-č-iz xudožnik že-da.*
 Evelin-SBEL [one doubt-even be.on-NEG-IMC] artist become-FUT
 'Without any doubt Evelin will become an artist.' (K85,7:4)

Like *awa*, *ala* is sometimes reduced to 'la and written together with the preceding word.

- (878) a. *Bug wac' u-n qerex.da-l-la-j Veselino xür* (J84:21)
 [Bug river-GEN bank-SRESS-be.on-PTP] Veselino village
 'the village Veselino on the bank of the river Bug'
- b. *Weled.a-z-ni anaj qwe-zwa-j balk'an-r.a-l-la-j-bur*
 Weled-DAT-too [thence come-IMPF-PTP] [horse-PL-SRESS-be.on-PTP]-SBST.PL
aku-na. (S88:46)
 see-AOR
 'Weled, too, saw the riders (lit. those who were on horses) that were coming from there.'
- c. *I deq'iq'a.d-a zi buba k'walax.a-l-la.* (Du85,3:75)
 this minute-INESS I:GEN father work-SRESS-be.on
 'At this moment my father is at work.'

Ala is also used with Superessive adverbs and postpositions, e.g.

- (879) *A juğ jarğal ala-č* (R66:29)
 that day far be.on-NEG
 'That day is not far.'

17.6.6. Continuative forms of the local copulas

The local copulas have special Continuative forms which are not based on an Imperfective or Aorist stem (as in other verbs, cf. 9.3.2.3., 9.3.3.3.), but are formed by suffixing *-ma* directly to the root:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| (880) | <i>awa</i> | 'be (in)' | <i>ama</i> | 'be still (in)' |
| | <i>gwa</i> | 'be at' | <i>guma</i> | 'be still at' |
| | <i>gala</i> | 'be behind' | <i>galama</i> | 'be still behind' |
| | <i>kwa</i> | 'be under' | <i>kuma</i> | 'be still under' |
| | <i>ala</i> | 'be on' | <i>alama</i> | 'be still on' |

It is not clear whether diachronically these Continuative forms resulted from a suffixation of *-ma* to the normal forms (**gwa-ma* > *guma*, **aw-ma* > *ama*, etc.), or whether the Continuative forms only consist of preverb +

-*ma*, while the normal forms consist of preverb + *a*. The suffix -*ma* is evidently somehow related to the particle *mad* 'yet' (13.2.3.).

The Continuative forms of the local copulas have continuative meaning ('still', '(not) anymore'), but in virtually all other respects they behave like the non-Continuative local copulas.

17.6.6.1. *ama* 'be still (in). An example:

(881) *Said hele bağ-lar-a ama-z hawa-jar*
[Said still garden-PL-INCESS be.still.in-IMC] weather-PL

q̄we-z=q̄we-z ačux řa-na. (Du61,5:22)
come-IMC=come-IMC clear become-AOR

'While Said was still in the gardens, the weather gradually cleared.'

Ama is often in the secondary Continuative form (based on the Imperfective converb *ama-z*) *ama-zma*:

(882) *Dağustan.di-n sa žerge xür-er-a arab xat'-ar*
Daghestan-GEN one series village-PL-INCESS Arab inscription-PL

ama-zma. (Du68,2:99)
be.still-IMPF.CONT

'There are still Arabic inscriptions in a number of Daghestanian villages.'

Ama can also be used as the Continuative form of the standard copula *ja* with adjectival predicates. However, the adjective is generally in the adverbial form with *ama*:

(883) a. *Mizafer k'uban-diz ama.* (Š83:52)
Mizafer energetic-ADV be.still

'Mizafer is still energetic.'

b. *Wi baluğ-ar sağ-diz ama-ni?* (J89:22)
you:GEN fish-PL healthy-ADV be.still-Q

'Are your fish still OK?'

Furthermore, *ama* can be used with Imperfective or Aorist converb forms. Such constructions served as the basis for the formation of the Continuative forms.

(884) a. *Gila a m Tek Bulut ja-z ama-ř-ir.* (K88,9:4)
now it:ABS [Lonely Cloud be-IMC] be.still-NEG-PST

'Now it wasn't the Lonely Cloud anymore.'

b. *I meřela řetin meřela ja-z ama-zma.* (H82:7)
this problem [difficult problem be-IMC] be.still-IMPF.CONT

'This problem continues to be a difficult problem.'

- (885) *Qanšarwil-er.i-kaj-ni sa bāzi-bur tamamwil.e-ldi axtarmiš*
 opposition-PL-SBEL-also one some-SBST.PL [completeness-SRDIR study
t-awu-na ama-zma. (H82:7)
 NEG-do-AOC] be.still-IMPF.CONT

'Some of the oppositions have not been studied completely yet.'

Finally, the participle *amaj* (lit. 'who still is') is often used in the sense 'other, remaining', e.g. in example (409) above.

17.6.6.2. *guma* 'be still at'. Examples:

- (886) a. *Gada.di-w ja pul-ni, ja fu-ni guma-č-ir.* (G57:44)
 boy-ADESS or money-and or bread-and be.still.at-NEG-PST

'The boy didn't have either money or bread anymore.'

- b. *Cükwer.a-n rik' Širinbala.di-w guma-j.* (S88:14)

Cükwer-GEN heart Širinbala-ADESS be.still.at-PST

'Cükwer's heart was still with Širinbala.'

17.6.6.3. *galama* 'be still behind'. Example:

- (887) *Am tup'u-q^h tup'al galama-č-iz xta-na.* (TG66:81)
 he:ABS [finger-POESS ring be.still.behind-NEG-IMC] return-AOR

'He came back without the ring on the finger (lit. with the ring no longer being on the finger).'

17.6.6.4. *kuma* 'be still under'. Example:

- (888) *Bade axwar.i-k kuma-z, ada jawaš-diz partal-ar*
 [grandmother sleep-SBESS be.still.under-IMC] she:ERG quiet-ADV cloth-PL
aluk'-na. (J84:54)
 put.on-AOR

'While grandmother was still asleep, she quietly put on her clothes.'

17.6.6.5. *alama* 'be still on'. Examples:

- (889) a. *Zi xaji xür wilikan čka.da-l alama-č.* (Š83:99)
 I:GEN native village former place-SRESS be.still.on

'My native village is no longer at its former place.'

- b. *Rik'.e-l-lama-ni za Cükwer hik' axqūd-na-j-t'a?* (S88:11)
 heart-SRESS-be.still.on-Q [I:ERG Cükwer how rescue-AOR-PST-CND]

'Do you still remember how I rescued Cükwer?'

Note that in (889b) *alama* is reduced to *'lama*.

17.7. Predicative adverbial phrases with the standard copula

Adverbial phrases can also be used predicatively with the standard copula. In such cases the adverbials do not have their adverbial meaning, but denote a property of the subject.

- (890) *Wiri wun patal ja.* (N88:73)
 everything you:ABS for COP
 'Everything is for you.'
- (891) a. *St'al Sulejman kesib xzan.d-aj tir.* (K89,4:2)
 St'al Sulejman poor family-INEL COP:PST
 'St'al Sulejman was from a poor family.'
- b. *Čun Sovet-r.i-n Sojuz.d-aj ja.* (Q81:45)
 we:ABS Soviet-PL-GEN Union-INEL COP
 'We are from the Soviet Union.'
- (892) *Alfija.di luhu-zwa-j mani-jar bic'ek-r.i-n xušbaxt*
 [Alfija(ERG) say-IMPF-PTP] song-PL toddler-PL-GEN happy
ümür.di-kaj ja. (K86,3:1)
 life-SBEL COP
 'The songs that Alfija sings are about the happy life of toddlers.'
- (893) *Nurbala mükü žehil-ar řiz tuš exir.* (R66:17)
 Nurbala other youth-PL like COP:NEG PT
 'Nurbala is just not like the other young people.'

17.8. A copular construction for indicating age

A peculiar construction is used for telling a person's age. The noun phrase referring to the person is in the Genitive case, and a noun phrase of the type *n jis* 'n years' is in the Absolutive case.

- (894) a. *A č'aw.u-z gada.di-n c'ud jis tir.* (K87,1:5)
 that time-DAT boy-GEN ten year COP:PST
 'At that time the boy was ten years old.'
- b. *Däwe bašlamiš-aj-la Xanbike.di-n wad jis řa-nwa-j.*
 [war begin-AOP-TEMP] Xanbike-GEN five year become-PRF-PST
 'When the war began Xanbike was five years old.' (DD85,5:5)
- c. *Zi jaxc'ur-ni c'ud jis řa-nwa.* (Du85,3:115)
 I:GEN forty-and ten year become-PRF
 'I am fifty years old.'

- d. *Kü* *šumud jis ja-t'a kxi-š.* (K87,2:17)
[you.all:GEN how.many year COP-CND] write-IMPV
'Write how old you-all are.'

It seems that the Genitive noun phrase is not used attributively in this construction. This would be one of the few instances of a non-attributive use of the Genitive.

The following example shows a relative clause in which the Genitive noun phrase of the age construction is relativized.

- (895) *15 jis ša-nwa-j škol'nik* (K85,6:17)
[15 year become-PRF-PTP] pupil
'a 15-year-old pupil'

Chapter 18

Coordination

18.1. Conjunction

18.1.1. The conjoining coordinator *-ni*

The suffix *-ni* is the native Lezgian means for conjoining phrases. It is suffixed to all the coordinate constituents except for the last one:

A-ni B 'A and B'
A-ni B-ni C-ni D-ni 'A, B, C, and D'
etc.

For example:

- (896) a. *Isa.di-ni Ali.di sada=sada-w ğil-er wuga-na.* (J89:24)
Isa(ERG)-and Ali(ERG) one(ERG)=one-ADESS hand-PL give-AOR
'Isa and Ali shook hands (lit. gave hands to each other).'
- b. *Ali.di-n-ni Weli.di-n buba* (Š83:9)
Ali-GEN-and Weli-GEN father
'Ali's and Weli's father'
- c. *K'üd warz-ni, k'üd juĝ-ni, k'üd deq'iq'a alat-na.* (X89:28)
nine month-and nine day-and nine minute pass-AOR
'Nine months, nine days, and nine minutes passed.'

When special emphasis is intended, the last conjunct is also suffixed with the coordinator *-ni*:

A-ni B-ni 'both A and B'
A-ni B-ni C-ni D-ni 'both A, B, C, and D'

For example:

- (897) *Zi buba-ni, buba.di-n buba-ni ĉuban-ar ģa-ji-bur ja.*
I:GEN father-and father-GEN father-and shepherd-PL become-AOP-SBST.PL COP
'Both my father and my father's father were shepherds.' (R66:19)

In such cases of emphatic coordination, the last conjunct is often extraposed to the end of the sentence after the finite verb:

- (898) a. *I dünja.da-l q^hsanwil-er-ni ala, piswil-er-ni.* (Š83:50)
 this world-SRESS goodness-PL-and be.on badness-PL-and
 'In this world there are both good things and bad things.'
- b. *Dax bürq'ü-ni xa-nwa, biši-ni.* (Du85,3:79)
 dad blind-and become-PRF deaf-and
 'Dad has become both blind and deaf.'

In this construction a finite verb can be used by replacing it with the Periphrasis form plus a finite form of *awun* 'do':

- (899) *Ada k'el-ni iji-zwa, kxi-n-ni.*
 he(ERG) read(PER)-and do-IMPF write-PER-and
 'He both reads and writes.'

18.1.2. *-ni* as a focus marker

In addition to its meaning 'and', the suffix *-ni* can also function as an additive focus particle with the meaning 'also, too' (900), or with the scalar meaning 'even' (901). The suffix *-ni* always follows the constituent it focuses immediately. It may follow all major constituents: noun phrases (900a-b), postpositional phrases, clauses marked by a conjunction (900c), and clauses marked by a non-finite verb (900d).

- (900) a. *Insan q'e-ji-la, ada-n ġed-ni awat-zawa.* (H77:17)
 [person die-AOP-TEMP] s/he-GEN star-also fall-IMPF
 'When a person dies, his or her star also falls down.'
- b. *A ruš.a-n p'uz-arr.i-laj mili q^hwer alaš-na.*
 that girl-GEN lip-PL-SREL slight laughter appear-AOR
Zun-ni q^hüre-na. (S88:159)
 I:ABS-and smile-AOR
 'A smile appeared on that girl's lips. I, too, smiled.'
- c. *Wun xkwe-daldi wilik-ni zun sa šumud-ra*
 [you:ABS return-POSTR before]-also I:ABS one how.many-times
ata-j-di ja. (G63:138)
 come-AOP-SBST COP
 'I also came several times before you returned.'
- d. *Čan bade, wuna za-z kal-er aca-z-ni čir-da-ni?*
 dear grandmother you:ERG I-DAT [cow-PL milk-INF]-also teach-FUT-Q
 'Dear granny, will you also teach me to milk cows?' (J84:52)

- (901) a. *Ada-n širin mec.i qwan-ni č'al.a-l ġi-da.*
 he-GEN sweet tongue(ERG) stone-even speech-SRESS bring-FUT
 'His sweet tongue will even make a stone talk.'
 (Ramaldanov 1984:131)
- b. *Ada-z buba.di hina k'walax-zawa-t'a-ni či-da-čir.*
 he-DAT [father(ERG) where work-IMPF-CND]-even know-FUT-NEG-PST
 'He didn't even know where his father was working.' (DD77,1:10)

The Periphrasis form, used in (902)-(903) in the periphrastic non-finite verb, can also be followed by *-ni*.

- (902) *Ruš, za-w raxa-n-ni t-awu-na, q^hfe-na.* (S88:157)
 girl [I-ADESS talk-PER-even NEG-do-AOC] go.away-AOR
 'The girl went away without even talking to me.'
- (903) *Sa nuġat masa nuġat.di-q^h galaz*
 [one dialect other dialect-POESS with
geq̄ig-ni awu-na k'an-da. (H63:44)
 compare(PER)-also do-AOC] must-FUT
 'It is also necessary to compare one dialect with another one.'

When a finite verb is the focus of *-ni*, it has to be split up into the non-finite Periphrasis form and the finite verb *awun* 'do'.

- (904) a. *Šafiga.di ada-n žawab ġüzlemiš-ni iji-zwa-čir.* (N88:87)
 Šafiga(ERG) he-GEN answer wait(PER)-even do-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'Šafiga didn't even wait for his answer.'
- b. *Čun a q̄aw.a-l ksu-n-ni iji-da-j ha!* (H77:6)
 we:ABS that roof-SRESS sleep-PER-even do-FUT-PST PT
 'We even slept on that roof!'

18.1.3. Conjunction with *wa* 'and'

The coordinator *wa* was borrowed quite recently from Turkic (and ultimately from Arabic *wa* 'and'). It is still restricted to the written language and rarely occurs in the spoken language or in poetry (Gadžiev 1954:186). It does not occur in Uslar (1896). But since *wa* functions syntactically much like Russian *i* 'and', it is very practical in translations, and it seems to be gaining ground. The position is between the last two conjuncts, as in Russian or English:

<i>A wa B</i>	'A and B'
<i>A, B, C, wa D</i>	'A, B, C, and D'

For example:

- (905) a. *šeher-r.i-n wa xür-er.i-n zehmetçi-jar* (Ko90,2,2:1)
town-PL-GEN and village-PL-GEN worker-PL
'the working people of towns and villages'
- b. *Abur Isaq'a-z wa ata-nwa-j mükü itim-r.i-z kilig-na.*
they Isaq'-DAT and [come-PRF-PTP] other man-PL-DAT look-AOR
'They looked at Isaq' and the other people who had arrived.'
(Ş83:41)
- c. *güzel wa ç'exi şehir* (Q81:43)
beautiful and big city
'a beautiful and big city'
- d. *güzel jajlax-ar, qaji bulax-ar, q'aq'an dağ-lar*
beautiful pasture-PL cold spring-PL high mountain-PL
wa zi watanlıhli-jar (Ş83:98)
and I:GEN countryman-PL
'the beautiful mountain pastures, the cold springs, the high mountains, and my countrymen'

But the syntactic parallels with Russian *i* stop here. *Wa* cannot stand before each conjunct (**wa Musa wa Ali* 'both Musa and Ali' (cf. Russian *i Musa i Ali*)), and it cannot be used as a focus particle:

- (906) **Qe wa Musa qwe-da.*
today and Musa come-FUT
'Today Musa, too, will come.' (cf. Russian *Segodnja i Musa pridet.*)

18.1.4. Minor types of conjunction

Emphatic conjunction is sometimes expressed by *xiiz* 'as, like' (cf. 24.2.1.) following the first conjunct and *-ni* suffixed to the second (*A xiiz, B-ni* = 'both A and B'):

- (907) a. *Çi asker-ar xiiz, wi asker-ar-ni req'i-zwa.* (AM87:34)
we:GEN soldier-PL like you:GEN soldier-PL-also die-IMPF
'Both our soldiers and your soldiers are dying.' (Lit. 'Like our soldiers, your soldiers, too, are dying.')
- b. *Cükwer gzaf gürcög-di xiiz, aq'ullu-di-ni tir.*
Cükwer much beautiful-SBST.SG like intelligent-SBST.SG-also COP:PST
'Cükwer was both very beautiful and intelligent.' (X89:27)

Another way to express emphatic conjunction is: *ham A, ham(ni) B (ham(ni) C, ...)*.

- (908) *Dağustanwi-jar ham čeb čpi-q^h galaz, hamni*
 Dagestaniian-PL and selves selves-POESS with and
ğejri xalq'-ar.i-q^h galaz alaqa.d-a awa-j. (L87,2:75)
 other people-PL-POESS with contact-INESS be.in-PST
 'The Dagestaniians were in contact both with each other and with other peoples.'

Conjunction can also be expressed by mere juxtaposition, e.g.

- (909) a. *Zi rik'-e a ruš.a-n wil-er, abur.u-n išig'-ri-n*
 I:GEN heart-INESS that girl-GEN eye-PL they-GEN beam-PL-GEN
ğatiwal ak'a-nwa-j. (S88:158)
 brightness stick-PRF-PST
 'That girl's eyes and the brightness of their beams remained in my heart.'
- b. *Weled.a-n xizan tek pud kas.di-kaj ibarat tir:*
 Weled-GEN family only three person-SBEL consisting COP:PST
wiç, pab Nabisat, ruš Cükwer. (S88:4)
 self wife Nabisat girl Cükwer
 'Weled's family consisted of only three people: he himself, his wife Nabisat, and his daughter Cükwer.'

18.2. Disjunction

18.2.1. Disjunction with *ja* 'or'

Normal disjunction is expressed by the combination *wa ja*:

A wa ja B 'A or B'

For example:

- (910) a. *Ajal-ar bağ.d-a wa ja k'wal-e quğwa-zwa.*
 child-PL garden-INESS and or house-INESS play-IMPF
 'The children are playing in the garden or in the house.'
- b. *Hiç sa waxt.und-a-ni ada ča-w abur.u-q^h wa ja*
 never one time-INESS-even she(ERG) we-ADESS [they-POESS and or
abur.u-n šarag-r.i-q^h xk'i-z ta-da-čir. (H77:5)
 they-GEN young-PL-POESS touch-INF] let-FUT-NEG-PST
 'She never let us touch them or their young.'

- c. *Ada har sad wiči-n žehil wa ja ajal*
 it(ERG) every one [self-GEN young and or child
waxt-ar rik'e-l xku-n.i-z mažbur-zawa. (Ko89,9,6:4)
 time-PL heart-SRESS bring.back-MSD]-DAT force-IMPF
 'It forces everyone to remember their youth or childhood.'

Emphatic disjunction is expressed by placing *ja* in front of every disjunct (*ja A ja B (ja C...)* = 'either A or B (or C...)'):

- (911) a. *Ajal-ar ja bağ.d-a wa ja k'wal-e qūğwa-zwa.*
 child-PL or garden-INNESS and or house-INNESS play-IMPF
 'The children are playing either in the garden or in the house.'
- b. *Paka Selim ja šeher.di-z fi-da ja k'wal-e k'walax-da.*
 tomorrow Selim or town-DAT go-FUT or house-INNESS work-FUT
 'Tomorrow Selim will either go to town or work at home.'

See also 18.2.4.

18.2.2. Disjunction with *tašajt'a* 'if it is not'

The particle *tašajt'a*, originally the Conditional of the negated Aorist participle of *šun* 'be', is used as another disjunctive coordinator. (Sometimes *tušt'a*, the Conditional of the negated standard copula, is used in the same function.) *Tašajt'a* can optionally be preceded by *ja*.

Tašajt'a is obligatory in alternative questions (23.1.3.):

- (912) *Wun qe qwe-da-ni (ja) tašajt'a paka?*
 you:ABS today come-FUT-Q or or tomorrow
 'Will you come today or tomorrow?'

But *tašajt'a* can also be used in non-interrogative sentences. In such cases it could be replaced by *wa ja*. The meaning of *tašajt'a* seems to be slightly different from the meaning of *wa ja*, reflecting the original meaning 'if it is not (so)' (i.e. 'or else').

- (913) a. *Ajal-ar bağ.d-a (ja) tašajt'a k'wal-e qūğwa-zwa.*
 child-PL garden-INNESS or or house-INNESS play-IMPF
 'The children are playing in the garden or (else) in the house.'
- b. *Za zi mires.di-z ewer-un, ja tašajt'a am*
 I:ERG [I:GEN relative-DAT call-MSD or or [he:ABS
ksa-nwa-j čka za-z qalur-un ruš.a-waj t'alab-na. (Š83:100)
 sleep-PRF-PTP] place I-DAT show-MSD] girl-ADEL request-AOR
 'I asked the girl to call my relative or to show me the place where he was sleeping.'

- c. *Aq'al-a žuwa-n siw, tařajt'a am za cwa-da.* (S88:29)
 shut-IMPV self-GEN mouth or it:ABS I.ERG sew-FUT
 'Shut your mouth, or else I'll sew it (shut).'

Tařajt'a can also be used in emphatic disjunction in front of the last disjunct.

- (914) a. *Ha wad dewletlu-da-q^h har sada-q^h ja sa wiř*
 those five rich-SBST.SG-POESS every one-POESS or one hundred
lapag, ja sa jaxc'ur-ni c'ud mal, ja tařajt'a
 small.cattle or one forty-and ten cattle or or
sa wad=c'ud nik řil ře-da-j. (S88:14)
 one five=ten field land be-FUT-PST

'These five rich men had each either about a hundred small cattle, or about fifty cattle, or 5-10 fields of land.'

- b. *Xejlin ahali-jr.i-q^h maxsus familija-r awa-řir,*
 many inhabitant-PL-POESS special surname-PL be.in-NEG-PST
abur ja lak'ab-r.a-ldi, ja tuřt'a tuxum.di-n
 they or nickname-PL-SRDIR or or clan-GEN
t'war-ar.a-ldi ewez iři-zwa-j. (L87,2:74)
 name-PL-SRDIR substitute do-IMPF-PST

'Many inhabitants did not have special surnames; they were replaced either by nicknames or by clan names.'

18.2.3. Disjunction with *gah...gah* 'now...now'

The disjunctive coordinator *gah* expresses a temporal alternation which can be thought of as a sort of disjunction:

gah A, gah(ni) B 'now A, now B'
gah A, gah B, gah C,... 'now A, now B, now C,....'

For example:

- (915) a. *Axp^a, řin-a gah q^hwer awa-z, gah q'il galtad-iz,*
 then [face-INESS now smile be.in-IMC] [now head shake-IMC]
am za-q^h galaz raxa-na. (K86,2:8)
 he:ABS I-POESS with talk-AOR

'Then he talked to me, now with a smile on his face, now shaking his head.'

- b. *Har jis.u-z gah gada-jr.i-n gahni ruš-ar.i-n*
 every year-DAT now son-PL-GEN now girl-PL-GEN
xzan-ar dağ.di-n xür.ü-z xkwe-da-j. (Š83:55)
 family-PL mountain-GEN village-DAT go.back-FUT-PST
 'Every year the families of the sons or the daughters went back to the mountain village (lit. ...the families now of the sons, now of the daughters...).'
- c. *Am gah Zapir.a-z, gah direktor.di-z,*
 he:ABS now Zapir-DAT now director-DAT
gah skul'ptura.di-n k'us-ar.i-z kilig-zawa-j. (DD77,1:12)
 now sculpture-GEN piece-PL-DAT look-IMPFP-PST
 'She looked now at Zapir, now at the director, now at the pieces of the sculpture.'

18.2.4. Negated disjunction: *ja...ja* 'neither...nor'

When the verb of a clause is negated, emphatic disjunction of the *ja...ja* type has the effect of negative conjunction:

- (916) a. *I k'walax.da-l ja abur.u-n ruš, ja gada razi tuš-ir.*
 this job-SRESS or they-GEN girl or boy satisfied COP:NEG-PST
 'Neither their girl nor the boy were satisfied with this job.'
 (DD71,2:18)
- b. *Sada-ni feq'i.di-z ja eš, ja wa? laha-na-č.* (HQ89:8)
 one(ERG)-even mullah-DAT or yes or no say-AOR-NEG
 'No one said either yes or no to the mullah.'
- c. *Cükwer sa šumud juq̄u-z, ja ksu-n t-iji-z,*
 Cükwer one how.many day-DAT [or sleep-PER NEG-do-IMC]
ja ne-n t-iji-z, k'wal-äj eqeč'-na-č. (S88:34)
 [or eat-PER NEG-do-IMC] house-INEL go.out-AOR-NEG
 'For several days Cükwer did not go out of the house, neither sleeping nor eating.'

The conjunctive coordinator *-ni* may optionally be present as well:

- (917) *Zun ja juxsul-ni tuš, ja kesib-ni.* (Š83:60)
 I:ABS or lean-and COP:NEG or poor-and
 'I am neither lean nor poor.'

18.2.5. A minor type of disjunction

Disjunction in which free choice is emphasized can be expressed by the Conditional form of the copula *ja* or *k'an* 'want':

X jat'a, Y jat'a 'X or Y' (lit. 'whether it be X or Y')
k'ant'a X, k'ant'a Y 'X or Y' (lit. 'if (you) want, X, if (you) want, Y')

For example:

- (918) *Im Q'asumxür.e-l jat'a, Axceh-a jat'a, sa hina jat'a*
 this:ABS [Q'asumxür-SRESS or Axceh-INESS or one where or
âa-ji kar ja. (K87,1:12)
 happen-AOP] thing COP

'This is a story that happened in Q'asumxür (Kasumkent), in Axceh (Axyt), or wherever.'

- (919) *Wun hina âajit'ani düz-dakaz acuq'. K'ant'a*
 you:ABS where INDEF straight-ADV sit(IMPV) [or
k'wal-e t'ün ne-da-j-la, k'ant'a tars-ar hazur-da-j-la,
 house-INESS food eat-FUT-PTP-TEMP] [or lesson-PL prepare-FUT-PTP-TEMP]
k'ant'a klass.d-a parta.di-q^h acuq'-nawa-j-la. (DD85,3:23)
 [or class-INESS desk-POESS sit-PRF-PTP-TEMP]

'Sit straight everywhere — be it when you are eating at home, when you are doing your homework, or when you are sitting at your desk in the classroom.'

18.3. Clause coordination

18.3.1. Coordinators

Essentially the same means that are used to coordinate phrasal constituents are used to coordinate clauses.

The coordinating suffix *-ni* is suffixed to the first constituent of the last conjunct clause:

- (920) a. *Zi pab azarlu ja, ajal-r.i-z-ni kilig-da-j kas awa-č.*
 I:GEN wife sick COP [child-PL-DAT-and look-FUT-PTP] person be-NEG
 'My wife is sick and there is no one to look after the children.'
 (X89:156)
- b. *Abur ča-laj wik'eh ja, pačah.di-kaj-ni kič'e tuš.*
 they we-SREL brave COP czar-SBEL-and afraid COP-NEG
 'They are braver than we, and they are not afraid of the czar.'
 (HQ89:13)

- c. *T'ur-ar ğil-er-a ama, wil-er-ni qaxğan.da-l ala.* (Š83:14)
 spoon-PL hand-PL-INNESS be.still eye-PL-and pot-SRESS be.on
 'The spoons are still in their hands, and the eyes are on the pot.'

An example of conjunction with *wa*:

- (921) *Wun zi gaf-ar.a-l qhüre-na-j wa za-z,*
 you:ABS I:GEN word-PL-SRESS laugh-AOR-PST and I-DAT
 «*im zurba tar že-da*», *žawab ga-na-j.* (DD85,2:21)
 this:ABS big tree be-FUT answer give-AOR-PST
 'You laughed about my words and gave me the answer, "This will be a big tree".'

This type of coordination with *wa*, where clauses expressing sequential events are conjoined, is a non-native syntactic construction in Lezgian (cf. Gadžiev 1954:190). It was borrowed along with the coordinator *wa*, and it is now quite common, especially in translations from Russian. It is still restricted to the written language, and speakers who are not literate in Lezgian tend to reject this construction in favor of the construction involving the Aorist converb (cf. 21.1.).

Examples of disjunction with *ja...ja*:

- (922) a. *Ja wuna pakahan jiq.a-laj k'el=kxin čir-iz*
 or [you:ERG tomorrow day-SREL read=write learn-INF]
bašlamiš-da, ja eqeč' i k'wal-äj! (Du85,3:115)
 begin-FUT or go.out(IMPV) this house-INEL
 'Either you begin to learn reading and writing tomorrow, or get out of this house!'
- b. *Paka Selim ja šeh.er.di-z fi-da, ja (taxajt'a) ada*
 tomorrow Selim or town-DAT go-FUT or or he(ERG)
k'wal-e k'walax-da.
 house-INNESS work-FUT
 'Tomorrow Selim will either go to town or he will work at home.'
- c. *Ja Cükwer.a dide.di-z kümek ga-na-č ja dide.di-ni*
 or Cükwer(ERG) mother-DAT help give-AOR-NEG or mother(ERG)-and
Cükwer.a-z kümek ce laha-na-č. (S88:31)
 Cükwer-DAT [help give:IMPV] say-AOR-NEG
 'Neither did Cükwer help her mother, nor did her mother ask Cükwer to help her.'

An example of disjunction with *gah...gah*:

- (923) *Gah Mehamed Xürüg.da-l fi-da-j, gah Tahir*
 now Mehamed Xürüg-SRESS go-FUT-PST now Tahir
Axceh.i-z q̄we-da-j. (Du68,2:29)
 Axceh-DAT come-FUT-PST

'Now Mehamed went to Xürüg, now Tahir came to Axceh (Axyt).'

For an example of disjunction with *wa ja*, see (566b).

18.3.2. Coreferential omission in coordination

When two coordinated clauses of the form abP (where a and b are arguments, and P is the predicate, i.e. the main verb) contain one or more coreferential elements, one of the coreferential elements may be omitted. The following are the most important possibilities for coreferential omission (more complicated structures are beyond the scope of this work). Coreferential elements are printed in boldface.

- (i) a b P + c b P → (a + c) b P
 (ii) a b P + a c P → a (b + c) P
 (argument coordination)
 (iii) a b P + a c Q → a (b P + c Q)
 (shared argument)
 (iv) a b P + c d P → (a b + c d) P
 (shared predicate)

Cases (i) and (ii) are ordinary phrasal coordination of the type we have seen in 18.1.-2. above. In this section, examples for the other types will be given.

18.3.2.1. Shared argument. An example is:

- (924) *Sadlahana Il'ič.a ada-n q̄ün q'u-na wa ada-z*
 suddenly Il'ič(ERG) he-GEN shoulder hold-AOR and he-DAT
Šuš' wac' q̄alur-na. (K57:8)
 Šuš' river show-AOR

'Suddenly Il'ič touched his shoulder and showed him the Šuš' river.'

According to Gadžiev (1954:190), predicates can be coordinate only if they consist entirely of transitive verbs (as in (924)) or of intransitive verbs. In sentences like (925), the subject personal pronoun *am* has to be used in the second conjunct because the first verb is transitive and the second verb is intransitive. This rule can perhaps be taken as a symptom of syntactic or deep ergativity (cf. Mel'čuk 1988, Haspelmath 1991 for some discussion).

- (925) *Lěša.di i kar.da-l tažubwal iji-zwa-j wa am*
 Lěša(ERG) this thing-SRESS surprise do-IMP-F-PST and he:ABS
weq'.e-laj žiğir.da-l e q̄eč' q^hiji-zwa-j. (K57:8)
 grass-SREL path-SRESS go.out(PER) REPET-IMP-F-PST

'Lěša was surprised at this and he returned to the path from the grass.'

However, Gadžiev (1954:191) admits that this ideal rule is not always observed. In fact, it is quite rarely observed in the modern standard language. Perhaps the rule reflects an earlier state of the language (and Gadžiev's own intuitions) and has disappeared under the influence of Russian. Thus, examples as in (926), where Gadžiev's rule is violated, are quite normal nowadays. In (926a), an intransitive and a transitive verb are conjoined, (926b) shows the opposite order, and (926c) shows an experiencer verb and a transitive verb.

- (926) a. *Gada dide.di-n pataw q^hfe-na wa ada-z*
 boy mother-GEN to return-AOR and she-DAT
pačah.di-n bujruğ.di-kaj sühbet-na. (AM87:23)
 king-GEN order-SBEL tell-AOR
 'The boy returned to his mother and told her about the king's order.'
- b. *Selim.a rak aq'al-na wa stol.di-q^h acuoq'-na.*
 Selim(ERG) door close-AOR and table-POESS sit-AOR
 'Selim closed the door and sat down at the table.'
- c. *Č'ulaw nük'.re-z kič'e ša-na wa minet-iz*
 black bird-DAT afraid become-AOR and [beg-INF]
bašlamiš-na. (K87,2:9)
 begin-AOR
 'The black bird became afraid and began to beg.'

In example (927), the two coordinate predicates share both arguments.

- (927) *Küne kü rik' ala-j igit.di-n šikil č'ugu*
 you.all:ERG [you.all:GEN heart be.on-PTP] hero-GEN picture draw(IMPV)
wa či žurnal.di-z račur-a. (K87,2:17)
 and we:GEN journal-DAT send-IMPV
 'Draw a picture of your favorite hero and send it to our journal.'

18.3.2.2. Shared predicate. There are two variants of this type of coordination omission. In the first type, the predicate is present in the first coordinate member and omitted in the second one. This is illustrated in (928).

- (928) a. *Nän-r.i-z hül.e-laj šahwar qwe-da-j, jifi-i-z*
 evening-PL-DAT sea-SREL breeze come-FUT-PST night-DAT
Šahdağ.di-laj. (H77:4)
 Šahdağ-SREL
 'In the evening a breeze would come from the sea, (and) at night from the Šahdağ mountain.'

- b. *Gila čun ibur.u-n čka.da-l že-da-j-wal ja man,*
 now we:ABS these-GEN place-SRESS be-FUT-PTP-ABST COP PT
abur-ni či čka.da-l? (S88:44)
 they-and we:GEN place-SRESS
 'So now we are going to be in their place, and they in ours?'
- c. *Wun ruš.a-n sahib, zun gada.di-n.* (S88:19)
 you:ABS girl-GEN master I:ABS boy-GEN
 'You are your daughter's master, I my son's.'
- d. *Im fana dünja ja, čun-ni muhman-ar.* (HQ89:11)
 this:ABS transitory world COP we:ABS-and guest-PL
 'This is a transitory world, and we are guests.'

In the second type of shared predicate construction, the predicate is omitted in the first coordinate and is present in the second one. This is illustrated in (929).

- (929) a. *Pakamaq^h čačal.di sa werč, žanawur.di-ni sa*
 in.the.morning jackal(ERG) one chicken wolf(ERG)-and one
lapag ġa-na. (Q89,10,19:3)
 sheep bring-AOR
 'On the next morning, the jackal brought a chicken and the wolf a sheep.'
- b. *Abur.u-z čun, ča-z abur begenmiš ja.* (M83:32)
 they-DAT we:ABS we-DAT they pleasant COP
 'They are pleased with us, and we with them.'
- c. *Na luhudi am wič ajal wa Šafiga muallim tir.*
 as- -if he:ABS self child and Šafiga teacher COP:PST
 'It was as if he himself were the child and Šafiga the teacher.'
 (N88:85)
- d. *Č'exi xci-z buba wiči-n, ġweč'i xci-z wiči-n*
 big son-DAT [father self-GEN little son-DAT self-GEN
pataw jašamiš ġa-na k'an-zawa. (Š83:60)
 with living be-AOC] want-IMP
 'The older son wants the father to live with him, and the younger son [wants him to live] with him.'
- e. *Nadja.di zi ġil.i-q^h, za-ni Nadja.di-n ġil.i-q^h*
 Nadja(ERG) I:GEN hand-POESS I:ERG-and Nadja-GEN hand-POESS
tup'al-ar akal-na. (S88:167)
 ring-PL put.on-AOR
 'Nadja put a ring on my hand, and I on Nadja's hand.'

Chapter 19

Relative clauses

19.1. Non-finite (participial) relative clauses

19.1.1. Attributive relative clauses

To form ordinary attributive relative clauses, the participles (9.3., 9.3.3.2., 9.9.2.) are used. Unlike participles in Indo-European languages, which show an inherent orientation either toward the subject (as in *the writing scholar*) or the direct object (as in *the recently written book*), Lezgian participles are inherently unoriented, i.e. they can refer to any participant of the situation. For instance, the Imperfective participle *k̄izwaj* (from *k̄in* 'write') can be used in either of these situations: *k̄izwaj ktab* 'book being written', (*ktab*) *k̄izwaj alim* 'scholar writing (a book)'. Furthermore, there are no restrictions on the valence of participles as is often the case in Indo-European languages. Thus, *alimdi k̄izwaj ktab* 'a book being written by a scholar/a book that a scholar is writing' is perfectly normal. Since participles are the major relative clause forming strategy in Lezgian, this lack of restrictions is not surprising. There are, however, restrictions on tense (there is no distinction between Past and non-Past participles) and mood (the non-indicative moods Optative, Imperative, Hortative, Conditional, and Interrogative are impossible in participles), due to the morphology.

A large number of syntactic positions can be relativized in this way: Absolutive (930), Ergative (931), Dative (932), various oblique arguments (933), locative adverbials (934), instrumental adverbials (935), and time adverbials (936). In the following examples, the relativized constituent is indicated by a \emptyset in the morpheme-by-morpheme glosses.

(930) a. *Q̄hfe-j jac žanawur-r.i req'-e kuk'war-na.*
 [∅(ABS) go.away-AOP] bull wolf-PL(ERG) way-INESS tear-AOR
 'The bull which had gone away was killed by wolves on the way.'
 (K88,9:5)

b. *Itim-r.i čül-ler-a iji-zwa-j wiri k'walax-ar*
 [man-PL(ERG) field-PL-INESS ∅(ABS) do-IMPf-PTP] all work-PL
dišehli-jr.i-n xiw-e hat-na. (Š83:5-6)
 woman-PL-GEN neck-INESS fall-AOR
 'All the work that the men used to do in the fields fell on the women.'

(931) *Pačah.di-n xazina čünüx-aj uğri-jar čun ja.*
 [∅(ERG) king-GEN treasury steal-AOP] thief-PL we:ABS COP
 'We are the thieves who stole the king's treasury.' (Du85,3:116)

- (932) *Mu'minat-a ktab ga-ji ruš-a q^hfe-na.*
 [Muminat-ERG Ø(DAT) book give-AOP] girl-ERG go.away-AOR
 'The girl to whom Mu'minat gave the book went away.'
- (933) a. *buba.di-n wan galuq'-aj ajal-ar* (HQ89:9)
 [father-GEN voice Ø(POESS) reach-AOP] child-PL
 'the children, who heard father's voice (lit. to whom father's voice came)'
- b. *har sa k'walax alaq'-da-j šad ajal*
 [Ø(SREL) every one work be.capable-FUT-PTP] glad child
 'a cheerful child capable of every work' (M83:30)
- c. *meq'i-la zurzu-n akat-nawa-j Saša* (DD71,1:14)
 [Ø(SBESS) cold-ADV shiver-MSD come-PRF-PTP] Saša
 'Saša, who was shivering from cold (lit. under whom shivering had come)'
- (934) a. *Lezgi-jar jašamiš že-zwa-j xür-er*
 [Lezgian-PL Ø(INESS) living be-IMPF-PTP] villag-PL
Azerbajdžan.d-a-ni awa. (TG66:9)
 Azerbaijan-INESS-also be.in
 'There are also villages in Azerbaijan where Lezgians live.'
- b. *čna q'wed.a-ni sanal q'üler-da-j q̄aw* (H77:6)
 [we:ERG two(ERG)-also Ø(SRESS) together dance-FUT-PTP] roof
 'the roof on which the two of us danced together'
- (935) *k'wač-er kut'un-nawa-j jeb* (K87,1:12)
 [Ø(SRDIR) foot-PL tie-PRF-PTP] string
 'the string with which the feet were tied'
- (936) a. *Am šair či arada amuq'-aj exirimži jis*
 it:ABS [poet Ø(DAT) we:GEN among stay-AOP] last year
ša-na.
 be-AOR
 'It was the last year in which the poet was among us.' (Ko89,10,18:4)
- b. *Wiči-n itim rik'.e-l xta-j har sefer.d-a*
 [self-GEN man Ø(INESS) heart-SRESS return-AOP] every time-INESS
Suna xala šeš-da-j. (R66:17)
 Suna aunt cry-FUT-PST
 'Every time she remembered her husband, Suna-khala cried.'

Genitive NPs can be relativized by a simple participle when the possessive relation is inalienable and the inherent relationality of the possessed noun makes it possible to identify the relativized constituent:

- (937) a. *čín.i-z cl.a-n rang ata-nwa-j ada-n ġül*
 [Ø(GEN) face-DAT wall-GEN color come-PRF-PTP] she-GEN husband
 'her husband, whose face had become white as a wall (lit. to whose face the wall's color had come)' (Š83:27)
- b. *ġül.ü-n mašin čünüx-aj pab*
 [Ø(GEN) husband-GEN car steal-AOP] wife
 'the wife whose husband's car was stolen'

When the relativized element cannot be easily recovered because it is neither an argument of a verb or a noun nor an instrumental, locative or temporal adverbial (which are easily recovered because of the specific semantics of the head noun), the reflexive pronoun must be used which functions as a resumptive pronoun. Example (938) shows an adverbial of reference, (939) shows a comparative standard, and (940) shows an alienable Genitive NP.

- (938) *čun wiči-kaj raxa-zwa-j kas* (K85,7:2)
 [we:ABS self-SBEL talk-IMPF-PTP] man
 'the man we're talking about'
- (939) *Wiče-laj Šahdağ q'aq'an tir dağ hina awa?*
 [self-SREL Šahdağ high COP:PTP] mountain where be.in
 'Where is the mountain that Šahdağ (4243 m) is taller than?'
- (940) *Wiči-n sät čünüx-nawa-j ruš šeš-zawa-j.*
 [self-GEN clock steal-PRF-PTP] girl cry-IMPF-PST
 'The girl whose watch was stolen was crying.'

Restrictive relative clauses can also modify personal pronouns:

- (941) *Paltu ala-j za-z penžek ala-j wa-laj meq'i-zwa.*
 [coat be.on-PTP] I-DAT [jacket be.on-PTP] you-SREL cold-IMPF
 'I am colder in a coat than you in a jacket.' (Lit. 'I in a coat...')

19.1.2. Headless relative clauses

Like other words that are used attributively, participles can be substantivized with the suffix *-di/-bur* (see 8.1.1.). Such substantivized participles function as headless relative clauses. They can have specific meaning (e.g., (942-943)) or non-specific meaning ("generalized relative clause"), e.g. (944-945). Whether the headless relative clause refers to people (as in (942) and (944)) or to inanimate things (as in (943) and (945)) can only be inferred from the context.

Specific headless relative clauses:

- (942) a. *Ada-l wil-er ala-j-bur gzaf awa-j.* (S88:5)
 [she-SRESS eye-PL be.on-PTP]-SBST.PL many be.in-PST
 'Those who were in love with her were many.'
- b. *Wan řa-ji-bur.u řa-z wuč luhu-da?* (ř83:70)
 [voice become-AOP]-SBST.PL(ERG) we-DAT what:ABS say-FUT
 'What will those who hear it say to us?'
- c. *I řar gwa-j-di q^hsan gada ja.* (M79:9)
 [this letter be.at-PTP]-SBST.SG good boy COP
 'The one who has this letter on him is a good boy.'
- (943) *Wi rik'-e awa-j-di řtin adet.di-n hiss tuř.*
 [you:GEN heart-INNESS be.in-PTP]-SBST.SG Such custom-GEN feeling COP:NEG
 'That which is in your heart is not such a normal feeling.' (N88:86)

Non-specific headless relative clauses:

- (944) a. *Suw.u-z fe-ji-di xkwe-da, sur.u-z fe-ji-di wa?*
 [water-DAT go-AOP]-SBST.SG return-FUT [grave-DAT go-AOP]-SBST.SG not
 'Whoever has gone into the water returns, whoever has gone into the grave does not.' (ř83:40)
- b. *Gzaf raxa-da-j-da gzaf řalat'-ar-ni iji-da.* (TG66:92)
 [much talk-FUT-PTP]-SBST.SG(ERG) many mistake-PL-also do-FUT
 'Whoever talks a lot also makes a lot of mistakes.'
- (945) *Ne-da-j-di-ni aluk'-da-j-di bes ře-zwa-řir.*
 [eat-FUT-PTP]-SBST.SG-and [put.on-FUT-PTP]-SBST.SG enough be-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'There was not enough to eat and to put on.' (M83:30)

19.1.3. Non-restrictive relative clauses

Relative clauses may be non-restrictive, without any formal difference from restrictive relative clauses.

- (946) a. *Zeravřan wac'.u-n dugun-a awa-j mařhur Samarkand*
 [Zeravřan river-GEN valley-INNESS be.in-PTP] well.known Samarkand
 'the well-known Samarkand, which is in the valley of the Zeravřan river' (K87,1:5)
- b. *Ada-z bulax.di-n pataw weq' ne-zwa-j balk'an aku-na.*
 he-DAT [well-GEN beside grass eat-IMPF-PTP] horse see-AOR
 '[He had been looking for his horse for some time. Then finally,] he saw the horse, which was grazing beside a well.' (J89:21)

Non-restrictive relative clauses can also be used to express a subordinate event in a sequence of events, like the English *-ing* form. However, this usage is not common.

- (947) a. *Exirni xür.ü-n-bur.u kac tam.u-z čukur-na. Am*
 finally village-GEN-SBST.PL(ERG) cat forest-DAT chase-AOR it:ABS
tam-ar-a para qečwe-na. Ne-da-j zat' hat
 forest-PL-INESS much walk-AOR [[eat-FUT-PTP] thing come
t-iji-zwa-j kac rad šiz šük'ü ša-nwa-j. (X89:32)
 NEG-do-IMPF-PTP] cat intestine like thin become-PRF-PST

'Finally the villagers chased the cat into the forest. It wandered through the woods for a long time. Not finding anything to eat, the cat became thin like an intestine.' (Lit. 'The cat, which did not find anything to eat,...')

- b. *I kar čir ša-ji zi čan.d-a c'aj hat-na. (S88:154)*
 [this thing teach ANTIC-AOP] I-GEN soul-INESS fire come

'When I learned about this, I was furious.'

19.1.4. Relativization into subordinate clauses

The relativized element in the relative clause may also be in a clause subordinate to the clause which contains the relative participle. There seem to be no restrictions on such downstairs relativization. It is possible both with non-finite and with finite subordinate clauses. The examples below show relativization into subordinate clauses of various types. First, non-finite complement clauses formed with the Aorist converb (948), with the Infinitive (949), and with the substantivized participle (950) are illustrated.

- (948) *ferma.d-a awu-nwa-j, q'huwu-na k'an-zawa-j k'walax-ar*
 [farm-INESS do-PRF-PTP] [[Ø(ABS) do.again-AOC] must-IMPF-PTP] work-PL

'the work that had been done in the farm and that had yet to be done'
 (lit. 'that it was necessary that one do') (R66:22)

- (949) *Ča-waj q'we.da-waj sanal hāl-iz te-že-da-j wuč*
 [we-ADEL two-ADEL [Ø(ABS) together solve-INF] NEG-be-FUT-PTP] what

mes?ela awa q'wan? (S88:162)
 problem be.in PT

'What problem is there that the two of us can't solve together?'

- (950) *Gada wiči-z aq^ha-zwa-j-di či-zwa-j k'wal.i-z fe-na.*
 boy [self-DAT [open-IMPF-PTP-SBST] know-IMPF-PTP] room-DAT go-AOR

'The boy went into the room that he knew was open.'

Next, finite complement clauses formed with the subordinator *lahana* (951), and bare finite complements to *luhun* 'say' (952).

- (951) *Abur.u-z pačah žiz akwa-zwa-j, haq'wan zurba wa žuwatlu*
 [they king like see-IMPF-PTP] [[so.much strong and powerful
ja laha-na fikir-nawa-j Jark'i=beg (HQ89:11)
 COP say-AOC] think-PRF-PTP] Jark'i.beg
 'Jark'i-beg, who seemed to them like a king, who they had thought
 was so strong and powerful'

- (952) *Musa.di ata-na laha-j muhman či xalu tir.*
 [Musa(ERG) [come-AOR] say-AOP] guest we:GEN uncle COP:PST
 'The guest that Musa said had arrived was our uncle.'

The following is an example of relativization out of a temporal adverbial clause. Since the relativized element would be very difficult to recover otherwise, a reflexive pronoun is used as a resumptive pronoun.

- (953) *T'war-ar.i-kaj čeb akal-ur-la sifet-ar ara.di-z*
 [noun-PL-SBEL [selves attach-AOP-TEMP] adjective-PL middle-DAT
ažat-zawa-j suffiks-ar ibur ja: -lu, -lux, -suz wa -wi.
 come-IMPF-PTP] suffix-PL these COP -lu -lux -suz and -wi
 'The suffixes such that, when they are attached [to them], adjectives
 arise from nouns are these: *-lu, -lux, -suz* and *-wi*.' (i.e. suffixes that
 turn nouns into adjectives when they are attached to them) (G57:26)

19.2. Finite (correlative) relative clauses

Correlative relative clauses are made up of an indirect parametric question (cf. 23.3.1.2.), with a demonstrative pro-form of the *ha-* series serving as the correlate in the main clause. Correlative relative clauses are always non-specific.

- (954) a. *Wuž k'anik akat-aj-t'a, hada wiči-n q'ušun-ar*
 [who:ABS below come-AOP-CND] that(ERG) self-GEN troop-PL
q'uluq^h č'ugwa-da. (AM87:34)
 back pull-FUT
 'Whoever is defeated shall withdraw his troops.'
- b. *Kwe-z hiq'wan gerek ja-t'a, haq'wan ina*
 [you.all-DAT how.much necessary COP-CND] that.much here
jašamiš žu-ž.
 living be-IMPV
 'Stay here as long as you need.' (S88:8)

- c. *Wa-z hik' k'an-da-t'a hak' aja!* (R66:29)
[you-DAT how want-FUT-CND] so do:IMPV

'Do as you please.'

- d. *Hinal jif xa-ji-t'a, hanal am jal jağ-un patal*
[whereon night become-AOP-CND] thereon he [rest hit-MSD] for
ağwaz-zawa. (L86,3:13)
stop-IMPF

'Wherever the night falls, there he stops to rest.'

Like indirect questions and conditional clauses, correlative relative clauses tend to precede all other words of the superordinate clause. But (as Gadžiev 1963:140 observes) even here clause-medial position is not excluded, e.g.

- (955) *Ktab za wa-z, wun mus ata-j-t'a, ha č'aw.u-z gu-da.*
book I:ERG you-DAT [you:ABS when come-AOP-CND] that time-DAT give-FUT
'When you come, I will give you a book.' (G63:140)

When the interrogative word is the determiner *hi* 'which', the full NP may be repeated in the main clause.

- (956) *Abur hi gaf.uni-z taluq' ja-t'a, ha gaf.uni-n*
[they which word-DAT belonging COP-CND] that word-GEN
k'anikaj c'ar č'ug-u. (G57:43)
below line draw-IMPV

'Whichever word they belong to, draw a line below that word.'

The non-specific character of such relative clauses may be emphasized by putting *har* 'every' (11.7.2.) in front of the interrogative word.

- (957) *Har hi učenik wiri-da-laj wilik ata-j-t'a, hada-z*
[every which pupil all-SBST-SREL before come-AOP-CND] that-DAT
čna žurnal gu-da. (G63:9)
we:ERG magazine give-FUT

'Whichever pupil comes first, to him we will give the magazine.'

Correlative relative clauses with the verb in the indicative (rather than in the Conditional mood) are found in the archaic poetic language:

- (958) *Q'el hi kas.di ne-da, hada jad qh'wa-da.*
[salt which man(ERG) eat-FUT] that(ERG) water drink-FUT

'Whoever eats salt will drink water.' (Jetim Emin, G54:5)

This construction is more usual in the neighboring languages Budukh and Kryz (Boguslavskaja 1981).

Non-specific relative clauses are similar in meaning to parametric concessive conditional clauses, and their formal expression differs only in that parametric concessive conditionals have the additional suffix *-ni* (cf. 21.8.4.).

So it is not surprising that such clauses can also occasionally be used as non-specific relative clauses in Lezgian:

- (959) *Za wuna wuč laha-j-t'a-ni q'il.i-z aḡud-da.*
 I:ERG [you:ERG what:ABS say-AOP-CND-also] head-DAT take.out-FUT
 'I will do whatever you say.' (= 'Whatever you say, I will do [it].')
 (K89,4:11)

19.3. Predicative substantivized participles

Substantivized participles as in (960) were discussed in 19.1.2. above, in their function of headless relative clauses.

- (960) *k'el-aj-di*
 read-AOP-SBST
 'whoever read'; 'the one who read'

Since such substantivized participles have all the morphological possibilities of nouns (cf. 8.1.1. on substantivizing inflection), they can be used wherever nouns can be used. This means that they can also be used in predicative function. Since the predicative use is not in general characteristic of relative clauses, I will not use the term "predicative headless relative clause", but rather the term PREDICATIVE SUBSTANTIVIZED PARTICIPLE.

There are two types of constructions involving predicative substantivized participles, called "nominal" and "verbal" here. Examples are given in (961)-(962) (from Gadžiev 1954:69-70).

- (961) Nominal predicative substantivized participle:

Čun gzaf ktab-ar k'el-aj-bur ja.
 we:ABS many book-PL read-AOP-SBST.PL COP
 'We are ones who read many books.'

- (962) Verbal predicative substantivized participle:

Čna gzaf ktab-ar k'el-aj-di ja.
 we:ERG many book-PL read-AOP-SBST.SG COP
 'We have read many books.'

The nominal construction in (961) is like a copula construction in that it has an Absolutive subject and the substantivized participle agrees with the Absolutive subject in number. The verbal construction in (962), on the other hand, does not have an Absolutive subject, and the substantivized participle does not agree with anything (it is singular by default).

The two constructions in (961)-(962) will be discussed separately below. Note that the substantivized participle can also be used in the sense 'the one who...'; for instance; (961) also has a reading 'We are those who read many books.' Such a definite reading is always available for nominal predicative substantivized participles, but it is irrelevant for the following discussion.

19.3.1. The nominal predicative substantivized participle

This construction is used to characterize the subject by means of an event in which it participates. In contrast to the corresponding finite sentences, such sentences do not express a particular, temporally localizable situation, but rather a timeless characteristic feature of the subject. For example, sentence (963)

(963) *Halimat gimnastika.da-l ma šgul že-zwa-j-di ja.* (DD85,3:23)
Halimat [gymnastics-SRESS occupied be-IMPf-PTP-SBST.SG] COP

‘Halimat occupies herself with gymnastics.’ (lit. ‘Halimat is one who (or: is such that she) occupies herself with gymnastics.’)

conveys an important characteristic of Halimat, whereas (964) would express either an ongoing or a habitual event.

(964) *Halimat gimnastika.da-l ma šgul že-zwa.*
Halimat gymnastics-SRESS occupied be-IMPf

‘Halimat is doing gymnastics.’ ‘Halimat (habitually) does gymnastics.’

The semantic difference can be quite subtle, but with transitive predicates (as in (965)) there is a drastic syntactic difference: The subject of a transitive verb appears in the Absolutive case, as is normal for a subject of a copula clause.

(965) a. *Am q’if-er.i-z insaf iji-da-j-di tuš.* (X89:15)
he:ABS [mouse-PL-DAT pity do-FUT-PTP-SBST.SG] COP:NEG

‘He does not pity mice.’

b. *Saimat.a gu-zwa-j tars-ar derin čirwil-er*
[Saimat(ERG) give-IMPf-PTP] lesson-PL [deep knowledge-PL

gu-zwa-j-bur ja. (DD77,6:14)
give-IMPf-PTP-SBST.PL] COP

‘The lessons that Saimat teaches give deep knowledge.’

c. *Abur saki wiri musurman din.di-z ibadat*
they almost all [Muslim religion-DAT profess

iji-zwa-j-bur ja. (L86,3:19)
do-IMPf-PTP-SBST.PL] COP

‘They almost all profess the Muslim religion.’

Since Lezgian participles are not inherently oriented, the Absolutive subject of the predicative substantivized participle construction does not have to correspond to the participle’s subject. Example (966) shows sentences where the subject corresponds to the participle’s Absolutive direct object. Such sentences are best translated by passive sentences, but the Lezgian construction is not passive at all.

- (966) a. *I skul'ptura-jar insan.di-n ġil.i tük'ür-nawa-j-bur*
 this sculpture-PL [human-GEN hand(ERG) create-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL]

tuš (DD77,1:11)

COP:NEG

'These sculptures are not [ones] made by a human being's hand.'

- b. *Belki lapag-ar bazar.d-a masa ga-nwa-j-bur ja-t'a?! ja-t'a?!*
 perhaps sheep-PL [bazar-INESS sell give-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL] COP-CND

'Perhaps the sheep were sold at the bazar.' (R66:30)

Examples (967)-(969) show sentences where the subject corresponds to the participle's Adelative argument (cf. 967), Superessive argument (cf. 968), and Dative argument (cf. 969).

- (967) *Iġtin čaj iġi-z že-da-j-di ja-ni ham-ni?* (S88:33)
 [[such tea make-INF] can-FUT-PTP-SBST.SG] COP-Q she:ABS-too

'Can she, too, make such tea?'

- (968) *Leq' lišan ala-j-di tir.* (M83:74)
 eagle [sign be.on-PTP-SBST.SG] COP:PST

'The eagle had a mark on it.'

- (969) *Polkovnik wa ada-n pab pul hajif ħwe-da-j-bur tuš.*
 colonel and he-GEN wife [money pity come-FUT-PTP-SBST.PL] COP:NEG

'The colonel and his wife do not mind spending the money.' (Š83:56)

19.3.2. The verbal predicative substantivized participle

The function of this construction is less clear than that of the construction in 19.3.1. But several uses can be identified. One frequent condition under which the verbal predicative participle construction is used is when a constituent of the sentence is focused. For instance, the construction is sometimes used with parametric questions, where the questioned constituent (the parameter) is focused.

- (970) a. *Wuna i gaf-ar wučiz luhu-zwa-j-di ja?* (M83:49)
 you:ERG this word-PL why say-IMP-PTP-SBST COP

'Why are you saying these words?'

- b. *Wun ada-q^h galaz hina taniš ħa-ji-di ja?*
 you:ABS he-POESS with where acquainted become-AOP-SBST COP

'Where did you get to know him?' (J89:34)

(Note that a sentence with an intransitive verb, such as (970b), could also represent the nominal predicative participle construction of 19.3.1. In the following I will choose mainly examples where this kind of constructional ambiguity is excluded.)

The verbal predicative participle construction is also sometimes used when a constituent is focused by a focus particle.

- (971) a. *Za-ni, zi dide.di xiz, q'if-er ne-da-j-di ja.* (A90:17)
 I:ERG-too I:GEN mother(ERG) like mouse-PL eat-FUT-PTP-SBST COP
 'I, too, eat mice, like my mother.'
- b. *Za anžax xijirlu q'el-er kwa-j jat-ar*
 I:ERG only [useful salt-PL be.under-PTP] water-PL
qhwa-zwa-j-di ja. (Du68,2:121)
 drink-IMP-PTP-SBST COP
 'I only drink mineral water.'

The following examples show the verbal predicative participle construction in sentences with contrastive focus.

- (972) a. *Za xka-j-di tuš, zi qulluğči.di xka-j-di ja.*
 I:ERG return-AOP-SBST COP:NEG I:GEN employee(ERG)
 return-AOP-SBST COP
 'Not I have brought [them] back, my employee has brought [them] back.' (S88:17)
- b. *Za gada.di-z gu-zwa-j-di tuš ruš*
 I:ERG boy-DAT give-IMP-PTP-SBST COP:NEG girl
za buba.di-z gu-zwa-j-di ja. (S88:30)
 I:ERG father-DAT give-IMP-PTP-SBST COP
 'I am not giving my daughter to the boy, I am giving her to the father.'
- c. A: *Wun či suwar.i-k ata-nwa-j-di ja-ni?*
 you:ABS we:GEN holiday-SBESS come-PRF-PTP-SBST COP-Q
 B: *Wa?, Nisred=xalu, zun pahliwan-r.i-n daldam*
 no Nisred=xalu I:ABS [artist-PL-GEN drum
xutax-iz ata-nwa-j-di ja. (J89:27)
 bring.back-INF] come-PRF-PTP-SBST COP
 'A: Have you come for our festival? B: No, Nisred-xalu, I have come to bring back the tightrope walkers' drum.'

In many cases, no marked focus seems to be present in the verbal predicative participle construction. It is not clear, for example, how the following sentences differ in meaning from the corresponding finite sentences.

- (973) a. *Mac'.a-laj wuč xajit'ani alaq'-zawa-j-di ja.* (K84,4:13)
 Mac'-SREL what:ABS INDEF be.able-IMP-PTP-SBST COP
 'Mac' can do anything.'
- b. *Ada-z an.i-n reqh qhsan-diz či-zwa-j-di ja.* (J89:33)
 he-DAT there-GEN way good-ADV know-IMP-PTP-SBST COP
 'He knows the way there well.'

- c. *Wa?, za abur ne-zwa-j-di tuš.* (A90:23)
 no I:ERG they eat-IMPf-PTP-SBST COP:NEG
 'No, I don't eat them.'
- d. *Iniz insan-ar q^hwa-z q^we-zwa-j-di ja.* (Du68,2:120)
 hither human-PL [drink-IMPf] come-IMPf-PTP-SBST COP
 'Here people come to drink.'

Often such verbal predicative participles without marked focus are used in emphatic negative sentences, especially where 'never' is expressed or understood. It is not at all clear how this usage relates to the focus-marking function described above.

- (974) a. *Ali.di-waj sadra-ni tab iji-z xa-ji-di tuš-ir.* (J89:32)
 Ali-ADEL [once-even lie do-IMPf] can-AOP-SBST COP:NEG-PST
 'Ali could never tell a lie.'
- b. *Gilaldi Zirexgaran.di-n ahali-jr.a-l hič*
 until.now Zirexgaran-GEN inhabitant-PL-SRESS PT
sa šah.di-waj-ni ġil xkaž-iz xa-ji-di tuš (K87,1:7)
 one king-ADEL-even [hand raise-IMPf] can-AOP-SBST COP:NEG
 'So far no king has ever been able to raise a hand against Zirexgaran's people.'
- c. *Za-z sadra-ni iq'wan kič'e xa-ji-di tuš.* (K90,3:2)
 I-DAT once-even so.much afraid be-AOP-SBST COP:NEG
 'I had never been so afraid.'
- d. *Ixtin ajal za-z aku-r-di tuš.* (G54:156)
 such child I-DAT see-AOP-SBST COP:NEG
 'I have not (ever) seen such a child.'
- e. *Ina axtin waqia-jar sadra-ni xa-ji-di tuš.* (S88:15)
 here such event-PL once-even be-AOP-SBST COP:NEG
 'Here such events have never happened.'

The verbal predicative participle construction bears an obvious resemblance to cleft sentences, which will be described in the next section. Cleft sentences also serve to focus a constituent, and they also involve a substantivized participle. The verbal predicative participle construction seems to have evolved in some way from the cleft construction, but the details are obscure.

19.4. Cleft sentences

Lezgian cleft sentences consist of the focused part followed by the copula, and the background, formed by a singular substantivized predicative participle which contains the rest of the sentence. When the background precedes the focus, as in (975) the sentence corresponds to an English *wh*-cleft (or pseudo-cleft) sentence, and when the focus precedes the background, as in (976), the cleft sentence corresponds to an English ordinary cleft sentence.

(975) *Tezetdin.a-n k'wal-e awa-j-di q'we kūsri tir.* (L86,3:20)
 [Tezetdin-GEN house-INNESS be.in-PTP-SBST] two chair COP:PST

'What was in Tezetdin's house were two chairs.'

(976) *Ham ja Širinbala jağ-aj-di.* (S88:56)
 he:ABS COP [Širinbala hit-AOP-SBST]

'It was he who stabbed Širinbala.'

Since Lezgian prefers verb-final word order, background-first constructions as in (975) are more common. They cannot always be translated by English *wh*-cleft sentences. For example, when the focus is a focus of a focus particle or the focus of a parametric question, as in (977), a *wh*-cleft is impossible in English.

(977) a. *Ana k'walax-aj-di sa zun ja-ni?* (HQ89:13)
 [there work-AOP-SBST] one I:ABS COP-Q

'Did only I work there?'

b. *Či dağwi ajal-r.i-kaj pahliwan-r.a-l hejranwal*
 we:GEN mountaineer child-PL-SBEL [artist-PL-SRESS amazement

t-iji-da-j-di wuž že-da? (J89:5)
 NEG-do-FUT-PTP-SBST] who be-FUT

'Of our mountain children, who will not look in amazement at the tightrope walkers?'

More examples of background-first cleft sentences that can be translated by English *wh*-cleft sentences are given in (978).

(978) a. *Za-z sekinwal ta-gu-zwa-j-di senfiz aku-r*
 [I-DAT peace NEG-give-IMP-PTP-SBST] [last.night see-AOP]
axwar ja. (AM87:3)
 dream COP

'What does not give me peace is the dream I saw last night.'

b. *Mal-ar-kaj raxa-j-t'a, ča-q^h awa-j-di q'we xeb-ni*
 [cattle-PL-SBEL speak-AOP-CND] [we-POESS be.in-PTP-SBST] two sheep-and
lam tir. (Š77:33)
 donkey COP:PST

'As for cattle, what we had were two sheep and a donkey.'

- c. *Či jawan daǧlux čka-jr.i-z k'an-zawa-j-di*
 [we:GEN dry mountainous place-PL-DAT need-IMPF-PTP-SBST]

ha iǧtin pešekar-ar ja. (L86,3:17)
 that such specialist-PL COP

'What is needed for our dry mountainous regions are precisely such specialists.'

More examples of focus-first cleft sentences:

- (979) a. *Hi žehil ja q'wan wiči-n k'ani ruš.a-n*
 which youngster COP PT [self-GEN beloved girl-GEN]

buba.di-z aksi eqeč'-da-j-di? (R66:28)
 father-DAT against go.out-FUT-PTP-SBST]

'Which young man would go out against his girlfriend's father?'

- b. *Wuž ja rak'-ar gata-zwa-j-di?* (X89:27)
 who:ABS COP [door-PL knock-IMPF-PTP-SBST]

'Who is knocking at the door?'

In example (980), the focus is medial: The substantivized participle follows it, as in (976) and (979), but another constituent of the background precedes it.

- (980) *Nasir.a-z anžax ada-n wil-er tir akwa-zwa-j-di.* (N88:71)
 Nasir-DAT only he-GEN eye-PL COP:PST see-IMPF-PTP-SBST

'Nasir saw only her eyes.'

Such constructions need to be studied in more detail.

Chapter 20

Complement clauses

There are quite a few different morphosyntactic strategies for forming complement clauses, each of which is described in one of the sections of this chapter. In principle, the complement-taking verb determines which complement-forming strategy is chosen, and the strategy has to be given in the dictionary. However, the choice of complement-forming strategies is to a large extent predictable from the meaning of the verb and the complement clause. Roughly, the zero strategy (20.1.) is used for direct speech, the Infinitive (20.2.) is used for irrealis complements, the Masdar (20.3.) is used for complements with action meaning, the substantivized participle (20.4.) is used for factive complements, the *luhun* ('say') strategy (20.5.) is used for non-factive propositional-attitude verbs, the converb strategy (20.6.) is used for verbs of perception, and the *xi*-strategy (20.7.) is used to extrapose complements of several different types.

The subject of complement clauses is often omitted under identity with an argument of the main clause (i.e. it is controlled by one of the main clause arguments). To facilitate the recognition of the control relations, each of the relevant sections in this chapter contains at least one example where the relations are made explicit notationally. The omitted target is represented by a \emptyset (zero), and both the target and its controller are underlined. See also 22.3. for some discussion of control in complement clauses.

The use of the terms "subject" and "object" for controllers and targets in this chapter is not unproblematic; see 16.1. for some discussion.

20.1. The zero strategy: direct speech

The zero strategy is used when the complement clause represents direct speech which is heavy-shifted to the end of the sentence.

- (981) *Gada.di dide.di-z laha-na: «Zun šeher.di-z fi-da.»*
boy(ERG) mother-DAT say-AOR I:ABS town-DAT go-FUT
'The boy said to his mother: "I will go to town."'

This type of direct speech is possible with any kind of speech act verb, cf.

- (982) *Gada.di haraj-na: «Zun k'wal-e amuq'-da!»*
boy(ERG) scream-AOR I:ABS house-INESS stay-FUT
'The boy screamed: "I will stay at home!"'

When the direct speech is not extraposed but is in its canonical preverbal direct object position, the zero strategy is possible only with the verb *luhun*

'say' (983a). All other speech act verbs have to use the *luhun*-strategy in such contexts (983c).

(983) a. *Gadadi didediz, — Zun šeherdiz fida, — lahana.*

'The boy said to his mother: "I will go to town."'

b. **Gadadi, — Zun k'wale amuq'da!, — harajna.*

'The boy screamed: "I will stay at home!"'

c. *Gada.di, — Zun k'wal-e amuq'da!, — laha-na haraj-na.*
 boy(ERG) I:ABS house-INESS stay-FUT say-AOC scream-AOR

'The boy screamed: "I will stay at home!"'

The same is true for indirect speech: The zero strategy is possible only with *luhun* itself, whereas other verbs must use the *luhun*-strategy. In (984), the use of the reflexive pronoun shows that we are dealing with indirect speech.

(984) a. *Gada.di dide.di-z, wič šeher.di-z fi-da laha-na.*
 boy(ERG) mother-DAT [self town-DAT go-FUT] say-AOR

'The boy said to his mother that he would go to town.'

b. **Gada.di wič k'wal-e amuq'-da haraj-na.*
 boy(ERG) [self house-INESS stay-FUT] scream-AOR

'The boy screamed that he would stay at home!''

Even the Imperative may be used in indirect speech. Examples such as the following show that the direct-indirect speech division is not as sharp in Lezgian as in the familiar languages.

(985) a. *Belki nük're wiči-z sa k'us fu ce luhu-zwa-t'a?*
 maybe bird(ERG) [self-DAT one piece bread give:IMPV] say-IMPV-CND

'Maybe the bird asks for a piece of bread? (lit. says, give itself a piece of bread)' (A90:28)

b. *Wa-z Isabeg.a isätda wiči-n k'wal.i-z ša luhu-zwa.*
 you-DAT Isabeg(ERG) [now self-GEN house-DAT come:IMPV] say-IMPV

'Isabeg tells you to come to his house right now.' (S88:15)

20.2. The Infinitive

The infinitive is used mainly in complement clauses with irrealis modality, i.e. complement clauses whose complement modality does not imply the realization of the complement situation. The irrealis modality can be either PROSPECTIVE (i.e. the realization of the situation is expected for the future) or POTENTIAL (i.e. the realization is not expected for a particular moment in the future but is possible anytime).

The subject of the Infinitival complement clause is generally omitted under referential identity with the subject of the main clause (SUBJECT

CONTROL) or in one case (*tun*, the causative verb) with the Adelative object of the main clause (OBJECT CONTROL). An exception are complements to the one-place verb *bašlamišun* 'begin' (20.2.5.), which have their own subject. The following sections consist of lists of valence patterns with Infinitival complements and illustrative examples that instantiate the various types.

20.2.1. Subject-controlled irrealis-prospective complements

Complement-taking predicate *k'an-* $\bar{E}_{\text{DAT}} [\bar{\emptyset}_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'E wants to V'

(986) a. *Dide.di-z* $\bar{\emptyset}$ *šeher.di-z fi-z* *k'an-zawa*.
mother-DAT [$\bar{\emptyset}$ (ABS) town-DAT go-INF] want-IMP
'Mother wants to go to town.'

b. *Abur.u-z gazet.di-z sa ġweč'i maqala kxi-z* *k'an-zawa*.
they-DAT [paper-DAT one little article write-INF] want-IMP
'They want to write a little article for the newspaper.' (M83:55)

c. *Nabisat.a-z wiči-n ġül akwa-z* *k'an-zawa*.
Nabisat-DAT [self-GEN husband see-INF] want-IMP
'Nabisat wants to see her husband.'

Note that when the complement subject is not coreferential with the experiencer subject of 'want', the converb strategy (20.6.) must be used. See 16.1.3. for more discussion of the two types of *k'an-* complements.

Complement-taking predicate *alaq^hun* $\bar{T}_{\text{ABS}} [\bar{\emptyset}_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'T tries (hard) to V, T strives to V'

(987) *Nabisat-ni Cükwer* $\bar{\emptyset}$ *čeb derbentlu-jr.i-n pataw*
Nabisat-and Cükwer [$\bar{\emptyset}$ (ERG) [selves Derbentian-PL-GEN to
fi-da luhu-z gzaf alaq^h-na. (S88:8)
go-FUT] say-DAT] much try-AOR

'Nabisat and Cükwer tried hard to say that they were going to the people from Derbent.'

Other verbs with the same valence pattern are *čališmiš xun* 'strive', *egeč'un* 'start'.

Complement-taking predicate *hazur* $\bar{T}_{\text{ABS}} [\bar{\emptyset}_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'T is ready to V'

(988) *Čun* $\bar{\emptyset}$ *a k'walax iji-z* *hazur ja*. (X89:113)
we:ABS [$\bar{\emptyset}$ (ERG) that job do-INF] ready COP
'We are ready to do that job.'

Complement-taking predicate *kič'e* $\underline{E}_{\text{DAT}} [(\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}}) \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'E is afraid to V/afraid that ...V'

- (989) *Selim.a-z* \emptyset *wiči-n buba.di-qh galaz raxa-z kič'e-da-j.*
Selim-DAT [\emptyset (ABS) self-GEN father-POESS with talk-INF] afraid-FUT-PST
'Selim was afraid to talk to his father.'

With *kič'e*, unlike *k'an*, there is no difference in construction when the complement subject is different from the main clause subject.

- (990) *Ada-z i zeherlu q'il-er bağ.d-a awa-j qūš-ar.i*
he-DAT [these poisonous head-PL [garden-INNESS be.in-PTP] bird-PL(ERG)
ne-z kič'e xa-na. (M83:45)
eat-INF] afraid be-AOR
'He was afraid that the birds in the garden might eat these poisoned heads.'

The complement clause of *kič'e* can alternatively be expressed by the Masdar in the Subelative or the Postelative case (20.3.5.), both for the same-subject and the different-subject cases.

20.2.2. Subject-controlled irrealis-potential complements

Complement-taking predicate *xun* $\underline{E}_{\text{ADEL}} [(\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}}) \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'E is able to V'

- (991) *Za-waj* \emptyset *a bejaburčiwal ex-iz že-zwa-č-ir.* (Š83:68)
I-ADEL [\emptyset (ERG) that shame bear-INF] can-IMPF-NEG-PST
'I could not bear that shame.'

Complement-taking predicate *alaq'un* $\underline{E}_{\text{SREL}} [(\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}}) \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'E is able to V'

- (992) *I gweč'i gada.di-laj* \emptyset *iġtin güzel zat'-ar ras-iz*
this little boy-SREL [\emptyset (ERG) such pretty thing-PL create-INF]
alaq'-da-ni? (K87,1:5)
be.able-FUT-Q
'Is this little boy able to make such beautiful things?'

Complement-taking predicate *či-* $\underline{E}_{\text{DAT}} [(\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}}) \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
'E knows how to V'

- (993) *Ada-z* \emptyset *samolët hal-iz či-da-j.* (K84,3:5)
he-DAT [\emptyset (ERG) airplane lead-INF] know-FUT-PST
'He knew how to fly an airplane.'

Complement-taking predicate *werdiš xun* $\underline{T}_{\text{ABS}} [\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}]$
 'T gets used to V-ing'

- (994) *Zun* \emptyset *düz-dakaz* *qeqe-we-z* *werdiš* *že-da*. (DD85,3:23)
 I:ABS [\emptyset (ABS) straight-ADV walk-INF] used become-FUT
 'I will get used to walking straight.'

Another verb with the same valence pattern is *kutkun* 'get used to'.

20.2.3. Subject-controlled realis complements

One complement-taking predicate with a realis complement exceptionally has Infinitive complements: *rik'elaj alatun* 'forget' (lit. 'fall from the heart'). However, the Absolutive Masdar is a possible alternative strategy (20.3.4.). This predicate is also unusual in that the controller is not even a direct argument of the verb but a Genitive modifier of the locative argument *rik'elaj* 'from the heart' (cf. 15.3.15.).

Complement-taking predicate $\underline{E}_{\text{GEN}}$ *rik'elaj alatun* [$\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}$]
 'E forgets to V'

- (995) *Selim.a-n* *rik'e-laj* \emptyset *penžer* *aq'al-iz* *alat-na*.
 Selim-GEN heart-SREL [\emptyset (ERG) window close-INF] fall.off-AOR
 'Selim forgot to close the window.'

20.2.4. Object-controlled complements

The Infinitive subject is controlled by the main-clause Adelative argument with the verb *tun* 'make, cause'. This verb is the standard way to express causative situations. It is sometimes treated as a "causative auxiliary" (e.g. Uslar 1896, Moor 1985), but there is no reason not to regard it as an ordinary complement-taking verb.

Complement-taking predicate *tun* A_{ERG} $\underline{T}_{\text{ADESS}}$ [$\emptyset_{\text{SUBJ}} \dots V_{\text{INF}}$]
 'A makes T V, A causes T to V'

- (996) *Ada* *ča-w* \emptyset *ixtilat-ar* *aqwazar-iz* *ta-da-j*. (H77:7)
 he-ERG we-ADEL [\emptyset (ERG) conversation-PL stop-INF] cause-FUT-PST
 'He would make us stop the conversations.'

- (997) *Cükwer.a* *gada.di-w* \emptyset *ženg.ini-z* *eqeč'-iz* *ta-zwa-č-ir*.
 Cükwer(ERG) boy-ADEL [\emptyset (ABS) battle-DAT go.out-INF] cause-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'Cükwer did not allow the boy to go to the battle.' (AM87:29)

Two complement-taking verbs with Dative-NP-controlled complement subjects are *čirun* 'teach' and *kümek gun* 'help'. Only the former is exemplified here.

Complement-taking predicate *çirun* A_{ERG} E_{DAT} [Ø_{SUBJ}·V_{INF}]
 ‘A teaches E to V’

- (998) *Qabustan.a wa-z Ø çüngür jağ-iz çir-na-j.* (H77:8)
 Qabustan(ERG) you-DAT [Ø(ERG) çüngür hit-INF] teach-AOR-PST
 ‘Qabustan taught you to play the *çüngür* [a string instrument].’

20.2.5. Non-controlled complements

The verb *başlamişun* ‘begin’ takes complements where the complement subject is overtly expressed. Thus, a literal translation of (999a) would be ‘It began that the children were playing.’ That this is the correct syntactic structure can be seen from the fact that the case-marking of the NP that expresses the beginner varies according to the valence pattern of the complement verb, cf. the Ergative beginner in (999b). This is a lexical idiosyncrasy of this verb; another verb that means ‘begin’, *egeç’un*, takes subject-controlled Infinitive complements (20.2.1.), and other phase verbs take Masdar complements (20.3.3.).

Complement-taking predicate *başlamişun* [X_{SUBJ}...V_{INF}]
 ‘X starts to V’

- (999) a. *Ajal-ar qūğwa-z başlamiş-na.*
 [child-PL play-INF] begin-AOR
 ‘The children began to play.’
 b. *Nabisat.a wiçi-n ktab k’el-iz başlamiş-na.*
 [Nabisat(ERG) self-GEN book read-INF] start-AOR
 ‘Nabisat started to read her book.’

20.3. The Masdar

Unlike the Infinitive, the Masdar can be inflected for case, so Masdar complement clauses can be divided into Absolute Masdar complements and oblique Masdar complements. The Absolute Masdar is mainly used in three types of complement clauses: Complements to one-place modal predicates such as ‘possible’, ‘necessary’ (20.3.1.); nonsubject-controlled complements to verbs with manipulative meaning (‘demand’, ‘forbid’, etc.) (20.3.2.); phasal verbs (20.3.3.); and a few others (20.3.4.). The oblique Masdar is used in various types of constructions, both with situation meaning (20.3.5.) and with factive meaning (20.3.6.). See also 20.9. on the use of the Genitive Masdar in complements in noun phrases.

The subject of the Masdar is also often controlled (omitted under coreferentiality with a main clause participant), but not nearly as commonly as the subject of the infinitive.

20.3.1. Complements to modal predicates

The four modal complement-taking adjectives *lazim*, *gerek*, *çarasuz* (all three ‘necessary’) and *mumkin* ‘possible’ have the same syntax. They are one-place predicates (e.g. *lazim* [...V_{MSD}] ‘it is necessary to V’), but they may have an optional Dative experiencer argument which then controls the subject position of the Masdar (e.g. *lazim* _{EDAT} [Ø_{SUBJ}...V_{MSD}] ‘it is necessary for E to V’, i.e. ‘E must V’. (1000) shows non-controlled examples, (1001) shows Dative-controlled examples.

(1000) a. *Zi adres degiş xu-n mumkin ja.* (M79:7)
 [I:GEN address change become-MSD] possible COP
 ‘My address may change.’

b. *Tünt xa-ji-t’a, rik’i-n azar akat-un mumkin ja.*
 [hot.tempered be-AOP-CND] [heart-GEN disease get-MSD] possible COP
 ‘If one doesn’t control oneself, one may get heart disease.’
 (Du68,2:119)

c. *Ana iştirak awu-n çarasuz ja.* (Ş83:22)
 [there participation do-MSD] necessary COP
 ‘It is necessary to participate in that.’

(1001) *Za-z Ø wi wan atu-n, Ø wi sufat aku-n*
 I-DAT [Ø(DAT) you:GEN voice come-MSD Ø(DAT) you:GEN face see-MSD]
gerek že-zwa-č. (Ş83:22)
 necessary be-IMPF-NEG
 ‘I do not need to hear your voice, to see your face.’

20.3.2. Complements to manipulative verbs

In complement clauses with manipulative meaning (other than the causative verb *tun*, cf. 20.2.4.), the verb is in the Absolutive Masdar form and the complement subject position is controlled by the manipulee argument of the verb, i.e. an Adelative argument or a Dative argument.

Complement-taking predicate *t’alabun* A_{ERG} M_{ADEL} [Ø_{SUBJ}...V_{MSD}]
 ‘A asks M to V’

Verbs that have the same syntax are *istemişun* ‘demand’ and *tawaqu awun* ‘request’.

(1002) a. *Ha çetin waxt-ari ada-waj Ø hak’ awu-n.*
 that difficult time-PL(ERG) she-ADEL [Ø(ERG) so do-MSD]
t’alab-zawa-j.
 demand-IMPF-PST
 ‘These difficult times demanded of her to do so.’ (Ş83:9)

- b. *Muallim-r.i učenik-r.i-waj q^hsan k^{el} awu-n*
 teacher-PL(ERG) pupil-PL-ADEL [good studying do-MSD]
istemiš-zawa. (DD77,6:14)
 demand-IMPF

'The teachers demand from the pupils to study well.'

Complement-taking predicate *bujruğun* A_{ERG} M_{DAT} [Ø_{SUBJ}...V_{MSD}]
 'A orders M to V'

Verbs that have the same syntax are *teklifun* 'propose' and *qadağa awun* 'forbid'. (See 20.5.4. for a less common alternative strategy.)

- (1003) a. *Paçah.di abur.u-z Ø dewe zağur-un bujruğ-na.*
 king(ERG) they-DAT [Ø(ERG) camel find-MSD] order-AOR
 'The king ordered them to find the camel.' (Du85,3:115)

- b. *Professor Gülmehamedov.a za-z Dağustan.di-z atu-n*
 Professor Gjul'magomedov(ERG) I-DAT [Daghestan-DAT come-MSD]
teklif-na. (Ko90,2,7:4)
 offer-AOR

'Professor Gjul'magomedov offered me to come to Daghestan.'

- c. *Žehil polkovnik.di-z ereq' q^hu-n, p'ap'rus č'ugu-n*
 young colonel-DAT [vodka drink-MSD cigarette draw-MSD]
duxtur-r.i qadağa awu-nwa. (Š83:58)
 doctor-PL(ERG) forbidding do-PRF

'The doctors have forbidden the young colonel to drink vodka and to smoke cigarettes.'

20.3.3. Complements to phasal verbs

Except for 'begin' (cf. 20.2.5.), phasal verbs take subject-controlled Absolutive Masdar complements.

Complement-taking predicate *dawamarun* A_{ERG} [Ø_{SUBJ}...V_{MSD}]
 'A continues to V'

A verb that has the same syntax is *aq̄wazarun* 'stop'.

- (1004) a. *Ada Ø jarğ-ar.i-z kilig-un dawamar-na.* (M83:74)
 he(ERG) [Ø(ABS) far-PL-DAT look-MSD] continue-AOR
 'He kept looking into the distance.'

- b. *Ada gil-e awa-j gazet k^{el}-un aq̄wazar-na.*
 he(ERG) [[hand-INESS be.in-PTP] paper read-MSD] stop-AOR
 'He stopped reading the newspaper (that was) in his hand.'
 (G54:149)

20.3.4. The Absolutive Masdar with other verbs

There are a few other complement-taking predicates that take subject-controlled Absolutive Masdar complements. These verbs also have situation meaning.

Complement-taking predicate *q'et'un* Δ_{ERG} [\emptyset_{SUBJ} ... V_{MSD}]
'A decides to V'

Predicates with the same syntax are *rik'elaj aludun* (*račurun*) 'forget to' and *xiwe q'un* 'promise'.

(1005) a. *Sa sefer.d-a pačah.di* \emptyset *wiči-n qazi.di-q^h galaz*
one time-INESS king(ERG) [\emptyset (ABS) self-GEN cadī-POESS with

sejir.di-z eqeč'-un q'et'-na. (Du85,3:117)
walk-DAT go.out-MSD] decide-AOR

'One time the king decided to go for a walk with his cadī.'

b. *Hamga.di-n q'wati žuwa-w gwa-z tuxu-n rik'.e-laj*
[crystal-GEN box [self-ADESS be.with-IMC] carry-MSD] heart-SREL

alud-mir. (K89:4)
take.off-PROHIB

'Don't forget to take the crystal box with you.'

c. *Za muštulux ga-ji-da-z genže gu-nug*
I:ERG [[good.news bring-AOP]-SBST.SG-DAT kerchief give-MSD]

xiw-e q'u-nwa-j-di tir. (R66:5)
neck-INESS hold-PRF-PTP-SBST COP:PST

'I had promised to give a kerchief to the one who brings the good news.'

20.3.5. The oblique Masdar in situation complements

The oblique Masdar is used in clausal complements with situation meaning in several contexts. One is when a situation clause is the predicative argument of a copula.

(1006) *Dağustan.di-n fol'kolor.di-n ilim.d-a q'il.i-n*
Daghestan-GEN folklore-GEN science-INESS head-GEN

mesčela-jr.i-kaj sad fol'klor.di-n proza.di-n žanr-ijar
problem-PL-SBESS one [folklore-GEN prose-GEN genre-PL

klassificirovat' awu-n ja.
classifying do-MSD] COP

'One of the main tasks in Daghestanian folklore studies is classifying the genres of folklore prose.' (Du85,3:113)

Others are different kinds of oblique arguments that are not necessarily or typically clausal, e.g.

- (1007) a. *Wiči-n ümür.di-n exirimži jis-ar Mehamed.a lezgi*
 self-GEN life-GEN last year-PL Mehamed(ERG) [Lezgian
č'al.a-n-ni urus č'al.a-n slovar' tük'ür-un.i-z
 language-GEN-and Russian language-GEN dictionary create-MSD]-DAT
baxš-nawa-j.
 dedicate-PRF-PST
 'Mehamed had dedicated his life's last years to writing a Lezgian-Russian dictionary.' (Du68,2:27)
- b. *Karmen.a-n rik' muzyka.di-n alat-ar tük'ür-un.a-l*
 Carmen-GEN heart [music-GEN instrument-PL create-MSD]-SRESS
gzaf ala. (Ko90,2,7:4)
 much be.on
 'Carmen is enthusiastic about building musical instruments.'
- c. *Za swas ġu-n.i-kaj hele fikir iji-zwa-č* (S88:154)
 I:ERG [bride bring-MSD]-SBEL still thought do-IMPf-NEG
 'I am not thinking about marrying yet.'
- d. *Ada mirg ülen.d-a batmiš ŋu-n.i-kaj ġutarmiš-na.*
 he(ERG) deer [swamp-INESS sink ANTIC-MSD]-SBEL save-AOR
 'He saved the deer from sinking into the swamp.' (X89:12)
- e. *Allahġuli Dilber.a-q^h galaz ixtilat-ar awu-n.i-waj jargaz*
 Allahġuli [Dilber-POESS with conversation-PL do-MSD]-ADEL far
že-z ŋa-na. (R66:7)
 be-INF be-AOR
 'Allahġuli would avoid (lit. keep far from) talking to Dilber.'

The omitted subject of the Masdar may also be controlled by a main clause argument in this case, but the control relations are not grammaticized here and must be inferred from the context. Arbitrary control (i.e. 'one') is always a possibility. Example (1006) definitely shows arbitrary control, and in (1007b-c) readings with arbitrary control are clearly possible (though less likely than the controlled readings).

20.3.6. The oblique Masdar in factive complements

The oblique Masdar is also commonly used with evaluative and emotional complement-taking predicates. In such cases it has factive meaning.

- (1008) a. *Zun i gada zi kùmekçi xu-n.a-l šad xa-na.*
 I:ABS [this boy I:GEN helper be-MSD]-SRESS glad be-AOR
 'I was glad that this boy was my helper.' (M83:30)
- b. *Sajran ada ik' luhu-n.a-l mähtel xa-na.* (S88:24)
 Sajran [she(ERG) so say-MSD]-SRESS surprised be-AOR
 'Sajran was surprised that she was talking like that.'
- c. *Güldeste İsaq'-ni Musaq' gež axqat-un.a-l tažub*
 Güldeste [İsaq'-and Musaq' late return-MSD]-SRESS surprised
xa-na-j. (Š83:49)
 be-AOR-PST
 'Güldeste was surprised that İsaq' and Musaq' returned late.'

The oblique Masdar may have factive meaning also in argument positions which are not typically occupied by clausal arguments.

- (1009) a. *Bes wuna urus.di-n ruš qaču-n abur.u qhsan*
 PT [you:ERG Russian-GEN girl take-MSD] they(ERG) good
kar jaz hisab-da-ni? (S88:171)
 thing as consider-FUT-Q
 'Will they consider the fact that you have taken a Russian girl a good thing?'
- b. *I inanmišwal Šafiga pud juq.u-z škola.di-z*
 this belief [Šafiga three day-DAT school-DAT
t-atu-n.i testiq'ar-zawa-j. (N88:88)
 NEG-come-MSD(ERG)] confirm-IMP-F-PST
 'This belief was confirmed by the fact that Šafiga did not come to school for three days.'
- c. *Čun texnika qajda.d-a ta-xu-n.i k'ew-e twa-zwa.*
 we:ABS [technology order-INESS NEG-be-MSD(ERG)] spot-INESS put-IMP
 'The fact that the technology is not in order puts us on the spot.'
 (Ko89,10,13:1)

These expressions for 'forget' may also have a Masdar or Infinitive complement, but then they have the meaning 'forget to' (see 20.2.3., 20.3.4.).

Complement-taking predicate *a škara ja [...V_{PTP-di}]_S*
'it is clear that S'

- (1016) *Q^hp-er.i čpi-n siristaw-r.i-n orkestr kūk.di-k*
[frog-PL(ERG) selves-GEN whistle-PL-GEN orchester tuning-SBESS
kuta-zwa-j-di a škara tir. (N88:56)
put-IMP-F-PTP-SBST] clear COP:PST

'It was clear that the frogs were tuning in their orchestra of whistles.'

The substantivized participle in complement clause function also occurs in various oblique case forms.

Complement-taking predicate *T_{ABS} [...V_{PTP-dan}]_S ġawurda aq'un*
'T understands that S'

- (1017) *Zun hawajda jašamiš ta-ša-j-da-n ġawur.d-a*
I:ABS [in.vain living NEG-be-AOP-SBST]-GEN understanding-INESS
aq'a-da.
get-FUT

'I understand that I have not lived in vain.' (DD85,5:5)

Complement-taking predicate *[...V_{PTP-dal}]_S sa šakni alač*
'there is no doubt that S'

- (1018) *Dağustan.di-n har sa xür-e lap q^hsan wa aq'alt'aj*
[Daghestan-GEN every one village-INESS very good and extremely
pis adet-ar awa-j-da-l sa šak-ni ala-č. (DD71,2:18)
bad custom-PL be.in-PTP-SBST]-SRESS one doubt-and be.on-NEG

'There is no doubt that there are very good and extremely bad customs in every Daghestanian village.'

In the following examples the substantivized participle is used although the complement meaning is not factive.

- (1019) a. *Ada c'inin jis.u-z gzař beher že-da-j-da-k*
he(ERG) [this.year year-DAT much crop be-FUT-PTP-SBST]-SBESS
umud kuta-zwa. (Š83:29)
hope put-IMP-F

'He hopes that this year there will be plenty of crops.'

- b. *Abur wiri Ali.di-kaj alim že-da-j-da-q^h*
they all [Ali-SBEL doctor be-FUT-PTP-SBST]-POESS
umudlu ja. (Š83:24)
hopeful COP

'They all hope that Ali will become a doctor.'

20.5. The *luhun* ('say') strategy

Some complement clauses are marked by a converbal form of the verb *luhun* 'say', e.g.

- (1020) *Gada.di wič k'wal-e amuq'-da laha-na haraj-na.*
 [boy(ERG) self house-INESS stay-FUT say-AOC] shout-AOR

'The boy shouted that (lit. 'having said') he would stay at home.'

When the complement-taking predicate is in the Aorist or an Aorist-derived tense (Past Aorist, Perfect, etc.), the Aorist converb *laha-na* is used in this function. When the complement-taking verb is in the Future or the Imperfective, the Imperfective converb *luhu-z* (=the Infinitive) is used.

- (1021) *Gada.di wič k'wal-e amuq'-da luhu-z*
 boy(ERG) [self house-INESS stay-FUT say-IMC]

haraj-zawa / haraj-zawa-j / haraj-da.
 shout-IMPF/ shout-IMPF-PST shout-FUT

'The boy is shouting/was shouting/will shout that (lit. 'saying') he would stay at home.'

This correlation between the tense of the complement-taking predicate and the form of *luhun* is valid for all cases where *luhun* converbs are used as complementizers, at least as a tendency.

Luhun-marked complement clauses are mainly used (1) with direct and indirect speech when the speech act verb is not *luhun* itself; (2) with verbs of thinking; (3) with emotional complement-taking predicates.

20.5.1. Direct and indirect speech

This case is discussed above in 20.1. Here are two more examples of direct speech (1022) and indirect speech (1023).

- (1022) *Wun hiniz fi-zwa? — laha-na xabar q'u-na ada.* (X89:14)
 [you:ABS whither go-IMPF say-AOC] news hold-AOR he(ERG)

'"Where are you going?", he asked.'

- (1023) *Žehil inqilabč-jr.i insanijat zulum.di-kaj azad-un*
 young revolutionary-PL(ERG) [[humankind tyranny-SBEL liberate-MSD]

patal ženg č'ugwa-da laha-na q'in q'u-na-j. (L86,3:15)
 for fight pull-FUT say-AOC] oath hold-AOR-PST

'The young revolutionaries swore that they would fight to liberate humankind from tyranny.'

20.5.2. Verbs of thinking

The most common verb in this category is *fikirun* 'think', but some other verbs also use this pattern.

- (1024) a. *Düşüş že-daldi za am iq'wan zurba šair ja*
 [meeting be-POSTR] I:ERG [he:ABS so big poet COP
laha-na fikir-nawa-č-ir. (Du85,4:122)
 say-AOC] think-PRF-NEG-PST

'Until I met him I didn't think he was such a great poet.'

- b. *Či č'exi buba-jr.i-n wiri adet-ar pis-bur ja*
 [[we:GEN big father-PL-GEN all custom-PL bad-SBST.PL COP
laha-na fikir-aj-t'a, am düz tuš. (DD71,2:18)
 say-AOC] think-AOP-CND] it:ABS right COP:NEG

'If one thinks that all our ancestors' customs are bad, that is not right.'

- (1025) *Za wuna xta-na wi q'üzü dide qūžaxlamiš-da*
 I:ERG [you:ERG [return-AOC] you:GEN old mother embrace-FUT
laha-na umud-zawa. (DD85,2:21)
 say-AOC] hope-IMPF

'I hope that you will return and embrace your old mother.'

On the predicate 'hope', see also 20.4.

20.5.3. Emotional complement-taking predicates

Unlike other complements marked by *luhun*, these complements have fact meaning. The explanation for this use is probably to be found in the function of *luhun* to express causal subordinate clauses (cf. 21.5.3.). The complement to a predicate like 'proud' is at the same time the cause of the pride, and likewise with other emotional predicates.

- (1026) *Abur.u čpi-q^h helelig k'walax že-zma-j č'exi*
 they(ERG) [selves-POESS [still work be-IMPF.CONT-PTP] big
buba awa luhu-z damax-zawa. (Š83:56)
 father be say-IMC] be.proud-IMPF

'They are proud that they have a grandfather who is still working.'

- (1027) *Wiri ha ik' q^hsan-diz kütäh xa-na luhu-z am šad*
 [all that so good-ADV end ANTIC-AOR say-IMC] she:ABS glad
tir. (DD75,3:7)
 COP:PST

'She was glad that everything ended so well.'

20.5.4. Other complement-taking predicates

The *luhun*-strategy is rarely used with other complement-taking predicates, but (1028) is an example of its use with a manipulative verb. Note that the verb of the subordinate clause is in the Imperative. (Cf. also ex. (985a-b).)

- (1028) *Za-z dekoracija-r klub.di-n sehne.di-z twax laha-na,*
 I-DAT [decoration-PL club-GEN stage-DAT carry:IMPV say-AOC]
bujruḡ-na. (S88:156)
 order-AOR

'I was ordered to carry the decorations to the stage of the club.'

20.6. The converb strategy

This strategy is used in two cases: (1) in different-subject complements to *k'an-* 'want, must'; (2) in situation complements to *akun* 'see'.

20.6.1. Different-subject complements to *k'an-*

As we saw in 20.2.1., same-subject (and subject-controlled) complements to *k'an-* are expressed by the Infinitive. But when the complement subject is not coreferential with the Dative subject of *k'an-*, the complement is expressed by the Aorist converb. A minimal pair is shown in (1029a-b).

- (1029) a. *Nabisat.a-z ktab k'el-iz k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [book read-INF] want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants to read a book.'
- b. *Nabisat.a-z ruṣ.a ktab k'el-na k'an-zawa.*
 Nabisat-DAT [girl(ERG) book read-AOC] want-IMPF
 'Nabisat wants her daughter to read a book.'

See 16.1.3. for more discussion of the two types of *k'an-* complements (and cf. (190b) for an unusual Masdar complement of *k'an-*).

When *k'an-* is used without a subject ('one wants'), it means 'must'. Since the complement subject is necessarily different from the (non-existing) subject of *k'an-*, the complement predicate is always in the Aorist converb form. In this meaning, *k'an-* is generally in the Future tense (*k'anda*, cf. 9.5.2.1.).

- (1030) *Nabisat.a ktab k'el-na k'an-da.*
 [Nabisat(ERG) book read-AOC] want-FUT
 'Nabisat has to read a book.' (lit. 'One wants Nabisat to read a book.')

20.6.2. Situation complements to *akun* 'see'

All the three general converbs (Aorist converb, Imperfective converb and Secondary Imperfective converb of the Perfect) are used in complement clauses with situation meaning to *akun* 'see'. See 20.4. for fact complements of *akun*.

- (1031) *Cükwer.a-z čpi-n güğüna awa-z sa žehil qwe-z*
 Cükwer-DAT [[selves-GEN behind be.in-IMC] one youth come-IMC]

aku-na. (S88:5)
 see-AOR

'Cükwer saw a young man coming behind them.'

- (1032) *Kwe-z a m galat-na aku-na-ni hič sadra-ni ?!* (Š83:12)
 you-DAT [it:ABS get.tired-AOC] see-AOR-Q even once-Q

'Have you seen it tired a single time? (lit. having become tired)'

- (1033) a. *Za-z qür takw-ar-a cukwal acuč'-nawa-z aku-na.* (M83:22)
 I-DAT [hare rape-PL-INESS squatting sit-PRF-IMC] see-AOR

'I saw a hare squatting in the rape.'

- b. *Ada-z wiči-n juldaš gürðeq^han-r.i q'u-nwa-z aku-na.*
 he-DAT [self-GEN comrade hunter-PL(ERG) catch-PRF-IMC] see-AOR

'He saw how the hunters had caught his comrade.' (X89:12)

20.7. The *xi* strategy

Complement clauses can be extraposed to a clause-final position. In such cases the particle *xi* follows the complement-taking predicate, and an intonation break (indicated by a comma) separates the main clause from the extraposed complement clause that follows it. This strategy was borrowed ultimately from Persian (probably via Turkic), where *ke* is a clause-initial subordinator. However, in Lezgian *xi* is clearly a clause-final particle (as it is in some Turkic languages).

- (1034) *Selim.a laha-na xi, Nabisat šeher.di-z fe-na.*
 Selim(ERG) say-AOR PT Nabisat town-DAT go-AOR

'Selim said that Nabisat had gone to town.'

The status of the extraposed complement clause seems to be ambiguous between subordinate clause status and independent clause status. Evidence for this ambiguity comes from reflexive pronouns, which have to be used in subordinate clauses when coreference with a reflexive controller in the superordinate clause is intended (see 22.4.). In extraposed clauses either the reflexive or the anaphoric pronouns may be used:

- (1035) *Selim.a dide.di-z laha-na xi am/wič šeher.di-z fe-na.*
 Selim(ERG) mother-DAT say-AOR PT he:ABS/self town-DAT go-AOR
 ‘Selim told his mother that he was going to town.’

The extraposition strategy can be used, roughly, whenever English *that* is used, i.e. in complements to (1) cognitive complement-taking predicates; (2) verbs of thinking; (3) verbs of saying; (4) evaluative predicates.

20.7.1. Cognitive complement-taking predicates

- (1036) a. *Anžax gila ada-z čir xa-na xi, Kalimat.a-waj*
 only now he-DAT teach ANTIC-AOR PT Kalimat-ADEL
piano jağ-iz že-da. (DD77,1:12)
 [piano hit-INF] can-FUT
 ‘Only now did he learn that Kalimat could play the piano.’
- b. *Malum ja xi, Dağustan.di-n xalq’-ar gzaf wiš*
 known COP PT Daghestan-GEN people-PL many hundred
jis-ar-a zulum.di-k xa-na. (A55:11)
 year-PL-INESS oppression-SBESS be-AOR
 ‘It is known that the peoples of Daghestan were under oppression for many centuries.’
- c. *Tarix.di-z wil wehe-j-la, akwa-zwa xi, insan-ar gzaf*
 [history-DAT eye throw-AOP-TEMP] see-IMPFF PT human-PL very
saburlu, durumlu ja. (Ko89,10,13:2)
 patient enduring COP
 ‘When one looks at history, one sees that people are very patient and enduring.’

20.7.2. Verbs of thinking

- (1037) a. *Za hisab-zawa xi, im qhsan wa gerek*
 I:ERG consider-IMPFF PT this:ABS good and necessary
serenžem ja.
 step COP
 ‘I think that this is a good and necessary step.’ (Du61,4:70)
- b. *Wuna fikir-mir xi, guja zun wi gaf-ar.i-n*
 you:ERG think-PROHIB PT PT I:ABS you:GEN word-PL-GEN
ğawur.d-a aq’a-zwa-č. (N88:86)
 understanding-INESS get-IMPFF-NEG
 ‘Do not think that I do not understand your words.’

20.7.3. Verbs of saying

(1038) a. *Ķejd awu-n lazim ja xi, Mehamed.a Tahir.a-n*
 [remark do-MSD] necessary COP PT Mehamed(ERG) Tahir-GEN
jaratmišun.i-z č'exi tašsir awu-na. (Du68,2:29)
 work-DAT great influence do-AOR
 'It must be remarked that Mehamed had great influence on Tahir's work.'

b. *Lah xi, paka Weled.a-n k'wal-e meq^her awa.* (S88:51)
 say PT tomorrow Weled-GEN house-INNESS wedding be.in
 'Say that tomorrow there will be a wedding in Weled's house.'

Note that example (1038a) shows extraposition from a subordinate clause (*Ķejd awun*) to a position following its main clause (*lazim ja*).

20.7.4. Evaluative predicates

(1039) *Hajif xi, axtin qajda hele awa-č.* (Du85,3:113)
 unfortunate COP such method yet be-NEG
 'Unfortunately, such a method does not exist yet.' (Lit. 'It is unfortunate that...')

Note that the copula is absent in this example. It appears that the original main clause *hajif xi* is well on its way toward becoming an adverbial expression just like English *unfortunately*.

20.8. Minor strategies

20.8.1. The *-wal* form

The *-wal* form (7.3.1.1.) is occasionally used in complement clauses. Its function seems to be more or less equivalent to that of the Masdar. However, since it can be derived from any participle, it can make more tense-aspect distinctions than the Masdar.

(1040) *fašist-r.i či Watan.da-l hužum-nawa-j-wil.i-n*
 [fascist-PL(ERG) we:GEN native.country-SRESS attack-PRF-PTP-ABST]-GEN
haqīndaj xabar (M79:5)
 about news
 'the news that the fascists had attacked our country'

- (1041) *Abur a insan-ar abur.u-n šadwil.i-n ġawur.d-a*
 they [that people-PL they-GEN joy-GEN understanding-INESS
hat-da-j-wil.i-q^h inanmiš tir. (D57:83)
 get-FUT-PTP-ABST]-POESS believing COP:PST
 'They believed that these people would understand their joy.'
- (1042) *Kwe-z C'inc'ar-ni Biži kk'a-j-wal aku-na-ni?* (H77:7)
 you.all-DAT [C'inc'ar-and Biži fight-AOP-ABST] see-AOR-Q
 'Did you-all see how C'inc'ar and Biži fought?'

20.8.2. The *č'al* strategy

The word *č'al* 'language, speech, word' is occasionally used as a strategy marking complement clauses of *či-* 'know'. The complement clause is expressed as a relative clause modifying *č'al* (as described in 20.9.).

- (1043) a. *Za-z Zerli zi lap muq'wa-di tir č'al či-da-j.*
 I-DAT [Zerli I:GEN very related-SBST.SG COP:PTP word] know-FUT-PST
 'I knew that Zerli was closely related to me.' (S88:154)
- b. *Qizperi ġari.di-z Arif cur-aj aqūd-nawa-j č'al čir*
 Qizperi old.woman-DAT [Arif barn-INEL take.out-PRF-PTP word] teach
ta-ħu-raj. (DD71,3:21)
 NEG-ANTIC-OPT
 'The old woman Qizperi should not find out that Arif has been taken out of the barn.'
- c. *Naq' za-z wun qwe-da-j č'al čir ħa-na-j-t'a,*
 [yesterday I-DAT [you:ABS come-FUT-PTP word] teach ANTIC-AOR-PST-CND]
za zi stxa k'wal-e aqwazar-da-j. (Uslar 1896:188)
 I:ERG I:GEN brother house-INESS stop-FUT-PST
 'If I had known yesterday that you would come, I would have made my brother stay at home.'

20.9. Complement clauses in noun phrases

The complement clause of complement-taking nouns like *fikir* 'thought', *mumkinwal* 'possibility', *sebeb* 'reason', *adet* 'custom', etc. is expressed by a participial relative clause in which there is no empty place standing for a relativized element. This can be regarded as the attributive variant of the complement strategy 20.4. (the substantivized participle).

- (1044) a. *q'e-ji k'wal-e pap-ar k'wat' že-da-j adet*
 [[die-AOP] house-INESS woman-PL gather ANTIC-FUT-PTP] custom
 'the custom that women gather in a house where someone has died' (Du85,3:114)

- b. *Q'ül iji-da-j sebab-ar wa-q^h gzaf awa.* (Du85,3:79)
 [dance do-FUT-PTP] reason-PL you-POESS many be.in
 'You have many reasons to dance.'
- c. *Adet-ar ĉ'ur-da-j ixtijar sada-z-ni awa-ĉ.* (S88:171)
 [custom-PL destroy-FUT-PTP] right one-DAT-even be.in-NEG
 'Nobody has the right to destroy the customs.'
- d. *Ada-z mekteb.d-a k'el-da-j mumkinwal ħa-na-ĉ.* (K89,4:2)
 he-DAT [school-INESS study-FUT-PTP] possibility be-AOR-NEG
 'He did not have the possibility to learn in school.'
- e. *Ada-z geležeg.d-a Nazlu Allahquli.di-z gu-da-j fikir
 he-DAT [future-INESS Nazlu Allahquli-DAT give-FUT-PTP] thought
 awa-j.* (R66:7)
 be.in-PST
 'He had the thought to marry Nazlu to Allahquli in the future.'

In (1045), the participial and the *luhun*-strategy are combined.

- (1045) *Ada-n rik'.i-k sadlahana xci xataluwal jeke-z
 she-GEN heart-SBESS suddenly [son(ERG) danger big-ADV
 ħalur-aj-di ja laha-j fikir ata-na.* (D57:81)
 show-AOP-SBST COP say-AOP] thought come-AOR
 'Suddenly the thought occurred to her that her son had exaggerated
 the danger.'

An alternative possibility is the use of the Genitive of the Masdar.

- (1046) *Hukumat.di ekspert-r.i-n sa deste Kolumbija.di-z
 government(ERG) [expert-GEN one group Columbia-DAT
 raqur-un.i-n qarar q'abul-nawa.* (Ko89,9,17:3)
 send-MSD-GEN] decision accept-PRF
 'The government has taken the decision to send a group of experts to
 Colombia.'

But the Infinitive is not excluded, in particular when the noun is used predicatively, cf. the construction $E_{\text{DAT}} V_{\text{INF}} ixtijar awa$ 'E has the right to V' in (294) above (contrasting with (190a), (1044a)).

Chapter 21

Adverbial clauses

Just like the other dependent constituents, Lezgian adverbial clauses as a rule precede their head, i.e. the verb of the superordinate clause. Since they are generally heavy, they tend to precede all other elements of the superordinate clause (cf. 1047). Less commonly the adverbial clause is embedded in the center of the superordinate clause (cf. 1048).

(1047) *Rağ dağ-lar.i-n q'uluq^h akat-aj č'awu-z, Hürmet*
 [sun mountain-PL-GEN behind set-AOP time-DAT] Hürmet

wiči-n k'wal.i-z xta-na. (R66:25)
 self-GEN house-DAT return-AOR

'When the sun had set behind the mountains, Hürmet returned home.'

(1048) *Zapira.di muallim.di-z aku-n t-awu-raj laha-na tadi-z*
 Zapira(ERG) [teacher-DAT see-PER NEG-do-OPT say-AOC] quick-ADV

wiči-n tetrad' aq'al-na. (DD77,1:10)
 self-GEN notebook close-AOR

'Zapira quickly closed her notebook so the teacher would not see it.'

Adverbial clauses show several kinds of formal marking:

(A) Special verbal affixes, called converbs: *-(i)z, -na, -la, -waldi, -nmazdi, -rdawaj, -daldi.*

(B) Postpositions governing noun clauses of the substantivized participle type (20.4.) or the Masdar type (20.3.): *q'uluq^h* 'after', *iniq^h* 'since', *patal* 'in order to'. When used in this way, the postpositions could also be regarded as subordinating conjunctions.

(C) Nouns with very general meaning which are the heads of participial relative clauses: *č'awuz* 'at the time (when)'.

(D) The Conditional mood marker *-t'a* (9.3.4.3., 9.8.5.), suffixed to a finite verb or to an Aorist participle.

(E) Subordinating conjunctions that introduce the clause. These are loans from Persian, and only *eger* 'if' is widely used.

(F) *luhuz / lahana*, converbs of *luhun* 'say'.

The subject of adverbial clauses is often omitted under co-reference with a noun phrase of the superordinate clause. See 22.2. for details.

21.1. Adverbial clauses with the Aorist converb

The Aorist converb is used to express chains of actions carried out by the same subject. Such sentences often have to be translated by means of coordinate clauses in English because the action of the converb clause is often not backgrounded to the same extent as the English participle would suggest.

- (1049) a. *Načal'nik.di, sehne.di-z eqeč'-na ča-z wiri-da-z*
 director(ERG) [stage-DAT go.out-AOC] we-DAT all-SBST-DAT
čuxsağul laha-na. (S88:155)
 thanks say-AOR
 'The director came onto the stage and thanked all of us.'
- b. *Kamal.a ruža qaču-na tar.a-z aq'ax-iz bašlamiš-na.*
 [Kamal(ERG) [rifle take-AOC] tree-DAT climb-INF] begin-AOR
 'Kamal took a rifle and started climbing up a tree.' (M83:57)
- c. *Ada werč qarağar-na kaka-jar hisab-iz bašlamiš-na.*
 [she(ERG) [chicken make.rise-AOC] egg-PL count-INF] start-AOR
 'She made the chicken get up and started counting the eggs.'
 (DD71,3:21)

Such chains are usually not long — examples involving more than one converb, as in (1050), are not frequent, even in typical narrative texts.

- (1050) a. *Stul.di-laj xkadar-na tadi-z Ali.di-n pataw fe-na*
 [[chair-SREL jump-AOC] quick-ADV Ali-GEN to go-AOC]
Rahman.a ada-n ğil-äj q'en-erar qaču-na. (J89:22)
 Rahman(ERG) he-GEN hand-INEL bridle-PL take-AOR
 'Rahman jumped from the chair, went up to Ali, and took the bridles out of his hand.'
- b. *Zahir.a, ek.ü-n jar-ar jağ-aj-waldi, mes.e-laj*
 Zahir(ERG) [[[light-GEN dawn-PL hit-AOP-IMMANT] bed-SREL
qarağ-na, perem-ar aluk'-na, gurc'ul.di-n-ni
 get.up-AOC] shirt-PL put.on-AOC] puppy-GEN-and
šenp'i.di-n pataw zwer-na. (A90:20)
 kitten-GEN to run-AOR
 'As soon as it had dawned, Zahir got out of his bed, put on his clothes, and ran to the puppy and the kitten.'

The superordinate verb in such constructions does not have to be in the Aorist. It may be non-finite, as in (1051a-b), or it may be in a non-indicative mood, with the mood having scope over the superordinate verb and the converb, as in (1051c-d).

- (1051) a. *Nabat.a ğül.ü-z paltu xt'un-na mix.ini-kaj*
 Nabat(ERG) husband-DAT [[coat take.off-AOC] nail-SBEL
kürsar-iz kümek ga-na-č (R66:25)
 hang-INF] help give-AOR-NEG
 'Nabat didn't help her husband to take off the coat and hang it on the nail.'
- b. *Aslanbeg balk'an čünüx-na, kü tewle.d-a*
 Aslanbeg [[horse steal-AOC] you:GEN barn-INNESS
kut'u-n.a-l razi řa-na. (L86,3:10)
 tether-MSD]-SRESS content be-AOR
 'Aslanbeg agreed to steal the horse and tether it in your barn.'
- c. *De řa, čna tadi-z fe-na am kučuk-in.*
 PT come:IMPV we:ERG [quick-ADV go-AOC] he:ABS bury-HORT
 'Come on, let us go quickly and bury him.' (X89:157)
- d. *Fe-na tam-aj k'aras-ar ğwař.* (K84,1:6)
 [go-AOC] forest-INEL wood-PL bring:IMPV
 'Go and bring wood from the forest.'

The Aorist converb may also have resultative meaning, standing in a non-sequential, simultaneous relationship to the finite verb. The verbs that may be used in this way are the same that allow the resultative reading of the Perfect (9.6.4.).

- (1052) a. *Qabustan=ba.di ajwan.di-k acuq'na, mani-jar luhu-da-j.*
 Qabustan.ba(ERG) [balcony-SBESS sit-AOC] sing-PL say-FUT-PST
 'Qabustan-ba sang, sitting on his balcony (lit. having sat down).' (H77:9)
- b. *Pab jawař-diz, amma rik' ka-na raxa-na.* (HQ89:9)
 wife quiet-ADV but [heart burn-AOC] say-AOR
 'His wife spoke quietly, but with a burning heart.'
- c. *Ruř-ar.i gada ğil-er q'u-na sa klass.di-z tuxwa-na.*
 girl-PL(ERG) boy [hand-PL hold-AOC] one class-DAT bring-AOR
 'The girls led the boy into a classroom, holding his hands.'
 (Q81:44)

The Aorist converb is also used as an adverbial of manner, especially to modify verbs of motion that are not specified as to manner of motion.

- (1053) a. *Q'üzü kas čukur-na tribuna.di-z eřeč-na.* (Du61,4:71)
 old man [run-AOC] stage-DAT go.out
 'The old man ran onto the stage (lit. having run, went).'

- b. *Farida kat-na bade.di-n pataw fe-na.* (Q89,10,19:3)
 Farida [run-AOC] grandmother-GEN to go-AOR
 'Farida ran to granny.'
- c. *Ajal qudğun-na qarağ-na.* (TG66:191)
 child [jump-AOC] get.up-AOR
 'The child jumped up (lit. having jumped, got up).'
- d. *Qari kwat-na şeξ-na.* (M79:5)
 old.woman [burst.out-AOC] cry-AOR
 'The old woman burst out crying (lit. having burst out, cried).'

21.2. Adverbial clauses with the Imperfective converb

The Imperfective converb (identical in form to the Infinitive) expresses an accompanying circumstance (1054), manner or instrument (1055), or a simultaneous situation (1056).

- (1054) a. *Abur.u sada=sada-w cükw-er wugu-z šad ja-z*
 they(ERG) [one(ERG)=one-ADESS flower-PL give-IMC] [glad be-IMC]
sühbetar-zawa-j. (Ş77:32)
 talk-IMPF-PST
 'They were talking gladly, giving flowers to each other.'
- b. *Jark'i=beg kat-na?! — ėpi-n wil-er.i-q^h inanmiš*
 Jark'i.beg run-AOR [selves-GEN eye-PL-POESS believing
te-že-z, xabar q'a-zwa xüpüq^hwi-jr.i. (HQ89:11)
 NEG-be-IMC] news hold-IMPF Xüpüqian-PL(ERG)
 'Jarki-beg has fled?! — the people of Xüpüq are asking, not believing their eyes.'
- c. *Sada=sada-n gaf at'u-z abur.u lager.d-a ėpi-z*
 [one(ERG)=one-GEN word cut-IMC] they(ERG) [camp-INESS selves-DAT
şa-ji dust-ar rik'e-l xki-zwa-j. (J89:22)
 become-AOP] friend-PL heart-SRESS bring.back-IMPF-PST
 'Interrupting each other, they recalled the friends they had made in the camp.'
- (1055) a. *Q'aq'an caw-a leq're ėarx-ar jağ-iz*
 high sky-INESS eagle(ERG) [circle-PL strike-IMC]
luw gu-zwa-j. (J89:20)
 wing give-IMPF-PST
 'In the high sky, an eagle was flying, describing circles.'

- b. *I ajal abur.u nek gu-z, fu gu-z xwe-na.*
 this child they(ERG) [milk give-IMC bread give-IMC] keep-AOR
 'They brought up this child, giving (him) milk and bread.' (X89:36)
- c. *Za q'eb eč'äğ-iz, gweč'i wax axwar.a-l račur-na.*
 I:ERG [cradle rock-IMC] little sister sleep-SRESS send-AOR
 'By rocking the cradle, I sent my little sister into sleep.'
 (K89,12:11)
- d. *Ada sar-ar.i-k kuta-z k'erec-ar xa-da.* (Š83:52)
 he(ERG) [tooth-PL-SBESS put.under-IMC] nut-PL break-FUT
 'He breaks nuts by putting them under his teeth.'
- (1056) a. *Bade axwar.i-k kuma-z, ada jawaš-diz*
 [grandmother sleep-SBESS be.still.under-IMC] he(ERG) quiet-ADV
partal-ar aluk'-na. (J84:54)
 cloth-PL put.on-AOR
 'While grandmother was still asleep, he quietly put on his clothes.'
- b. *Abur.u q'ül-er iji-z, mani-jar luhu-zwa-j.* (S88:40)
 they(ERG) [dance-PL do-IMC] song-PL say-IMPF-PST
 'They were dancing and singing.'

When the verb in the converb form is one of the locative copulas, it is quite common for the converb clause to have its own subject.

- (1057) a. *Arif cur-a ama-z Qizperi.di rak'-ar.a-l čefte*
 [Arif barn-INESS be.still-IMC] Qizperi(ERG) door-PL-SRESS latch
hald-na. (DD71,3:21)
 put.on-AOR
 'With Arif still being in the barn, Qizperi put the latch on the door.'
- b. *Wun juğ-di k'walax.da-l ala-z, za-waj*
 [you:ABS day-ADV work-SRESS be.on-IMC] I-ADEL
k'wal-e acuq'-iz že-da-č (DD85,5:5)
 [house-INESS sit-INF] be-FUT-NEG
 'I cannot sit at home while you are at work during the day.'

The Imperfective converb form *jaz* of the copula *ja* often corresponds to English *as*. Sometimes a causal relationship is implicit in it.

- (1058) a. *Abur.u-n buba front.d-aj nabut ja-z xta-na.* (M83:30)
 they-GEN father front-INEL [cripple be-IMC] return-AOR
 'Their father returned from the front as a cripple (lit. being a cripple).'

- b. *Küne za-z raqur-a, za am bade.di-z sawq'wat*
 you.all:ERG I-DAT send-IMPV I:ERG it:ABS grandmother-DAT [gift
ja-z gu-da. (K86,2:8)
 be-IMC] give-FUT
 'Send it to me, I will give it to grandmother as a gift.'

- (1059) *Universitet.di-n rektor ja-z za abur.u-z kumek-ar*
 [university-GEN president be-IMC] I:ERG they-DAT help-PL
gu-zwa. (DD71,3:18)
 give-IMPF
 'As the president of the university, I am helping them.'

The word *jaz* is also used to mark copredicative adjectives as such (the same function is fulfilled by adjectival adverbs, cf. 8.1.2.1.).

- (1060) a. *Sa sefer.d-a Šafiga tars.uni-z sefil ja-z ata-na.* (N88:82)
 one time-INESS Šafiga lesson-DAT [sad be-IMC] come-AOR
 'Once Šafiga came to a lesson sad (lit. being sad).'
- b. *Perixan ġamlu ja-z acuw'-nawa-j.* (G63:140)
 Perixan [sorrowful be-IMC] sit-PRF-PST
 'Perixan was sitting sorrowful (lit. being sorrowful).'

Finally, *jaz* is used to mark the semantically copredicative argument of a few verbs, especially *hisabun* 'consider', *wiċ hissun* 'feel':

- (1061) a. *Sadra=q'wedra šej=šüj gu-n za q^hsan*
 [once=twice trifle give-MSD] I:ERG good
kumek jaz hisab-na-ċ (M83:30)
 help as consider-AOR-NEG
 'Giving a trifle once or twice I did not consider good help.'
- b. *Aslanov.a wiċ žehil jaz hiss-zawa.* (Du83,1:124)
 Aslanov(ERG) self young as feel-IMPF
 'Aslanov feels young.'

This usage is clearly a calque from Russian, rendering the Russian Instrumental case of the adjective. *Hisabun* 'count; consider' is evidently modeled on Russian *sčitat'* 'count; consider', and *wiċ hissun* is an even more obvious calque of Russian *čuvstvovat' sebja* lit. 'feel oneself'.

The Imperfective converb is often used in a fully reduplicated form, e.g.:

- (1062) a. *Küče.d-aj zwer-iz=zwer-iz sal.a-z Cükwer ata-na.* (S88:45)
 street-INEL [run-IMC=run-IMC] garden-DAT Cükwer come-AOR
 'Cükwer came running into the garden from the street.'

- b. *Hürmet p'ap'rus ĉ'ugwa-z=ĉ'ugwa-z muq'uww gwa-j*
 Hürmet [cigarette pull-IMC=pull-IMC] [nearby be.near-PTP]
parax.di-z tamaš-zawa-j. (R66:22)
 sheep.fold look-IMPf-PST
 'Hürmet was looking at the nearby sheep-fold, smoking a cigarette.'
- c. *Req'-e halt-zawa-j šeher-ar wa xür-er ĉuk'ur-iz=*
 [[way-INESS meet-IMPf-PTP] town-PL and village-PL destroy-IMC=
ĉuk'ur-iz, abur exirni Zirexger.a-n wilajat.di-z aqat-na.
 destroy-IMC] they finally Zirexger-GEN country-DAT arrive-AOR
 'Destroying the towns and the villages they met along the way,
 they finally arrived in Zirexger's country.' (K87,1:6)

21.3. Adverbial clauses with the Secondary Imperfective converbs

21.3.1. The Secondary Imperfective converb of the Perfect

This converb is mostly used in the resultative meaning of the Perfect (cf. 9.6.4.). Thus, while *acuq'iz* means 'sitting down', the Secondary converb *acuq'nawaz* means 'sitting'. The following examples are illustrative.

- (1063) a. *K'wal.i-z am galat-nawa-z wa baxtlu ja-z*
 house-DAT she:ABS [become.tired-PRF-IMC and happy be-IMC]
xkwe-da-j. (DD85,5:5)
 return-FUT-PST
 'She would come home tired and happy.'
- b. *Nazlu.di rik'i-k qalabulux akat-nawa-z zwer-na.* (R66:4)
 Nazlu(ERG) [heart-SBESS panic get-PRF-IMC] run-AOR
 'Nazlu ran panic-stricken (lit. panic having gotten into her heart).'
- c. *Abur šad ja-z wa ja perišanwil.i agažar-nawa-z*
 they [[glad be-IMC] and or [sorrow(ERG) pull.together-PRF-IMC]
k'wat' xa-nwa-j-bur ja-t'a? (J89:21)
 gather ANTIC-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL] COP-CND
 '(I wonder whether) they gathered in joy or united by sorrow (lit. being sad or sorrow having pulled them together)?'
- d. *Ada-z wiri k'wač.e-l aq̄waz-nawa-z aku-na.* (S88:49)
 he-DAT [all foot-SRESS stand.up-PRF-IMC] see-AOR
 'He saw everyone standing.'

- e. *Wun in iz hinaj ačat-nawa-j-di ja, Ali? — tažub*
 you:ABS hither whence get-PRF-PTP-SBST COP Ali [surprised]
ča-nwa-z žuzu-na Taği xalu.di. (J89:30)
 become-PRF-IMC] ask-AOR Taği uncle(ERG)

‘From where did you get here, Ali?, Taği-xalu asked, surprised.’

The negated Secondary Imperfective converb of the Continuative Perfect is used in the meaning ‘before’, see 21.4.2.

21.3.2. The Secondary Imperfective converb of the Imperfect

This converb is much rarer, perhaps because it differs little in meaning from the primary Imperfective converb.

- (1064) *Abur.u-n č'al iberijsko=kavkazskij grupa.di-k*
 [they-GEN language Ibero=Caucasian group-SBESS]
akat-zawa-z, Dağustan.di-n q'ible wa Azerbajžan.di-n
 belong-IMPF-IMC] Dagestan-GEN southern and Azerbaijan-GEN

kefer.di-n-ni rağ-eqeč-da-j pat.a-n rajon-r-a čk'a-nwa.
 north-GEN-and sun-rise-FUT-PTP side-GEN rayon-PL-INESS spread-PRF

‘Their language belonging to the Ibero-Caucasian group, they are spread over Dagestan’s southern and Azerbaijan’s northeastern rayons.’ (Du68,2:98)

21.4. Temporal clauses

Temporal clauses are always non-finite. They can be marked by specialized converbs, postpositions, and relative clause heads (types (A), (B), and (C) above). The general converbs in *-na* and *-(i)z* also have uses that may be described as temporal, cf. sections 21.1.-3. above. In addition, correlative relative clauses can be equivalent to temporal adverbial clauses, see 19.1.2.

21.4.1. The Temporal converb *-la*

The converbal suffix *-la* can be added to any participial verb form. When the Aorist participle is the basis of the Temporal converb, the adverbial clause situation is prior to the superordinate clause situation, as in (1065).

- (1065) a. *Institut-ar kütah-aj-la abur xaji škola.di-z*
 [institute-PL finish-AOP-TEMP] they native school-DAT

k'walax-iz xta-na. (DD77,6:14)

[work-INF] return-AOR

‘After finishing college, they returned to their native school to work.’

- b. *Či q'ušun-r.i a xür dušman.di-kaj azad*
 [we:GEN army-PL(ERG) that village enemy-SBEL free
awu-r-la, za ada-n sur žağur-da. (H79:7)
 make-AOP-TEMP] I:ERG he-GEN grave find-FUT
 'After our armies liberate that village from the enemy, I will find his grave.'
- c. *C'aj tu-r-la, čimiwal gurmağ.d-aj winiz fi-da-j.* (Š77:33)
 [fire put-AOP-TEMP] heat flue-INEL upward go-FUT-PST
 'When one lighted a fire, the heat went up the flue.'

When the Imperfective participle (or the Perfect participle in the resultative sense) is the basis of the Temporal converb, the adverbial clause situation is simultaneous to the superordinate clause situation, as in (1066).

- (1066) a. *Xürek ne-zwa-j-la, Sabir.a wiči-n buba.di-waj*
 [meal eat-IMP-PTP-TEMP] Sabir(ERG) self-GEN father-ADEL
xabar q'u-na. (Š83:62)
 news hold-AOR
 'While they were eating, Sabir asked his father.'
- b. *Dide-ni xwa k'wal-e acuaq'nawa-j-la, xci*
 [mother-and son house-INESS sit-PRF-PTP-TEMP] son(ERG)
dide.di-waj xabar q'u-na. (AM87:22)
 mother-ADEL news hold-AOR
 'When mother and son were sitting at home, the son asked (his) mother.'

When the Future participle (in the habitual sense) is used as the basis of the converb, there are no restrictions on the precedence relations.

- (1067) a. *Marf qwa-da-j-la, nük'er-ni wiri čünüx že-da.*
 [rain fall-FUT-PTP-TEMP] sparrow-PL-also all hide ANTIC-FUT
 'When it rains, even sparrows all hide.' (M83:56)
- b. *Juridičeskij fakul'tet.d-a k'el-da-j-la, za fizika*
 [juridical faculty study-FUT-PTP-TEMP] I:ERG [physics
čir-un dawamar-na. (HQ89:16)
 learn-MSD] continue-AOR
 'While I was in law school, I continued to study physics.'

The Temporal converb based on the Future participle can also be used in a future sense:

- (1068) *Wuna ne-da-j-la, za-ni ne-da.* (G63:132)
 [you:ERG eat-FUT-PTP-TEMP] I:ERG-also eat-FUT
 'When you eat, I will eat, too.'

21.4.2. The Posterior converbs *-daldi* and *ta...-namaz*

The form *-daldi* expresses a situation subsequent to the superordinate clause situation. Depending on whether the superordinate clause situation is stative/durative/negated or punctual/completed, it is translated either as 'until' (cf. 1069) or as 'before' (cf. 1070). The form *-daldi* seems to be morphologically related to the Superdirective case suffix *-ldi*, which can also have the meaning 'until' (cf. 7.2.2.16.).

- (1069) a. *Dide Anni.di ğül.ü-z fi-daldi muallimwil-e*
 mother Anni(ERG) [husband-DAT go-POSTR] teachership-INNESS
k'walax-na. (Ko90,2,7:4)
 work-AOR
 'My mother Anni worked as a teacher until she got married.'
- b. *Gah=gah lak'rab insan req'i-daldi ada-l alamuq'-zawa.*
 sometimes nickname [person die-POSTR] s/he-SRESS remain.on-IMPF
 'Sometimes a nickname remains on a person until s/he dies.'
 (L87,2:74)
- c. *Wi q^hsanwal za req'i-daldi rik'e-laj alud-da-č.*
 you:GEN goodness I:ERG [die-POSTR] heart-SREL take.off-FUT-NEG
 'I will not forget your goodness until I die.' (X89:11)
- d. *Derbent.da-l ĩwe-daldi zun avtobus.d-aj ewič'-na-č.*
 [Derbent-SRESS come-POSTR] I:ABS bus-INEL get.off-AOR-NEG
 'I did not get off the bus until I came to Derbent.' (§83:64)
- (1070) a. *Mizafer.a žawab gu-daldi Ajnise raxa-na:...* (§83:62)
 [Mizafer(ERG) answer give-POSTR] Ajnise speak-AOR
 'Before Mizafer answered, Ajnise spoke:...'
- b. *Ma šur Samarkand.di-z agač'-daldi abur.u-z req'-e*
 [well-known Samarkand-DAT reach-POSTR] they-DAT way-INNESS
gzaf zat'-ar aku-na. (K87,1:5)
 many thing-PL see-AOR
 'Before they reached the well-known Samarkand, they saw a lot of things on the way.'

The meaning 'before' can be made more explicit by adding the postposition *wilik* (cf. 12.2.1.5.).

- (1071) a. *Zun, meq^her že-daldi wilik, xür-äj eqeč'-na,*
 I:ABS [wedding be-POSTR before] [village-INEL go.out-AOC]
šeher.di-z fe-na. (S88:154)
 town-DAT go-AOR
 'Before the wedding took place, I left the village and went to town.'

- b. *Q'uršaxar q'a-daldi wilik q'we pahliwan.di-ni*
 [hand.to.hand.fight hold-POSTR before] two hero(ERG)-also
majdan.da-l jaxc'ur sefer čarx ja-da. (AM87:34)
 square-SRESS forty time turn hit-FUT
 'Before starting the hand-to-hand fight, both heroes shall turn
 around 40 times on the square.'

The form *ta...namaz* is originally the negated converb of the Continuative Perfect (21.3.1.). Thus, *t-awu-nmaz* literally means 'while...had not yet done'. This is now used in the sense 'before ... had done'. Sometimes *hele* 'yet' is present.

- (1072) a. *Pakahan juq̄.u-z ekw ta-ša-nmaz C'ic'ali pačah.di-n*
 tomorrow's day-DAT [light NEG-be-POSTR] C'ic'ali king-GEN
pataw fe-na. (Du85,3:116)
 to go-AOR
 'On the next day before it became light C'ic'ali went to the king.'
- b. *Xür.ü-z am qe hele rağ eqeč' t-awu-nmaz*
 village-DAT he:ABS today [still sun go.out(PER) NEG-do-POSTR]
xta-na. (S88:63)
 return-AOR
 'To the village he returned today before the sun rose (lit. while the sun had not yet risen).'
- c. *Hele mes.e-laj qarağ t-awu-nmaz, zi rik'e-l*
 [still bed-SREL get.up(PER) NEG-do-POSTR] I:GEN heart-SRESS
q'aq'an dağ-lar xta-na-j. (Š83:98)
 high mountain-PL return-AOR-PST
 'Before I got up (lit. while I had not gotten up yet), I remembered
 the tall mountains.'

21.4.3. The Immediate-Anterior converbs *-waldi*, *-namaz(di)*, and *-zamaz*

These three synonymous forms express a situation immediately prior to the superordinate clause situation.

- (1073) a. *Širinbala rak'-ar-aj ata-j-waldi Cükwer k'wače-l*
 [Širinbala door-PL-INEL come-AOP-IMMANT] Cükwer foot-SRESS
aq'alt-na. (S88:10)
 rise-AOR
 'As soon as Širinbala came through the door, Cükwer rose to her
 feet.'

- b. *Zun-ni zi xala.di-n ruš Zerli ša-ji-waldi*
 [I:ABS-and I:GEN aunt-GEN daughter Zerli become-AOP-IMMANT]
či q'ep'-er.a-l lišanar awu-r-di ja. (S88:165)
 we:GEN cradle-PL-SRESS engagement do-AOP-SBST COP
 'As soon as I and my aunt's daughter Zerli were born,
 engagement was concluded on our cradles.'
- (1074) a. *Raḡini-n nur-ar aq'u-nmazdi, sad=sada-n güḡünal*
 [sun-GEN ray-PL appear-IMMANT] [one=one-GEN after
ala-z tup-ar.i-n wan-er aḡat-na. (K87,1:7)
 be.on-IMC] cannon-PL-GEN sound-PL appear-AOR
 'As soon as the sun's rays shone, sounds of cannons were heard
 one after the other.'
- b. *T'ekwen.d-aj eḡeč'-namazdi ada-z Alabaš aku-na.* (X89:14)
 [hole-INEL go.out-IMMANT] she-DAT Alabaš see-AOR
 'As soon as she came out of the hole, she saw Alabaš.'
- (1075) *Xalq'di, sabur ḡap.uni-laj alaš-zamaz pis*
 people(ERG) [patience vessel-SREL run.over-IMMANT] bad
insan q'u-na wiči-n aradaj gadar-da. (R66:24)
 person [hold-AOC] self-GEN from.among throw-FUT
 'As soon as they lose their patience (lit. their patience flows over the
 vessel ('s edge)), the people take the bad person and expell him/her
 from among them.'

A peculiar type of Immediate-Anterior clause uses a reduplicated converb form where the second component is negated. Literally, *šana-tašana* means 'having become, not having become', but this construction is used in the sense 'as soon as ... became' (cf. Gadžiev 1963:135). A similar construction exists in the neighboring Turkic languages.

- (1076) a. *Xweši feq'i, nāni ša-na=ta-ša-na aḡat-na.*
 happy mullah [evening become-AOC=NEG-become-AOC] appear-AOR
 'The happy mullah appeared as soon as it became evening.'
 (X89:119)
- b. *Raḡ aq'u-na=d-aq'u-na, hazur ja am.* (G63:134)
 [sun rise-AOC=NEG-rise-AOC] ready COP he:ABS
 'As soon as the sun has risen, he is ready.'
- c. *Juḡ že-z=te-že-z, čun req'-e hat-na.*
 [day become-IMC=NEG-become-IMC] we:ABS way-INESS start-AOR
 'As soon as it became day, we started out on our trip.' (G63:134)

The reduplication plus negation of the second component and the non-negative meaning of the whole construction reminds one of the special construction with the Archaic Imperfective participle (9.10.4.)

21.4.4. The Gradulative converb *-(i)rdawaj*

This form expresses a gradual development of the adverbial clause situation that correlates with a development in the superordinate clause situation. Formally, the suffix *-rdawaj* looks like an Adelative case form of the substantivized Archaic Imperfective participle (cf. 9.10.4.).

- (1077) a. *Juḡ mič'i že-rdawaj Šahdaḡ-ni q'aq'an*
 [day dark become-GRAD] Šahdaḡ-also [high
že-zwa-j xiz akwa-zwa-j. (Š83:102)
 be-IMPF-PST] like see-IMPF-PST
 'As it (lit. the day) was getting darker, the Šahdaḡ mountain seemed to be getting higher.' (Or: 'The darker it was getting, the higher Šahdaḡ mountain seemed to be getting.')
- b. *Č'exi že-rdawaj kukup'di-n šarag.di wiči-n*
 [big become-GRAD] cuckoo-GEN young(ERG) self-GEN
«taxaj dide.di-n» šarag-ar muk-aj gadar-da. (K87,2:6)
 step mother-GEN young-PL nest-INEL throw-FUT
 'As the young cuckoo gets bigger, it throws its "stepmother's" young birds out of the nest.'
- c. *Čun xür.ü-z agaq'-irdawaj rik'i-k qalabulux*
 [we:ABS village-DAT reach-GRAD] heart-SBESS excitement
akat-zawa.
 appear-IMPF
 'As we are approaching the village, the heart is getting (more and more) excited.'

21.4.5. The postpositions *q'uluq^h* 'after', *güḡüniz* 'after', *iniq^h* 'since'

These postpositions all govern a noun clause (substantivized participle in *-di*, 20.4.) in the Superrelative case. Thus, neither their semantics nor their syntax is in any way different from their use as NP postpositions described in 12.2.1.6-7., 12.2.1.10.

- (1078) *Epigrafika.di-n saki wiri pamjatnik-ar daḡwi-jr.i*
 epigraphics-GEN almost all document-PL [mountaineer-PL(ERG)
musurmanwal q'abul-aj-da-laj q'uluq^h ara.di-z ata-nwa.
 Islam accept-AOP-SBST-SREL after] middle-DAT come-PRF
 'Almost all epigraphic documents were created after the mountaineers accepted Islam.' (L87,2:74)

- (1079) *Jarǵaldi šeher.d-a ǵa-ji-da-laj güǵüniz ada sekin*
 [long town-INESS be-AOP-SBST-SREL after] he(ERG) quiet
daǵlux xür-e q^hsan-diz hiss-zawa-j. (L86,3:14)
 montane village-INESS good-ADV feel-IMPV-PST
 'After having been in the town for a long time, he felt well in the quiet mountain village.'

- (1080) *Či ěil azad q^huwu-r-da-laj iniq^h jaxc'ur jis*
 [we:GEN land free do.again-AOP-SBST-SREL since] forty year
alat-nawa. (DD85,2:21)
 pass-PRF
 'Since our land was freed, forty years have gone by.'

21.4.6. The relative clause heads *č'awuz*, *waxtunda*, *arada*

Č'awuz is the Dative singular of a noun *č'aw* 'time' which takes a participial relative clause. Such temporal clauses literally translate as 'at the time when...', but in this use the noun *č'awuz* has bleached sufficiently to count as a sort of temporal subordinating conjunction.

- (1081) *Zi buba.di aǵal-ar kaš.a-kdi telef ǵu-n.i-kaj*
 [I:GEN father(ERG) [child-PL hunger-SBDIR perishing be-MSD-SBEL]
ixtilat awu-r č'awuz za-z šel q^hwe-da. (K85,7:4)
 conversation do-AOP when] I-DAT crying come-FUT
 'When my father tells me how children are starving I have to cry.'

Gadžiev (1963:126-28) gives similar examples involving *waxtunda* (irregular Inessive of *waxt* 'time') and *arada* (Inessive of *ara*), with the same function illustrated for *č'awuz* above.

21.4.7. The relative clause head *q'wan* 'whenever; as long as'

Q'wan is originally a comparative particle which means 'as much as' (cf. 24.2.3.). But it can also be used, much like *č'awuz* etc. in 21.4.6. above, as the head of a relative clause, functioning as a quasi-conjunction. Its two meanings are (a) 'whenever' (cf. 1082) and (b) 'as long as' (cf. 1083). The 'as long as' meaning is closely related to the basic meaning 'as much as', and the 'whenever' meaning is related to the 'all that' meaning (see 24.2.3.).

- (1082) *Zun tam.u-z fe-ji q'wan, zi rik'e-l q'üǵür-ar*
 [I:ABS forest-DAT go-AOP whenever] I:GEN heart-SRESS [hedgehog-PL
žagur-un q^hwe-zwa. (M83:44)
 find-MSD] come-IMPV
 'Whenever I go into the forest, I think about finding hedgehogs.'

- (1083) *Ahmed aniz fi-zma-j q'wan, zun ada-w raxa-da-č.*
 [Ahmed thither go-IMPF.CONT-PTP as.long.as] I:ABS he-ADESS talk-FUT-NEG
 'As long as Ahmed still goes there, I won't talk to him.' (G63:129)

According to Gadžiev (11963:129), in cases like (1083) the postposition *gahdi* can be used after *q'wan* to make the 'as long as' meaning more explicit.

21.5. Causal clauses

Causal clauses can be non-finite, marked by (a) the postposition *kiligna* or (b) the Causal converb *-wiläj*, or finite, marked by *luhuz/lahana* (converbs of *luhun* 'say').

21.5.1. The postposition *kiligna* 'because of'

Kiligna (which is identical to the postposition, cf. 12.2.3.1.) governs the Masdar in the Dative case. Like the postposition, it sounds rather bookish.

- (1084) a. *Wiči-n wezifa-jar hačisağwil.e-ldi tamamar-un.i-z*
 [self-GEN duty-PL conscientiousness-SRDIR fulfill-MSD-DAT
kiligna kawxa.di-z xür.ü-n žemät.di-n arada jeke
 because] chairman-DAT village-GEN people-GEN among big
hürmet awa-j. (L86,3:10)
 respect be.in-PST

'Since he fulfilled his duties conscientiously, the chairman enjoyed great respect among the villagers.'

- b. *I lak'ab Mehamed.a ZAGS.di-n rajon.di-n*
 this nickname Mehamed(ERG) [registry-GEN district-GEN
bjuro.d-a jarğaldi k'walax awu-n.i-z kiligna
 office-GEN long work do-MSD-DAT because]
qazanmiš-nawa-j-di tir. (L87,2:74)
 earn-PRF-PTP-SBST COP:PST

'Mehamed had earned this nickname because he worked in the district registry office for a long time.'

21.5.2. The Causal converb *-wiläj*

This converb is originally the Inelative case of the abstract noun *-wal* (cf. 7.3.1.1.), added to a participial form.

- (1085) a. *Ruš.a-z reğü ħa-na k'an tuš-ir-wiläj Nurbala*
 [[girl-DAT ashamed be-AOC] want COP:NEG-PTP-CAUS] Nurbala
ktab-r.i-n škaf.di-q^h fe-na. (R66:13)
 book-PL-GEN shelf-POESS go-AOR
 'Because he did not want the girl to be embarrassed, Nurbala went to the bookshelf.'
- b. *Ada, wič k'wal.i-z hebe ič'i ja-z xta-nwa-j-wiläj,*
 he(ERG) [[self house-DAT [bag empty be-IMC] return-PRF-PTP-CAUS]
pap.a gu-da-j sual-r.i-z žawab-ar hazur-zawa-j.
 wife(ERG) give-FUT-PTP] question-PL-DAT answer-PL prepare-IMPF-PST
 'He prepared answers to the questions that his wife would ask because he returned home with an empty bag.' (R66:25)

21.5.3. Causal clauses marked with *luhuz/lahana*

This is the most common way of expressing a causal relation between two clauses. However, *luhuz/lahana* expresses an internal subjective motivation rather than an objective cause, reflecting the original meaning 'saying/having said'.

- (1086) a. *Pul kwadar-na luhuz buba k'wal-er-aj aqūd-iz*
 [[money lose-AOR saying] father house-PL-INEL take.out-INF]
že-da-ni? (Š83:70)
 can-FUT-Q
 'Can we kick father out of the house because he has lost the money?'
- b. *Bazar.di-n juğ ada-z, tars-ar awa-č luhuz,*
 Sunday-GEN day he-DAT [lesson-PL be.in-NEG saying]
tak'an ħa-nwa-j. (N88:75)
 hateful become-PRF-PST
 'He hated Sunday because there were no lessons.'

The subjective nature of *luhuz* is especially clear in examples like the following, where from the context it is clear that the subjective reason is not in fact true in the speaker's judgment.

- (1087) *A q̄ari.di zun kaka-jar čünüx-iz ata-nwa-j-di ja*
 that old.woman(ERG) [I:ABS [egg-PL steal-INF] come-PRF-PTP-SBST COP
luhuz rak'-ar.a-l čefte hald-na. (DD71,3:21)
 saying| door-PL-SRESS lock put.on-AOR
 'That old woman put the lock on the door because [she thought that]
 I had come to steal the eggs.'

But the cause need not always be subjective, as the proverbial expression in (1088) shows.

- (1088) *Nexir xkwe-da-č luhuz, juğ näni že-da-č-ni?* (G63:151)
 [herd return-FUT-NEG saying] day evening become-FUT-NEG-Q
 'Will the day not become night just because the herd does not come
 back?'

21.5.4. Other causal clauses

In a very bookish style, the particle *xi* can be used in combination with a demonstrative in constructions similar to degree consecutive constructions (cf. 13.5.1.). This type of clause seems to have been calqued from Russian.

- (1089) *Lezgi č'al.a-n tarix axtarmiš-un.i-n kar patal*
 [Lezgian language-GEN history investigate-MSD]-GEN thing for
dialektologija.di-n čka aniz kiligna madni č'exi-di ja xi,
 dialectology-GEN place thither because still big-SBST.SG COP PT
či č'al fad zaman-r.i-laj iniqh k'el=kxin awa-č-ir.
 we:GEN language early time-PL-SREL since writing be.in-NEG-PST
 'The role of dialectology in the investigation of Lezgian linguistic
 history is all the more important since our language has not had
 writing since early times.' (H63:5-6)

21.6. Purpose clauses

Purpose clauses can be either non-finite, marked by (a) the postposition *patal*, (b) the Infinitive (Imperfective converb), or (c) the Purpose/Manner converb, or they can be finite, marked by *luhuz/lahana* (converbs of *luhun* 'say').

21.6.1. The postposition *patal* 'in order to'

Patal 'in order to/for' is identical to the postposition *patal* 'for' (cf. 12.2.2.4.). It takes a Masdar clause in the Absolutive case. *Patal*-clauses may have a subject of their own, as in (1091), but their subject is most often controlled by a salient argument in the superordinate clause, as in (1090).

- (1090) *Hürmet k'wal-äj qecel eqeč'-un patal rak'-ar.i-qb fe-na.*
 Hürmet [house-INEL out go.out-MSD for] door-PL-POESS go-AOR
 'Hürmet went to the door to go out of the house.' (R66:26)
- (1091) *Ada-z Ali amuq'-un patal wuč iji-da-t'a či-zwa-č-ir.* (J89:24)
 he-DAT [[Ali stay-MSD for] what do-FUT-CND] know-IMPF-NEG-PST
 'He didn't know what to do in order for Ali to stay.'

21.6.2. The Infinitive

The Infinitive (Imperfective converb) is used only in short clauses that express the goal or purpose of a movement action. Infinitival purpose clauses are very unlikely to have a subject of their own, and their subject is as a rule controlled by the subject of the movement action.

- (1092) a. *Axa čun gweč'i wac'.u-n qerex.da-l jal jağ-iz acuq'-na.*
 then we:ABS small river-GEN bank-SRESS [rest hit-INF] sit.down-AOR
 'Then we sat down at the bank of a small river to rest.' (M83:30)
- b. *Zun Allahquli.di-n pataw bazi k'walax-r.i-n*
 I:ABS Allahquli-GEN to [several work-PL-GEN
haqindaj raxa-z fi-zwa. (R66:26)
 about talk-INF] go-IMPF
 'I am going to Allahquli's to discuss a couple of things.'
- c. *Za Mirzali.di-waj suw.a-n jac-ar jağ-iz dağ.di-z*
 I:ERG Mirzali-ADEL [[mountain-GEN ox-PL hit-INF] mountain-DAT
fi-n t'alab-na-j. (Š83:100)
 go-MSD] demand-AOR-PST
 'I had asked Mirzali to go into the mountains to hunt aurochs.'
- d. *bulax.da-l jad gi-z ata-j Mirzamed.a-n ruš* (S88:7)
 [well-SRESS [water bring-INF] come-AOP] Mirzamed-GEN girl
 'Mirzamed's girl, who had come to the well to take water'

21.6.3. The Purpose/Manner converb

The Purpose/Manner converb in *-wal* (9.3.4.6.), when added to the Future participle in *-da-j*, expresses purpose. Such purpose clauses generally have a subject of their own.

- (1093) a. *Wan ala-z k'el-a, za-z-ni wan že-da-j-wal.* (M79:6)
 [voice be.on-IMC] read-IMPV [I-DAT-also voice be-FUT-PTP-PURP]
 'Read aloud, so that I, too, may hear it.'

- b. *Stxa.di jawaš-diz, Nadja.di q'at'u-n*
 brother(ERG) quiet-ADV [Nadja(ERG) perceive-PER
t-iji-da-j-wal, žuzu-na: Im wuž ja? (S88:168)
 NEG-do-FUT-PTP-PURP] ask-AOR [this:ABS who COP]
 'My brother asked, quietly, so that Nadja wouldn't hear him: Who is it?'
- c. *Či k'wal.i-z jif te-ḡwe-da-j-wal wuna, dide,*
 [we:GEN house-DAT night NEG-come-FUT-PTP-PURP] you:ERG mother
rak'ar-ni dak'ar-ar žuft-diz agal-a. (K87,2:10)
 door-PL-also window-PL tight-ADV close-IMPV
 'Close the doors and windows tightly, mother, so that the night may not come into our house.'

21.6.4. Purpose clauses with *luhuz/lahana* + Optative

In this type of purpose clause, the verb is in the Optative form. The purpose meaning arises in the following way: 'A does B, saying: May C do D!' gives rise to 'A does B in order for C to do D'. Such purpose clauses always have a subject that is not identical to any of the arguments of the superordinate clause. As in the case of *luhuz/lahana* in causal clauses (cf. 21.5.3.), such purpose clauses express a highly subjective motivation. A literal translation with 'saying' is often not very far from the correct sense, cf. (1094).

- (1094) *Wun masa-bur.u-laj usal ta-ḡu-j luhuz, za wiri*
 [you:ABS other-SBST.PL-SREL poor NEG-be-OPT saying] I:ERG all
zehmet-ar wun patal č'ugwa-zwa. (N88:72)
 work-PL you:ABS for pull-IMPV

'I am doing all the work for you so that you may not be poorer than others.' (lit. '...saying: May you not be poorer than others!')

- (1095) a. *Na luhudi, daḡ-lar insan-ar čpi-z kilig-raj*
 as- -if mountain-PL [human-PL selves-DAT look-OPT
luhuz t'aram ḡa-nwa-j-bur tir. (S88:22)
 saying] beautiful become-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL COP:PST

'It was as if the mountains had become beautiful so that the people would look at them.'

- b. *K'wal.i-z ččara kas haḡ t-awu-raj lahana, ada*
 [house-DAT strange person go.in(PER) NEG-do-OPT saying] he(ERG)
rak agal-na. (G63:20)
 door close-AOR

'He locked the door so that no stranger could come into the room.'

In the following example the subjective value of this type of purpose clause is clearly shown by the different perspectives in the main clause (speaker's perspective: the speaker recalls her childhood) and the subordinate clause

(the adults' perspective). Here the translation with 'so that' is somewhat misleading.

- (1096) *Čun, ajal-r.i-z meq'i ta-šu-raj lahana, juq'w-a*
 we:ABS [child-PL-DAT cold NEG-be-OPT saying] middle-INNESS
q̇atkur-nawa-j. (DD85,2:13)
 put-PRF-PST

'They had put us in the middle so that the children (i.e. we) would not be cold.' (lit. '...saying: May the children not be cold!')

21.7. Conditional clauses

In conditional sentences of the most common type, the protasis is marked (a) by the Conditional mood suffix *-t'a* on the verb and optionally (b) by one of the clause-introducing conjunctions *eger* and *nagah* 'if' (loans from Persian). The use of *eger* is particularly frequent in styles that are strongly influenced by Russian (e.g., journalistic writing).

The form of the verb to which the Conditional mood suffix is attached is determined by the time reference of the clause and by the degree of hypotheticality. Two degrees of hypotheticality are distinguished: ordinary conditionals and counterfactual conditionals.

21.7.1. Ordinary conditionals

In the most common type of ordinary conditional, the time reference is in the future. In such conditionals, the apodosis verb is in the Future, and the protasis verb is in the Aorist participle form.

- (1097) a. *Abur.u-z miši jad gu-n t-awu-r-t'a, cūkw-er*
 [they-DAT clean water give-PER NEG-do-AOP-CND] flower-PL
gürteg ja-z amuq'-da-č (DD71,6:11)
 [beautiful be-IMC] remain-PL-NEG
 'If one doesn't give them clean water, the flowers will not stay beautiful.'
- b. *Wun wi dide.di-ni buba.di Ismi.di-z*
 [you:ABS you:GEN mother(ERG)-and father(ERG) Ismi-DAT
ga-ji-t'a wuč-da na? (S88:26)
 give-AOP-CND] what.do-FUT you:ERG
 'If your parents give you (i.e. marry you off) to Ismi, what will you do?'

- c. *Eger küne* *ča-q^h* *galaz* *däwe* *awu-r-t'a,* *kün*
 [if you.all:ERG we-POESS with war do-AOP-CND] you.all:ABS
allah.di länetlämiš-da. (K87,1:7)
 God(ERG) curse-FUT

'If you wage war with us, God will curse you.'

In non-future ordinary conditionals the usual tense markers are used, e.g. the Aorist (1098), the Imperfective (1099), the Perfect (1100).

- (1098) *Eger i* *sual* *kwe-z* *tak'an* *xa-na-t'a,* *mad* *sefer.d-a*
 [if this question you:DAT hateful be-AOR-CND] again time-INESS
bağışlämiš-a. (N88:83)
 forgive-IMPV

'If you didn't like this question, forgive me once more.'

- (1099) a. *Eger za* *tab-zawa-t'a,* *zi* *gardan* *wa-z* *č'ar.č'e-laj*
 [if I:ERG lie-IMPV-CND] I:GEN neck you-DAT hair-SREL
šük'ü xu-j. (G63:161)
 thin be-OPT

'If I am lying, may my neck be thinner than a hair for you.'

- b. *Eger wa-q^h* *mähkem* *xzan* *awa-č-t'a,* *wi*
 [if you-POESS stable family be-NEG-CND] you:GEN
ümür.di-n *maq'sad* *kwe-kaj* *ibarat* *ja?* (L87,3:78)
 life-GEN sense what-SBEL consisting COP

'If you don't have a stable family, what does the sense of your life consist in?'

- (1100) *Ajal ksa-nwa-t'a,* *rak* *aq'al-a.* (G63:160)
 [child sleep-PRF-CND] door close-IMPV

'If the child is asleep, close the door.'

21.7.2. Counterfactual conditionals

In counterfactual conditionals the protasis verb is in the Past Aorist, while the apodosis verb is in the Past Future. Unlike English, Lezgian does not distinguish counterfactual conditionals with non-past time reference (1101) from ones with past time reference (1102).

- (1101) *Eger a m* *paka* *ata-na-j-t'a,* *za* *a m* *vokzal.d-a*
 [if she:ABS tomorrow come-AOR-PST-CND] I:ERG she:ABS station-INESS
gürüşmiš iji-da-j.
 meeting do-FUT-PST

'If she were to arrive tomorrow, I would meet her at the station.'

- (1102) *Eger a m naq' ata-na-j-t'a, za a m vokzal.d-a*
 [if she:ABS yesterday come-AOR-PST-CND] I:ERG she:ABS station-INNESS
gürüşmiş iji-da-j.
 meeting do-FUT-PST

'If she had arrived yesterday, I would have met her at the station.'

Defective verbs that do not have a Past Aorist and a Past Future use the simple Past.

- (1103) a. *Eger pis-bur q^hsan-bur.u-laj gzaf xa-na-j-t'a,*
 [if bad-SBST.PL good-SBST.PL-INEL many be-AOR-PST-CND]
dünja.da-l jaşamiş xu-n mumkin tuş-ir. (Ş83:50)
 [world-SRESS living be-MSD] possible COP:NEG-PST
 'If there were more bad people than good ones, it would not be possible to live in the world.'
- b. *Eger rik' ala-j k'walax awa-ç-ir-t'a, za-z ümür*
 [if [heart be.on-PTP] job be.in-NEG-PST-CND] I-DAT [life
hiştin-di že-da-j-t'a çi-da-ç. (DD85,5:5)
 which-SBST.SG be-FUT-PST-CND] know-FUT-NEG
 'If I did not have a job that I love, I don't know how life would be.'
- c. *Lişanlu tir-t'a, a m za-q^h galaz ik' raxa-da-ç-ir.*
 [engaged COP:PST-CND] she:ABS I-POESS with thus talk-FUT-NEG-PST
 'If she were engaged she would not talk to me like this.' (S88:9)

21.8. Concessive clauses

Semantically, there is a distinction between (A) concessive clauses proper (e.g. *Although I added sugar, this tea is not good.*), and (B) concessive conditional clauses (e.g. *Even if you add sugar, this tea is not good.*), which are like concessive clauses in that they entail their apodosis, and like conditional clauses in that they do not entail their protasis. Furthermore, there are two special types of conditional concessive clauses, (C) alternative concessive conditionals and (D) parametric concessive conditionals.

21.8.1. Concessive clauses proper

These are formed by suffixing the additive focus particle *-ni* 'also, even' to the Conditional mood form of the verb:

- (1104) a. *Za şeker q^hiweh-na-t'a-ni, i çaj.di-q^h dad gala-ç.*
 [I:ERG sugar throw-AOR-CND-even] this tea-POESS taste be.behind-NEG
 'Although I added sugar, this tea is not tasty.'

b. *Hele buba aku-nwa-č-ir-t'a-ni, Sabir*
 [still father see-PRF-NEG-PST-CND-even] Sabir

behem šad ŝa-na-j. (S83:62)
 quite glad be-AOR-PST

'Although he hadn't seen his father yet, Sabir was quite glad.'

Gadžiev (1963:177) cites a minor type of concessive clause, with the verb in the Optative mood and *k'an-t'a/k'an-da-t'a* 'if you want' in front of the verb:

(1105) *Am wiri-da-laj ġweč-i-di k'an-t'a ŝu-raj,*
 he:ABS all-SBST-SREL small-SBST.SG want-CND be-OPT

amma wiri-da ada-z hürmet iji-zwa.
 but all-SBST(ERG) he-DAT respect do-IMPF

'He may be the youngest, but everybody has respect for him.'

21.8.2. Concessive conditional clauses

These are not formally different from concessive clauses, except for the form of the verb: As in the most common type of ordinary conditional clause (21.7.1.), the verb is usually in the Aorist participle form.

(1106) a. *Wuna šeker q^{hi}weh-aj-t'a-ni, i čaj.di-q^h*
 [you:ERG sugar throw-AOP-CND-even] this tea-POESS

dad gala-č.
 taste be.behind-NEG

'Even if you add sugar, this tea is not tasty.'

b. *Hi hül-e, sirnaw t-awu-r-t'a-ni,*
 which sea-INESS [swim NEG-do-AOP-CND-even]

batmiš že-da-č? (K84,2:16)
 sink ANTIC-FUT-NEG

'In which sea does one not sink even if one doesn't swim?'

Gadžiev (1963:178) cites a minor type of concessive conditional clause, involving the Imperative (this is possible only if the Imperative action represents an extreme value on some scale).

(1107) *Wuna ada-n q'il at'u-t', — ada xiw-e q'a-da-č.*
 you:ERG he-GEN head cut-IMPV he(ERG) neck-INESS hold-FUT-NEG

'Cut off his head—he will not confess.'

21.8.3. Alternative concessive-conditional clauses

Here the choice among alternative conditions is presented as irrelevant to the apodosis; both of these conditions are expressed as in 21.8.2. and optionally linked by *wa ja* 'or'.

- (1108) *Am šeher.di-z fe-ji-t'a-ni (wa ja) te-fe-j-t'a-ni,*
 [she:ABS town-DAT go-AOP-CND-even and or NEG-go-AOP-CND-even]
ada ĩe k'walax kütäh-na k'an-da.
 [she(ERG) today work finish-AOC] must-FUT
 'Whether she goes to town or not, she has to finish the job today.'

21.8.4. Parametric concessive-conditional clauses

Here one parameter in the protasis is presented as irrelevant to the apodosis—the choice of how to set the parameter is completely free. The protasis verb is marked as in 21.8.2. and 21.8.3., and the open parameter is expressed as an interrogative pronoun or determiner.

- (1109) a. *Hiniz zun fe-ji-t'a-ni, zun zi*
 [whither I:ABS go-AOP-CND-even] I:ABS I:GEN
xür.ü-z xkwe-da. (X89:34)
 village-DAT return-FUT
 'Wherever I may go, I'll return to my village.'
- b. *Hiq'wan wa-z zun jawaš aku-r-t'a-ni, gena kar.d-a*
 [how.much you-DAT I:ABS slow see-AOP-CND-even] still deed-INNESS
zun wa-laj diribaš že-da. (Du61,5:67)
 I:ABS you-SREL bold be-FUT
 'However slow I may appear to you, nevertheless I am bolder in action than you.'
- c. *Wuč wuna lah-aj-t'a-ni,*
 [what:ABS you:ERG say-AOP-CND-even]
čun a k'walax iji-z hazur ja.
 we:ABS [that work do-INF] ready COP
 'Whatever you say, we're ready to do that job.' (X89:113)

In cases like the following example, the interpretation of the parametric concessive conditional clause comes close to that of a habitual temporal clause, much like in the English translation:

- (1110) *Zun, mus zi xaji xür.ü-z xta-j-t'a-ni, zi*
 I:ABS [when I:GEN native village-DAT return-AOP-CND-even] I:GEN
ajalwil.i-q^h ĩe ĩwe-zwa. (Du85,3:61)
 childhood-POESS look.for-IMPF
 'Whenever I come back to my native village, I look for my childhood.'

The universal interpretation of the interrogative pronoun or determiner may be marked explicitly by a preceding *har* ('every'), just like in correlative relative clauses (19.2.).

- (1111) *Har hi mesʒela ǰaču-r-t'a-ni, ewel-ni ewel lezgi*
 [every which question take-AOP-CND-even] first-and first [Lezgian
č'al.a-n nuǰat-ar čir-un.i-q^h galaz alaǰalu ja.
 language-GEN dialect-PL learn-MSD]-POESS with connected COP
 'Whichever question one takes, it is primarily connected to the study
 of the Lezgian dialects.' (H63:9)

Note that parametric concessive conditional clauses differ from correlative relative clauses only in that the suffix *-ni* is also present in concessives but not in relatives. Cf. the following minimal pair:

- (1112) a. *Hiniz wun fe-ji-t'a, haniz zun-ni fi-da.*
 [whither you:ABS go-AOP-CND] thither I:ABS-also go-FUT
 'Wherever you go, I will go there, too.'
- b. *Hiniz wun fe-ji-t'a-ni, zun wa-q^h galaz fi-da.*
 [whither you:ABS go-AOP-even] I:ABS you-POESS with go-FUT
 'Wherever you go, I will go with you.'

Like direct and indirect parametric questions, parametric concessive conditionals may contain multiple parameters. In such cases English has to resort to *no matter*.

- (1113) a. *Ni wuč laha-j-t'a-ni, č'al.a-q^h že-mir.*
 [who:ERG what:ABS say-AOP-CND-even] word-POESS be-PROHIB
 'No matter who says what, don't believe [them/it].' (HQ89:9)
- b. *Ada ni-z hiǰtin čar-ar kxe-j-t'a-ni,*
 [she(ERG) who-DAT what.kind letter-PL write-AOP-CND-even]
sa-da-laj-ni žawab xkwe-zwa-č.
 one-SBST-SREL-even answer return-IMP-NEG
 'No matter what kind of letters she writes to whom, she doesn't
 get an answer from anyone.'

21.9. 'As' clauses

The Purpose/Manner converb in *-wal* (9.3.4.6.) is used in several functions that are translated as 'as' clauses.

21.9.1. Purpose/Manner converb clauses as epistemic qualifications

- (1114) a. *Za-z Q'asumxür.e-l wan xa-ji-wal, ši mäden.di-z*
 [[I-DAT Q'asumxür-SRESS voice be-AOP-MAN] we:GEN mine-DAT
q'il.i-n inžener jaz axcehwi Abduselim xkwe-zwa. (HQ89:6)
 head-GEN engineer as Axcehian Abduselim return-IMPF
 'As I heard in Q'asumxür (Kasumkent), Abduselim from Axceh (Axy) will come to our mine as the chief engineer.'
- b. *I misal-r-aj akwa-zwa-j-wal, wiri t'war-ar*
 [this example-PL-INEL see-IMPF-PTP-MAN] all name-PL
arab-r.i-n sajağ.d-a tük'ür-nawa. (L87,2:74)
 Arab-PL-GEN fashion-INNESS form-PRF
 'As can be seen from these examples, all the names are formed in the Arabic fashion.'

21.9.2. Purpose/Manner converb clauses expressing conformity of action

- (1115) *Ada dide.di laha-j-wal awu-na.* (AM87:23)
 he(ERG) [mother(ERG) say-AOP-MAN] do-AOR
 'He did as his mother had said.'

21.9.3. Purpose/Manner converb clauses expressing comparison

- (1116) *Ačux jiq-ar xa-ji-la t'ebiat šad že-da-j-wal,*
 [[bright day-PL be-AOP-TEMP] nature glad be-FUT-PTP-MAN]
q^hsan xabar-ar galuq'aj-la rik'er-ni šad že-da.
 [good news-PL arrive-AOP-TEMP] heart-PL-also glad be-FUT
 'Just like nature is glad when there are bright days, so also the hearts are glad when good news arrives.' (DD85,2:13)

Chapter 22 Coreference

In this chapter, the three most important means of expressing relations of coreference are described: pronominal anaphora, coreferential omission, and reflexivization.

In contrast to a number of particularly well studied languages (especially English) where coreferential omission and reflexivization have been shown to be subject to well-defined grammatical constraints, Lezgian does not show such clear grammatical conditioning of rules of coreference. The controller and the target of reflexivization and coreferential omission seem to be pragmatically rather than syntactically determined, and there are no clear criteria for distinguishing between coreferential omission and pronoun dropping.

22.1. Pronominal anaphora and pronoun dropping

The substantivized demonstrative *am* (11.4.) ‘that one’ serves as a personal pronoun corresponding to ‘he/she/it’. Since Lezgian verbs do not show agreement with their arguments, personal pronouns are in principle necessary to distinguish between different persons and numbers. Thus, Lezgian is not a pronoun-dropping (“pro-drop”) language. The examples in (1117) represent the standard case of coreference expressed by the personal pronoun of the third person.

- (1117) a. *Paka.di-n juq̄.u-z muk.a-n xalis ijesi-jar xta-na. Abur*
tomorrow-GEN day-DAT nest-GEN real owner-PL return-AOR they
xür.ü-n nük'-er čpi ecig-aj muk-aj čukur-iz
[village-GEN sparrow-PL [selves:ERG build-AOP] nest-INEL chase-INF]
alaq^h-na. (M83:32)
strive-AOR

‘On the next morning the nest’s true owners returned. They tried to chase away the sparrows from the nest they had built.’

- b. *Gila za wa-z aštin alawa tars gu-da xi,*
now I:ERG you-DAT such additional lesson give-FUT PT
hič sadra-ni wi rik'.e-laj am alat-da-č. (N88:86)
PT once-even you:GEN heart-SREL it fall.off-FUT-NEG
‘Now I’ll give you such a remedial lesson that you’ll never forget it.’

- c. *Hafiz šeher.d-a jašamiš že-zwa. Har gat.u-z a m*
 Hafiz city-INNESS living be-IMPF every summer-DAT he:ABS
wiči-n č'exi buba.di-n pataw xür.ù-z xkwe-da. (S88:63)
 self-GEN big father-GEN to village-DAT return-FUT
 'Hafiz lives in the city. Every summer he goes back to the village
 to his grandfather.'

However, since the information conveyed by the personal pronoun is very often recoverable from the context, the anaphoric pronoun can also be omitted. This type of pronoun dropping is particularly frequent in dialogs and in informal narratives. It occurs much more rarely in more formal styles such as newspaper articles or technical texts. In the following examples, pronoun dropping is indicated by square brackets in the translations.

- (1118) a. *Sa ara.di-laj Šafiga rak'-ar.i-qh fe-na. Amma rak'-ar-a*
 one while-SREL Šafiga door-PL-POESS go-AOR but door-PL-INNESS
aq̄waz xa-na, q'uluqh kilig-na. (N88:87)
 [stop become-AOC] back look-AOR
 'After a while Šafiga went to the door. But [she] stopped at the
 door and looked back.'
- b. *Zahir.a wiči-n fikir subutar-un patal iştin*
 Zahir(ERG) [self-GEN thought prove-MSD for] [such
sa težriba q'il-e tuxu-n q'et'-na. Wiči-n
 one experiment head-INNESS lead-MSD] decide-AOR self-GEN f
dust-ar.i-waj gurc'ul-ni šenp'i qaču-na. (A90:20)
 riend-PL-ADEL puppy-and kitten take-AOR
 'Zahir decided to do the following experiment in order to prove
 his hypothesis: [He] took a puppy and a kitten from his friends...'

Dropping of personal pronouns is also possible and common with first and second person pronouns. (Cf. also 9.8.1. on the omission of the second person pronoun in Imperatives.)

- (1119) a. *Za ada-n wilik čaj ecig-na. Čanta.d-aj šeker-ni sa*
 I:ERG he-GEN before tea put-AOR bag-INEL sugar-and one
q'as fu aq̄ud-na. (Du68,1:134)
 piece bread take.out-AOR
 'I put the tea in front of him. [I] took out sugar and a piece of bread
 from [my] bag.'
- b. A: *Wa-z zun wuž ja-t'a či-da-ni?*
 you-DAT [I:ABS who:ABS COP-CND] know-FUT-Q
 B: *Lam.ra-n xwa lam ja.* (K90,12:3)
 donkey-GEN son donkey COP
 'Do you know who I am? — [You] are a donkey, the son of a
 donkey.'

- c. *Čna har-da sa daftar q'a-da. Daftar.di-n*
 we:ERG every-SBST.SG(ERG) one notebook hold-FUT notebook-GEN
čar-ar q'we pat.a-l paj-da. Sa pat-a jaru ġet.re-n
 page-PL two part-SRESS divide-FUT one part-INESS red star-GEN
šikil ja-da. (K89,12:11)
 drawing hit-FUT
 'We will each take a notebook. [We] will divide the notebook's pages into two parts. In one part [we] will draw a red star.'

For coreferential omission in coordination (or "coordination reduction"), cf. 18.3.2.

Pronoun dropping is also possible in subordinate clauses under coreference with a main-clause noun phrase (cf. 1120-1121). When the controller of the coreferential relation is a potential controller of reflexivization, as in (1121), the non-reduced variant would have a reflexive pronoun (i.e., here a reflexive pronoun is dropped).

- (1120) *Birdan axwar.i-kaj ujax řa-ji-di řiz, ada-n serserwal*
 [suddenly sleep-SBEL awake become-AOP-SBST] like he-GEN
 confusion
alat-na. (J89:30)
 fall.off-AOR
 'As if [he] had suddenly awoken from sleep, his confusion disappeared.'

- (1121) a. *Weled.a-q^h Baku.d-a ři-da-j sa kas-ni awa-č-ir.*
 Weled-POESS Baku-INESS [know-FUT-PST] one person-even be.in-NEG-PST
 'Weled did not have anyone [he] knew in Baku.' (S88:5)

- b. *Ada-n rik'.i-k luhu-z k'an-zawa-j mad sa wuč*
 he-GEN heart-SBESS [say-INF want-IMP-F-PST] yet one what
řat'ani kwa-j. (Ko89,10,18:4)
 INDEF be.under-PST
 'There was something else on his mind that [he] wanted to say.'

- c. *Za-z fadlaj kwe-waj xabar q'a-da-j sa sir*
 I-DAT long.since [you.all-ADEL news hold-FUT-PTP] one secret
awa-j, amma reğü řa-na, xabar q'u-na-č-ir. (M83:64)
 be.in-PST but shy become-AOR news hold-AOR-NEG-PST
 'I have long since had a secret that [I] was going to ask you-all about, but [I] was shy and [I] didn't ask.'

The examples above are from relative clauses. Omission of personal pronouns in adverbial clauses, especially converbial adverbial clauses, is even more common. Looking at Lezgian from the point of view of Russian or English, pronoun dropping in relative clauses is unexpected, while coreferential omission in converbial clauses is natural because Russian and English converbs require coreferential omission. Cf.:

- (1122) a. *Ali.di-z sağraj laha-na, ada rak'-ar.i-q^hdi herekat-na.*
 [Ali-DAT goodbye say-AOC] he(ERG) door-PL-PODIR rush-AOR
 b. 'Having said goodbye to Ali, he hurried toward the door.' (K86,2:8)
 c. ?? He having said goodbye...

But it seems that from the point of view of Lezgian, anaphoric omission of the type seen in (1118)-(1121) is the same phenomenon as omission of the type in (1122a). There seems to be a difference in the extent to which personal pronouns and reflexive pronouns are omitted: More commonly in converbial clauses, less commonly in relative clauses and in main clauses. But I know of no evidence for a difference in the grammatical status of these types of omission. It is important to note that the use of a pronoun is never excluded (unlike in English or Russian). For instance, in the following sentence the subject of the subordinate clause might well have been dropped/omitted, but it is present.

- (1123) *Wič k'walax.a-l fi-da-j-la, wax.a hamiša i krant*
 [self work-SRESS go-FUT-PTP-TEMP] sister(ERG) always this tap
aq^ha-z ta-zwa. (K90,3:4)
 open-ADV leave-IMPF
 'When she goes to work, my sister always leaves the faucet on.'

22.2. Controller and target of omission in adverbial clauses

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the target of coreferential omission is the subject, i.e. the Ergative, intransitive Absolute, or Dative experiencer argument. This is illustrated in (1126-1135) below. In exceptional cases, the transitive Absolute argument (the direct object) may be omitted under coreference, as in (1124). This seems to be possible only when the Ergative argument is inanimate and therefore is not a typical subject.

- (1124) *Dünja, q'il-äj=q'il.i-z jalaw-r.i q'u-na, ku-zwa.* (K90,3:3)
 world [end-INEL=end-DAT flame-PL(ERG) hold-AOC] burn-IMPF
 'The world, completely engulfed in flames, is burning.'
 (Lit. '...flames having caught [it] from end to end...')

Non-subject targets of omission are also possible in converbial clauses with one of the local copulas. Such clauses are usually very short and resemble postpositions rather than adverbial clauses.

- (1125) a. *Am za kwe-z tar gwa-z xta-j-la luhu-da.*
 that:ABS I:ERG you.all-DAT [[tara be.at-IMC] return-AOP-TEMP] say-FUT
 'That I'll tell you-all when [I] come back with a tara (lit. a tara being with [me]).' (Q81:112)

- b. *Aq'wan pul gwa-z k'wal.i-z buba xta-j-la, hi*
 [[so.much money be.at-IMC] home-DAT father return-AOP-TEMP] which
xwa šad že-da-č? (Š83:62)
 son glad be-FUT-NEG
 'Which son is not glad when his father comes back with so much money? (lit. so much money being with [him])'

Subjects are not only the most common targets of omission, they are also the most common controllers. In (1126) an Ergative argument is the controller, in (1127) an Absolutive argument is the controller, and in (1128) a Dative experiencer argument is the controller.

- (1126) *Sual-r.i-n mana.di-z sa fikir-ni ta-gu-z,*
 [question-PL-GEN meaning-DAT one thought-even NEG-give-IMC]
muhman-r.i anžax «q^hsan ja, q^hsan ja» žawab-ar
 guest-PL(ERG) only good COP good COP answer-PL
tikrar-zawa. (Q81:112)
 repeat-IMPF

'Without paying attention to the questions' meaning, the guests kept answering "It's good, it's good".'

- (1127) *Sa žehil, wuč iji-da-t'a te-či-z, i gweč'i*
 one young [[what:ABS do-FUT-CND] NEG-know-IMC] this little
stancija.da-l ačwaz-na. (J89:76)
 station-SRESS stop-AOR

'A young man stopped at this little station, not knowing what [he] would do.'

- (1128) *Žuwa qe awu-r k'walax aku-r-la, za-z juğ*
 [[self(ERG) today do-AOP] work see-AOP-TEMP] I-DAT [day
hawajda te-fe-j-di čir že-da. (DD85,5:5)
 in.vain NEG-go-AOP-SBST] teach ANTIC-FUT

'When [I] see the work that I did today, I know that the day did not pass in vain.'

But other constituent NPs of the main clause may act as controllers as well, in particular topical animate NPs (these often translate as subjects in English). In (1129) the controller is a Genitive NP, in (1130) it is a Supressive NP, and in (1131) it is a Subrelative NP.

- (1129) *Sad lahaj kurs kütäh-aj-la, zi fikir degiš*
 [one ORD course finish-AOP-TEMP] I:GEN thought changing
ša-na. (HQ89:16)
 become-AOR

'When [I] had finished the first year of study, I changed my mind (lit. my thought changed).'

- (1130) *Xür-äj eqeč'-namaz, ada-l sa sik' halt-na.* (K90,12:2)
[village-INEL go.out-IMMANT] he-SRESS one fox meet-AOR

'As soon as [he] had left the village, he met a fox.'

- (1131) *Siw-äj gadr-aj cük'ün.di-kaj ëil.e-l awat-daldi*
[mouth-INEL throw-AOP] spittle-SBEL [ground-SRESS fall-POSTR]

murk že-da-j. (K90,12:2)
ice become-FUT-PST

'Spittle thrown out of the mouth turned into ice before [it] fell on the ground.'

Example (1132) shows a split controller:

- (1132) *Fu t'ü-r-da-laj q'uluq^h, dax.di Nadir.a-w daftar*
[food eat-AOP-SBST-SREL after] dad(ERG) Nadir-ADESS [notebook

ği-z tu-na. (K89,12:11)
bring-INF] cause-AOR

'After they [i.e. dad and Nadir] had eaten, dad made Nadir bring a notebook.'

Aorist converbs also allow a special construction where both the subject and the direct object of a verb are omitted under coreference.

- (1133) a. *Gada-jr.i č'exi-bur.u xiz ğil-er q'u-na čüq'we-na.*
boy-PL(ERG) big-SBST.PL(ERG) like [hand hold-AOC] press-AOC

'The boys held and shook their hands like adults.' (J89:22)

- b. *Ğül.ü telegramma k'el-na sekin-dakaz sa*
husband(ERG) [telegram read-AOC] quiet-ADV one
pat.a-q^h ecig-na. (DD77A:10)
side-POESS put-AOR

'The husband read the telegram and put it quietly aside.'

- c. *Muallim.di ada aq'al-aj tetrad' qaču-na aq^haj-na.*
teacher(ERG) [[he(ERG) close-AOP] notebook take-AOC] open-AOR

'The teacher_i took the notebook that he_j had closed and opened it.'
(DD77,1:11)

In such sentences it is not quite clear whether the direct object belongs to the first or to the second verb, i.e. whether an analysis as in (1134a) or an analysis as in (1134b) is correct.

- (1134) a. *Gadajri [ğileri q'una] Ø_i čüq'wena.*

Lit. 'The boys, holding (each other's) hands, shook [them].'

- b. *Gadajri ğileri [Ø_i q'una] čüq'wena.*

Lit. 'The boys, holding [them], shook (each other's) hands.'

I know of one argument in favor of analysis (1134b): The converbal clause can also be placed in front of the direct object, as in (1135).

- (1135) *Bašir.a žibin.d-aj aqūd-na, stol.da-l jac'u daftar ecig-na.*
 Bašir(ERG) [pocket-INEL take.out-AOC] table-SRESS thick notebook put-AOR
 'Having taken it out of his pocket, Bašir put a thick notebook on the table.' (HQ89:16)

22.3. Controller and target of omission in complement clauses

The principles that determine which syntactic elements can be controller and target of coreferential omission are very similar for complement clauses and for adverbial clauses. The main difference is that some types of complement clause constructions always or typically involve particular coreferential arguments, so that coreferential omission is more grammaticized. Thus, while both (1136) (a) and (b) are possible, (1137b), without omission of the (reflexive) pronoun, is quite unusual and would only be used for emphasis.

(1136) Adverbial clause

- a. *Ø_i xür.ü-z xkwe-daldi, Maisa_i wad jis.u-z*
 [village-DAT return-POSTR] Maisa five year-DAT

šeher.d-a jašamiš že-zwa-j.
 town-INESS living be-IMPF-PST

'Before returning to the village, Maisa lived in the town for five years.'

- b. *Wič_i xür.ü-z xkwe-daldi, Maisa_i wad jis.u-z*
 [self village-DAT return-POSTR] Maisa five year-DAT

šeher.d-a jašamiš že-zwa-j.
 town-INESS living be-IMPF-PST

'Id.'

(1137) Complement clause

- a. *Ruša-waji Ø_i wa-z kümek gu-z že-zwa.*
 girl-ADEL [Ø(ERG) you-DAT help give-INF] can-IMPF

'The girl can help you.'

- b. *Ruša-waji wič_i wa-z kümek gu-z že-zwa.*
 girl-ADEL [self(ERG) you-DAT help give-INF] can-IMPF

'The girl can herself help you.'

Omission is practically obligatory in (1137a) because the girl's ability only concerns her own (potential) actions (a sentence like 'The girl is able for you to help her' would be nonsensical). However, in complement clause constructions where the complement subject may or may not be coreferential

with an argument of the higher clause, the situation is again as with adverbial clauses: omission is again optional.

- (1138) *Za (žuw) Dağustan.di-z xkwe-da luhu-z umud-zawa.*
 I:ERG [(self) Daghestan-DAT return-FUT say-IMC] hope-IMPF
 'I hope that I will return to Daghestan.'

Complement clauses can roughly be divided into subject-controlled and object-controlled clauses. Some complement-taking verbs that take subject-controlled complements are *k'an-* 'want', *či-* 'know how to', *werdiš žun* 'get used to' (with infinitival complements, 20.2.1.-3.); *dawamarun* 'continue', *aq̄wazarun* 'stop', *q'et'un* 'decide' (with Masdar complements, 20.3.3-4.). Some complement-taking verbs that take object-controlled complements are *tun* 'make, cause', *čirun* 'teach' (with Infinitival complements, 20.2.4.); *t'alabun* 'ask', *bujruğun* 'order', *qadağa awun* 'forbid' (with Masdar complements, 20.3.2.).

Besides controllers that are subjects in the sense of 16.1., there are also other salient arguments that are typically animate and that can act as controllers of omitted complement clause subjects, e.g. the Adelative argument of *žun* 'be able', the Superrelative argument of *alaq'un* 'be able to' (cf. 20.2.2.), the Genitive argument of *rik'elaj alatun* (cf. 20.2.3.).

Finally, there are complement clause constructions which never show coreferential omission because the complement clause is the only argument of the complement-taking verb, e.g. *bašlamišun* 'begin' (20.2.5.), *lazim* 'necessary' (20.3.1.).

22.4. Reflexivization

The usual means for marking coreference within a clause are the reflexive pronouns (11.2.): *wič* for 3rd person singular, *čeb* for 3rd person plural, *žuw* for 1st and 2nd person singular. As in the case of coreferential omission, the precise syntactic conditions for the use of reflexive pronouns are not easy to determine, and a lot depends on the pragmatics.

22.4.1. Syntactic function of the antecedent

The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun must occupy a prominent syntactic position. For instance, it cannot be the direct object or a possessor when the reflexive pronoun is the subject:

- (1139) a. **Wiči Ali gata-zwa.*
 self(ERG) Ali beat-IMPF
 'Himself is beating Ali.'
- b. **Wiči-z Ali.di-n ruš-ar aku-na.*
 self-DAT Ali-GEN daughter-PL see-AOR
 'Himself saw Ali's daughters.'

Most commonly, the antecedent is the subject and the reflexive pronoun is a non-subject argument or a noun modifier. Example (1140) shows an Absolutive subject antecedent, and (1141) shows Ergative subject antecedents.

- (1140) *Ruš gūzgü.d-a wiči-z kilig-na.*
girl mirror-INESS self-DAT look-AOR

'The girl looked at herself in the mirror.'

- (1141) a. *Isabeg.a-n čin at'uğ-na, amma ada wič xwe-na.*
Isabeg-GEN face frown-AOR but he(ERG) self keep-AOR

'Isabeg frowned, but he controlled himself.' (S88:18)

- b. *Kamal.a wiči-n buba.di-n ruža ĩaču-na.* (M83:55)
Kamal(ERG) self-GEN father-GEN rifle take-AOR

'Kamal took his father's rifle.'

- c. *Za žuwa-n kaka hana xa-da.* (K87,2:7)
I:ERG self-GEN egg there bear-FUT

'I will lay my egg there.'

- d. *Ada-n k'wal.i-n pip'e za žuwa-z mug tük'ür-na.*
she-GEN house-GEN corner-INESS I:ERG self-DAT nest build-AOR

'In a corner of her room I built a nest for myself.' (K85,7:5)

Furthermore, the antecedent may be a Dative experiencer subject:

- (1142) a. *Za-z žuwa-n wan ša-na.* (K90,3:3)
I-DAT self-GEN voice become-AOR

'I heard myself.'

- b. *Xala.di-z wiči-n wax.a-n č'exi gada.di-n wan čir*
aunt-DAT self-GEN voice-GEN big boy-GEN voice teach

ša-na-j. (Š83:22)

ANTIC-AOR-PST

'The aunt recognized her sister's big boy's voice.'

- c. *Ajal-r.i-z čpi-n dide.di ačux-zawa-j Šarweli.di-kaj*
child-PL-DAT [selves-GEN mother(ERG) tell-IMPF-PTP] Šarweli-SBEL

max-ar illaki gzař k'an-da-j. (Š83:13)

story-PL especially much like-FUT-PST

'The children liked the stories about Šarweli that their mother told [them] especially well.'

The antecedent may be a Postessive or Dative possessor in clauses with *awa* 'be in, have':

- (1143) a. *Har sa insan.di-q^h ümür.d-a wiči-n baxt awa.*
 every one person-POESS life-INNESS self-GEN happiness be.in
 'Every human being has his or her happiness in life.' (DD85,5:5)
- b. *Ktab-r.i-q^h čpi-n q'ismet awa.* (Du83,1:123)
 book-PL-POESS selves-GEN fate be.in
 'Books have their fate (*Habent sua fata libelli*).'
- (1144) *Har sada-z wiči-z ga-nwa-j paj awa.* (TG66:258)
 every one-DAT [self-DAT give-PRF-PTP] share be.in
 'Everybody has their talent given to them.'

The antecedent may be an Adelative argument of the verb *šun* 'be able'.

- (1145) *Q'üzü qulluğči.di-waj anžax gila wiči-n fikir*
 old employee-ADEL only now [self-GEN thought
exir.da-l q'wan luhu-z ša-na. (Du61,4:71)
 end-SRESS until say-INF] can-AOR
 'Only now could the old employee express his thoughts completely
 (lit. up to the end).'

Example (1146) shows antecedents in other cases with the semantic role of experiencer or other roles that are typically filled by human referents.

- (1146) a. *Ada-n rik'e-l wiči-n stxa-jar xkwe-zwa.* (K86,2:7)
 she-GEN heart-SRESS self-GEN brother-PL return-IMPF
 'She remembers her brothers.'
- b. *Ferma.di-n rak'ar-a ada-l wiči-n bade halt-na.*
 farm-GEN door-PL-INNESS she-SRESS self-GEN grandmother meet-AOR
 'At the farm's door she met her grandmother.' (J84:52)

The antecedent may also be within the relative clause part of a cleft sentence (cf. 19.4.):

- (1147) *Ada-z aku-r-di čpi-n dexme.di-n cl-ar wa qaw*
 [he-DAT see-AOP-SBST] selves-GEN cabin-GEN wall-PL and roof
tir. (X89:31)
 COP:PST
 'What he saw were the walls and the roof of their poor cabin.'

And the antecedent may be the Genitive modifier of a noun phrase when the reflexive pronoun occurs within the noun phrase, e.g.

- (1148) *Güldeste.di-n wiči-n juldaš.di-n t'war ala-j xtul* (Š83:21)
 Güldeste-GEN [self-GEN husband-GEN name be.on-PTP] grandchild
 'Güldeste's grandson who bears her husband's name'

However, it is not possible to put any syntactic limits on the positions that the antecedent may occupy. While it is possible to maintain in most of the cases above that the antecedent is a subject or a quasi-subject, this is completely impossible in the following cases.

- (1149) a. *Iktin šadwal wiči-z_i-ni xu-n.i-kdi Rahman.a-n_i*
[such pleasure self-DAT-also become-MSD]-SBDIR Rahman-GEN

čin-a-ni šad q^hwer hat-na. (J89:21)
face-INESS-also glad smile appear-AOR

‘Since such a pleasure had also happened to him, a happy smile also appeared on Rahman’s face.’

- b. *I xür-er.i-n q’üzü-bur.u-n_i gaf-ar-aj,*
these village-PL-GEN old-SBST.PL-GEN word-PL-INEL

čeb_i inriq^h Dağustan.d-aj ata-j-bur ja (Du68,2:113).
selves [here Dagestan-INEL come-AOP-SBST.PL] COP

‘According to the old people of these villages, they came here from Dagestan.’

In both cases the controller is a Genitive NP used attributively within another NP and therefore a very unlikely syntactic (quasi-)subject. But note that the head noun on which the controller NP depends refers to a mental situation which is spelled out in the rest of the sentence. The controller NP is therefore pragmatically very salient, so any generalization concerning possible controllers of reflexivization in Lezgian must refer to pragmatic factors, or perhaps to the semantic factor ‘human/non-human’.

Sometimes the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun is even in object position:

- (1150) a. *Taği=xalu wiči-n fikir-r.i ak’až-nawa-j.* (J89:32)
Taği=uncle self-GEN thought-PL(ERG) torment-PRF-PST

‘Uncle Taği was tormented by his thoughts.’

- b. *Axundov.a Bašir.a-z-ni Abduselim.a-z čpi-n*
Axundov(ERG) Bašir-DAT-and Abduselim-DAT selves-GEN

qulluğ-ar mubarak-na. (HQ89:15)
job-PL congratulate-AOR

‘Axundov congratulated Bašir and Abduselim on their new jobs.’

- c. *Či ülkwedi abur.u-z čpi awu-r q’ehalwil-er.i-z*
we:GEN country(ERG) they-DAT [selves(ERG) do-AOP] feat-PL-DAT

kiligna nagrad-ar gu-zwa. (G57:44)
according.to decoration-PL give-IMPF

‘Our country gives them decorations according to the feats they have accomplished.’

This is only possible when the antecedent is animate and no other possible antecedent exists in the clause.

22.4.2. Position of the reflexive pronoun

The reflexive pronoun may be in any position of the clause that is not occupied by the antecedent. It may be an immediate constituent of the clause:

- (1151) a. *Ali.di wič gata-zwa.*
 Ali(ERG) self beat-IMPF
 'Ali beats himself.'
- b. *Nabisat.a-z wič güzgü.d-a akwa-zwa.*
 Nabisat-DAT self mirror-INESS see-IMPF
 'Nabisat sees herself in the mirror.'

Much more frequently it is a Genitive modifier of a noun phrase, e.g. in examples (1141b-d), (1142a-c) above. It may also be the argument of a postposition:

- (1152) *Nurali buba.di čanta wiči-n wilik ecig-na.* (M83:74)
 Nurali father(ERG) bag self-GEN before place-AOR
 'Father Nurali put the bag in front of him.'

The reflexive pronoun is not clause-bound. It may occur in a subordinate clause when the antecedent is in the superordinate clause. The examples below also show that linear order is irrelevant: The reflexive pronoun may precede or follow its antecedent.

- (1153) Adverbial clause
Ajal-ar čpi-n pataw xta-j-la Mizafer-ni ada-n
 [child-PL selves-GEN to return-AOP-TEMP] Mizafer-and he-GEN
pab gzaf šad že-da-j. (Š83:55)
 wife much glad be-FUT-PST
 'When the children came home to visit them, Mizafer and his wife were very glad.'
- (1154) Indirect question
Cükwer wiči wuč güzlemiš-da-t'a ğawur.d-a
 Cükwer [self(ERG) what:ABS wait-FUT-CND] understanding-INESS
aq'u-na-č-ir. (S88:11)
 get-AOR-NEG-PST
 'Cükwer didn't understand what she was supposed to wait for.'

- (1155) Complement clause
Aslan.a wiči-z a čka-jar či-da-j-di testiq'ar-na.
 Aslan(ERG) [self-DAT that place-PL know-FUT-PTP-SBST] confirm-AOR
 'Aslan confirmed that he knew those places.' (E56:5)

(1156) Relative clause

Axa wiči a čux-aj max-ar habur.u-w q^hlah-iz
 afterwards [self(ERG) tell-AOP] story-PL they-ADESS REPET:say-INF
ta-da-j. (Š83:13)
 cause-FUT-PST

'Afterwards she would make them retell the stories that she herself had told them.'

In relative clauses the reflexive pronoun may also occupy the position of the relativized constituent and may thus function as a resumptive pronoun (cf. Gadžiev 1954:152-153). This device is used especially when it would otherwise be unclear which is the relativized constituent (cf. also 19.1.1.).

(1157) a. *Wiči-n sät čünüx-nawa-j ruš šeš-zawa.*
 [self-GEN watch stolen-PRF-PTP] girl cry-IMP

'The girl whose watch was stolen is crying.'

b. *Wiče-laj Šahdağ q'aq'an tir dağ hina awa?*
 [self-SREL Šahdağ high COP:PTP] mountain where be.in
 'Where is the mountain that Šahdağ is taller than?'

c. *Winidiq^h čpi-kaj raxa-j a čux-bur.u-n nubat-ar* (H82:75)
 [above selves-SBEL talk-AOP] open-SBST.PL-GEN alternation-PL
 'the vowel alternations about which [we] have talked above'

The reflexive pronoun may be arbitrarily far away from the antecedent. In (1158) it is two clauses downstairs.

(1158) a. *Ada-z Maxmudov wiče-laj a kar alaq'*
 he-DAT [Maxmudov [self-SREL that thing be.able(PER)]
t-iji-da-j-da-q^h inanmišar-iz k'an-zawa-j. (E56:12)
 NEG-do-FUT-PTP-SBST]-POESS convince-INF] want-IMP

'He wanted to convince Maxmudov that he was unable to do that job.'

b. *Wiči-q^h galaz raxa-zwa-j juldaš.di-z kilig t-awu-na*
 [[self-POESS with talk-IMP-PTP] husband-DAT look(PER) NEG-do-AOC]
žawab ga-na Ajnise.di. (Š83:70)
 answer give-AOR Ajnise(ERG)

'Ajnise answered without looking at [her] husband who was talking to her.'

Sometimes the reflexive pronoun is even found in an adjacent main clause which is not syntactically subordinate, but is somehow pragmatically dependent. In the following example, the second sentence continues the thought begun by the semi-subordinate *xi*-clause and is therefore pragmatically dependent on the first main clause. Thus, again, it is pragmatics rather than syntax that is crucial in the use of the reflexive pronoun.

- (1159) *Č'exi buba laha-na xi wiči-z k'wal-e wa?*
 big father say-AOR PT self-DAT [house-INESS not
balxun.di-z ksu-z k'an-zawa. Balxun.di-k hawa
 balcony-DAT sleep-INF] want-IMPf balcony-SBESS air
serin ja, anal wiči-z dağ.d-a awa-j xiz že-da.
 fresh COP there self-DAT [mountain-INESS be.in-PTP] like be-FUT

'Grandfather said that he wanted to sleep on the balcony, not in the house. On the balcony the air is fresh, there he will feel like he is in the mountains.' (K90,3:2)

22.4.3. Special uses of the reflexive pronouns

While *čeb* 'themselves' is always plural, the antecedent need not always be plural. Examples (1150b) and (1153) show coordinated NPs as antecedents of *čeb*, which are of course semantically plural. Other cases where the antecedent is only semantically plural are with *wiri* 'everyone' and *xalq'* 'people':

- (1160) a. *Wiri-da čpi-n čka-jr.i-kaj haraj-iz bašlamiš-na.*
 [every-SBST(ERG) selves-GEN place-PL-SBEL shout-INF] begin-AOR
 'Everyone began to shout from their seats.' (Du61,4:70)
- b. *Hukumat.di-n ijesi-jar xa-ji xalq'.di čpi-z c'iji*
 [government-GEN owner-PL become-AOP] people(ERG) [selves-DAT new
ümür tük'ür-iz egeč-na. (A76:3)
 life build-INF] begin-AOR
 'The people, who have become the government's masters, began to build a new life for themselves.'

But the antecedent need not even be semantically plural. In (1161), the antecedent is a single member of the plural set denoted by *čeb*.

- (1161) a. *Ada-z zun čpi-z klig-zawa-j-di aku-na.* (K86,2:7)
 he-DAT [I:ABS selves-DAT look-IMPf-PTP-SBST] see-AOR
 'He saw that I was looking at them (i.e. at him and the others with him).'
- b. *Mizafer čpi-n k'wal.i-z ata-j-la...* (Š83:61)
 [Mizafer selves-GEN house-DAT come-AOP-TEMP]
 'When Mizafer came to their house... (i.e. the house belonging to him and others).'

The reflexive pronoun *žuw* is not only used for the 1st and 2nd person singular, but also as a reflexive pronoun with generic reference, corresponding to 'oneself', as in (1162).

- (1162) *Žuwa-z ċi-da-j-da-kaj k̄xe-na k'an-da.*
 [[self-DAT know-FUT-PTP]-SBST.SG-SBEL write-AOC] must-FUT
 'One has to write about what one knows oneself.'

Žuw is also used with *insan* 'human being, person' when this word has a generic sense.

- (1163) a. *Q^hsan insan.di žuwa-n kimiwil-er xiw-e*
 [good human(ERG) self-GEN mistake-PL neck-INNESS
q'u-n lazim ja. (R66:23)
 hold-MSD] necessary COP
 'A good person has to admit his or her mistakes.'
- b. *Žuwa-n xūr hina řajit'ani řanařařlu insan.di-waj*
 self-GEN village where INDEF reasonable human-ADEL
řik'e-laj alud-iz ře-da-č. (S88:8)
 heart-SREL take.off-INF can-FUT-NEG
 'A reasonable person cannot forget his or her village anywhere.'

22.5. Reciprocalization

The reciprocal relation is expressed by a sequence of two instances of *čeb* 'themselves' or *sad* 'one':

- (1164) *Cükwer.a-ni Sajran.a ċpi=čeb řuřaxlamiř-na.*
 Cükwer(ERG)-and Sajran(ERG) selves(ERG)=selves embrace-AOR
 'Cükwer and Sajran embraced each other.' (S88:51)
- (1165) *Kukup'-ar sad=sada-q^h galaz insan-ar řiz řaxa-zwa.*
 cuckoo-PL one=one-POESS with human-PL like talk-IMP
 'Cuckoos talk to each other like humans.' (K87,2:6)

As can be seen from these examples, the first component of the reciprocal expression is in the same case as the antecedent, and the second component bears the case that is required in the syntactic position of the reciprocal expression. A few more examples are given in (1166)-(1167).

- (1166) a. *Kic'-ni kac čeb=čpi-n duřman-ar ja.* (A90:20)
 dog-and cat selves=selves-GEN enemy-PL COP
 'The dog and the cat are each other's enemies.'
- b. *Tamara-ni Rahim bes q'adar čeb=čpi-n*
 Tamara-and Rahim enough quantity selves=selves-GEN
řawur.d-a awa-č-ir. (L87,3:78)
 understanding-INNESS be.in-NEG-PST
 'Tamara and Rahim did not understand each other sufficiently.'

- (1167) a. *Q^hsan xzan tük'ür-un patal sad=sada-n ġawur.d-a*
 [good family build-MSD for] [one=one-GEN understanding-INESS]
ġa-na k'an-da. (L87,3:78)
 be-AOC] must-FUT
 'To form a good family one has to understand each other.'
- b. *Čna sada=sada-l ıxtibar awu-n lazim ja.* (R66:19)
 [we:ERG one(ERG)=one-SRESS trust do-MSD] necessary COP
 'We have to trust each other.'
- c. *Wahšı-jr.i-z sada-z=sada-q^haj kič'e tuš-ir.* (K86,3:16)
 wild-PL-DAT one-DAT=one-POEL afraid COP:NEG-PST
 'The wild animals were not afraid of each other.'
- d. *Sad=sada-l güğünal ala-z tup-ari-n wan-er aqat-na.*
 [one=one-SRESS after be.on-IMC] cannon-PL-GEN voice-PL appear-AOR
 'One after the other the cannons' voices sounded.' (K87,1:7)

As in the case of reflexive pronouns, the antecedent of reciprocals is usually in a prominent syntactic position. Nevertheless, sometimes the antecedent is a direct object:

- (1168) a. *Ada k'us-ar sad=sada-w agud-na.* (DD77,1:12)
 she(ERG) piece-PL one=one-ADESS approach-AOR
 'She put the pieces together (lit. close to each other).'
- b. *I maqala.d-a ča-z max-ni xalq'di-n qarawili*
 this article-INESS we-DAT [story-and people-GEN] joke
sad=sada-w geqig-iz k'an-zawa. (Du85,3:113)
 one=one-ADESS compare-INF] want-IMP
 'In this article we want to compare the fairy tale and the popular joke with each other.'
- c. *Q'we mires.di čpi-n ruš-ni gada sad=sad.a-l*
 two relative(ERG) [selves-GEN girl-and boy one=one-SRESS]
ewlenmiš-un q'et'-na. (DD71,2:18)
 marry-MSD] decide-AOR
 'The two relatives decided to marry their daughter and son to each other.'

Chapter 23

Questions

23.1. Polar questions

23.1.1. Ordinary polar questions

Ordinary polar questions (= yes-no questions) are marked by the interrogative mood affix *-ni* on the finite verb of the sentence. (Note that this affix is phonologically identical to the coordinator and focus marker *-ni* 'and, also' (cf. 18.1.1.). However, the two affixes are easily distinguished because they do not occur in the same environments: interrogative *-ni* can only be suffixed to a finite verb, while coordinating/focusing *-ni* can be attached to everything except finite verbs.)

The intonation is rising-falling on the finite verb form.

- (1169) a. *Betxoven.a-n muzyka wa-z k'an-da-ni?* (DD77,1.12)
Beethoven-GEN music you-DAT like-FUT-Q
'Do you like Beethoven's music?'
- b. *Wi dust.uni-z wiči-n pul žga-na-ni?*
you:GEN friend-DAT self-GEN money find-AOR-Q
'Did your friend find his money?'
- c. *Wa-z dūnja.da-l ala-j q'wan ajal-ar wiri či-zwa-ni?*
you-DAT [world-SRESS be.on-PTP] as.much.as child-PL all know-IMPF-Q
'Do you know all the children in the world?' (K85,6:6)
- d. *Kūn būrq'ü ja-ni, kwe-z akwa-zwa-č-ni insan*
you.all blind COP-Q you.all-DAT see-IMPF-NEG-Q [person
hal.d-aj fi-zwa-j-di? (S88:56)
state-INESS go-IMPF-PTP-SBST]
'Are you-all blind, don't you-all see that a human being is suffering?'
- e. *Dide, wa-z otpusk ga-ji-la, ada-kaj sa t'imil*
mother [you-DAT leave give-AOP-TEMP] it-SBEL one little
za-z-ni gu-da-ni? (K87,1:10)
I-DAT-also give-FUT-Q
'Mother, when they give you leave, will you give me, too, a little bit of it?'

If the question expresses surprise or doubt, the interrogative affix may be omitted. The interrogative meaning is then expressed only by the intonation (rising on the finite verb form).

(1170) a. *Wi dust.uni-z pul žga-na?!
you:GEN friend-DAT money find-AOR*
'Your friend has found money?!'

b. *Am wun tuš? (G54:11)
it:ABS you:ABS COP:NEG*
'It isn't you?!'

23.1.2. Polar questions with a focused constituent

A constituent is focused in an interrogative sentence by clefting it (cf. 19.4. for more on cleft sentences). The constituent may be fronted (with the copula + *-ni* following it immediately), as in the examples in (1171). However, this kind of fronting does not seem to be particularly common.

(1171) a. *Qe ja-ni Musa.di Alfija.di-z tup'al gu-da-j-di?
today COP-Q [Musa(ERG) Alfija-DAT ring give-FUT-PTP-SBST]*
'Will Musa give the ring to Alfija TODAY?'

b. *Alfija.di-z ja-ni Musa.di tup'al gu-da-j-di?
Alfija-DAT COP-Q [Musa(ERG) ring give-FUT-PTP-SBST]*
'Will Musa give the ring to ALFIJA?'

c. *Tup'al ja-ni Musa.di Alfija.di-z gu-da-j-di?
ring COP-Q [Musa(ERG) Alfija-DAT give-FUT-PTP-SBST]*
'Will Musa give Alfija a RING?'

23.1.3. Alternative questions

'Or' in alternative questions is expressed by (*ja*) *tašajt'a* (literally: 'if it is not'). If the second verb is not omitted under coordination, both verbs are marked with the interrogative suffix *-ni*:

(1172) a. *Professor.di ktab k'el-zawa-j-di ja-ni,
professor(ERG) book read-IMP-PTP-SBST COP-Q*
ja tašajt'a kxi-zwa-j-di ja-ni?
or or write-IMP-PTP-SBST COP-Q
'Is the professor reading or writing a book?'

b. *K'an ja-ni wa-z qajganax, tašajt'a, da-k'an ja-ni?
want COP-Q you-DAT eggs or NEG-want COP-Q*
'Do you want scrambled eggs, or don't you? (Du85,3:75)

In the examples in (1173), the second verb is omitted in the second disjunct.

- (1173) a. *Am Meharamdxür-e jašamiš že-zwa-ni,*
 she:ABS Meharamdxür-INNESS living be-IMPF-Q
ja tašajt'a Q'asumxür.e-l?
 or or Q'asumxür-SRESS
 'Does she live in Meharamdxür (Magaramkent) or in Q'asumxür (Kasumkent)?'
- b. *Am ĩe ĩwe-da-ni, ja tašajt'a paka?*
 she:ABS today come-FUT-Q or or tomorrow
 'Is she coming today or tomorrow?'
- c. *Itim ja-ni wun, tašajt'a lam?* (S88:7)
 man COP-Q you:ABS or donkey
 'Are you a man or a donkey?'
- d. *Im axwar ja-ni, tašajt'a haĩiĩat ?* (N88:71)
 this:ABS dream COP-Q or reality
 'Is this a dream or reality?'

The second disjunct may be the negative particle *wa?*

- (1174) *Am paka ĩwe-da-ni ja tašajt'a wa?*
 she:ABS tomorrow come-FUT-Q or or not
 'Is she coming tomorrow or not?'

If the two disjuncts are a positive and a negative form of the same verb, *ja tašajt'a* is optional:

- (1175) *Am paka ĩwe-da-ni (ja tašajt'a) ĩwe-da-ĩ-ni?*
 she:ABS tomorrow come-FUT-Q or or come-FUT-NEG-Q
 'Is she coming tomorrow or not?'

23.1.4. Tag questions

The negative form of the copula followed by the interrogative suffix, *tuš-ni* (lit. 'isn't (it)?'), is used for tag questions:

- (1176) a. *ĩe kiš juš ja, tuš-ni?* (Š83:71)
 today Satur day COP COP:NEG-Q
 'Today is Saturday, isn't it?'
- b. *Wun za-z wax ja-ni, tuš-ni?* (Du85,3:78)
 you:ABS I-DAT sister COP-Q COP:NEG-Q
 'You're my sister, right?'

- c. *Ja bala, wun front.di-z fi-zwa-j-di ja, hak' tuš-ni?*
 PT child you:ABS front-DAT go-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP thus COP:NEG-Q
 'You're going to the front, boy, aren't you?' (M79:9)

23.1.5. Answers to polar questions

Positive answers to polar questions are expressed by the particle *eš* 'yes' or its more colloquial synonym *un*. Negative answers are expressed by *wa?* 'no' (also 'not', cf. 13.4.).

- (1177) A: *Bade, wa-z max-ar či-da-ni? B: Eš,*
 grandmother you-DAT tale-PL know-FUT-Q yes
bade.di-z gzaf max-ar či-da, čan bala. (K85,7:4)
 grandmother-DAT many tale-PL know-FUT dear child
 'A: Grandmother, do you know fairy tales? B: Yes, grandmother knows many fairy tales, my child.'
- (1178) A: *Wuna ada-z čuxsağul laha-na-ni? B: Wa?* (K84,1:10)
 you:ERG she-DAT thank.you say-AOR-Q no
 'A: Did you say 'thank you' to her? B: No.'

Answers to negative questions are treated as in English, i.e. *wa?* 'no' confirms the negation of the questioned sentence (cf. 1179), and *eš* 'yes' contradicts the negative assumption of the question (cf. 1180).

- (1179) A: *Bes kukup'-r.i-q^h čpi-n muk-ar awa-č-ni?*
 PT cuckoo-PL-POESS selves-GEN nest-PL be-NEG-Q
 B: *Wa? Abur.u čpi-n kaka-jar masa nük'w-er.i-n*
 no they(ERG) selves-GEN egg-PL other bird-PL-GEN
muk-ar-a xa-da. (K87,2:6)
 nest-PL-INNESS break-FUT
 'A: Don't cuckoos have their own nests? B: No. They lay their eggs in other birds' nests.'
- (1180) a. A: *Am wa-z akwa-zwa-č-ni? B: Eš, akwa-zwa.*
 she:ABS you-DAT see-IMPF-NEG-Q yes see-IMPF
 'A: Don't you see her? B: Yes, I see her.'
- b. — *Zi muhman za k'wal.i-z tuxu-n lazim*
 [[I:GEN guest I:ERG house-DAT bring-MSD] necessary
tuš-ir-ni? — laha-na xabar q'u-na Ahmed.a. — Eš, tir.
 COP:NEG-PST-Q say-AOR] news hold-AOR Ahmed(ERG) yes COP:PST
 — Didn't I have to bring my guest home? — Ahmed asked.
 — Yes, you had to.' (Š77:13)

23.2. Parametric questions

Parametric questions (= constituent questions, question-word questions) are formed by substituting an interrogative pronoun (cf. 11.5.) for the questioned constituent. The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun is usually in preverbal position, but it may also be in clause-initial position (cf. (1186a)).

23.2.1. Questioning constituents of the clause

Any constituent of the clause can be questioned. The following examples illustrate various possibilities. In (1181), the Ergative argument is questioned:

- (1181) a. *Naq' park.d-a Kerim.a-z tup ni ga-na?*
 yesterday park-INNESS Kerim-DAT ball who:ERG give-AOR
 'Who gave the ball to Kerim in the park yesterday?'
 b. *Am ni kuk'war-na?* (DD77,1:12)
 it:ABS who:ERG break-AOR
 'Who broke it?'

The Absolutive argument is questioned:

- (1182) a. *Naq' park.d-a Ali.di Kerim.a-z wuč ga-na?*
 yesterday park-INNESS Ali(ERG) Kerim-DAT what:ABS give-AOR
 'What did Ali give to Kerim in the park yesterday?'
 b. *Wuna ana wuč iji-zwa?* (Q89,10,19:3)
 you:ERG there what:ABS do-IMPF
 'What are you doing there?'

The Dative argument is questioned:

- (1183) a. *Naq' park.d-a Ali.di tup ni-z ga-na?*
 yesterday park-INNESS Ali(ERG) ball who-DAT give-AOR
 'Who did Ali give the ball to in the park yesterday?'
 b. *Bes zun ksa-j-la, wuna max ni-z aq^haj-da?*
 PT [I:ABS sleep-AOP-TEMP] you:ERG tale you-DAT tell-FUT
 'When I sleep, who will you tell the fairy tale to?' (K85,7:4)

The temporal adverbial is questioned:

- (1184) *Ali.di park.d-a Kerim.a-z tup mus ga-na?*
 Ali(ERG) park-INNESS Kerim-DAT ball when give-AOR
 'When did Ali give the ball to Kerim in the park?'

The local adverbial is questioned:

- (1185) a. *Naq' Ali.di Kerim.a-z tup hina ga-na?*
 yesterday Ali(ERG) Kerim-DAT ball where give-AOR
 'Where did Ali give the ball to Kerim yesterday?'
 b. *Wun i č'aw.a-ldi hina awa-j?* (DD71,3:21)
 you:ABS this time-SRDIR where be.in-PST
 'Where have you been until this time?'

Further examples of different types of parametric questions are given in (1186):

- (1186) a. *Zi igrami xwa, wučiz wun isätda zi pataw gwa-č?!*
 I:GEN dear son why you:ABS now I:GEN to be.at-NEG
 'My dear son, why aren't you with me now?' (DD85,2:21)
 b. *I caw-a šumud ġed awa-t'a ni-waj luhu-z že-da?*
 [this sky-INNESS how.many star be.in-CND] who-ADEL [say-IMC] can-FUT
 'Who can say how many stars there are in this sky?' (H77:17)
 c. *Wuna hinaj zeng ja-zawa?* (Du85,3:75)
 you:ERG whence ring hit-IMPF
 'Where are you calling from?'
 d. *Abur kwe-z kilig-zawa, wuč ġuzet-zawa,*
 they what-DAT look-IMPF what:ABS wait-IMPF
kwe-l ġuzčiwäl iji-zwa? (M83:30)
 what-SRESS observation do-IMPF
 'What are they looking at, what are they waiting for, what are they observing?'
 e. *A wi muhman hina awa, a m wuž ja?* (J89:24)
 that you:GEN guest where be.in he:ABS who:ABS COP
 'Where is that guest of yours, who is it?'

Since the standard of comparison is marked by the Subrelative case (cf. 24.1.1.), and not by a particle as in English or Russian, it is easy to question it in Lezgian:

- (1187) *Hi dağ.di-laj Šahdağ aq'an ja?*
 which mountain-SREL Šahdağ high COP
 '(lit.) Than which mountain is Šahdağ higher?'

Even the verb may be questioned by means of the compound verb *wučun* 'do what?' (from *wuč awun*, cf. 10.6.).

- (1188) *Dide.di wuč-zawa?*
 mother(ERG) what-IMPF
 'What is mother doing?'

23.2.2. Questioning constituents of the noun phrase

The following examples illustrate a questioned Genitive modifier (1189), a questioned determiner (1190), and a questioned ordinal numeral (1191).

- (1189) *Wun ni-n gada ja?* (DD71,3:21)
 you:ABS who-GEN boy COP
 'Whose son are you?'

- (1190) *Derbentlu-jr.i-n k'wal-er hi pat.a-q^h gala, wax?* (S88:6)
 Derbentian-PL-GEN house-PL which side-POESS be.behind sister
 'In which direction are the houses of the people from Derbent, sister?'

- (1191) *Šumud lahaj kurs.un-a student.di k'el-zawa?*
 how.many ORD study.year-INESS student(ERG) study-IMPF
 'In which year is the student studying? (lit. in the how-manieth)'

23.2.3. Questioning constituents of subordinate clauses

Since parametric questions in Lezgian do not involve extraction of the interrogative phrase to the clause-initial position, questioning constituents of subordinate clauses is no problem. In the following, some examples are given for different types of subordinate clauses.

23.2.3.1. Relative clauses.

- (1192) a. *Ni č'ugu-r šikil ja?* (S88:168)
 [who:ERG draw-AOP] picture COP
 '(lit.) It's a picture drawn by whom?'
- b. *Wa-z ni ga-ji xabar ja im?* (S88:30)
 [you-DAT who:ERG give-AOP] news COP this:ABS
 '(lit.) This is news that who gave you?'
 (= 'Who gave you this news?')
- c. *Dide.di ni-z ga-nwa-j nek čimi-di tir.*
 [mother(ERG) who-DAT give-PRF-PTP] milk warm-SBST.SG COP:PST
 '(lit.) The milk that mother gave to whom was warm?'

23.2.3.2. Complement clauses.

- (1193) a. *Ahmed.a-z wuč kwaŝ-iz kič'e-zwa?*
 Ahmed-DAT [what:ABS lose-INF] afraid-IMPF
 'What is Ahmed afraid to lose?'
- b. *Ni-n sät kwaŝ-un pis ja?*
 [who-GEN watch get.lost-MSD] bad COP
 '(lit.) It is bad that whose watch got lost?'
- c. *Dide.di-z wuč kwaŝ-aj-di či-zwa?*
 mother-DAT [what:ABS get.lost-AOP-SBST] know-IMPF
 '(lit.) What does mother know got lost?'

23.2.3.3. Adverbial clauses.

- (1194) a. *Ahmed wuč qāču-n patal šeher.di-z fe-na?*
 Ahmed [what:ABS buy-MSD for] town-DAT go-AOR
 '(lit.) Ahmed went to town to buy what?'
- b. *Ahmed, wuč žuğu-n t-awu-na, k'wal.i-z xta-na?*
 Ahmed [what:ABS find-MSD NEG-do-AOC] house-DAT return-AOR
 '(lit.) Ahmed, not having found what, returned home?'
- c. *Ahmed wuč žga-j-t'a, ada-z šad že-da?*
 [Ahmed what:ABS find-AOP-CND] he-DAT happy be-FUT
 '(lit.) If Ahmed finds what, he will be happy?'
- d. *Wuž k'wal.i-z mus haŝ-aj-t'a-ni, Ahmed.a ktab
 k'el-iz že-zwa?*
 who:ABS house-DAT when enter-AOP-CND-even Ahmed(ERG) book
 read-INF be-IMPF
 '(lit.) Whenever who comes into the house, Ahmed is reading a
 book?'
 (Another, non-interrogative reading of this sentence is: 'No
 matter who comes into the house at what time, Ahmed is reading
 a book.' See 21.8.4.)

23.2.4. Cleft parametric questions

Since the interrogative phrase in a parametric question is focused, it is often clefted (cf. 19.4.). Some examples:

- (1195) a. *Wuž ja rak'-ar gata-zwa-j-di?* (X89:27)
 who:ABS COP [door-PL knock-IMPF-PTP-SBST]
 'Who is knocking at the door?'
 (lit. 'The one knocking at the door is who?')

- b. *Inalaj kat-aj-di wuž tir?* (Mejlanova 1983a:11)
 [here run-ACP-SBST] who:ABS COP:PST
 'Who ran past here?'

23.2.5. Multiple parametric questions

A parametric question may contain more than one interrogative pronoun:

- (1196) a. *Wun hiŋtin dust.uni-n muq'uw mus fe-na?*
 you:ABS which friend-GEN to when go-AOR
 'When did you go to which friend?'
- b. *Šumud lahaj merteba.di-z wuž xkaž že-zwa?*
 how.many ORD floor-DAT who:ABS raise ANTIC-IMPF
 'Who goes up to which floor?'

23.3. Indirect (i.e. subordinate) questions

23.3.1. Ordinary indirect questions

Indirect polar and parametric questions are marked by the Conditional suffix *-t'a* on the verb. Indirect alternative questions use the Interrogative suffix *-ni*.

23.3.1.1. Indirect polar questions.

Indirect polar questions are formally identical to conditional clauses.

- (1197) *Za sadra, kkal.i xa-nwa-t'a, akwa-n.* (G63:106)
 I:ERG PT [cow(ERG) bear-PRF-CND] see-HORT
 'Let me see whether the cow has calved.'

23.3.1.2. Indirect parametric questions.

- (1198) a. *Gila za-z, či k'el-er čünüx-zawa-j uğri wuž*
 now I-DAT [[we:GEN lamb-PL steal-IMPF-PTP] thief who:ABS
ja-t'a, čir ŋa-na. (M83:50)
 COP-CND] teach ANTIC-AOR
 'Now I have found out who the thief is that is stealing our lambs.'
- b. *Wun inal kkwe-kaj extilat fi-zwa-t'a ġawur.d-a*
 you:ABS [here what-SBEL talk go-IMPF-CND] understanding-INNESS
hat-na-č-ni? (Du61,4:70)
 get-AOR-NEG-Q
 'Haven't you understood what we are talking about here? (lit. what the conversation is going about?)'

- c. *Hik' čünüx-na-t'a sadra sühbet aja kwan.* (Š83:63)
 [how steal-AOR-CND] PT talk do:IMPV PT
 'Say how it got stolen.'
- d. *Abur.u wuč-da-t'a akwa-da kwe-z!* (K86,3:15)
 [they(ERG) what-FUT-CND] see-FUT you.all-DAT
 'You'll see what they will do!'

Examples for indirect multiple parametric questions:

- (1199) a. *Šair.di hi šür hi jis-a kše-j-di ja-t'a*
 poet(ERG) [which poem which year-INESS write-PTP-SBST COP-CND]
tajinar-da-j. (Du68,2:29)
 determine-FUT-PST
 'The poet determined which poem was written in which year.'
- b. *Him hinal šu-n lazim ja-t'a, ada t'ub*
 [[which:ABS where be-MSD] necessary COP-CND] he(ERG) [finger
tük'ür-iz qalur-na-j. (Š83:101)
 direct-IMC] show-AOR-PST
 'He showed with his finger who had to be where.'

There may be a correlative demonstrative in the main clause:

- (1200) *Na za-z xešil-r.i-kaj wa?, hawa-jar hištin-bur*
 you:ERG I-DAT mush-PL-SBEL not [air-PL what.kind-SBST.PL]
že-da-t'a hada-kaj ixtilat aja. (Du61,5:22)
 be-FUT-CND] that-SBEL talk do:IMPV
 'Don't tell me stories about mush, but about what the weather will be like.'

23.3.1.3. Indirect alternative questions. Indirect alternative questions are formed with the interrogative affix *-ni* on both verbs.

- (1201) a. *Ada-z im axwar ja-ni, xabar ja-ni či-zwa-č-ir.*
 he-DAT [this:ABS dream COP-Q news COP-Q] know-IMPV-NEG-PST
 'He did not know whether this was dream or reality.' (X89:35)
- b. *Gomer haqīqat.d-a ša-ji-di ja-ni, tuš-ni hele*
 [Homer reality-INESS be-AOP-SBST.SG COP-Q COP-NEG-Q] yet
sada-waj-ni tamam-diz subutar-iz ša-nwa-č. (K89,4:2)
 one-ADEL-even [perfect-ADV prove-INF] can-PRF-NEG
 'No one has been able yet to prove conclusively whether Homer existed in reality or not.'

- c. *Ekonomičeskij serenžem-r.i gūzlemiš-zawa-j netiža-jar*
 [economic measure-PL(ERG) [expect-IMPf-PTP] result-PL
gu-da-ni, gu-da-č-ni, hada wiri-bur.u-k ġalaba
 give-FUT-Q give-FUT-NEG-Q] that:ERG all-SBST.PL-SBESS concern
kuta-zwa. (Ko90,2,2:1)
 put-IMPf

'Everyone is concerned whether the economic measures will give their expected results or not.'

23.3.2. "Indirect questions" used as independent sentences

Sentences whose main verb is in the Conditional mood can also be used as independent sentences and express hesitating questions, self-addressed questions ('I wonder...'), and statements with low probability. They can perhaps be regarded as "indirect questions used as independent sentences". (However, such "independent indirect questions" of the alternative type differ from indirect alternative questions, where the Conditional mood is not used, cf. 23.3.1.3. above.)

"Polar questions":

- (1202) a. *Ewer-a kwan ada-z, — bujruġ ga-na pačah.di,*
 call-IMPV PT he-DAT order give-AOR king(ERG)
belki hada-waj uġri žaġur-iz ta-ji-t'a. (Du85,3:116)
 maybe he-ADEL [thief find-INF] can-AOP-CND
 'Just call him, ordered the king, maybe he can find the thief.'
- b. *Hajaman ada-n q'il.e-l mad sa bala*
 PT he-GEN head-SRESS still one misfortune
ata-na-t'a ha.
 come-AOR-CND PT
 'Who knows, something bad might have happened to him...'
 (TG66:101)

"Alternative questions":

- (1203) *Im ċi lif tir-t'a, taħajt'a ada-n šarag*
 this:ABS we:GEN pigeon COP:PST-CND or it-GEN young
tir-t'a? (H77:5)
 COP:PST-CND
 '(I wonder) was this our pigeon or its young?'

"Parametric questions:"

- (1204) *Jarab abur.u wuč luhu-zwa-t'a?* (K87,2:6)
 PT they(ERG) what:ABS say-IMPf-CND
 'I wonder what they are saying.'

23.4. Echo questions

In (1205)-(1206), some examples are given for echo questions asking for clarification on a previous question. The echo question may be partial, as in (1205), or complete, as in (1206). Note that the interrogative suffix *-ni* cannot be used in such echo questions.

(1205) a. A: *Kwe-z wuč gerek ja, xala?*
you.all-DAT what:ABS necessary COP aunt

B: *Ča-z? Ča-z derbentlu-jar, čan bala.* (S88:66)
we-DAT we-DAT Derbentian-PL dear child

'A: What do you-all need, madam?

B: We? We [need] the people from Derbent, dear child.'

b. A: *Ğil-er kut'un-na-ni?* B: *Ğil-er? Ğil-er — wa?*
hand-PL tie-AOR-Q hand-PL hand-PL not

'A: Have you tied the hands? B: The hands? (No,) not the hands.'

(1206) a. A: *Čna xala.di-z wuč žawab gu-da?*
we:ERG aunt-DAT which answer give-FUT

B: *Wuč žawab gu-da?* (Š83:48)
which answer give-FUT

'A: What shall we answer to our aunt? B: What shall you answer?'

b. A: *Wuž ja wi ğed, Cükwer?*
what:ABS COP you:GEN star Cükwer

B: *Wuž ja zi ğed? Luhuda-č.* (S88:24)
what:ABS COP I:GEN star say-FUT-GEN

'A: Who is your star (i.e. beloved one), Cükwer?

B: Who is my star? I won't tell you.'

23.5. Question particles

Several discourse particles are often used in questions (for other discourse particles, see 13.3.). They express various nuances of the tone of the question and are hard to translate into English. Like other discourse particles, they are either sentence-initial or follow the verb directly.

23.5.1. *bes*

This sentence-initial particle is perhaps the most common question particle. This particle often conveys the speaker's expectation of a negative answer.

(1207) a. *Bes xalq'.di-n nexir ni xü-da?* (Du85,3:115)
PT people-GEN cattle who:ERG keep-FUT

'Who will look after the people's cattle?'

- b. *Bes wuč iji-n? Wekil-r.i ċi žawab*
 PT what:ABS do-HORT minister-PL(ERG) we:GEN answer

güzlemiŝ-zawa. (K87,1:7)

wait-IMPF

'What on earth shall we do? The ministers are waiting for our answer.'

- c. *Bes Güldeste.di wad ajal hik' xü-da?* (Š83:5)
 PT Güldeste(ERG) five child how keep-FUT

'How is Güldeste going to take care of five children?'

23.5.2. *jarab*

This sentence-initial particle can sometimes be translated by 'I wonder'. It is generally used in (polar or parametric) questions with the Conditional suffix *-t'a* (23.3.2.).

- (1208) a. *Jarab zi bağri weled.di-n q'il.e-l wuč*
 PT I:GEN own child-GEN head-SRESS what:ABS

düşüş ata-nwa-t'a?! (K89:4)

happening come-PRF-CND

'(I wonder) what happened to my own child?'

- b. *Jarab wun hik' jaŝamiŝ že-zwa-t'a? Wun Dewlet.a-q^h*
 PT you:ABS how living be-IMPF-CND you:ABS Dewlet-POESS

galaz baxtlu ja žal?! (N88:80)

with happy COP PT

'(I wonder) how do you live now? Are you happy with Dewlet?'

- c. *Jarab a waxt.und-a za-laj baxtlu kas i dünja.da-l*
 PT that time-INESS I-SREL happy person this world-SRESS

ala-j-t'a? Bažahat! (S88:161)

be.on-PST-CND hardly

'Was there a happier person than me in this world at that time? Hardly!'

Jarab may also introduce indirect questions:

- (1209) *Weled.a, jarab Isabeg wiči-q^h galaz iq'wan*
 Weled(ERG) [PT Isabeg self-POESS with so.much

merhämetluwil.e-ldi wučiz raxa-zwa-j-di ja-t'a, laha-na
 favorableness-SRDIR why talk-IMPF-PTP-SBST COP-CND say-AOC]

fikir-na. (S88:16)

think-AOR

'Weled wondered why Isabeg was talking so favorably with him.'

23.5.3. *meger*

The particle *meger* may be sentence-initial or it may follow the verb. According to Gjuľmagomedov (1982:107), *meger* is stylistically marked (high style), compared to *jarab* and *bes*.

- (1210) a. *Meger kwe-z či medresa.di-kaj wan řa-na-č-ni?*
 PT you.all-DAT we:GEN medrese-SBEL voice become-AOR-NEG-Q
 'Haven't you-all heard about our medrese?' (L86,3:23)
- b. *Pahliwan i q'il-äj a q'il.i-z sekin-dakaz fi-n*
 [artist this end-INEL that end-DAT quiet-ADV go-MSD]
alamat ře-da-j kar tuř-ni meger? (J89:5)
 [amazement be-FUT-PTP] thing COP:NEG-Q PT
 'Isn't the fact that the tightrope walker walks quietly from one end to the other a thing to be amazed at?'

23.5.4. *řal*

Questions with the post-verbal particle *řal* express surprise. They are never marked with the interrogative suffix *-ni*, and they are often additionally preceded by the particle *jarab*.

- (1211) a. *Ja Allah, jarab ře-da-j kar ja řal?! (N88:80)*
 o God PT [can-FUT-PST] thing COP PT
 'O God, is that possible?'
- b. *Quř-ar.i-q^h watan awa-č luhu-da. Awa-č řal? (H77:5)*
 [bird-PL-POESS fatherland be-NEG] say-FUT be-NEG PT
 'They say birds have no fatherland. Don't they really?'

23.5.5. *q'wan*

This sentence-final particle is used especially when a negative answer is expected.

- (1212) a. *Wuč meřela awa q'wan? (S88:162)*
 what:ABS problem be PT
 'What problem is there? (i.e. there's none)'
- b. *Wun gūzlemiř-zawa-j-di wuř tir q'wan? (R66:14)*
 [you:ABS expect-IMP-PTP-SBST.SG] who:ABS COP:PST PT
 'Who was expecting you? (i.e. nobody)'

23.6. Question-like exclamations

Exclamations can have the syntactic form of parametric questions, especially with *hiq'wan* 'how much':

- (1213) a. *Ida-laj ǰjri, abur.u-n jaš-ar.i-n tafawat hiq'wan ja!*
 this-SREL besides they-GEN age-PL-GEN difference how.much COP
 'Besides, how big is the age difference between them!' (N88:82)
- b. *Ah, aǰtin insan-r.i-q^h galaz k'walax-un hiq'wan*
 INTJ [such person-PL-POESS with work-MSD] how.much
rehät tir... (R66:19)
 easy COP:PST
 'Oh, how easy it was to work with such people...'
- c. *Pah, a m hiq'wan q^hsan kar že-da!* (J89:23)
 INTJ that:ABS how.much good thing be-FUT
 'Wow, what a great thing that will be!'

23.7. Non-indicative questions

Questions may be in the Optative or Hortative mood (cf. also 9.8.3.-9.8.4.). Hortative questions are deliberative, i.e. the speaker asks him/herself (or the addressee) whether he/she should do something.

- (1214) *Xalu.di kwe-z sa wižewaj q'isa aq^haj-in?* (K85,4:6)
 uncle(ERG) you.all-DAT one good story tell-HORT
 'Should your uncle tell you a nice story?'

Examples of Optative questions:

- (1215) a. *Abur.u ni-z kümek-raj?* (K90,3:3)
 they-DAT who:ERG help-OPT
 'Who is going to help them?'
- b. *Mažib galačiz hik' dulanmiš řu-raj?* (Ko89,10,18:4)
 salary without how living be-OPT
 'How can one live without a salary?'

Chapter 24 Comparison

24.1. Comparison of inequality

24.1.1. The comparative degree

The comparative degree is expressed by the Superrelative case (cf. 7.2.2.15.) on the standard of comparison. Like all modifiers, the standard of comparison precedes the parameter of comparison (adjective or adverb). This construction is only possible when the standard of comparison consists of a single noun phrase. Example (1216) shows adjectives, and (1217) shows adverbs in the comparative construction.

(1216) a. *Eger wa-z či mähübbat čan.di-laj baha ja-t'a...*
if you-DAT we:GEN love life-SREL dear COP-CND
'If our love is dearer to you than your life...' (X89:34)

b. *I dünja.da-l qh'san-bur pis-bur.u-laj gzaf ja.* (S83:50)
this world-SRESS good-SBST.PL bad-SBST.PL-SREL many COP
'In this world the good people are more numerous than the bad people.'

(1217) a. *Za-z wun i dünja.di-laj para k'an-da.* (N88:78)
I-DAT you:ABS this world-SREL much love-FUT
'I love you more than this world.'

b. *Quba nuğat.d-a tam gaf.uni-laj ruk gzaf işlemiş-da.*
Quba dialect-INNESS tam word-SREL ruk much use-FUT
'In the Quba dialect *ruk* is used more than the word *tam*.' (G82:84)

The explicit standard, i.e. a standard expressed as a number takes the same form, as shown in (1218). In such cases the standard phrase has no corresponding equivalent comparative clause.

(1218) a. *Ixtin xzan.d-a gah=gah wiş.e-laj gzaf ks-ar že-da-j.*
such clan-INNESS sometimes hundred-SREL much person-PL be-FUT-PST
'In such a clan there were sometimes more than a hundred people.' (L87,2:75)

b. *q'ud wiş.e-laj-ni gzaf k'wal-er* (S88:14)
four hundred-SREL-also much house-PL
'more than 400 houses'

When the standard of comparison does not inflect for case and therefore cannot be in the Superrelative case, it cannot be used in this construction and a comparative clause (24.1.2.) has to be used. However, in some cases very similar declinable forms are available, e.g. relative adjectives of temporal adverbs (cf. 8.2.1.3.), as in (1219), or participial forms of converbial postpositions, as in (1220). Note that adjectives and participles have to be substantivized before they can be inflected for case.

- (1219) *Lezgi č'al-a inlaj wilik padež-r.i-n q'adar*
 Lezgian language-INESS hither before case-PL-GEN number
gilan-da-laj artux tir. (H63:8)
 present-SBST-SREL more COP:PST

'The number of cases in Lezgian was formerly greater than now.'

(Example (1219) contains the word *artux* 'more'. This could be considered a suppletive comparative form of *gzaf* 'much', but it is a unique case.)

Example (1220) shows the postpositional phrase *t'ur galačiz* 'without a spoon' as the standard of comparison.

- (1220) *Tur gala-č-ir-da-laj t'ur.una-ldi šurpat ne-z*
 [spoon be.with-NEG-PTP-SBST-SREL spoon-SRDIR soup eat]
rehät ja.
 easy COP

'It is easier to eat the soup with a spoon than without a spoon.'

Strictly speaking, (1220) is an example of a comparative clause. The literal translation would be: 'It is easier to eat the soup with a spoon than (that) there is no spoon.'

When the standard of comparison is only implicit in the context, the particle *madni* 'still' (cf. 13.2.3.) can be used to make the comparative meaning explicit.

- (1221) *I sefer.d-a sik're madni k'ewi-z haraj-na.* (Q89,10,19:3)
 this time-INESS fox(ERG) still loud-ADV shout-AOR

'This time the fox shouted even more loudly.'

24.1.2. The comparative clause

When more than one feature is changed in the compared situation, a comparative clause has to be used. This is expressed by putting the verb in the substantivized participle form in the Superrelative case. Compare (1222), a one-way comparison, with (1223), a two-way comparison with a comparative clause. Although the verb is identical in examples like (1223), it cannot be omitted because there is no way the Superrelative case could have scope over two noun phrases without a verb.

- (1222) *Dide.di tort-ar xala.di-laj ijer-diz čra-da.*
 mother(ERG) cake-PL aunt-SREL good-ADV bake-FUT

'Mother bakes cakes better than aunt.'

(1223) *Dide.di xala.di fu ċra-da-j-da-laj*
 mother [aunt(ERG) bread bake-FUT-PTP-SBST]-SREL

tort-ar ijer-diz ċra-da.
 cake-PL good-ADV bake-FUT

‘Mother bakes cakes better than aunt bread.’

In (1224), even the verb is different, so that English, too, has to use a comparative clause.

(1224) *Ruṣ.a gada.di mani-jar ja-da-j-da-laj*
 girl(ERG) [boy(ERG) song-PL hit-FUT-PTP-SBST]-SREL

q’ul-er ijer-diz iji-da.
 dance-PL good-ADV do-FUT

‘The girl dances better than the boy sings.’

Such comparative clauses are also used when the compared situation differs with respect to the propositional attitude:

(1225) *Gada.di za fikir-aj-da-laj mani-jar ijer-diz ja-zawa.*
 boy [I:ERG think-AOP-SBST]-SREL song-PL good-ADV hit-IMP

‘The boy sings better than I thought.’

A comparative clause may also be expressed by means of the Posterior converb (cf. 21.4.2.). This use seems to be particularly common in proverbs.

(1226) a. *Insan.di-n ċ’uru t’war aq̄at-daldi, wil aq̄at-un q^hsan ja.*
 [[person-GEN bad name go.out-POSTR] eye go.out-MSD] good COP

‘It is better to lose one’s eye than to have bad rumors circulating about oneself.’ (Lit. It is better for an eye to go out than a person’s bad rumor go out.) (TG66:323)

b. *Ċ’ana že-daldi, ċ’irġin žaq’w-az q^hsan ja.* (TG66:377)
 [[idly be-POSTR] herbs chew-INF] good COP

‘It is better to chew herbs than to sit around idly.’

24.1.3. Expressing degrees of inequality

24.1.3.1. Degree adverbials. Several types of adverbial expressions can be used to express the degree of inequality. One of them is a multiplicative adverbial.

(1227) a. *wilikan-da-laj pud sefer.d-a q’eleċ’ i huldan* (K86,3:15)
 previous-SBST.SG-SREL three time-INESS thin this steel

‘this (sheet of) steel which is three times as thin as the previous one’

- b. *Zi xzan.di ida-n xzan.di-laj jis-a q'we*
 I:GEN family(ERG) this-GEN family-SREL year-INNESS two
sefer.d-a artux zehmet.di-n jüq-ar qazanmiš-zawa. (R66:24)
 time-INNESS more work-GEN day-PL earn-IMPF
 'My family earns twice as many work-days a year as her family.'

Another such expression is a phrase which measures the difference. In this case, *q'wan* (24.2.3.) is used:

- (1228) *Am Cükwer.a-laj düz sa c'ud jis q'wan č'exi tir.* (S88:8)
 he:ABS Cükwer-SREL exact one ten year as.many.as big COP:PST
 'He was exactly ten years older than Cükwer.'

A third type are ordinary degree adverbs (cf. 12.1.4.).

- (1229) a. *Sad mükü-da-laj žizwi ask'an-zawa.* (Q81:43)
 one other-SBST.SG-SREL a.little low-IMPF
 'One is a little shorter than the other one.'
- b. *Mirzebeg.a-z xür.e-laj šeher gzaf xuš tir.* (L86,3:14)
 Mirzebeg-DAT village-SREL town much pleasant COP:PST
 'The town was much more attractive for Mirzebeg than the village.'

24.1.3.2. Correlative comparative clauses. The degree of inequality can also be expressed by a correlative relative clause (19.2.) that corresponds to the English "the...the" construction.

- (1230) a. *Ajal.di hiq'wan gzaf t'ü-r-t'a,*
 [child(ERG) how.much much eat-AOP-CND]
haq'wan fad am č'exi že-da.
 that.much quick s/he:ABS big become-FUT
 'The more the child eats, the quicker s/he grows.'
- b. *Hiq'wan dağ q'aq'an ša-ji-t'a,*
 [how.much mountain high be-AOP-CND]
haq'wan ada-n kuk'uš.da-l xkaž xu-n četin ja.
 that.much [it-GEN top-SRESS raise ANTIC-MSD] difficult COP
 'The higher the mountain is, the more difficult it is to go up to its top.'

24.1.4. The superlative

The superlative is expressed by *wiri* 'all' as the standard of comparison, often together with the intensifying inclusive suffix *-ni*.

(1231) a. *Xür-e wiri-da-laj güzel čka ha im ja.*
village-INESS all-SBST-SREL beautiful place that this:ABS COP
'The most beautiful place in the village is this one.' (Ko89,9,6:4)

b. *Küre narečie lezgi č'al.a-n wiri-da-laj-ni č'exi*
Küre dialect.group Lezgian language-GEN all-SBST-SREL-also big
narečie ja. (H63:45)
dialect.group COP
'The Küre dialect group is the largest dialect group of the Lezgian language.'

24.2. Comparison of equality

Comparison of equality is expressed by means of the phrase-final equative particles *čiz*, *čtin* 'as, like', and *q'wan* 'as much as'. Of these particles, *čiz* is adverbial, *čtin* is adjectival, and *q'wan* is both.

24.2.1. *čiz* 'like' (adverbial)

The standard of comparison immediately precedes *čiz* and is in the same case (or takes the same postposition, as in (1233)) as the compared phrase.

(1232) a. *Xabar c'ajlapan čiz xür.ü-z čk'a-na.* (R66:5)
news lightning like village-DAT spread-AOR
'The news spread across the village like lightning.'

b. *Wac.ra, Ajaz Buba.di čiz, čet-er.i-z c'iji jis*
moon(ERG) Frost Father(ERG) like star-PL-DAT new year
mubarak-zawa-j. (N88:118)
congratulate-IMPF-PST
'The moon, like Father Frost, congratulated the stars on the new year.'

c. *Za-waj čiz wa-waj raxa-z že-da-č.* (Mejlanova 1983b:211)
I-ADEL like you-ADEL [talk-INF] can-FUT-NEG
'You cannot talk like I (can).'

- (1233) *Alaḡuli.di q'üḡür-r.i-q^h galaz, aq'ullu ajal-r.i-q^h*
 Alaḡuli(ERG) hedgehog-PL-POESS with intelligent child-PL-POESS
galaz xiz, raxu-n-ar awu-na. (M83:45)
 with like talk-MSD-PL do-AOR
 'Alaḡuli spoke with the hedgehogs as with intelligent children.'

Xiz may be used predicatively, either with the locative copula *awa*, as in (1234), or with the standard copula (as in (893)).

- (1234) *Am kiš ḡ'ur xa-ji ḡuwud xiz awa.* (TG66:373)
 he:ABS [Sabbath spoil ANTIC-AOP] jew like be.in
 'He is like a jew whose Sabbath was spoiled.'

The particle *xiz* can also be used in cases of multiple equative comparison where the verb is omitted in the equative expression. This is in contrast to multiple comparison of inequality (24.1.2.), where the verb must be present even under identity. The difference seems to be due to the fact that the marker of inequality is a case suffix, which can attach only to one noun, whereas *xiz* is a free particle which can follow a group of words.

- (1235) *Za-z fad ḡi-zwa-j za-z wun xiz wa-z zun-ni*
 I-DAT early know-IMPF-PST [I-DAT you:ABS like you-DAT I:ABS-also
k'an-zawa-j-di. (N88:87)
 love-IMPF-PTP-SBST]
 'I knew early on that you love me like I love you.'

When a *xiz* phrase accompanies the verb *akun* 'see', the resulting meaning is often 'look like', 'seem like'.

- (1236) *Dušman.di-z abur jarḡaj tup-ar xiz akwa-da.* (K87,1:7)
 enemy-DAT they:ABS from.far cannon-PL like see-FUT
 'From far, they will look like cannons to the enemy.' (Lit. 'The enemy will see them like cannons.')

The particle *xiz* may also follow a substantivized participle:

- (1237) a. *Lam, mix ja-na ḡarx.a-l alk'-aj-di xiz,*
 donkey [[nail hit-AOC] rock-SRESS attach-AOP-SBST] like
sa k'us-ni juzu-n q^huwu-na-ḡ. (M83:33)
 one piece-also move-PER REPET-AOR-NEG
 'The donkey, as if attached to the rock by (lit. having hit) a nail,
 did not move a bit more.'
- b. *c'iji-z šir ja-nawa-j-di xiz akwa-zwa-j ekü wili caw*
 [[new-ADV paint hit-PRF-PTP-SBST] like see-IMPF-PTP] bright blue sky
 'the bright blue sky that looks as if freshly painted' (N88:56)

When the participial clause that is followed by *ɣiz* has a subject of its own, a comparative clause results that is translated by 'as if'. In (1238), the particle *guja* (13.5.2) is also present.

- (1238) *Ha i lehze.d-a, guja gatfar.i-n juq̄.u-z lap k'ewi-z*
 that this moment-INESS [as.if spring-GEN day-DAT very strong-ADV
caw-ar raxa-j-di ɣiz, wiš-er.a-ldi insan-r.i-n ura.di-n
 sky-PL speak-AOP-SBST] like hundred-PL-SRDIR person-PL-GEN hurrah-GEN
wan ɕk'a-na. (J89:29)
 sound spread-AOR

'At that moment the sound of cheering of hundreds of people began to spread, as if the heavens had spoken loudly on a spring day.'

Such a clause is most often used as a complement to the copula *ja* (or the verb *ɣun* 'be') or to *akun* 'see'. In both cases there is (optionally) an additional Dative subject, and the translation is 'it seems as if' or 'it looks as if'.

- (1239) a. *Qaji hawa.di beden.di-z-ni wil-er.i-z t-akwa-da-j*
 [cold air(ERG) body-DAT-and eye-PL-DAT [NEG-see-FUT-PTP]
rip-er sux-zawa-j-di ɣiz tir. (Du61,5:22)
 needle-PL put-IMP-PTP-SBST] like COP:PST
 'It was as if the cold air was putting invisible needles into the body and the eyes.'
- b. *Za-z wun i tar.ci-n pataw ata-na*
 I-DAT [you:ABS this tree-GEN by [come-AOR]
aq̄waz-nawa-j-di ɣiz ɣa-na. (DD85,2:20)
 stop-PRF-PTP-SBST] like be-AOR
 'It seemed to me as if you had come and stopped at this tree.'

- (1240) *Za-z ttar-ar naq' kutu-r-bur ɣiz akwa-zwa. (G54:26)*
 I-DAT [tree-PL yesterday plant-AOP-SBST.PL] like see-IMP
 'It seems to me as if the trees were planted only yesterday.'

In this construction the verb is sometimes not in the substantivized participle form, but in the simple participle form. It is not clear whether there is a difference in meaning.

- (1241) *Za-z wi kefi-jar awa-ɕ-ir ɣiz akwa-zwa. (Š83:62)*
 I-DAT [you:GEN mood-PL be.in-NEG-PTP] like see-IMP
 'It seems to me that you are not in a good mood.'

When the transitive verb *awun* 'do' is used in this construction, it means 'pretend':

- (1242) *Saidov.a wiči-z t-akwa-zwa-j-di ɣiz awu-na. (M79:5)*
 Saidov(ERG) [self-DAT NEG-see-IMP-PTP-SBST] like do-AOR
 'Saidov pretended that he did not see [it].'

24.2.2. *xtin* 'like' (adjectival)

The particle *xtin* 'like' is used in noun phrases, either modifying a noun directly (as in (1243)), or modifying an adjective, often by means of a cliché comparison involving an object that has the property in question in a particularly salient way (as in (1244)).

- (1243) a. *Inhe kurort xtin dağ.di-n xür.* (Š83:58)
voici spa like mountain-GEN village

'Here is a mountain village that is like a spa.'

- b. *Am xalis ġele xtin ċka ja.* (A76:4)
it:ABS real fortress like place COP

'It is a place like a real fortress.'

- (1244) a. *žiw xtin lacu ċuru* (X89:28)
snow like white beard

'a beard that is white like snow'

- b. *meġ.ü-n k'anċ' xtin tükme itim* (E56:11)
acorn-GEN stump like stout man

'a man who is stout like an acorn stump'

Like *ixiz*, *xtin* may take a clause as the standard of comparison, which takes the form of a participial relative clause. In (1245), the reason for the use of *xtin* rather than *ixiz* is that the main component in the complex verb *wan atun* 'hear (lit. sound comes)' is the noun *wan* 'sound', which takes the noun phrase modifier *xtin*.

- (1245) *Žemät.di-z ċil-er juza-j xtin wan ata-na.* (X89:30)
people-DAT [earth-PL move-AOP] like sound come-AOR

'The people thought they heard the earth trembling.'

(Lit. 'A sound like the earth moving came to the people.')

24.2.3. *q'wan* 'as much as'

While *ixiz* and *xtin* express qualitative comparison, *q'wan* expresses quantitative comparison. Syntactically they are quite similar. The examples in (1246) show the adverbial use of *q'wan*.

- (1246) a. *Amma wun q'wan k'an-da-ċ-ir za-z am.* (S88:165)
but you:ABS as.much.as love-FUT-NEG-PST I-DAT she:ABS

'But I did not love her as much as (I love) you.'

- b. *Za-waj q'wan wa-waj k'walax iji-z že-da-ni?*
I-ADEL as.much.as you-ADEL [work do-INF] can-FUT-Q

'Can you work as much as I (can)?' (Mejlanova 1983b:211)

- c. *Wa-z q'wan za-z-ni či-da.* (Mejlanova 1970:146)
 you-DAT as.much.as I-DAT-also know-FUT
 'I, too, know as much as you.'

The following are examples of the adjectival use of *q'wan*. Again, the *q'wan* phrase may modify a noun directly (1247), or it may modify an adjective that accompanies a noun (1248). When it modifies a plural noun, the meaning is 'as many as'.

- (1247) *Za-z qe wa-z q'wan jaru ġet-er âa-na-ċ.* (K88,9:12)
 I-DAT today you-DAT as.many.as red star-PL be-AOR-NEG
 'Today I didn't get as many red stars as you.'

- (1248) a. *Gat.u-z daġ-lar.i-n jajlax-ar q'wan ġuzel ċka-jar*
 summer-DAT mountain-PL-GEN pasture-PL as.much.as beautiful place-PL
dünja.d-a mad sana-ni že-da-ċ. (M83:33)
 world-INNESS still anywhere-also be-FUT-NEG

'In the summer there are nowhere in the world any places as beautiful as the mountain pastures.'

- b. *Ada-n q'eb ċ'exi itim.di-n ċarpaj q'wan ċ'exi-di tir.*
 he-GEN cradle big man-GEN bed as.much.as big-SBST.SG COP:PST
 'His cradle was as big as a grown man's bed.' (X89:29)

Q'wan may also be used to mark a comparative clause in the form of a relative clause that precedes *q'wan*.

- (1249) *Mizafer.a-z k'an-zawa-j q'wan pul sada-ni*
 [Mizafer-DAT want-IMPFF-PTP] as.much money anyone(ERG)-also
gu-zwa-ċ. (Š83:57)
 give-IMPFF-NEG
 'No one gives as much money as Mizafer wants.'

Such relative clauses may then acquire the sense 'all that' (from 'as much as').

- (1250) a. *Ada wiċi-z aku-r q'wan alamat-r.i-kaj*
 he(ERG) [self-DAT see-AOP] as.much marvel-PL-SBEL
dide.di-z sühbet-na. (K87,2:7)
 mother-DAT tell-AOR

'He told his mother about all the marvels he had seen.' (Lit. 'about as many marvels as he had seen')

- b. *Kas.di wiċi-q^h awa-j q'wan ċuwat.da-ldi xurt' ga-na.*
 man(ERG) [self-POESS be.in-PTP] as.much force-SRDIR push give-AOR
 'The man pushed (the donkey) with all the force he had (lit. with as much force as he had).' (M83:34)

- c. *Cükwer.a Širinbala.di-z wiči-n q'il.e-l ata-j*
 Cükwer(ERG) Širinbala-DAT [self-GEN head-SRESS come-AOP]
q'wan-bur aq^haj-na. (S88:49)
 as.much-SBST.PL tell-AOR

'Cükwer told Širinbala everything that had happened to her.'

As the last example shows, adjectival *q'wan* may be substantivized, like all other adjectival elements.

The standard of equative comparison may also be a measure phrase. Sometimes the translation 'as much as' is not appropriate in such cases. (1251) shows adjectival *q'wan*, (1252) shows adverbial *q'wan*.

- (1251) a. *I waxt.und-a ča-z q̄ad=q̄an-ni c'ud q'wan*
 this time-INESS we-DAT twenty=twenty-and ten as.much.as
forel-ar hat-na. (M83:31)
 trout-PL come-AOR

'In this time we found as many as 20-30 trout.'

- b. *Leq' q'we metr q'wan jarği luv-ar ala-j-di tir.*
 eagle two meter as.much.as long wing-PL be.on-PTP-SBST.SG COP.PST
 'The eagle had two-meter long wings on it.' (M83:74)

- (1252) *Wahši-jar sa wiš metr q'wan ağadal fe-na,*
 wild.animal-PL one hundred meter as.much.as down go-AOR
axpa wil-er.i-kaj kwaš-na. (M83:64)
 afterward eye-PL-SBEL disappear-AOR

'The wild animals went down about a hundred meters, then they disappeared from sight.'

24.3. The excessive degree

The excessive degree ('too much') is expressed by *gzaf* 'very' (or similar expressions), and the impossible consequence is expressed by a Masdar clause followed by *patal* 'for' (this is a type of purpose clause, cf. 21.6.1.).

- (1253) *Ada-z xür.ü-n dak'ar i dünja.di-z kilig-un patal*
 he-DAT [village-GEN window [this world-DAT look-MSD for]
gzaf güt'ü-di tir-di aku-na. (S88:7)
 much narrow-SBST.SG COP:PTP-SBST] see-AOR

'He saw that the village's window was too narrow to look at this world.'

Chapter 25

Texts

All texts are given in two versions: The original version with the original spelling (mostly in the Cyrillic alphabet) and a transliterated version with morphemic glosses. The English translations are meant to be close to the original and are therefore not always very natural English.

25.1. The Nightingale

The poem "The Nightingale" is one of the best-known works by the classical Lezgian poet Jetim Emin (1838-1885). It is given here in two versions: a modern Cyrillic version (from: Jetim Emin. 1986. *Lirika*. Махаčkала: Dagestanskoe knižnoe izdatel'stvo, p. 36), and a version in the Arabic script from a book published in 1927 (Lezginskij Kraevedčeskij Kružok v Moskve. 1927. *Lezgi šairrun č'alar*. Moskva: Central'noe izdatel'stvo narodov SSSR, p. 8).

Билбил

Хупі рахада билбил сегьер вахтунда,
Са гъамни авачир гъайван бахтавар!
Цуькведивди дигай гатфар вахтунда
Гъала гила жуваз девран, бахтавар!

Шумудни са нагъма клелда ви назди,
Гъар са тегьер рахаз гъар са авазди?!
Хъуьтлуьз тади гана хупі ваз аязди,
Гила ачух я ваз майдан, бахтавар.

Хупі шад-хурам тушни вун ви бахтунал,
Цуькверивди дигай гатфар вахтунал!
Кіанзава ваз: ацукъ цуьквер тахтунал,
Амай ничхиррин из дуван, бахтавар.

Цуькверивди къугъун я ви ківалахар,
Чуьллера хъваз таза къайи булахар.
Рахаз гъар са аваз, ийиз дамахар,
Гъарай-эвер вуч я ви ван, бахтавар?

Ашкъи гъавалу я,— ваз къарар авач;
Хъуьтлуьн зегъмет амач, ваз хабар авач.
Вучда, ваз акунач, ваз хабар авач,
Етим Эминан гъамни гъижран, бахтавар.

بیلبل

خوپ راخه ده بیلبل سه هر وه ختونا
 سا غامنی اه وه چیر حه یوان باختاوار
 ژوکوه دیگدی دوگای گاتفار وه ختونا
 هالا گیللا واز ده وران باختاوار

شومونی ساد ناغمه گه لده وی نازدی
 هار سا ته هه ره خه ز هار سا اه وازدی
 جوطیبی ته عدی گه نه خوپ واز آبازدی
 گیللا آچوحیا واز مایدان باختاوار

خوپ شاد خورام توشنی وون وی باختونال
 ژوکوه دیگدی دوگای گاتفار وه ختونال
 گانزه وه وه ز اه ژوق ژوکوه ر تاختونال
 آمای نه چخنری دیوان باختاوار

ژوکوه دیگدی قوغونار به وی گوه له خار
 چوگله ره خواز تازه قایی بولاخار
 فه خه ز هار سه اه وازدی اه بیز دامه خار
 هارای اه وه ر ووچیه وی وان باختاوار

عه شقی هوالو یا وه ز قارار اه وه چ
 قوطين زه همت اه مه چ واز خه بار اه وه چ
 ووشده واز اه گونه چ واز خه بار اه وه چ
 به تیم اه مینه ن غامنی هیجران باختاوار

به تیم اه مین

Bilbil

Xup' raxa-da bilbil seher waxt.und-a
PT speak-FUT nightingale morning(GEN) time-INNESS

Sa ġam-ni awa-ċ-ir hajwan baxtawar!
[one sorrow-also be-NEG-PTP] animal happy

Cükw-eri-wdi dig-aj gatfar waxt.und-a
[flower-PL-ADDIR decorate-AOP] spring(GEN) time-INNESS

Hal-a ġila žuwa-z dewran, baxtawar!
lead-IMPV now self-DAT free.life happy.one

Šumud-ni sa naġma k'el-da wi naz.di,
how.many-also one melody read-FUT you:GEN coquetry(ERG)

*Har sa teher raxa-z har sa awaz.di?!
[every one manner speak-IMC every one tune(ERG)]*

Q^hüt'.ü-z tadi ga-na xup' wa-z ajaz.di,
winter-DAT torture give-AOR how you-DAT frost(ERG)

Ġila ačux ja wa-z majdan, baxtawar.
now open COP you-DAT space happy.one

Xup' šad=xuram tuš-ni wun wi baxt.una-l,
PT joyful COP:NEG-Q you:ABS you:GEN happiness-SRESS

Cükw-er.i-wdi dig-aj gatfar waxt.una-l!
[flower-PL-ADDIR decorate-AOP] spring(GEN) time-SRESS

K'an-zawa wa-z: acuq' cükw-er taxt.una-l,
want-IMPV you-DAT sit(IMPV) flower-PL(GEN) throne-SRESS

Ama-j ničxir-r.i-n i-z duwan, baxtawar.
[remain-PTP] wild.animal-PL-GEN do-IMC judgment happy.one

Cükw-er.i-wdi q^huġu-n ja wi k'walax-ar,
[flower-PL-ADDIR play-MSD] COP you:GEN work-PL

Čül-ler-a q^hwa-z taza q^haji bulax-ar.
[field-PL-INNESS drink-IMC fresh cold well-PL]

Raxa-z har sa awaz, iji-z damax-ar,
[speak-IMC every one tune do-IMC pride-PL]

Haraj=ewer wuč ja wi wan, baxtawar?
cry what COP you:GEN voice happy.one

Ašqi hawalu ja, — wa-z q'arar awa-č;
inspiration enthusiastic COP you-DAT patience be-NEG

Q^hüt'.ü-n zehmet ama-č wa-z xabar awa-č
winter-GEN labor remain-NEG you-DAT knowledge be-NEG

Wuč-da, wa-z aku-na-č wa-z xabar awa-č
do.what-FUT you-DAT see-AOR-NEG you-DAT knowledge be-NEG

Jetim Emin.a-n ġam-ni hižran, baxtawar.
Jetim Emin-GEN sorrow-and grief happy.one

The Nightingale

How (beautifully) the nightingale sings in the morningtide,
Happy animal without sorrow!
At the time of spring which is embellished by flowers,
Lead your free life now, happy one!

Your coquetry sings many a melody,
With every tune speaking in every manner!
How much the frost made you suffer in the winter,
Now the spaces are open for you, happy one!

How glad you are about your happiness,
At the time of spring which is embellished by flowers,
You want to sit on a throne of flowers,
Judging the other animals, happy one.

Playing with flowers is your work,
Drinking from fresh cool wells in the fields.
Uttering every tune, showing pride,
Which cry is your voice, happy one?

Your inspiration is full of enthusiasm, — you have no patience;
There is no more suffering of winter, you have no knowledge,
What will you do, you did not see, you have no knowledge
Of Jetim Emin's sorrow and grief, happy one.

25.2. Who is Stealing the Melons?

From: Mežidov, Qijas. 1983. *Qeni qun šjar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Good neighbors], p. 27-29.

Кърпузар ни чънуьхзава?

Дегъ замандин зурба тама чи колхоздихъ еке белгенар ава. Инра, гьар йисуз бустанар цазва. И бустанра кърпузар, гатун халияр, афнияр, буранар цазва. И тама авай кьилди кърпузар цанвай бустанда кьариба ва сирлу угъри туьретмиш хьанва. А угъриди, гьи вахтунда кьезватлани чидач, квайни-квай, хьсан чранвай кърпузар жагъурна, абур я бустанда—чкадал, я тухвана лап мукьвал алай кулара незва.

— Ингъе, пуд йиф я, за вил кьванни акьалнавач, гьа вили хуьзва, амма завай угъри кьаз жезвач хьи, жезвач,—лагъана бустанчи Букар халуди шикаят авуна.—Белки кьуьзуь хьуниз килигна, зи вилериз экв аквазмач, вунни са кьве юкьуз и бустанда амукь, белки а кьариба угъри ваз акван...

Зун Букар халудин кьилив нисинлай алатайдалай кьулухъ ружани гваз атана. Чна зурба са мегъуьн таран танда, кьве еке хилен арада эцигнавай кумада чка кьуна. Инлай вири бустан капаллай хьиз аквазва.

— Гьик! хьана, халу, вуна «сирлу угъри» кьунвачни?—хабар кьуна за.

— Кьунвач. Заз ам акур хьиз я: ам инсан туш, аквар гьаларай, вагъши гьайван я.

— Вуч я?

— Бегъем кьатлуз жедайвал акунач, хва.

— Ам, анге, атла бурма куларай экъечіна,—Букар халуди мерейрин кьалин куллух кьалурна.—Гуьзетин! Килигда чун... Исятда за ваз са хьсан кьарпуз атлуда. Хьсан кьарпуз бустанчидиз чида!

Чна гъеле ширин ширедай ацанвай, сиве чкІана физвай кеврек кьарпуз тлуьна куьтягь хьанвачир, амма Букар халуди, за гьил эцяна, зи япал кушкушна:

— Бустандиз вил вегь! Хьсандиз килиг!

Килигайтла, гьим ятІани, са вагьши гьайван куларай экъечіна, хурухъди бустандиз атана, кьарпузар алайвал физва. Тарарин хьенар яргъи хьана бустандал атуниз килигна, ана хурушум хьанва, гьавиляй завай ам вуч вагьши гьайван ятла, ерли кьатлуз жезвач. Зунни бустанчи Букар «Им вуж я эхир?»—лугьуз фикиррик кумаз, атайди кьарпузриз гьахьна. Ада са кьарпуз кьенцікай хкудна, ам тапас геляна, вичин мукьув гьана, кьарпузда вичин яргъи хци кирер акІурна, ам вине кьуна хьиз, вагьши кулариз хьфена.

— Яда вуна вучна эхир?!—Букар халуди завай кукушдал хабар кьуна. —Ам жанавур тир, инанмиш хьухь, жанавур тир, вуна ам тфенгдай яна кІандай!

— Яваш! Зазни атайди жанавур тирди чир хьана... ада кьарпуздикай вучзава эхир?! Белки, ам киці я жеди гьа?

— Заз хьсандиз акуна, я хва! Гуььжет алач, угъри жанавур я! Тфенг гьазурна, секиндив ацукь, ам исятда мад кьведа. Садал-кьведал ам тух жедай кафир туш...

Зун, тфенг вагьшиди угъривилер ийизвай патахъ туькІурна, фикиррик акатна. Адавай кьарпузар нез жеда жал? Жеда! Кафирдив маса затІни гьат тавурла, вуч авурай. Гишин я. Зи кьуншидин киціи гьи емиш хьайитІани неда, са сеферда гьатта еке са афнини кваз тлуьна. Хутар, хатруттар адан рикі алай ем я. Кьарпуз дадуниз гзаф емишрилай хьсан я эхир. Заз, жанавурди и юкьуз бустанда угъривилер авун, бегъем сирлу кар хьана. Им вуч лагъай чІал я? И суалдив заз жавабни жагъана: бустанчидин кицлер йифиз уяя я, абур жанавур бустандиз ахъайдач, исятда абур гьар сад са кулан дибда, кьилер кьвехве туна, ширин ахварал ала, хьсан секин вахт я... Аквар гьаларай, и кар жанавурдив хьсан чида. Вагьши акьалтІай фендигар я...

Зур сят алатна жеди, жанавур мад атана. Амма и сеферда за адаз кьарпуз атлудай мумкинвал ганач: за адал далба-дал кьве гуьлле ахъайна. Вагьши цавуз гадар хьана, ахпа чилел алуькьна, мад юзун хьувунач.

— Инсанри лугьудайвал: «виш йисуз яшаммиш хьухь, виш йисузни дуьньядин сирер чира, абур бегъем чир хьайитІа, хьсан я...» Букар халудивай вичин шадвал винел акьуд тавуна акьвазиз хьанач. —За, ам атла далудал рипер хьтин цацар алай дикобраз тІвар алай вагьши гьайван ятла, лугьузвай. Жанавурди кьарпузар тарашун гьич фикирдизни кьведай кІвалах туш...

Qarpuz-ar ni *čünüx-zawa?*
melon-PL who:ERG steal-IMPF

(1) *Deh zaman.di-n zurba tam-a* *či* *kolxoz.di-q^h*
old time-GEN huge forest-INESS we:GEN kolkhoz-POESS

jeke belgen-ar awa. (2) *Inra, har jis.u-z bustan-ar*
big patch-PL be.in here every year-DAT garden-PL

ca-zwa. (3) *I bustan-r-a qarpuz-ar, gat.u-n xali-jar,*
sow-IMPF this garden-PL-INESS melon-PL summer-GEN melon-PL

afni-jar, buran-ar ca-zwa. (4) *I tam-a awa-j q'ildi*
cucumber-PL pumpkin-PL sow-PL [this forest be.in-PTP] [separately

qarpuz-ar ca-nwa-j bustan.d-a qariba wa sirlu uğri
melon-PL sow-PRF-PTP] garden-INESS strange and mysterious thief

türetmiş xa-nwa. (5) *A uğri.di, hi waxt.und-a*
create ANTIC-PRF that thief(ERG) which time-INESS

qwe-zwa-t'a-ni či-da-ç kwaj-ni=kwa-j, q^hsan čra-nwa-j
come-IMPF-CND-even know-FUT-NEG [best [good ripen-PRF-PTP]

qarpuz-ar žağur-na, abur ja bustan.d-a — čka.da-l, ja
melon-PL find-AOC] they either garden-INESS place-SRESS either

tuxwa-na lap muq'wal ala-j kul-ar-a ne-zwa.
[carry-AOC] [very close be.on-PTP] bush-PL-INESS eat-IMPF

— (6) *Inhe, pud jif ja, za wil q'wanni aq'al-nawa-č,*
voici three night COP I:ERG eye even close-PRF-NEG

ha wil.i xü-zwa, amma za-waj uğri q'a-z že-zwa-č xi,
that eye(ERG) guard-IMPF but I-ADEL [thief catch-INF] can-IMPF-NEG PT

že-zwa-č — laha-na bustanči Bukar xalu.di šikajat
can-IMPF-NEG say-AOR gardener Bukar uncle(ERG) [complaint

awu-na. — (7) *Belki q'üzü xu-n.i-z kiligna, zi*
do-AOC] perhaps [old become-MSD-DAT because] I:GEN

wil-er.i-z ekw akwa-zma-č, wun-ni sa q'we juq.u-z
eye-PL-DAT light see-IMPF.CONT-NEG you:ABS-also one two day-DAT

i bustan.d-a amuq', belki a qariba uğri wa-z
this garden stay(IMPV) perhaps that strange thief you-DAT

akwa-n...
see-HORT

(8) *Zun Bukar xalu.di-n q'iliw nisin-laj alat-aj.d.a-laj*
I:ABS Bukar uncle-GEN to [noon-SREL pass-AOP-SBST.SG-SREL

q'uluq^h ruža-ni gwa-z ata-na. (9) *Čna zurba sa*
after] [rifle-also be.at-IMC] come-AOR we:ERG huge one

meğ.ü-n tar.a-n tan.d-a, q'we jeke xil.e-n arada
oak-GEN tree-GEN trunk-INESS [two big bough-GEN between

ecig-nawa-j kuma.d-a čka q'u-na. (10) *Inlaj wiri*
build-PRF-PTP] hut-INESS place hold-AOR from.here all

bustan kap.a-l-la-j xiz akwa-zwa.
garden [palm-SRESS-be.on-PTP] like see-IMPF

— (11) *Hik' xa-na, xalu, wuna «sirly uğri»*
how become-AOR uncle you:ERG mysterious thief

q'u-nwa-č-ni? — *xabar q'u-na za.*
catch-PRF-NEG-Q news hold-AOR I:ERG

— (12) *Q'u-nwa-č. Za-z am aku-r xiz ja: am insan tuš*
catch-PRF-NEG I-DAT it:ABS see-AOP like COP it:ABS human COP:NEG

akwa-r hal-ar-aj, wahši hajwan ja.
see-AIMPP state-PL-INEL wild animal COP

— (13) *Wuč ja?*
what:ABS COP

— (14) *Behem q'at'u-z že-da-j-wal aku-na-č xwa.*
enough [[perceive-INF] can-FUT-PTP-PURP] see-AOR-NEG son

— (15) *Am, anhe, at'a burma kul-ar-aj eqeč-na, — Bukar*
it:ABS voilà yonder curly bush-PL-INEL come.out-AOR Bukar

xalu.di mere-jr.i-n qālin kullux qālor-na. — (16) Gūzet-in!
uncle(ERG) blackberry-PL-GEN thick bush.wood show-AOR observe-HORT

Kilig-da čun... (17) Isātda za wa-z sa q^hsan qārpuz
look-FUT we:ABS now I:ERG you-DAT one good melon

at'u-da. (18) Q^hsan qārpuz bustanči.di-z či-da!
cut-FUT good melon gardener-DAT know-FUT

(19) *Čna hele širin šire.d-aj ac'a-nwa-j, siw-e čk'a-na*
[we:ERG already [sweet juice-INEL fill-PRF-PTP] [mouth-INESS [melt-AOC]

fi-zwa-j keurek qārpuz t'ū-na kūtāh ša-nwa-č-ir,
go-IMP-PTP] tender melon eat-AOC] finish become-PRF-NEG-PST

(20) *amma Bukar xalu.di, za gīl ecā-na, zi jap.a-l*
but Bukar uncle(ERG) [I:INESS hand push-AOC] I:GEN ear-SRESS

kuškūš-na:
whisper-AOR

— (21) *Bustan.di-z wil weh! Q^hsan-diz kilig!*
garden-DAT eye throw(IMPV) good-ADV look(IMPV)

(22) *Kilig-aj-t'a, hi-m jat'ani, sa wahši hajwan*
[look-AOP-CND] which-SBST.SG.ABS INDEF one wild animal

kul-ar-aj eqeč-na, xuruq^hdi bustan-diz ata-na, qārpuz-ar
bush-PL-INEL go.out-AOR creeping garden-DAT come-AOR melon-PL

ala-j-wal fi-zwa. (23) Tar-ar.i-n q^hen-ar jargi ša-na
be.on-PTP-MAN go-IMP-PTP] [[tree-PL-GEN shadow-PL long become-AOC]

bustan.da-l atu-n.i-z kiligna, ana xurušum ša-nwa, hawilāj
garden-SRESS come-MSD]-DAT because there dusk become-PRF therefore

za-waj am wuč wahši hajwan ja-t'a, jerli q'at'u-z
I-ADEL [[it:ABS what:ABS wild animal COP-CND] at.all perceive-INF]

že-zwa-č. (24) Zun-ni bustanči Bukar «Im wuč ja exir?»
can-IMP-NEG [I:ABS-and gardener Bukar [this:ABS who:ABS COP PT

— *luhu-z fikir-r.i-k kuma-z, ata-j-di qārpuz-r.i-z*
say-IMC] thought-PL-SBESS be.under-IMC] [come-AOP-SBST.SG] melon-PL-DAT

haš-na. (25) Ada sa qārpuz q'en.c'i-kaj xkud-na, am tapas
enter-AOR it(ERG) one melon tendril-SBEL take.out-AOR it:ABS [paw

gelā-na, wiči-n muq'uw gā-na, (26) qārpuz.d-a wiči-n
hit-AOC] self-GEN to bring-AOR melon-INESS self-GEN

jargi xci k'ir-er ak'ur-na, am wine q'u-na šiz, wahši
long sharp fang-PL stick-AOR [it:ABS up hold-AOC] like wild

kul-ar.i-z q^hfe-na.
bush-PL-DAT return-AOR

—(27) *Jada wuna wuč-na exir?! — Bukar xalu.di*
 hey you:ERG do.what-AOR PT Bukar uncle(ERG)

za-waj kukuš.da-l xabar q'u-na. —(28) *Am žanawur tir,*
 I-ADEL whisper-SRESS news hold-AOR it:ABS wolf COP:PST

inanmiš xu-š, žanawur tir, wuna am tfeng.d-aj ja-na
 believing be-IMPV wolf COP:PST [you:ERG it:ABS rifle-INEL hit-AOC]

k'an-da-j!
 must-FUT-PST

—(29) *Jawaš! Za-z-ni ata-j-di žanawur tir-di čir*
 quiet I-DAT-also [[come-PTP-SBST.SG] wolf COP:PTP-SBST] teach

ša-na... (30) *ada qarpuz.di-kaj wuč-zawa exir?! (31) Belki,*
 ANTI-AOR it:ERG melon-SBEL do.what-IMPV PT perhaps

am kic' ja žedi ha?
 it:ABS dog COP PT PT

—(32) *Za-z q^hsan-diz aku-na, ja xwa! (33) Hüžet*
 I-DAT good-ADV see-AOR PT son dispute

ala-č uğri žanawur ja! Tfeng hazur-na sekin-diz acuq',
 be.on-NEG thief wolf COP [rifle prepare-AOC] quiet-ADV sit(IMPV)

am isätda mad qwe-da. (34) Sad.a-l=q'wed.a-l am tux
 it:ABS now again come-FUT one-SRESS=two-SRESS it:ABS content

že-da-j kafir tuš..
 be-FUT-PTP rascal COP:NEG

(35) *Zun, tfeng wahši.di uğriwil-er iji-zwa-j pat.a-q^h*
 I:ABS [rifle [wild(ERG) theft-PL do-IMPV-PTP] side-POESS

tük'ür-na, fikir-r.i-k akat-na. (36) Ada-waj qarpuz-ar ne-z
 aim-AOC thought-PL-SBESS get-AOR it-ADEL [melon-PL eat-INF]

že-da žal? Že-da! (37) Kafir.di-z masa zat'-ni hat
 can-FUT PT can-FUT [beast-DAT other thing-also get(PER)]

t-awu-r-la, wuč awu-raj. Gišin ja. (38) Zi qunši.di-n
 NEG-do-AOP-TEMP] what:ABS do-OPT hungry COP I:GEN neighbor-GEN

kic'i hi jemiš šajit'ani ne-da, sa sefer.d-a hatta jeke
 dog(ERG) which fruit INDEF eat-FUT one time-INESS even big

sa afni-ni kwaz t'ü-na. (39) Xut-ar, xatrut-ar ada-n rik'
 one cucumber-also even eat-AOR plum-PL mulberry-PL [it-GEN heart

ala-j jem ja. (40) Qarpuz dad.uni-z gzaf jemiš-r.i-laj
 be.on-PTP] food COP melon taste-DAT many fruit-PL-SREL

q^hsan ja exir. (41) Za-z, žanawur.di i juq-u-z
 good COP PT I-DAT [wolf(ERG) this day-DAT

bustan.d-a uğriwil-er awu-n, behem sirlu kar ša-na.
 garden-INESS theft-PL do-MSD] rather mysterious thing be-AOR

Im wuč laha-j č'al ja? (42) I sual.di-z za-z žawab-ni
 this:ABS [what:ABS say-AOP] speech COP this question-DAT I-DAT answer

žağa-na: bustanči.di-n kic'er jifi-z ujax ja, abur.u
 find-AOR gardener-GEN dog-PL night-DAT awake COP they(ERG)

žanawur bustan.di-z aq^haj-da-č, (43) isätda abur har
 wolf garden-DAT leave-FUT-NEG now they every

sad sa kul.a-n dib.d-a, q'il-er q'wexw-e tu-na, širin
 one one bush stem-INNESS [head-PL groin-INNESS put-AOC] sweet

axwar.a-l ala, q^hsan sekin waxt ja... (44) Akwa-r
 sleep-SRESS be.on good quiet time COP see-AIMPP

hal-ar-aj, i kar žanawur.di-z q^hsan či-da. (45) Wahši
 state-PL-INEL this thing wolf-DAT good know-FUT wild

aq'alt'aj fendigar ja...
 perfect dodger COP

(46) *Zur sät alat-na žedi, žanawur mad ata-na.*
 half hour pass-AOR PT wolf again come-AOR

(47) *Amma i sefer.d-a za ada-z ġarpuz at'u-da-j*
 but this time-INNESS I:ERG it-DAT [melon steal-FUT-PTP]

mumkinwal ga-na-č: za ada-l dalba=dal q'we ġülle
 possibility give-AOR-NEG I:ERG it-SRESS one.after.the.other two bullet

aq^haj-na. (48) Wahši caw.u-z gadar řa-na, axpa čil.e-l
 fire-AOR wild sky-DAT throw ANTIC-AOR then ground-SRESS

aluq'-na, mad juzu-n q^huwu-na-č.
 fall-AOR anymore move-PER REPET-AOR-NEG

— (49) *Insan-r.i luhu-da-j-wal: «wiš jis.u-z jašamiš*
 people-PL(ERG) say-FUT-PTP-ABST hundred year-DAT living

řu-ř, wiš jis.u-z-ni dünja.di-n sir-er čir-a, abur behem
 be-IMPV hundred year-DAT-and world-GEN secret know-IMPV they enough

čir řa-ji-t'a, q^hsan ja...» Bukar xalu.di-waj wiči-n řadwal
 know be-AOP-CND good COP Bukar uncle-ADEL [self-GEN joy

winel aqud t-awu-na aq^wwaz-iz řa-na-č — (50) Za, am
 up take.out(PER) NEG-do-AOC stop-INF] can-AOR-NEG I:ERG [it:ABS

at'a dalu.da-l rip-er řtin cac-ar ala-j dikobraz t'war
 yonder [back-SRESS needle-PL like prickle-PL be.on-PTP] [porcupine name

ala-j wahši hajwan ja-t'a, luhu-zwa-j. (51) Žanawur.di
 be.on-PTP] wild animal COP-CND] say-IMPFPST [wolf(ERG)

ġarpuz-ar taraš-un hič fikir.di-z-ni q^wwe-da-j k'walax tuš..
 melon-PL steal-MSD] [ever thought-DAT-also come-FUT-PTP] thing COP:NEG

Who is Stealing the Melons?

(1) In the huge old forest our collective farm has some big patches of land. (2) There, every year gardens are grown. (3) In these gardens watermelons, muskmelons, cucumbers, and pumpkins are grown. (4) In the garden in this forest, in which water melons are grown separately, a strange and mysterious thief turned up. (5) This thief, I don't even know when he comes, finds the best, well-ripened water melons, and eats them either on the spot in the garden, or in the bushes right nearby.

— (6) Look, for three nights I haven't closed an eye, that eye is keeping guard, but I simply cannot catch the thief — Bukar-xalu, the gardener, complained. (7) Perhaps because I'm growing old, my eyes don't see anymore, so

stay for one or two days in the garden as well, maybe you will see that strange thief...

(8) I went to Bukar-xalu after noon with a rifle. (9) We took up our position in a little hut built between two big boughs in the trunk of a huge oak tree. (10) From here the whole garden could be overseen as if on a palm.

— (11) What happened, uncle, haven't you caught the "mysterious thief"? — I asked.

— (12) I haven't caught it. I think I saw it: It is not a human being, it seems, it is a wild animal.

— (13) What is it?

— (14) I did not see well enough to be able to identify it, my son.

— (15) It came out from those curly bushes, over there, — Bukar-xalu pointed to a thick blackberry thicket. — (16) Let us observe it! We will see...

(17) I will open a good watermelon for you now. (18) A gardener knows a good melon!

(19) We had not yet finished eating the tender melon, full of sweet juice, which was melting in the mouth. (20) But Bukar-xalu pushed me with his hand and whispered into my ear:

— (21) Have an eye on the garden! Look well!

(22) As we looked, something, a wild animal came out of the bushes, and it crept toward the garden, it went toward the melons. (23) Since it came into the garden when the shadows of the trees had become long, and it was dusk there, therefore I could not recognize at all which wild animal it was.

(24) While I and the gardener Bukar were still thinking "What is this?", the animal that had come went into the melons. (25) The wild animal took out a melon from under a tendril, hit it with its paw, brought it toward it, (26) stuck its long sharp fangs into the melon, sort of took it up, and went back toward the wild bushes.

— (27) Hey, what did you do?, Bukar-xalu asked me whispering. — (28) It was a wolf, believe it, it was a wolf, you should have shot it with a rifle!

— (29) Quiet! I, too, realized that it was a wolf who came... (30) What is it doing with a melon? (31) Maybe it is a dog?

— (32) I saw it well, my son! (33) There is no doubt, it is a wolf! Get the rifle ready and sit down quietly, it will come again now. (34) It's a rascal that will not be satisfied with one or two melons.

(35) Aiming the rifle in the direction where the wild animal was committing the theft, I started thinking. (36) Will it be able to eat the melons? It will! (37) When the beast doesn't get anything else, what is it going to do? It is hungry. (38) My neighbor's dog will eat any fruit; once it even ate a big cucumber. (39) Plums and mulberries are its favorite food. (40) After all, the melon's taste is better than that of many fruits. (41) That the wolf was stealing in the garden on this day was a rather mysterious thing for me. What does this mean? (42) To this question, I found an answer, too: the gardener's dogs are awake at night, they do not let the wolf into the garden; (43) now each of them is in a sweet sleep below a bush, with the head in the groin, and it is a nice quiet time... (44) Apparently, the wolf knows this well. (45) The animal is a perfect dodger...

(46) Perhaps after half an hour had passed, the wolf came again. (47) But this time I did not give it the opportunity to steal a melon: I fired two bullets at it, one after the other. (48) The beast was thrown up, then fell on the ground and did not move again.

— (49) As the people say: Live a hundred years, and know the world's secrets for a hundred years, if you know them enough, it's good... Bukar-xalu couldn't stop showing his satisfaction. (50) I was wondering whether it was that animal called porcupine which has prickles like needles on its back. (51) A wolf stealing melons is not a thing that would ever occur to anyone...

25.3. The Magpie and the Wolf

From: Ahmedov, Ibrahim. 1990. *K'ewi dustar*. Maxačkala: Dagučpedgiz. [Close friends], 25-27.

Керекулни жанавур

Гатфарин вахт тир. Таму-тара пеш ахъайна, къуд пад къацу хъанвай. Тамал къушари ван ацалднавай. Ара-бир тамун далдамчидини вич алай чка чирзавай.

Гъа и арада, фадлай недай затI-матI жагъун тавунвай рехи жанавур, тамун жигъирдай тIуз, вич масабуруз такурай лугъуз, яваш-яваш, инихъ-анихъ килигиз, виликди физвай.

— Заз акуна, заз акуна, — гъарайна пипин тарцин кIукIни-кукIва ацукънавай керекулди. И керекул акъван гъахълуди тир хьи, адакай чуълдин, тамун гзаф гъайванриз куъмек хъанвай.

— Кис, мердимазар, ваз аквазвачни зал алай гъал? Зи яцIу ратарн шуькIуь ратар незва, зун фидайла гагъ и пата, гагъ а пата аквазва, — лагъана жанавурди.

— Завай, вагъши гъайван акурла, гъарай тавуна аквазиз жедач, — мадни кIевиз гъарай-эвер ийиз башламишна керекулди.

— За ваз кис лугъузвачни, лагълагъчи!

— Кис тавуртIа, вавай заз вуч жеда? Зун вун хътин тарашчи туш.

— Къал-макъал, къайн рахунар куъз герек я? Ша, чун дуст жен, керекул. Завай гишила мад къекъез жезмач. Зун инал аквазин, вуна, фена, хуьруьн уьруьшрилай цар илитIа. Гъинал кас галачиз тек мал, тек хаб алатIа, заз хабар це. Ахпа фена за адан гъакъ-гъисаб ийида. Ви пайни за рикIелей алуддач.

— Вуна хиперинни маларин гъакъ-гъисаб ийидалди, за чубандив ви гъакъ-гъисаб ийиз тада, — рикIяй фикирна керекулди. Амма жанавурдиз ада вич и икъардал рази тирди малумарна: — АкI хъайила, зун хкведалди вун санизни фимир гъа!

Керекул цавуз хкаж хъана, хуьруьн уьруьшрилай цар элкъурна, хтана.

— Фад, гъазур хъухъ, жанавур. Жуван сарариз къилав це. Заз касни галачиз чпин ихтиярдалди векъ незвай лапагар акунва.

— Абур гъинал ала? — хвешн хъана, тадиз хабар къуна жанавурди.

— КIамун синел алай кул-кус квай векъе, — за цавай лув гуда, вун зи гъараюнн ванцелди ша.

Жанавур рази хъана. Керекулди, гъарайиз-гъарайиз, цавай лув гана. Ахпа, лапагар авай векъин юкъвал алай мегъуьн тарцин кукIваз хкаж хъана, ада гъанлай гъарайиз башламишна. Ада, тфенг къуьне аваз, и тарцин кIаник аквазнавай чубандин фикир вичел желзвавай. Керекулдин сив акваззавачир. Ада чубандиз хаталувиликай хабар гузвай.

— Керекулди гъакI гъавайда гъарай-эвер ийидайди туш, — фикирна чубанди. — Ина вуч аватIани са кар ава. Белки адаз жанавур аквазватIа?

Чубанди тадиз вичин хъуьчле авай тфенг акъудна, гьилерал вегьена, тарцин далдадик акъвазна, тамун кьерех гуьзетиз башламышна. Керекулди гьараюн давамарзавай. Ада жанавурдиз: — Фад иниз ша, фад иниз ша! — чубандизни: мукъаят хъухь, мукъаят хъухь, душман къевеза! — лугъузвай.

Са арадилай жанавур атана акъатна. Сифте ам тамукай мукъаятвилелди хипериз килигна. Вилериз кас-мас такурла, ада виликди еримишна.

Гьа и арада тарцик чъуьнуьх хъанвай чубандин тфенгни акъатна. Угъри жанавурдин кьилел вуч дуьшуьш атанатIа, кьез хъсандиз акуна.

Kerekul-ni žanawur
magpie-and wolf

(1) *Gatfar.i-n waxt tir. Tam.u=tar.a peš aq^haj-na, q^ud*
spring-GEN time COP:PST forest(ERG)=tree-(ERG) leaf open-AOR four

pad qacu xa-nwa-j. (2) Tam.a-l quš-ar.i wan acald-nawa-j.
side green become-PRF-PST forest-SRESS bird-PL(ERG) voice fill-PRF-PST

(3) *Ara=bir tam.u-n daldamči.di-ni wič ala-j čka čir-zawa-j.*
sometimes forest-GEN drummer(ERG)-and [self be.on-PTP] place tell-IMPFF-PST

(4) *Ha i ara.d-a, fadlaj ne-da-j zat'=mat' žağ-u-n*
that this time-INESS [long [eat-FUT-PTP] thing find-PER

t-awu-nwa-j rexi žanawur, tam.u-n žiğir.d-aj t'uz, wič
NEG-do-PRF-PTP] gray wolf forest-GEN path-INESS along [[self

masa-bur.u-z t-aku-raj luhu-z, jawaš=jawaš iniq^h=aniq^h kilig-iz,
other-SBST.PL-DAT NEG-see-OPT say-INF] slowly here=there look-INF]

wilikdi fi-zwa-j.
forward go-IMPFF-PST

— (5) *Za-z aku-na, za-z aku-na, — haraj-na pipin tar.ci-n*
I-DAT see-AOR I-DAT see-AOR scream-AOR [beech tree-GEN

k'uk'-ni=kuk'w-a acuq'-nawa-j kerekul.di. (6) I kerekul
top-and=top-INESS sit-PRF-PTP] magpie(ERG) this magpie

aq'wan haq^hlu-di tir xi, ada-kaj čül.di-n, tam.u-n gzaf
so just-SBST.SG COP:PST PT it-SBEL field-GEN forest-GEN many

hajwan-r.i-z kümek xa-nwa-j.
animal-PL-DAT help become-PRF-PST

— (7) *Kis, merdimazar, wa-z akwa-zwa-č-ni za-l*
be.silent(IMPV) malicious you-DAT see-IMPFF-NEG-Q [I-SRESS

ala-j hal? (8) Zi jac'u rat-ar.i šük'ü rat-ar ne-zwa, zun
be.on-PTP] state I:GEN thick gut-PL(ERG) thin gut-PL eat-IMPFF [I:ABS

fi-da-j-la gah i pat-a, gah a pat-a aq'a-zwa,
go-FUT-PTP-TEMP] now this side-INESS now that side-INESS get-IMPFF

— *laha-na žanawur.di.*
say-AOR wolf(ERG)

— (9) *Za-waj, wahši hajwan aku-r-la, haraj t-awu-na*
I-ADEL [[wild animal see-AOP-TEMP] scream NEG-do-AOC]

ağwaz-iz že-da-č, — madni k'ewi-z haraj=ewer iji-z bašlamiš-na
stop-INF] can-FUT-NEG [still loud-ADV yell do-INF] begin-AOR

kerekul.di.
magpie(ERG)

— (10) *Za wa-z kis luhu-zwa-č-ni, lağlağči!*
I:ERG you-DAT be.silent(IMPV) say-IMPV-NEG-Q babbler

— (11) *Kis t-awu-r-t'a, wa-waj za-z wuč že-da?*
[be.silent(PER) NEG-do-AOP-CND] you-ADEL I-DAT what:ABS can-FUT

(12) *Zun wun ūtin tarašči tuš.*
I:ABS you:ABS like robber COP:NEG

— (13) *Qal=maçal, qaji raxu-n-ar kü-z gerek ja?*
quarreling cold talk-MSD-PL what-DAT necessary COP

(14) *Ša, čun dust že-n, kerekul.* (15) *Za-waj*
come:IMPV we:ABS friend become-HORT magpie I-ADEL

giši-la mad qeḡwe-z že-zma-č. (16) *Zun inal aḡwaz-in,*
hungry-ADV still [walk-INF] can-IMPV-CONT-NEG I:ABS here stop-HORT

wuna, fe-na, xür.ü-n ürüş-r-i-laj c'ar ilit'a.
you:ERG [go-AOC] village-GEN pasture-PL-SREL line wrap-IMPV

(17) *Hinal kas galačiz tek mal, tek xeb ala-t'a,*
[where man without single cattle single sheep be.on-CND]

za-z xabar ce. (18) *Axa fe-na za ada-n haq'=hisab*
I-DAT news give:IMPV then [go-AOC] I:ERG it-GEN settling

iji-da. (19) *Wi paj-ni za rik'e-laj alud-da-č.*
do-FUT you:GEN share-also I:ERG heart-SREL take.off-FUT-NEG

— (20) *Wuna xip-er.i-n-ni mal-ar.i-n haq'=hisab*
[you:ERG sheep-PL-GEN-and cattle-PL-GEN settling

iji-daldi, za čuban.di-w wi haq'=hisab iji-z ta-da,
do-POSTR] I:ERG shepherd-ADESS [you:GEN settling do-INF] let-FUT

— *rik'äj fikir-na kerekul.di.* (21) *Amma žanawur.di-z ada wič*
heart-INEL think-AOR magpie(ERG) but wolf-DAT he(ERG) [self

i iq'rar.da-l razi tir-di malumar-na: — (22) Ak'
this agreement-SRESS satisfied COP:PTP-SBST] declare-AOR thus

ša-ji-la, zun xkwe-daldi wun saniz-ni fi-mir ha!
be-AOP-TEMP [I:ABS return-POSTR] you:ABS anywhere-even go-PROHIB PT

(23) *Kerekul caw.u-z xkaž ša-na, xür.ü-n ürüş-r-i-laj*
magpie [[sky-DAT raise ANTIC-AOC] village-GEN pasture-PL-SREL

c'ar elqür-na, xta-na.
line turn-AOC] return-AOR

— (24) *Fad, hazur ū-š, žanawur.* (25) *Žuwa-n sar-ar.i-z*
quick ready become-IMPV wolf self-GEN tooth-PL-DAT

qilaw ce. (26) *Za-z kas-ni galačiz čpi-n ixtijar.da-ldi*
whetting give:IMPV I-DAT [person-even without selves-GEN right-SRDIR

weq' ne-zwa-j lapag-ar aku-nwa.
grass eat-IMPV-PTP] sheep-PL see-PRF

— (27) *Abur hinal ala? — xweši ša-na, tadi-z*
they where be.on [glad become-AOC] quick-ADV

xabar q'u-na žanawur.di.
news hold-AOR wolf(ERG)

— (28) *K'am.u-n sin.e-l ala-j kul=kus kwa-j*
 [[ravine-GEN crest-GEN be.on-PTP] [bush be.under-PTP]

weq'e. (29) *Za caw-aj luw gu-da, wun zi*
 meadow-INNESS I:ERG sky-INEL wing give-FUT you:ABS I:GEN

haraj-un.i-n wan.ce-ldi ša.
 scream-MSD-GEN sound-SRDIR come:IMPV

(30) *Žanawur razi ša-na.* (31) *Kerekul.di, haraj-iz=haraj-iz,*
 wolf satisfied be-AOR magpie(ERG) [scream-IMC=scream-
 IMC]

caw-aj luw ga-na. (32) *Axpa, lapag-ar awa-j weq'i-n*
 sky-INEL wing give-AOR then [[sheep-PL be.in-PTP] meadow

juq'w.a-l ala-j meğ.ü-n tar.ci-n kuk'w.a-z xkaž ša-na,
 middle-SRESS be.on-PTP] oak-GEN tree-GEN top-DAT raise ANTIC-AOC]

ada hanlaj haraj-iz bašlamiš-na. (33) *Ada, tfeng*
 [he(ERG) from.there scream-INF] begin-AOR he(ERG) [[rifle

qün-e awa-z, i tar.ci-n k'anik aq̄waz-nawa-j čuban.di-n
 shoulder-INNESS awa-z, i tar.ci-n k'anik aq̄waz-nawa-j čuban.di-n
 below stop-PRF-PTP] shepherd-GEN

fikir wiče-l želb-zawa-j. (34) *Kerekul.di-n siw aq̄waz-zawa-č-ir.*
 thought self-SRESS attract-IMPV-PST magpie-GEN mouth stop-IMPV-NEG-PST

(35) *Ada čuban.di-z xataluwil.i-kaj xabar gu-zwa-j.*
 he(ERG) shepherd-DAT danger-SBEL news give-IMPV-PST

— (36) *Kerekul.di hak' hawajda haraj=ewer iji-da-j-di*
 magpie(ERG) so in.vain scream=call do-FUT-PTP-SBST

tuš — fikir-na čuban.di. — (37) *Ina wuč awa-t'a-ni sa*
 COP:NEG think-AOR shepherd(ERG) here what:ABS be.in-CND-also one

kar awa. (38) *Belki ada-z žanawur akwa-zwa-t'a?*
 thing be.in maybe he-DAT wolf see-IMPV-CND

(39) *Čuban.di tadi-z wiči-n q^huč'e awa-j tfeng*
 [shepherd(ERG) [[[quick-ADV [self-GEN lap-INNESS be.in-PTP] rifle

aq̄ud-na, gil-er.a-l wehe-na, tar.ci-n dalda.di-k aq̄waz-na,
 take.out-AOC] hand-PL-SRESS throw-AOC] tree-GEN shelter-SBESS stop-AOC]

tam.u-n q̄erex gūzet-iz bašlamiš-na. (40) *Kerekul.di haraj-un*
 forest-GEN edge observe-INF] begin-AOR magpie(ERG) [scream-MSD]

dawamar-zawa-j. (41) *Ada žanawur.di-z: — Fad iniz ša,*
 continue-IMPV-PST he(ERG) wolf-DAT [quick hither come:IMPV

fad iniz ša! — čuban.di-z-ni: — Muq̄ajat šu-š, muq̄ajat
 quick hither come:IMPV] shepherd-DAT-and [careful be-IMPV careful

šu-š, dušman q̄we-zwa! — luhu-zwa-j.
 be-IMPV enemy come-IMPV] say-IMPV-PST

(42) *Sa ara.di-laj žanawur ata-na aq̄at-na. Sifte a m*
 one while-SREL wolf [come-AOC] appear-AOR first he:ABS

tam.u-kaj muq̄ajatwil.e-ldi xip-er.i-z kilig-na. (43) *Wil-er.i-z*
 forest-SBEL carefulness-SRDIR sheep-PL-DAT look-AOR [eye-PL-DAT

kas=mas t-aku-r-la, ada wilikdi jerimiš-na.
 person NEG-see-AOP-TEMP] he(ERG) forward move-AOR

(44) *Ha i ara.d-a tar.ci-k čünüx řa-nwa-j*
 that this moment-INESS [tree-SBESS steal ANTIC-PRF-PTP]

čuban.di-n tfeng-ni ačat-na. (45) *Uğri řanawur.di-n q'il.e-l*
 shepherd-GEN rifle-also appear-AOR [thief wolf-GEN head-SRESS]

wuč düšüş ata-na-t'a, kwe-z q^hsan-diz aku-na.
 what:ABS event come-AOR-CND] you.all-DAT good-ADV see-AOR

The Magpie and the Wolf

(1) It was the time of spring. The forest made the leaves shoot, the environment had become green. (2) Birds were filling the forest with their sound. (3) At times the woodpecker, too, made himself heard.

(4) At that time, a gray wolf who had not found anything to eat for a long time was moving forward along a forest path, quietly, looking here and there so that others would not see him.

— (5) I saw him, I saw him, — screamed a magpie who was sitting on the very top of a beech tree. (6) This magpie was so just that many animals in the field and in the forest received help from him.

— (7) Stop screaming, malicious beast, can't you see the state I am in? (8) My large intestine is eating my small intestine, while I am walking I come now here, now there, — said the wolf.

— (9) I cannot stop screaming when I see a wild animal, — the magpie began to yell even louder.

— (10) Am I not telling you to be silent, babbler!

— (11) If I am not silent, what can you do to me? (12) I am not a robber like you.

— (13) What are quarreling and cold words good for? (14) Come, let us be friends, magpie. (15) I cannot walk anymore out of hunger. (16) Let me stop here, and you fly around the village's pastures. (17) Inform me where there is a single cow, a single sheep without a man. (18) Then I will go and settle the score with it. (19) I will not forget your share either.

— (20) "Before you settle the score with sheep and cattle, I will make the shepherd settle the score with you", thought the magpie by himself. (21) But he told the wolf that he consented with this agreement: — (22) So don't go anywhere till I come back!

(23) The magpie rose to the sky, flew around the pastures of the village, and came back.

— (24) Quickly, get ready, wolf. (25) Sharpen your teeth. (26) I saw sheep grazing freely without any human being.

— (27) Where are they? — the wolf asked quickly, rejoicing.

— (28) On a meadow with bushes on the crest of the ravine. (29) I will fly above, you come along following the sound of my screaming.

(30) The wolf agreed. (31) The magpie flew through the sky, screaming. (32) Then, rising to the top of an oak in the middle of the meadow with the sheep, he began to scream from there. (33) He was drawing a shepherd's attention on him who was standing under this tree, a rifle on his shoulder. (34) The magpie's mouth did not stop. (35) He was informing the shepherd about the danger.

— (36) "A magpie does not scream like that for nothing", thought the shepherd. "(37) There is something going on here. (38) Maybe he sees a wolf?"

(39) The shepherd quickly took the rifle that was in his lap, took it in his hands, positioned himself in the tree's shelter, and began to observe the edge of the forest. (40) The magpie was continuing to scream. (41) He was telling the wolf: "Come here quickly! Come here quickly!" and the shepherd: "Be careful, be careful, an enemy is coming!"

(42) After a while the wolf arrived. (43) First he carefully looked at the sheep from the forest. When he did not see anybody, he moved forward.

(44) At that moment the rifle of the shepherd who was hiding under the tree was heard. (45) You saw well what happened to the thieving wolf.

25.4. The Flower from Russia

(From: Aġaev, A.H. & Ašurbekov, A.A. (eds.) 1989. *Literaturadin xrestomatija*. 7-klass. 8-izdanie. Махаçкала: Daguçpedġiz, 145-49)

Дагъустандин халкъдин писатель
Къияс МЕЖИДОВ

УРУСАТДИН ЦУЪК

(2 пердедикай, 6 шикилдикай ибарат комедиядай члук)

Иштиракзавай ксар

Зина Казакова — зоотехник, хуьруьн майишатдин илимрин кандидат,

«Самур» совхоздин отделенидин заведующий.

Аслан, Али — чубанар.

Мержан — Забуран вах.

Пери — доярка, Асланан вах.

Ажай — Аслананни Перидин баде.

Варис — ниси ийидай заводдин устлар.

Забу — зоотехник, хуьруьн майишатдин илимрин кандидат.

Рагъм — хуьруьн агъсакъл

Совхоздин рабочияр — рушарни гадаяр

И комедияда дагъдин хуьре намусдалди зегъмет члугвазвай жегълрикай, абурун гьерекатрикай ва алакълрикай суьгъбет физва. Куьгъне фикиррал аламай мукъва-къилийрин гаф члурна, Аслан урус руш Зинадал эвленмиш жезва. Жегълри чпин къисмет ик! гълунал вири рази жезва.

Агъадихъ комедиядин эхиримжи шикил гузва.

Къвед лагълй перде.

Вад лагълй шикил.

Яргълй зурнейринни далдамдин ванер къведа, абур къвердавай мукълвал жеда.

Мержан — Уррра! Свас хтана! Ажай гынва?! Ажай! Ажай!

Пери — (Чукурда). За исятда адаз эверда...

Варис — Акъваз, Пери! Тади къачумир. Рушар! Ша, чна Ажай къари кутугай къаршиламишда. За гъил хкажна агъузун кумаз, куйне «Дидедиз салам» мани хкажда!

Музыкадин ванер къвердавай мукъвал жеда. Рушарин юкъва аваз Зина къведа. Адан гуьгъуьналлаз гадайрин юкъва аваз Аслан, Рагъим ва Али къведа. Музыкадин ванер и арада къати я. Ажай къведа. Вариса гъил эляда ва рушари мани лугъуда.

Рушар — Атана, атана, диде атана!
 Диде атана, ківалер ацлана!
 Дидед чина рагъ ава, рагъ ава!
 Рикле цуьквед багъ ава, багъ ава!
 Къени я, къени я мехъер авай ківал.
 Къени я, къени я свас атай ківал...
 Дидед чина рагъ ава, рагъ ава!
 Рикле цуьквед багъ ава, багъ ава!

Манидин ван килеллаз Ажай къуьлуьник экечна, ада эмирдин къайдада вичин къуьлуьник Варисаз эверда. Абуру къуьл ийида, гадайрин ва рушари гурлу капар яда, шадвилер ийида.

Варис — Агъо-гъо! Идаз килиг! Чанда авай къванди аку гъа! Ажай къари, майдан вид я!

Ажай — *(Къуьлуьникай хкечна).* Уф, уф! Лап кыл гижидедалди къуьл авуна... *(Зинадин мукъув фида).* Сагърай, чан цуьк! Вуна зи гаф кыле тухвана! За вири элдиз вун хъсан руш я, гуьзел тават я лугъуз хъана. *(Межлисда авайбуруз килигиз, килигиз).* Бес наврузбег гъинва?! Забур гъинва?!

Али — *(Варисаз).* Исытда, Варис халу, са тлурфан ина къурмиш жен хьи, ківачер кевиз икис!..

Ажай — Аслан! Али! Наврузбегаз мубарак ийиз кланзава заз. Свас инал алайла, гада авач. Вач, ам галаз хъша!

Варис — Заз чиз, къари, чун вири са тарце хъайила, вун маса тарце ава...

Ажай — Вучиз зун маса тарце ава? Ам вуч тар я зун авайди, Валидин хва Варис? Куьн авай тар гъим я?!

Варис — Эвленмиш хъанвайди Забур туш... Ви хтул Аслан я!

Ажай — Вун дили хъанва, Валидин къарагуьн!.. *(Вири мягътел жеда. Ажайни алапат хъанваз межлисдин итимриз килигда, абурун арада Рагъим аваз аквада.)*

Рагъим — За ваз, Ажай, ви хтул Аслан эвленмиш хъунухъ мубаракзава! Мубарак хъуй ваз ви хтулдин мехъер, зи играми хтул Ажай!

Ажай — *(Ял къунваз).* Аслан! И мехъер нинди я?

Аслан — Аквазва хьи ваз, баде, зиди я. За минет авуна, вунани фена заз свас це лагъана. *(Зинадин мукъув къведа).* Къедлай им зи паб, юлдаш я. Ик! ЗАГС-дин ктабрани кхъенва...

Ажай — Вай аллагъ! Инал зи япариз вуч ванер жезва?! Заз заваллу ахвар аквазвани?! Аман аллагъ! Ахвар туш... Заз хъайи мусибат аку, вахар, рушар? Я эллер, зун дили жезва!!! *(Ажай кыл къуна ацукъда, ам Перидини Мержана къада).*

Зина — *(Ажаял гьалтна килигда).* Аслан! Варис халу! Ажай бадедиз пис хъанва! Аквазвани, им куь зарафатдин нетижа я!

Варис — За кез гъик! лагъанай... Чан руш, вуна эсиллагъ фикирмир. Ажай назлу-назикрикай туш, адан чан кье къванцин кланикни акъатдач. *(Ажаян мукъув фена, адан япун дувулдал капаш эцигда).* Гъич са затіни

хъанач. Ажая шумуд залзалаяр, шумуд дявеяр, шумуд маргъалар эхи авуна! Абурун тум-кыл авач... И мехъер кеф я хъи!..

Ажай — *(Чкадила гадар жеда)*. Лал хъухъ, къаралмиш Валидин авара! Къубай аллагъди ваз завал гурай, къарагуьн! И дагъларни ви русвагъ хъанвай квилел ч!ур хъурай! Къузгъунри тарашрай, мурдар!.. Вун...

Варис — *(Гаф ат!уда)*. За лагъайвал хъана, и къаридихъ гъич са зат!ни жериди туш...

Ажай — *(Асланаз)*. Вунни заз къедлай чара кас я. Вакай хъайи веледни заз к!андач!.. Вири хуьрувь зал хъуьруьнар ийиз тур мердимазар хтул заз акунани к!андач! *(Ажай дамах гваз, кыл цава къуна, к!вализ хъфида. Адан гуьгъуьниз Рагъим ва Варис фида ва абур гураара акъвазда)*.

Рагъим — *(Асланазни Зинадиз)*. Куьне хажалатар ийимир, балаяр. Межлисдин шадвилер давамара. Вири хъсан куьтягъ жеда. *(Рагъимни Варис к!вализ фида, межлисдин итимар мягътел яз рак!ариз килигиз хейлин кисда)*.

Мержан — Пагъ-гъо аллагъ, аллагъ! Вучиз Варис к!вализ фена? Мад къари дили жеда...

Зина — *(Асланаз)*. Чиди мехъер хъанач...

Аслан — *(Зинадиз)*. Мехъерни жеда, бегъем шадвилерни. Ваз Рагъим бубадин аламатрикой хабар авач. Ада чи баде исятда ц!ал аватай мум хъиз хъуьтуьл ийида!

(Музыка яда. К!валей Ажайни Рагъим экъеч!да.)

Рагъим — Ибур вири, Ажай, ваз ва эвленмиш хъанвай жегъилриз мубаракар ийиз атанвай инсанар я. Ибуруз гъуьрмет ая!..

Ажай — Вуна лугъузвайвал дуьз я, Рагъим халу. Амма зун Вариса бегъем алдатмишна.

Рагъим — Вуна жегъилар бейкеф ийимир, хтул. Абур чи умудар, чи гележег я. Вун къенин межлисди перишан тавун лазим я, аксина, вун ада шад авуна к!анда. Вилер ахъайна садра килиг! Аслана ви к!вализ цуьк хътин руш, свас гъанва!

Ажай — Заз аквазва... Заз аквазва...

Рагъим — Вуна жувак фикир ая садра. Чи йикъара «хашперес руш, мусурман руш» лугъудай гафарихъ гъич са метлебни амач. Гъич са метлебни! Вилер бегъем ахъа ая, Ажай. Вири инсанар са хизан хъана, чна ц!ийи ва гуьзел уьмуьр тук!уьрзава *(Виридаз)*. Инсанар, лагъ кван, за дуьз лугъузвани, авачни?!

Ванер — Дуьз лугъузва! Чун ваз икъарар я, буба!!! Дуьз я! Дуьз я, буба!!!

Рагъим — Квез мубарак, мубарак, играми балаяр! *(Ажаяз)*. Вазни мубарак, хтул, мубарак! Бахтлу ужагъда гъамиша эквер, гъамиша мехъер хъуй!.. *(Рагъиман гуьгъуьнал алаз Асланазни Зинадиз Вариса, Алиди, Мержана, Периди, амай рушарини гадайри мехъер мубарак ийида. Варис Ажаян мукъув фида)*.

Варис — Вазни мубарак хъуй, играми Ажай! Икъван элдиз масан, икъван хъсан инсан Аслан хвена ч!ехи авур, адаз тербия гайи ваз баркалла, Ажай!

Вирида — Гъурра! Мубарак! Мубарак!..

Музыка

Перде агал жеда.

Dağustan.di-n xalq'.di-n pisatel'
 Daghestan-GEN people-GEN writer
Qijas Mežidov

Urusat.di-n cük
 Russia-GEN flower

(2 *perde.di-kaj, 6 šikil.di-kaj ibarat komedija.d-aj č'uk*)
 2 curtain-SBEL 6 picture-SBEL consisting comedy-INEL chunk

Iştirak-zawa-j ks-ar
 [participate-IMPF-PTP] person-PL

Zina Kazakova — zootexnik, xür.ü-n majišat.di-n ilim-r.i-n
 zootechnician village-GEN economy-GEN science-PL-GEN

kandidat, «Samur» sovxoz.di-n otdelenie.di-n zavedujuščij.
 candidate Samur state.farm-GEN department-GEN manager

Aslan, Ali — čuban-ar.
 shepherd-PL

Meržan — Zabur.a-n wax.
 Zabur-GEN sister

Ažaj — Aslan.a-n-ni Peri.di-n bade.
 Aslan-GEN-and Peri-GEN grandmother

Waris — nisi iji-da-j zavod.di-n ust'ar.
 [cheese make-FUT-PTP] factory-GEN master

Zabur — zootexnik, xür.ü-n majišat.di-n ilim-r.i-n kandidat.
 zootechnician village-GEN economy-GEN science-PL-GEN candidate

Rahim — xür.ü-n ağsaqal
 village-GEN old.man

Sovxoz.di-n raboči-jar — ruš-ar-ni gada-jar
 state.farm-GEN worker-PL girl-PL-and boy-PL

(1) *I komedija.d-a dağ.di-n xür-e namus.da-ldi*
 this comedy-INESS [mountain-GEN village-INESS honor-SRDIR

zehmet č'ugwa-zwa-j žehil-r.i-kaj, abur.u-n herekat-r.i-kaj wa
 work pull-IMPF-PTP] youth-PL-SBEL they-GEN movement-PL-SBEL and

alaqa-jr.i-kaj sühbet fi-zwa. (2) Kühne fikir-r.a-l alama-j
 relation-PL-SBEL talk go-IMPF [[old thought-PL-SRESS be.still.on-PTP]

muq'wa=q'ili-jr.i-n gaf č'ur-na, Aslan urus ruš
 relative-PL-GEN word destroy-AOC] Aslan Russian girl

Zina.da-l ewlenmiš že-zwa. (3) Žehil-r.i čpi-n q'ismet ik'
 Zina-SRESS marry ANTIC-IMPF [youth-PL(ERG) selves-GEN destiny thus

hāl-un.a-l wiri razi že-zwa.
 decide-MSD]-SRESS all satisfied be-IMPF

(4) *Ağadiq^h komedija.di-n exirimži šikil gu-zwa.*
 below comedy-GEN last picture give-IMPF

Q'wed lahaj perde.
two ORD curtain

Wad lahaj šikil.
five ORD picture

(5) *Jarğaj zürne-jr.i-n-ni daldam.di-n wan-er qwe-da,*
from.far zurna-PL-GEN-and drum-GEN sound-PL come-FUT

abur qwerdawaj muq'wal že-da.
they gradually near become-FUT

Maržan — (6) *Urrra! Swas xta-na! Ažaj hin-wa?!*
INTJ bride return-AOR Ažaj where-be.in

Ažaj! Ažaj!
Ažaj Ažaj

Peri — (7) *(Čukur-da). Za isätda ada-z ewer-da...*
run-FUT I:ERG now she-DAT call-FUT

Waris — (8) *Aq'waz, Peri! Tadi qaču-mir. Ruš-ar!*
stop(IMPV) Peri quick take-PROHIB girl-PL

Ša, čna Ažaj qari kutugaj qaršilamiš-da. (9) *Za*
come:IMPV we:ERG Ažaj old.woman suitable meet-FUT [I:ERG

gil xkaž-na ağuz-un kumaz, küne «Dide.di-z salam»
hand [raise-AOC] lower-MSD as.soon.as] you.all:ERG mother-DAT greeting

mani xkaž-da!
song raise-FUT

(10) *Muzyka.di-n wan-er qwerdawaj muq'wal že-da.*
music-GEN sound-PL gradually near become-FUT

Ruš-ar.i-n juq'w-a awa-z Zina qwe-da. (11) *Ada-n*
[girl-PL-GEN middle-INNESS be.in-IMC] Zina come-FUT [[she-GEN

güğünal-la-z gada-jr.i-n juq'w-a awa-z Aslan,
behind-be.on-IMC] boy-pl-GEN middle-INNESS be.in-IMC] Aslan

Rahim wa Ali qwe-da. (12) *Muzyka.di-n wan-er i*
Rahim and Ali come-FUT music-GEN sound-PL this

ara.d-a qati ja. Ažaj qwe-da. (13) *Waris.a gil elä-da*
time-INNESS strong COP Ažaj come-FUT Waris(ERG) hand raise-FUT

wa ruš-ar.i mani luhu-da.
and girl-PL(ERG) song say-FUT

Ruš-ar — (14) *Ata-na, ata-na, dide ata-na!*
girl-PL come-AOR come-AOR mother come-AOR

Dide ata-na, k'wal-er ac'a-na!
mother come-AOR house-PL fill-AOR

Dide.d čin-a rağ awa, rağ awa!
mother(GEN) face-INNESS sun be.in sun be.in

Rik'e cükwe.d bağ awa, bağ awa!
heart-INNESS flower(GEN) garden be.in garden be.in

Qeni ja, qeni ja meq'her awa-j k'wal.
good COP good COP [wedding be.in-PTP] house

Qeni ja, qeni ja swas ata-j k'wal...
good COP good COP [bride come-AOP] house

Dide.d cin-a rağ awa, rağ awa!
mother(GEN) face-INESS sun be.in sun be.in

Rik'-e cükwe.d bağ awa, bağ awa!
heart-INESS flower(GEN) garden be.in garden be.in

(15) *Mani.di-n wan q'il.e-l-la-z Ažaj q'ül.üni-k*
[song-GEN sound head-SRESS-be.on-IMC] Ažaj dance-SBESS

ekeč'-na, ada emir.di-n qajda.d-a wiči-n q'ül.üni-k
join-AOC she(ERG) order-GEN rule-INESS self-GEN dance-SBESS

Waris.a-z ewer-da. (16) Abur.u q'ül iji-da, gada-jr.i wa
Waris-DAT call-FUT they(ERG) dance do-FUT boy-PL(ERG) and

ruš-ar.i gurlu kap-ar ja-da, šadwil-er iji-da.
girl-PL(ERG) loud palm-PL hit fun-PL do-FUT

Waris — (17) *Aho=ho! Ida-z kilig! Čan.d-a awa-j*
INTJ this-DAT look(IMPV) [soul-INESS be.in-PTP]

q'wan-di aku ha! Ažaj qari, majdan wi-d ja!
as.much.as-SBST.SG look PT Ažaj old.woman place you:GEN-SBST.SG COP

Ažaj — (18) *(Q'ül.üni-kaj xkeč'-da). Uf, uf! Lap q'il giži*
dance-SBEL go.out-FUT INTJ INTJ PT [head dizzy

že-daldi q'ül awu-na... (19) (Zina.di-n muq'uww fi-da). Sağraj,
become-POSTR] dance do-AOR Zina-GEN to go-FUT hail

čan cük! Wuna zi gaf q'il-e tuxwa-na! (20) Za
dear flower you:ERG I:GEN word head-INESS carry-AOR I:ERG

wiri el.di-z wun qhsan ruš ja, güzel tawat ja
all people-DAT [you:ABS good girl COP beautiful beauty COP]

luhu-z řa-na. (21) (Mežlis.d-a awa-j-bur.u-z kilig-iz, kilig-iz).
say-INF be-AOR [[party-INESS be.in-PTP-SBST.PL-]DAT look-IMC look-IMC]

Bes nawruzbeg hin-wa?! Zabur hin-wa?!
PT bridegroom where-be.in Zabur where-be.in

Ali — (22) *(Waris.a-z). Isätda, Waris xalu, sa t'urfan*
Waris-DAT now Waris uncle one storm

ina qurmiš že-n ři, k'wač-er k'ewi-z ikis!..
here start ANTIC-HORT PT foot-PL firm-ADV support(IMPV)

Ažaj — (23) *Aslan! Ali! Nawruzbeg.a-z mubarak iji-z*
Aslan Ali [bridegroom-DAT congratulation do-INF]

k'an-zawa za-z. (24) Swas inal ala-j-la, gada awa-č.
want-IMPF I-DAT [bride here be.on-PTP-TEMP] boy be.in-NEG

Wač a m galaz qhša!
go:IMPV he:ABS with return

Waris — (25) *Za-z či-z, qari, čun wiri sa tar.c-e*
[I-DAT know-IMC] old.woman [we:ABS all one tree-INESS

řa-ji-la, wun masa tar.c-e awa...
be-AOP-TEMP] you:ABS other tree-INESS be.in

Ažaj — (26) *Wuđiz zun masa tar.c-e awa?* (27) *Am*
 why I:ABS other tree-INESS be.in it:ABS
wuč tar ja zun awa-j-di, Wali.di-n xwa Waris? Kün
 which tree COP [I:ABS be.in-PTP-SBST] Wali-GEN son Waris [you.all:ABS
awa-j tar hi-m ja?!
 be.in-PTP] tree which-SBST.SG.ABS COP

Waris — (28) *Ewlenmiš řa-nwa-j-di Zabur tuš..*
 [marry ANTIC-PRF-PTP-SBST.SG] Zabur COP:NEG

Wi xtul Aslan ja!
 you:GEN grandchild Aslan COP

Ažaj — (29) *Wun dili řa-nwa, Wali.di-n řaragün!.. (Wiri*
 you:ABS crazy become-PRF Wali-GEN scoundrel all
mähtel ře-da. Ažaj-ni alamat řa-nwa-z mežlis.di-n
 surprised become-FUT Ažaj-and [amazed become-PRF-IMC] party-GEN

itim.r.i-z kilig-da, abur.u-n arada Rahim awa-z akwa-da.)
 person-PL-DAT look-FUT [they-GEN between Rahim be.in-IMC] see-FUT

Rahim — (31) *Za wa-z, Ažaj, wi xtul Aslan*
 I:ERG you-DAT Ažaj [you:GEN grandchild Aslan

ewlenmiš řu-nuř mubarak-zawa! (32) *Mubarak řu-j wa-z*
 marry ANTIC-MSD] congratulate-IMPF congratulation be-OPT you-DAT

wi xtul.di-n meqher, zi igrami xtul Ažaj!
 you:GEN grandchild-GEN wedding I:GEN dear grandchild Ažaj

Ažaj — (33) *(Jal q'u-nwa-z). Aslan! I meqher*
 [breath hold-PRF-IMC] Aslan this wedding

ni-n-di ja?
 who-GEN-SBST.SG COP

Aslan — (34) *Akwa-zwa ři wa-z, bade, zi-di ja.*
 see-IMPF PT you-DAT grandmother I:GEN-SBST.SG COP

Za minet awu-na, wuna-ni fe-na za-z swas ce laha-na.
 I:ERG request do-AOR you:ERG-and [[go-AOC] I-DAT bride give:IMPV] say-AOR

(35) *(Zina.di-n muq'uw řwe-da). Qedlaj im zi pab,*
 Zina-GEN close come-FUT from.today this:ABS I:GEN wife

juldař ja. Ik' ZAGS=di-n ktab-r-a-ni kře-nwa...
 companion COP thus registry-GEN book-PL-INESS-also write-PRF

Ařaj — (36) *Waj allah! Inal zi jap-ar.i-z wuč*
 INTJ God here I:GEN ear-PL-DAT what:ABS

wan-er ře-zwa?! *Za-z zawallu axwar akwa-zwa-ni?!*
 sound-PL become-IMPF I-DAT pernicious dream see-IMPF-Q

(37) *Aman allah! Axwar tuš.. Za-z řa-ji musibat*
 INTJ God dream COP:NEG [I-DAT become-AOP] tragedy

aku, wax-ar, ruř-ar? (38) *Ja el-ler, zun dili ře-zwa!!!*
 see(IMPV) sister-PL girl-PL PT people-PL I:ABS crazy become-IMPF

(39) *(Ažaj q'il q'u-na acuq'-da, am Peri.di-ni*
 Ažaj [head hold-AOC] sit-FUT she:ABS Peri(ERG)-and

Meržan.a q'a-da.)
 Meržan(ERG) hold-FUT

Zina — (40) (*Ažaj.a-l halt-na kilig-da*). *Aslan! Waris*
[Ažaj-SRESS stoop-AOC] look-FUT Aslan Waris

xalu! Ažaj bade.di-z pis ša-nwa! (41) *Akwa-zwa-ni, im*
uncle Ažaj grandmother-DAT bad become-PRF see-IMPFF-Q this:ABS

kü zarafat.di-n netiža ja!
you.all:GEN joke-GEN result COP

Waris — (42) *Za kwe-z hik' laha-na-j... Čan ruš wuna*
I:ERG you.all-DAT how say-AOR-PST dear girl you:ERG

esillah fikir-mir. (43) *Ažaj nazlu=nazik-r.i-kaj tuš*
at.all think-PROHIB Ažaj delicate=delicate-PL-SBEL COP:NEG

ada-n čan q'we qwan.ci-n k'anik-ni aqat-da-č (44) (*Ažaj.a-n*
she-GEN soul two stone-GEN under-also die-FUT-NEG [Ažaj-GEN

muq'uw fe-na, ada-n jap.u-n duwul.da-l kapaš ecig-da.
to go-AOC] she-GEN ear-GEN root-SRESS palm put-FUT

Hič sa zat'-ni ša-na-č. (45) *Ažaj.a šumud zalzala-jar,*
ever one thing-even become-AOR-NEG Ažaj(ERG) how.many earthquake-PL

šumud dawe-jar, šumud marğal-ar exi awu-na! Abur.u-n
how.many war-PL how.many snow.drift endure do-AOR they-GEN

tum=q'il awa-č... (46) *I meqher kef ja ši!..*
end be.in-NEG this wedding fun COP PT

Ažaj — (47) (*Čka.di-laj gadar že-da*). *Lal šu-š,*
place-SREL throw ANTIC-FUT silent be-IMPV

qaralmiš Wali.di-n awara! (48) *Quj allah.di wa-z zawal gu-raj,*
obscure Wali-GEN idler PT God(ERG) you-DAT ruin give-OPT

qaragün! I dağ-lar-ni wi ruswah ša-nwa-j q'il.e-l
scoundrel this mountain-PL-and you:GEN [disgraceful become-PRF-PTP] head-SRESS

č'ur šu-raj! (49) *Quzğun-r.i taraš-raj, murdar!.. Wun...*
destroy ANTIC-OPT vulture-PL(ERG) rob-OPT scoundrel you:ABS

Waris — (50) (*Gaf at'u-da*). *Za laha-j-wal ša-na,*
word cut-FUT [I:ERG say-PTP-MAN] become-AOR

i qari.di-qh hič sa zat'-ni že-ri-di tuš..
this old.woman-POESS ever one thing-even become-AIMP-PP-SBST COP:NEG

Ažaj — (51) (*Aslan.a-z*). *Wun-ni za-z qedlaj čara kas ja.*
Aslan-DAT you:ABS-also I-DAT from.today alien person COP

Wa-kaj ša-ji weled-ni za-z k'an-da-č!.. (52) *Wiri xür.ü-w*
[you-SBEL become-AOP] offspring-also I-DAT want-FUT-NEG [[all] village-ADESS

za-l qh'ürü-n-ar iji-z tu-r merdimazar xtul za-z
[I-SRESS laugh-MSD-PL do-INF] cause-AOP] pernicious grandchild I-DAT

aku-na-ni k'an-da-č! (53) (*Ažaj damax gwa-z, q'il caw-a*
see-AOC]even want-FUT-NEG Ažaj [pride be.at-IMC] [head sky-INNESS

q'u-na, k'wal.i-z qh'fi-da. Ada-n gügüniz Rahim wa
hold-AOC] house-DAT go.away-FUT she-GEN behind Rahim and

Waris fi-da wa abur gurar-a aqwaz-da.
Waris go-FUT and they stairs-INNESS stop-FUT

Rahim — (54) (*Aslan.a-z-ni Zina.di-z*). *Küne xažalat-ar*
Aslan-DAT-and Zina-DAT you.all:ERG grief-PL

iji-mir, bala-jar. Mežlis.di-n šadwil-er dawamar-a. Wiri q^hsan
do-PROHIB child-PL party-GEN merrymaking-PL continue-IMPV all good

kütäh že-da. (55) (Rahim-ni Waris k'wal.i-z fi-da,
end ANTIC-FUT Rahim-and Waris house-DAT go-FUT

mežlis.di-n itim-ar mähtel ja-z rak'ar.i-z kilig-iz xejlin
party-GEN person-PL [[amazed be-IMC] door-PL-DAT look-IMC] much

kis-da).
be.silent-FUT

Meržan — (56) Pah=ho allah, allah! Wučiz Waris
INTJ God God why Waris

k'wal.i-z fe-na? Mad qari dili že-da...
house-DAT go-AOR yet old.woman crazy become-FUT

Zina — (57) (Aslan.a-z) Či-di meq^her xa-na-č.
Aslan-DAT we:GEN-SBST.SG wedding become-AOR-NEG

Aslan — (58) (Zina.di-z). Meq^her-ni že-da, behem
Zina-DAT wedding-and become-FUT enough

šadwil-er-ni. (59) Wa-z Rahim buba.di-n alamat.r.i-kaj xabar
merrymaking-PL-also you-DAT Rahim father-GEN wonder-PL-SBEL information

awa-č. (60) Ada či bade isätda c'a-l awat-aj
be.in-NEG he(ERG) we:GEN grandmother now [fire-SRESS fall-AOP]

mum xiz q^hütül iji-da!
wax like soft make-FUT

(61) (Muzyka ja-da. K'wal-äj Ažaj-ni Rahim eqeč-da.)
music play-FUT house-INEL Ažaj-and Rahim go.out-FUT

Rahim — (62) Ibur wiri, Ažaj, wa-z wa
they all Ažaj [[you-DAT and

ewlenmiš xa-nwa-j žehil.r.i-z mubarak-ar iji-z ata-nwa-j
[marry ANTIC-PRF-PTP] youth-PL-DAT congratulation-PL do-INF come-PRF-PST]

insan-ar ja. Ibur.u-z hürmet aja!...
person-PL COP they-DAT respect do:IMPV

Ažaj — (63) Wuna luhu-zwa-j-wal düz ja, Rahim
[you:ERG say-IMPV-PTP-MAN] correct COP Rahim

xalu. Amma zun Waris.a behem aldatmiš-na.
uncle but I:ABS Waris(ERG) enough deceive-AOR

Rahim — (64) Wuna žehil-ar bejkef iji-mir, xtul. Abur
you:ERG youth-PL hurt do-PROHIB grandchild they

či umud-ar, či geležeg ja. (65) Wun qenin mežlis.di
we:GEN hope-PL we:GEN future COP [you:ABS today's party(ERG)]

perišan t-awu-n lazim ja, aksina, wun ada šad awu-na
sad NEG-do-MSD] necessary COP contrary [you:ABS it(ERG) glad do-AOC]

k'an-da. Wil-er aq^haj-na sadra kilig! (66) Aslan.a wi
must-FUT [eye-PL open-AOC] PT look(IMPV) Aslan(ERG) you:GEN

k'wal.i-z cük xtin ruš swas ža-nwa!
house-DAT flower like girl bride bring-PRF

Ažaj — (67) *Za-z akwa-zwa... Za-z akwa-zwa...*
I-DAT see-IMPF I-DAT see-IMPF

Rahim — (68) *Wuna žuwa-k fikir aja sadra. Či*
you:ERG self-SBESS thought do:IMPV PT we:GEN

jiq-ar-a «xašperes ruš musurman ruš» luhu-da-j gaf-ar.i-q^h
day-PL-INESS [Christian girl Muslim girl say-FUT-PTP] word-PL-POESS

hič sa metleb-ni ama-č. Hič sa metleb-ni! (69) Wil-er
PT one meaning-even be.still-NEG PT one meaning-even eye-PL

behem aq^ha aja, Ažaj. Wiri insan-ar sa xizan xa-na,
enough open do:IMPV Ažaj all person-PL one family become-AOR

čna c'iji wa gūzel ümür tük'ür-zawa (70) (Wiri-da-z).
we:ERG new and beautiful life build-IMPF all-SBST-DAT

Insan-ar, lah kwan, za düz luhu-zwa-ni, awa-č-ni?!?
person-PL say:IMPV PT I:ERG right say-IMPF-Q be.in-NEG-Q

Wan-er — (71) *Düz luhu-zwa! Čun wa-z iq'rar ja,*
voice-PL right say-IMPF we:ABS you-DAT agreeing COP

buba!!! Düz ja, düz ja, buba!!!
father right COP right COP father

Rahim — (72) *Kwe-z mubarak, mubarak, igrami*
you.all-DAT congratulation congratulation dear

bala-jar! (Ažaj.a-z) Wa-z-ni mubarak, xtul, mubarak!
child-PL Ažaj-DAT you-DAT-also congratulation grandchild congratulation

(73) *Baxtlu uzağ.d-a hamiša ekw-er, hamiša meq^her*
happy house-INESS always light-PL always wedding

xu-j!.. (74) (Rahim.a-n güğünal ala-z Aslan.a-z-ni Zina.di-z
be-OPT [Rahim-GEN behind be.on-IMC] Aslan-DAT-and Zina-DAT

Waris.a, Ali.di, Meržan.a, Peri.di, ama-j ruš-ar.i-ni
Waris(ERG) Ali(ERG) Meržan(ERG) Peri(ERG) be.still-PTP girl-PL(ERG)-also

gada-jr.i meq^her mubarak iji-da. Waris Ažaj.a-n
boy-PL(ERG) wedding congratulation do-FUT Waris Ažaj-GEN

muq'uw fi-da).
to go-FUT

Waris — (75) *Wa-z-ni mubarak xu-j, igrami Ažaj!*
you-DAT-also congratulation be-OPT dear Ažaj

Iq'wan el.di-z masan, iq'wan q^hsan insan Aslan
[so.much people-DAT dear so.much good person Aslan

xwe-na č'exi awu-r, ada-z terbiya ga-ji wa-z barkalla,
[keep-AOC] big do-AOP he-DAT education give-AOP you-DAT praise

Ažaj!
Ažaj

Wiri-da — (76) *Hurra! Mubarak! Mubarak!..*
all-SBST(ERG) INTJ congratulation congratulation

Muzyka
music

Perde agal že-da.
curtain close ANTIC-FUT

Daghestanian people's writer
Qijas MEZIDOV

THE FLOWER FROM RUSSIA

(extract from a comedy in two acts and six scenes)

Dramatis personae

Zina Kazakova — livestock expert, candidate of agricultural sciences, head of department in the state farm "Samur"

Aslan, Ali — shepherds

Meržan — Zabur's sister

Peri — milkmaid, Aslan's sister

Ažaj — Aslan's and Peri's grandmother

Waris — foreman in a cheese factory

Zabur — livestock expert, candidate of agricultural sciences, head of department in the state farm "Samur"

Rahim — venerable old man of the village

State farm workers — girls and boys

(1) In this comedy we hear about young people who work honestly in a mountain village, about their actions and relationships. (2) Breaking the word of relatives who still adhere to the old ways, Aslan gets married to the Russian girl Zina. (3) Everyone is happy that the young people are deciding their fate in this way.

(4) Below the last scene of the comedy is given.

Second act.

Fifth scene.

(5) From far one hears the sounds of zurnas and a drum; they are gradually approaching.

Maržan — (6) Yippie! The bride has come back! Where is Ažaj?! Ažaj! Ažaj!

Peri — (7) *(running)* I'll call her right away...

Waris — (8) Stop, Peri! Don't hurry! Girls! Come on, let's meet Ažaj-qari in a worthy fashion. (9) As soon as I raise and lower my hand, you will start the song "Greetings to Mother".

(10) The music is gradually approaching. Zina is coming in the middle of the girls. (11) Behind her in the middle of the boys, Aslan, Rahim and Ali are coming. (12) The sound of the music is now strong. Ažaj is coming. (13) Waris raises his hands and the girls sing the song.

Girls — (14) Mother has come!

Mother has come, the houses have filled up!

In mother's face there's the sun!

In her heart there's a flower garden!

Happy is the house of the wedding.

Happy is the house to which the bride comes....

In mother's face there's the sun!

In her heart there's a flower garden!

(15) *Under the impression of the song's sound, Ažaj joins the dance; she calls Waris into her dance, as if giving an order. (16) They dance, and the boys and girls clap loudly and amuse themselves.*

Waris — (17) Wow! Look at this! See how much life is in her! Ažaj-qari, the place is yours!

Ažaj — (18) *(leaving the dance)* Phew! I danced until my head became dizzy... (19) *(She goes to Zina)* Hello, dear flower! You carried out my word! (20) I told all the people that you are a good girl, a striking beauty. (21) *(Looking at those present at the party.)* But where is the bridegroom?! Where is Zibur?!?

Ali — (22) *(to Waris)* Now, Waris-xalu, a scandal will begin. Remain firmly on your feet.

Ažaj — (23) Aslan! Ali! I want to congratulate the bridegroom. (24) While the bride is here, the boy is not there. Go and get him!

Waris — (25) I think, old woman, whereas we are all on one tree, you are on another tree...

Ažaj — (26) Why am I on another tree? (27) What tree is the one I'm on, Waris Wali's son? And what is your tree?

Waris — (28) The one who got married is not Zibur... It's your grandson Aslan!

Ažaj — (29) You have become crazy, Wali's scoundrel! (30) *(Everyone is surprised. Ažaj looks in amazement at the people of the party, she sees Rahim among them.)*

Rahim — (31) I congratulate you, Ažaj, on your grandson Aslan's getting married! (32) Congratulations to you on your grandson's wedding, my dear daughter Ažaj!

Ažaj — (33) *(Holding her breath)* Aslan! Whose is this wedding?

Aslan — (34) But don't you see, grandmother, it's mine. I asked, and you said go give me the bride. (35) *(He approaches Zina).* From today she is my wife, my companion. This has been written in the registry's books, too...

Ažaj — (36) By God! What is coming to my ears here? Am I seeing a nightmare? (37) Oh my God! It's not a dream... Look at my tragedy, sisters, girls? (38) Oh people, I am losing my mind!!! (39) *(Ažaj sits down, holding her head, Peri and Meržan hold her.)*

Zina — (40) *(stooping over Ažaj)* Aslan! Waris-xalu! Ažaj-bade does not feel well. (41) You see, this is the result of your jokes.

Waris — (42) What did I tell you... Dear girl, don't worry. (43) Ažaj is not the most delicate person, she will not die even under two stones. (44) *(Approaching Ažaj, he puts his hand around her ear.)* Nothing has happened. (45) How many earthquakes, how many wars, how many snow-drifts has Ažaj endured! There is no end to them... (46) This wedding is fun!...

Ažaj — (47) *(Jumps up from where she sits.)* Shut up, obscure idler, Wali's son! (48) May God ruin you, idiot! And may these mountains collapse over your disgraceful head! (49) May the vultures get you, scoundrel!.. You...

Waris — (50) *(Interrupts her)* It is as I said, nothing will happen to this old woman.

Ažaj — (51) *(To Aslan)* And you are from today a stranger to me. Nor do I want your offspring!... (52) I don't even want to see my pernicious grandson who has made the whole village laugh at me! (53) *(Ažaj goes back home,*

with pride, holding her head high. Rahim and Waris follow her and stop at her stairs.)

Rahim — (54) *(To Aslan and Zina)* You don't grieve, my children. Go on with the merrymaking of the party. Everything will end well. (55) *(Rahim and Waris go into the house; the people at the party are silent for a long time, looking at the door in amazement.)*

Meržan — (56) Oh my God, my God! Why did Waris go into the house? The old woman will lose her mind...

Zina — (57) *(To Aslan)* Ours has not become a wedding...

Aslan — (58) *(To Zina)* The wedding will take place, and there will be enough fun. (59) You don't know about Rahim-buba's amazing capabilities. (60) Now he will make our grandmother soft as wax that has fallen into the fire!

(61) *(Music is playing. Ažaj and Rahim are coming out of the house.)*

Rahim — (62) These are all people, Ažaj, who have come to congratulate you and the newly-weds. Give them your respect!

Ažaj — (63) It is right as you said, Rahim-xalu. But Waris really deceived me.

Rahim — (64) Don't hurt the young people, daughter. They are our hope, our future. (65) Today's party must not make you sad, on the contrary, it must make you glad. Open your eyes and look! (66) Aslan has brought a girl like a flower, a bride, into your house.

Ažaj — (67) I see... I see...

Rahim — (68) Think for yourself. In our time the words "Christian girl, Muslim girl" have no significance anymore. No significance! (69) Open your eyes widely, Ažaj. All people have become one family, we are building a new and beautiful life. (70) *(To everybody)* People, tell us, am I right?

Voices — (71) You are right! We agree with you, father!!! You are right! You are right, father!!!

Rahim — (72) Congratulations, congratulations to you, dear children! *(To Ažaj)* And congratulations to you, too, daughter, congratulations! (73) May there always be lights, may there always be a wedding in your happy house!.. (74) *(After Rahim, Waris, Ali, Meržan, Peri, and the other girls and boys congratulate Aslan and Zina on their wedding. Waris approaches Ažaj.)*

Waris — (75) Congratulations to you, too, dear Ažaj! You brought Aslan up, you gave him an education; he is such a good person, dear to the people. Well done!

Everybody — (76) Yippieh! Congratulations! Congratulations!

Music

The curtain closes.

25.5. Congress in Beliz

From the Newspaper *Kommunist*, Maxačkala, 22 July 1990.

Белижда съезд

14-июлдиз Белиждин поселокда «СССР-дин 60-йис» совхоздин Културадин дворецда лезгийрин «Садвал» тIвар ганвай гьеракатдин съезд кыле фена. Еке зал «Яшамишрай советрин халкъарин дуствал!», «Яшамишрай лезги халкъдин садвал!» ва маса лозунгри безетмишнавай. Съезда иштиракун патал Махачкъаладай, Дербентдай, Москвадай, Бакудай, Сумгаитдай, Нальчикдай, Сулейман-Стальский, Мегъарамд-хуъруьн, Ахцегъ, Къурагъ, Дербент, Хив, Табасаран, Къусар, Къуба, Хъачмас, Къуткъашен районрай делегатар атанвай. Залда съезддин делегатарни мугъманар 200 касдилай гзаф авай.

«Садвал» гьерекатдин съезд Бакуда ци ачухнавай «Хважанжан» тIвар алай издательстводин редактор, шаир Изет Шерифова ачухна. Президиум хкъягъайдалай гуьгъуьниз доклад авун патал гаф Дагпединститутдин профессор Гь. Абдурагъимоваз гана. Ада авур «Лезгистан: тарих, делилар, вакъаяр» докладдихъ кIватI хъанвайбуру дикъетдивди яб акална.

Докладчиди тайин делилар, рекъемрал бинеламиш хъуналди дегъзаманрилай инихъ лезги халкъ феи рекъел, адан гъал-агъвалдал — яшайишдал, културадал, экономикадал, тарихдал, искусствода, алай вахтунда чеб гъалун хцидаказ истемишзавай месэлайрал кIватI хъанвайбурун фикир желбна.

— Советрин власть жедалди, — лагъана ада, — чапхунчийрихъ галаз кыле феи дявейри гзаф лезгийр телеф хъунал, халкъдин руьгъдин ва материальный култура кIватунал, кхьинрин, архитектурадин памятникар, девлетар пуч хъунал гъана. Ихътин еке магърумвилеризни килиг тавуна халкъдилай вичин хайи чил, руьгъдин багъа девлет тир чIал, адетар, халкъдин яратмишунар хуьз ва несилрилай несилрал агакъариз алакъна. Гъа и кардай чна адаз юкъ агъузна икрам авуналди баркалла лугъузва.

Докладчиди лезги халкъдин тарихда чпиз чка хъайи хейлин маса чIулаз лекейриз талукъ гзаф делиларни гъана. Са чкадал лент хъана акъатай йисара чи районрай хейлин хуьрерин жемятар вичин халкъдивай яргъа авай районриз куьчарна, абуру хеб-мал хуьзвай чIулар и кар патал маса районрин майишатриз чара авуна, Азербайжандин институтра кIелзавай азербайжан студентриз стипендия гудайла лезги студентар анра кIелунай чеб институтриз гъакъи гуниз мажбур авуна.

Амма гъар са чIуру кардин эхир жедайвал, чи халкъдин кылел атай бедбахтвилерин эхирни мукъвал жезва.

И йикъара кыле феи Советрин Союздин Коммунистрин партиядин XXVIII съезддин «Инсанпересвилин, демократический социализмдихъ» кыл ганвай программный малуматда къейднавайвал миллетри та чара хъунал къедалди чпин къисмет чпи тайинарунин ихтияр гъисаба къунал бинеламиш жезва. Ихътин зурба дегъишвилер, мумкинвилер, гъелбетда, перестройкадихъ, дуьнья цийикIа тукъIуьр хъувунин Советрин госу-дарстводин руководстводин цийи концепциядихъ галаз алакъалу яз арадал атанвайди я.

Чна и кардал еке шадвал ийизва ва чи разивал къалурзава. Стха халкъарин дуствилин хзанда аваз жуван къисмет жува гъялдай мумкинвал хъунилай еке бахт жедани мегер?!|

Съезддин делегатри доклад разивилелди къабулна. Ахпа адан винел рахунар кыле фена. Трибунадихъ ДГУ-дин профессор А. Гюльмагомедов (Махачкъала шегъер), РСФСР-дин лайихлу агроном С. Эльдеров (Сулейман-

Стальский район), писатель Къ. Гъакимов, поар Ф. Нагъиев (Махачкъала шегъер), писатель З. Ризванов, журналист Гъ. Аскеров, муаллим Ж. Шерифов (Кцар шегъер ва район), культработник А. Гъажиев (Къачмаз район), режиссер Э. Регъимханов (Сумгаит шегъер), поар С. Саидгъасанов (Сулейман-Стальский район), журналист А. Атаев (Махачкъала шегъер), алишверишдин работник Х. Мирзоев (Ахцегъ район), ва маса юлдашар экъечина. Абуру съезддал гъязвавай месэлайрикай чпин фикирар лагъана.

Рахурилай гуьгъуьниз делегатри мандатный комиссиядин председателдихъ яб акална.

Сад лагъай съезддал лезги халкъдин гъерекатдин 17 касдикай ибарат правление хяна. Адан сопредседателарвиле Гъ. Абдурагъимовни И. Шерифов, абурун заместителарвиле Ф. Нагъиев, Ф. Мугъулов, Гъ. Аскеров, Т. Мустафаев тестикъарна.

Делегатри «Садвал» гъерекатдин Устав, Декларация, «Лезги халкъдиз ва Советрин Союздин вири халкъариз» эвер гун, чи уьлкведа халкъар дуствилелди яшамаш хъунин, лезги халкъ сад хъувунин ва адаз автономия гунин патахъай къарар къабулна.

И къарар абуру лазим тир идарайрин вилик эцигдайвал я.

Н. Ибрагъимов, «Коммунистдин» хсуси корр.

Beliz.d-a s"ezd
Beliz-INESS congress

(1) *14=ijul.di-z Beliz.di-n poselok.d-a «SSSR=di-n 60=jis»*
14=july-DAT Beliz-GEN settlement-INESS USSR-GEN 60=year

sovhoz.di-n Kul'tura.di-n dvorec.d-a lezgi-jr.i-n
sovkhoz-GEN culture-GEN palace-INESS Lezgian-PL-GEN

«Sadwal» t'war ga-nwa-j herekat.di-n s"ezd q'il-e
Unity name give-PRF-PTP movement-GEN congress head-INESS

fe-na. (2) Jekе zаl «Jašamiš-raj sovet-r.i-n xalq'ar.i-n
go-AOR big hall live-OPT Soviet-PL-GEN people-PL-GEN

dustwal!» «Jašamiš-raj lezgi xalq.di-n sadwal!» wa masa
friendship live-OPT Lezgian people-GEN unity and other

lozung-r.i bezetmiš-nawa-j. (3) S"ezd.d-a ištirak-un patal
slogan-PL(ERG) decorate-PRF-PST [congress-INESS participate-MSD] for

Maxačqala.d-aj, Debent.d-aj, Moskva.d-aj, Baku.d-aj,
Maxačkala-INEL Derbent-INEL Moscow-INEL Baku-INEL

Sumgait.d-aj, Nal'čik.d-aj, Sulejman-Stal'skij, Meharamdxür.ü-n,
Sumgait-INEL Nal'čik-INEL Sulejman-Stal'skij, Magaramkentskij

Axceh, Q'urah, Derbent, Xiv, Tabasaran, Qusar, Quba,
Axtynskij, Kuraxskij, Derbentskij, Xivskij, Tabasaranskij, Kusarskij, Kubinskij

Q'hačmas, Qutqaşen rajon-r-aj delegat-ar ata-nwa-j. (4) Zal.d-a
Xačmasskij, Kutkašenskij rayon-PL-INEL delegate-PL come-PRF-PST hall-INESS

s"ezd.di-n delegat-ar-ni muhman-ar 200 kas.di-laj gzaf awa-j.
congress-GEN delegate-PL-and guest-PL 200 person-SREL many be.in-PST

(5) *«Sadwal» herekat.di-n s"ezd Baku.d-a c'i ačux-nawa-j*
Unity movement-GEN congress [Baku-INESS this.year open-PRF-PTP]

«Xwažanžan» *t'war ala-j izdatel'stvo.di-n redaktor, šair Izet*
 [rainbow name be.on-PTP] publisher-GEN editor poet Izet

Šerifov.a *a čux-na. (6) Prezidium xkäg-aj-da-laj gügüniz doklad*
 Šerifov(ERG) open-AOR [presidium elect-AOP-SBST-SREL after] [speech

awu-n patal gaf Dagepeditstitut.di-n professor H.
 make-MSD for] word Dagh.Ped.Institute-GEN professor H.

Abdurahimov.a-z *ga-na. (7) Ada awu-r «Lezgistan: tarix,*
 Abdurahimov-DAT give-AOR [he(ERG) make-AOP] Lezgistan: history

delil-ar, waqia-jar» doklad.di-q^h k'wat' xa-nwa-j-bur.u
 fact-PL event-PL talk-POESS gather ANTIC-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL(ERG)

diqet.di-wdi jab akal-na.
 attention-ADDIR ear attach-AOR

(8) *Dokladči.di tajin delil-r.a-l, reqem-r.a-l binelamiš*
 speaker(ERG) [definite fact-PL-SRESS number-PL-SRESS base

xu-n.a-ldi dehzaman-r.i-laj iniq^h lezgi xalq' fe-ji req'e-l,
 ANTIC-MSD]-SRDIR [old.time-PL-SREL since Lezgian people go-AOP] path-SRESS

ada-n hal=ahwal.da-l — jašajiš.da-l, kul'tura.da-l, ekonomsika.da-l
 it-GEN state-SRESS life-SRESS culture-SRESS economy-SRESS

tarix.da-l, iskusstvo.da-l, ala-j waxt.und-a čeb hal-un
 history-SRESS art-SRESS [[be.on-PTP] time-INESS [selves solve-MSD]

xci-dakaz istemiš-zawa-j mešela-jr.a-l k'wat' xa-nwa-j-bur.u-n
 sharp-ADV demand-IMP-PTP] question-PL-SRESS gather ANTIC-PRF-PTP-SBST.PL-GEN

fikir želb-na.
 attention concentrate-AOR

— (9) *Sovet-r.i-n vlast' že-daldi, — laha-na ada, —*
 [Soviet-PL-GEN power become-POSTR] say-AOR he(ERG)

(10) *čapxunči-jr.i-q^h galaz q'il-e fe-ji dawe-jr.i gzaf*
 [invader-PL-POESS with head-INESS go-AOP] war-PL(ERG) many

lezgi-jar telef xu-n.a-l, xalq'.di-n rüh.di-n wa
 Lezgian-PL annihilate ANTIC-MSD]-SRESS [people-GEN spirit-GEN and

material'nyj kul'tura k'wat-un.a-l, kxi-n-r.i-n, arxitektura.di-n
 material culture fail-MSD]-SRESS [write-MSD-PL-GEN architecture-GEN

pamjatnik-ar, dewlet-ar puč xu-n.a-l gha-na. (11) İxtin jeke
 monument-PL wealth-PL lose ANTIC-MSD]-SRESS bring-AOR [such big

mahrumwil-er.i-z-ni kilig t-awu-na xalq'.di-laj wiči-n xaji
 deprivation-PL-DAT-also look(PER) NEG-do-AOC] people-SREL [self-GEN native

čil, rüh.di-n baha dewlet tir č'al, adet-ar, xalq'.di-n
 earth [spirit-GEN dear wealth COP:PTP] language custom-PL people-GEN

jaratmiš-un-ar xü-z wa nesil-r.i-laj nesil-r.a-l
 create-MSD-PL preserve-INF and generation-PL-SREL generation-PL-SRESS

agaq'ar.i-z ala-q'-na. (12) Ha i kar.d-aj čna ada-z juq'
 bring-INF] manage-AOR that this thing-INESS we:ERG it-DAT [[middle

ağuz-na ikram awu-n.a-ldi barkalla luhu-zwa.
 lower-AOC] bow do-MSD]-SRDIR praise say-IMP

- (13) *Dokladči.di lezgi xalq'.di-n tarix.d-a čpi-z čka*
 speaker(ERG) [Lezgian people-GEN history-INCESS selves-DAT place
ša-ji xejlin masa č'ulaw leke-jr.i-z taluq' gzaf
 become-AOP] many other black spot-PL-DAT belonging many
delil-ar-ni ga-na. (14) Sa čka.da-l leng ša-na ačat-aj
 fact-PL-also bring-AOR [one place-SRESS stop ANTIC-AOC] [pass-AOP]
jis-ar-a či rajon-r-aj xejlin xür-er.i-n žemät-ar
 year-PL-INCESS we:GEN rayon-PL-INEL many village-PL-GEN population-PL
wiči-n xalq'.di-waj jarğa awa-j rajon-r.i-z küčar-na, abur.u
 [self-GEN people-ADEL far be.in-PTP] rayon-PL-DAT resettle-AOR they(ERG)
xeb=mal xü-zwa-j čur-ar i kar patal masa rajon-r.i-n
 [cattle keep-IMP-PTP] pasture-PL this thing for other rayon-PL-GEN
majišat-r.i-z čara awu-na, (15) Azerbajžan.di-n institut-r-a
 farm-PL-DAT help do-AOR [[Azerbaijan-GEN college-PL-INCESS
k'el-zawa-j azerbajžan student-r.i-z stipendija gu-da-j-la
 study-IMP-PTP] Azerbaijani student-PL-DAT stipend give-FUT-PTP-TEMP]
lezgi student-ar an-r-a k'el-un-aj čeb institut-r.i-z hači
 Lezgian student-PL there-PL-INCESS study-MSD-INCESS selves [college-PL-DAT fee
gu-n.i-z mažbur awu-na.
 give-MSD]-DAT forced do-AOR
 (16) *Amma har sa čuru kar.di-n exir že-da-j-wal, či*
 but every one bad thing-GEN end be-FUT-PTP-MAN] [we:GEN
xalq'.di-n q'il.e-l ata-j bedbaxtwil-er.i-n exir-ni muq'wal
 people-GEN head-SRESS come-AOP] unhappiness-PL-GEN end-too close
že-zwa.
 be-IMP
 (17) *I jiq-ar-a q'il-e fe-ji Sovet-r.i-n Sojuz.di-n*
 [[this day-PL-INCESS head-INCESS go-AOP] Soviet-PL-GEN Union-GEN
Kommunist-r.i-n partija.di-n XXVIII s'ezd.di-n «Insanpereswil.i-n,
 Communist-PL-GEN party-GEN 28th congress-GEN [humanity-GEN
demokratičeskij socializm.di-q^h» q'il ga-nwa-j programmnyj
 democratic socialism-POESS title give-PRF-PTP] programmatic
malumat.d-a qejd-nawa-j-wal millet-r.i ta čara
 declaration-INCESS observe-PRF-PTP-MAN] [[nation-PL(ERG) [until separate
šu-n.a-l qwe-daldi čpi-n q'ismet čpi
 become-MSD-SRESS come-POSTR] selves-GEN destiny selves(ERG)
tajinar-un.i-n ixtijar hisaba q'u-n.a-l binelamiš že-zwa.
 determine-MSD]-GEN right count hold-MSD]-SRESS based be-IMP
 (18) *Ixtin zurba degišwil-er, mumkinwil-er, helbetda,*
 such enormous change-PL possibility-PL of.course
perestrojka.di-q^h, dünja c'iji-k'a tük'ür q^huwu-n.i-n
 perestroika-POESS [world new-ADV organize(PER) REPET-MSD]-GEN
Sovet-r.i-n gosudarstvo.di-n rukovodstvo.di-n c'iji koncepcija.di-q^h
 Soviet-PL-GEN state-GEN leadership-GEN new conception-POESS
galaz alačalu ja-z ara.da-l ata-nwa-j-di ja.
 with connected be-IMC middle-SRESS come-PRF-PTP-SBST COP

- (19) Čna i kar.da-l jeke šadwal iji-zwa wa či raziwal
 we:ERG this thing-SRESS big joy do-IMPF and we:GEN satisfaction
 q̄alur-zawa. (20) Stxa xalq'ar.i-n dustwil.i-n xzan.d-a
 show-IMPF [[[brother people-PL-GEN friendship-GEN family-INNESS
 awa-z žuwa-n q'ismet žuwa hāl-da-j mumkinwal
 be.in-IMC] self-GEN destiny self(ERG) decide-FUT-PTP] possibility
 xu-n.i-laj jeke baxt že-da-ni meger?
 be-MSD]-SREL big happiness be-FUT-Q PT
- (21) S"ezd.di-n delegat-r.i doklad raziwil.e-ldi q'abul-na.
 congress-GEN delegate-PL(ERG) speech satisfaction-SRDIR receive-AOR
- (22) Axa ada-n winel raxu-n-ar q'il-e fe-na.
 then it-GEN above talk-MSD-PL head-INNESS go-AOR
- (23) Tribuna.di-q^h DGU=di-n professor A. Gjul'magomedov
 stage-POESS DGU-GEN professor A. Gjul'magomedov
- (Maxačqala šeher), RSFSR=di-n lajixlu agronom S. Èl'derov
 Maxačkala city RSFSR-GEN merited agronomist S. Èlderov
- (Sulejman-Stal'skij rajon), pisatel' Q. Hakimov, (24) šair F.
 Sulejman-Stal'skij rayon writer Q. Hakimov poet F,
- Nağiev (Maxačqala šeher), pisatel' Z. Rizvanov,
 Nağiev Maxačkala city writer Z. Rizvanov
- žurnalist H. Askerov, muallim Ž. Šerifov (Kc'ar šeher
 journalist H. Askerov teacher Ž. Šerifov Kc'ar city
 wa rajon), kul'trabotnik A. Hažiev (Qačmaz rajon),
 and rayon cultural.worker A. Hažiev Qačmaz rayon
- režisser E. Rehimxanov (Sumgait šeher), (25) šair S.
 director E. Rehimxanov Sumgait city poet S.
- Saidhasanov (Sulejman-Stal'skij rajon), žurnalist A. Ataev
 Saidhasanov Sulejman-Stal'skij rayon journalist A. Ataev
- (Maxačqala šeher), ališveriš.di-n rabotnik X. Mirzoev (Axceh
 Maxačkala city trade-GEN worker X. Mirzoev Axtynskij
 rajon), wa masa juldaš-ar eqeč'-na. (26) Abur.u s"ezd.da-l
 rayon and other comrade-PL go.out-AOR they(ERG) [congress-SRESS
 hāl-zawa-j mesčela-jr.i-kaj čpi-n fikir-ar laha-na.
 decide-IMPF-PTP] question-PL-SBESS selves-GEN thought-PL say-AOR
- (27) Raxu-n-r.i-laj güğüniz delegat-r.i mandatnyj komissija.di-n
 talk-MSD-PL-SREL after delegate-PL(ERG) credentials commission-GEN
 predsdatel.di-q^h jab akal-na.
 chair-POESS ear attach-AOR
- (28) Sad lahaj s"ezd.da-l lezgi xalq'.di-n herekat.di-n
 one ORD congress-SRESS Lezgian people-GEN movement-GEN
- 17 kas.di-kaj ibarat pravlenie xkä-na. (29) Ada-n
 17 person-SBEL consisting exec.committee elect-AOR it-GEN
- sopredsdatel-ar-wil-e H. Abdurahimov-ni I. Šerifov,
 cochair-PL-ABST-INNESS H. Abdurahimov-and I. Šerifov

abur.u-n zamestitel-ar-wil-e F. Naġiev, F. Muġulov,
 they-GEN deputy-PL-ABST-INNESS F. Naġiev F. Muġulov

H. Askerov, T. Mustafaev testiq'ar-na.
 H. Askerov T. Mustafaev conform-AOR

(30) *Delegat-r.i «Sadwal» herekat.di-n Ustav, Deklaracija,*
 delegate-PL(ERG) Unity movement-GEN statute declaration

«Lezgi xalq'di-z wa Sovet-r.i-n Sojuz.di-n wiri xalq'-ar.i-z»
 Lezgian people-DAT and Soviet-PL-GEN Union-GEN all people-PL-DAT

ewer gu-n, ċi ũlkwe.d-a xalq'-ar dustwil.e-ldi
 call give-MSD [we:GEN country-INNESS people-PL friendship-SRDIR

jašamiš ũu-n.i-n, lezgi xalq' sad q'huwu-n.i-n wa
 living be-MSD]-GEN [Lezgian people one REPET:make-MSD]-GEN and

ada-z avtonomija gu-n.i-n pataq'aj q'arar q'abul-na.
 [it-DAT autonomy give-MSD]-GEN for resolution accept-AOR

(31) *I q'arar abur.u lazim tir idara-jr.i-n wilik*
 this resolution they(ERG) [necessary COP:PTP] institution-PL-GEN before

ecig-da-j-wal ja.
 put-FUT-PTP-PURP COP

N. Ibrahimov, «Kommunist.di-n» xsusi korr.
 N. Ibrahimov Kommunist-GEN own corr.

Congress in Beliz

(1) On July 14 in the settlement of Beliz in the culture palace of the state farm "60 years USSR" took place a congress of the Lezgian movement called "Sadwal" (unity). (2) The big room was decorated with slogans such as "Long live the friendship of Soviet peoples", "Long live the unity of the Lezgian people", and others. (3) In order to take part in the congress, delegates had come from Maxačkala, Derbent, Moscow, Baku, Sumgait, Nał'čik, and the following rayons: Sulejman-Stal'skij, Magaramkentskij, Axtynskij, Kuraxskij, Derbentskij, Xivskij, Tabasaranskij, Kusarskij, Kubinskij, Xačmasskij, Kutkašenskij. (4) More than 200 people, the delegates of the congress and guests, filled the room.

(5) The congress of the Sadwal movement was opened by the poet Izet Šerifov, editor of the publishing house Xwažanžan that was opened this year in Baku. (6) After the presidium had been elected, the word was given to H. Abdurahimov, professor of the Daghestanian Pedagogical Institute, to give his talk. (7) Those present listened attentively to his speech "Lezgiŧan: History, facts, events".

(8) Basing himself on concrete facts and numbers, the speaker directed the attention of the audience to the path passed by the Lezgian people since old times, to its present state — life, culture, economics, history, art, and questions that are nowadays urgently demanding a solution.

(9) "Before Soviet power was established", he said, (10) "the wars with the invaders led to a situation where many Lezgians perished, the people's spiritual and material culture was in decline, and literary documents and architectural monuments and riches were lost. (11) In spite of such big depriva-

tions, the people managed to preserve and pass on from generation to generation its native soil, its language, a spiritual gold mine, its customs and the people's creations. (12) For this we bow to it and praise it."

(13) The speaker cited many facts relating to a lot of other black spots in the history of the Lezgian people. (14) Having lived very long in one place, the populations of many villages in past years were resettled to rayons far away from their people; they turned to the farms of the other rayons for help with the pastures for keeping sheep and cattle; (15) While the Azerbaijani students who study in Azerbaijani colleges are given a stipend, the Lezgian students there were forced to pay themselves for tuition to the colleges.

(16) But just as there is an end to every bad thing, the end to the disasters that have happened to our people is near.

(17) As is observed in the programmatic declaration of the 28th congress of the CPSU that took place these days, entitled "For a humane, democratic socialism", the party recognizes the right of nations to determine their destiny themselves, even including separation. (18) Such enormous changes and possibilities have, of course, arisen in connection with perestroika, the new conception of the Soviet state leadership for renewing the world.

(19) We are very glad about this and we express our satisfaction. (20) Can there be bigger happiness than the possibility to decide one's destiny for oneself in a harmonious family of fraternal peoples?"

(21) The delegates of the congress received the speech with satisfaction. (22) Then there was a discussion about it. (23) Onto the stage went A. Gülmehamedov, professor of DGU (Maxačkala), S. Elderov, merited agronomist of the RSFSR (Sulejman-Stal'skij rayon), the writer Q. Hakimov, (24) the poet F. Naĝiev (Maxačkala), the writer Z. Rizvanov, the journalist H. Askerov, the teacher Z. Šerifov (town and rayon of Kc'ar), the cultural worker A. Hažiev (Qačmaz rayon), the theater director E. Rehimxanov (Sumgait), (25) the poet S. Saidhasanov (Sulejman-Stal'skij rayon), the journalist A. Ataev (Maxačkala), the trade worker X. Mirzoev (Axtynskij rayon), and other comrades. (26) They expressed their views on the questions to be decided at the congress.

(27) After the speeches, the delegates listened to the chair of the credentials commission.

(28) At the first congress an executive committee of the Lezgian people's movement consisting of 17 persons was elected. (29) H. Abdurahimov and I. Šerifov were confirmed as its co-chairs, F. Naĝiev, F. Muĝulov, H. Askerov and T. Mustafaev were confirmed as deputy chairs.

(30) The delegates accepted a statute of the Sadwal movement, a declaration, an appeal "To the Lezgian people and all peoples of the Soviet Union", and a resolution for friendly coexistence of all the peoples of our country, and for reunification and autonomy of the Lezgian people.

(31) They will present this resolution to the relevant institutions.

N. Ibrahimov, own correspondent of "Kommunist"

25.6. An early text in the Latin script

This text is the preface to *hežibegen* (1931). It is given first in the original Latin script and original spelling, then in the modern Cyrillic spelling, and finally in transcription (with interlinear morphemic glosses) based on the modern spelling.

kçeјdan ppattaj.

edebijatdin çalan-ni arfagrafidin mes'elejar hel avun sa aqvan rehet ttir kçalax ttuş. ci lezgijar çtti zihil edebijat avaj xalqariz i mes'elejar hel avun amajdalani cetin je. i karda caz amaj xalqariz avaj çtti netiza avac. ci reş amaj xalqarin reş çiz acux çanavaj reş ttuş. cna ha gila reşer zuoçur ijizava.

za kçenavaj i kttabdal lezgi edebijatdin çalan-ni arfagrafidin mes'ele hel çana kytteh zezavac. imi za kttabda işsignavaj mes'elejar hel avuniz reş zuoçurniz avunavaj sifte alaşun je. inuz kligna, çeldajburvaj va gzaф-ni gzaф muallimrivaj i kttabdiz tençiddin vileldi kligna kvaj kemiveler axttarmşna qalurun çalab ijizava za.

kçeјdi

Кхъейдан патай

Эдебиятдин чіаланни орфографиядин месэляяр гьял авун са акъван регьят тир ківалах туш. Чи лезгияр хьтин жегьил эдебият авай халкъариз и месэляяр гьял авун амайдалани четин я. И карда чаз амай халкъариз авай хьтин нетижа авач. Чи рехъ амай халкъарин рехъ хьиз ачух хъанвай рехъ туш. Чна гъа гила рекьер жугъурзава.

За кхъенвай и ктабдал лезги эдебиятдин чіаланни орфографиядин месэла гьял хъана куэтягъ жезвач. Им за ктабда эцигнавай месэляяр гьял авуниз рехъ жугъуруниз авунвай сифте алахъун я. Иниз килигна, келдайбурувай ва гзафни-гзаф муаллимривай и ктабдиз тенкьиддин вилелди килигна квай кимивилер ахтармишна къалурун тлалаб ийизава за.

Кхъейди

Kçe-j-di pataj
write-AOP-SBST from

(1) *Edebijat.di-n ç'al.a-n-ni orfografija.di-n mesçela-jar hæl*
[literature-GEN language-GEN-and orthography-GEN question-PL solve

awu-n sa aq'wan rehät tir k'walax tuş. (2) Çi lezgi-jar
do-MSD] one so.much easy COP:PTP job COP:NEG we:GEN Lezgian-PL

çtin žehil edebijat awa-j xalq'ar.i-z i mesçela-jar hæl
like [young literature be.in-PTP] people-PL-DAT [this question-PL solve

awu-n ama-j.d.a-laj-ni çetin ja. (3) I kar.d-a ça-z
do-MSD] [stay-PTP]-SBST-SREL-also difficult COP this thing-INESS we-DAT

ama-j xalq'-ar.i-z awa-j xtin netiža awa-č. (4) Či req^h
 [stay-PTP people-PL-DAT be.in-PTP] like result be.in-NEG we:GEN path

ama-j xalq'-ar.i-n req^h xiz ačux xa-nwa-j req^h tuš.
 [stay-PTP people-PL-GEN way like open become-PRF-PTP] way COP:NEG

(5) *Čna gila req'-er žuğur-zawa.*
 we:ERG now way-PL find-IMPF

(6) *Za kxe-nwa-j i ktab.d-al lezgi edebijat.di-n*
 [I:ERG write-PRF-PTP] this book-SRESS Lezgian literature-GEN

č'al.a-n-ni orfografija.di-n meşela hăl xa-na kütäh
 language-GEN-and orthography-GEN question solve become-AOC finish

že-zwa-č. (7) Im za ktab.d-a ecig-nawa-j meşela-jar hăl
 become-IMPF-NEG this:ABS [[[I:ERG book-INNESS put-PRF-PTP] question-PL solve

awu-n.i-z req^h žuğur-un.i-z awu-nwa-j sifte alağ^h-un ja.
 do-MSD]-DAT way find-MSD]-DAT do-PRF-PTP] first strive-MSD COP

(8) *Iniz kilig-na, k'el-da-j-bur.u-waj wa gzaf-ni=gzaf*
 [hither look-AOC] read-FUT-PTP-SBST.PL-ADEL and much-and=much

muallim-r.i-waj i ktab.di-z tenq̄d.di-n wil.e-ldi kilig-na
 teacher-PL-ADEL [this book-DAT [criticism-GEN eye-SRDIR look-AOC]

kwa-j kimiwil-er axtarmiš-na qalur-un t'alab iji-zwa za.
 be.under-PTP defect-PL seek-AOC show-MSD] request do-IMPF I:ERG

Kxe-j-di
 write-AOP-SBST.SG

From the author

(1) Solving problems of the literary language and the orthography is not such an easy thing. (2) It is more difficult than other things to solve these problems for peoples with a young literary language like our Lezgians. (3) In this area we do not have the same experience that other peoples have. (4) Our way is not an open way like other peoples' way. (5) We are now finding our ways.

(6) In this book which I have written, the problem of the Lezgian literary language and the orthography has not been definitely solved. (7) It is a first attempt which was undertaken to find a way for solving the problems that I posed in this book. (8) Therefore, I ask readers and, in particular, teachers to look for shortcomings in this book with a critical eye and point them out.

The author

Chapter 26

Lezgian-English vocabulary

Where appropriate, entries in this vocabulary have been supplied with additional information:

- (i) on **pronunciation** in slashes (phonemic transcription, sometimes partial);
- (ii) on **inflection** in parentheses (strong verbs: Infinitive, Aorist, sometimes Imperative; monosyllabic nouns: oblique stem, sometimes plural);
- (iii) on **syntax** in curly brackets (valence patterns). In the valence patterns, the letters that symbolize arguments are in principle arbitrary, but the following mnemonic conventions have been followed: A = (Ergative) "agent", T = (Absolutive) "theme", E = experiencer, R = recipient, L = locative argument, V = subordinate clause. The cases of the arguments are indicated by subscripts. On T and A arguments, the "ABS" and "ERG" are generally omitted for economy;
- (iv) on **etymology** in square brackets: the ultimate origin has been indicated for many loanwords (A. = Arabic, P. = Persian, T. = Turkic, represented here by the Turkish form unless Az. = Azerbaijani is specified). Note that only strongly assimilated loanwords from Russian have been included in this vocabulary.

<i>a</i>	that (11.4)	
<i>abád</i>	prosperous	[P. abadan]
<i>ábur</i>	they (11.4)	
<i>abúr</i>	dignity, decency	[T. abiru, A. ʔ-b-r]
<i>acáltun</i> {T L _{SRESS} }	L is filled with T, L gets T	
<i>acáʒun</i>	collapse	
<i>acún</i> (-áz, -ána, -úz) /-ts-/ {A T}	A milks T	
<i>acúq'un</i> /a'tsuq'un/	sit down	
<i>ac'aj</i>	full	
<i>ac'ún</i> (-úz, -ána) {T L _{ADESS} }	T becomes full of L	
<i>ačúx</i> /a'ʧ ^h ux/	open, clear	[T. açık]
<i>adet</i>	custom	[A. ʒaadat]
<i>adet jaz</i>	usually	
<i>adettin</i>	usual	
<i>afní</i>	cucumber	
<i>agáql'un</i>	achievement, success	
<i>agáltun</i> /-t ^h -/ {T L _{POESS} }	T leans to L; T joins L	
<i>agálun</i>	close	
<i>agáq'un</i>		
1. {T}	T ripens, becomes mature	
2. {T L _{ADESS} }	T reaches L	
<i>agátun</i> /-t ^h -/ {T L _{ADESS} }	T grow lean; T approaches L	
<i>agáʒun</i>	approach	
<i>agáʒun</i> {A T}	A pulls T together	
<i>agúduun</i> {A T L _{ADESS} }	A approaches T to L	

<i>ağá</i>	lower (11.4.)	
<i>ağáda</i>	down, below (12.1.1.4.)	
<i>ağún (-áz, -ána)</i> {T L _{POESS} }	T believes L	
<i>ağúr</i>	heavy, difficult	[T. ađır]
<i>ağúz</i>	low, below (12.1.1.4.)	
<i>ağzúr (-di)</i>	a thousand	
<i>ah</i>	groan, moan	
<i>aháli</i>	inhabitant	[A. ʔahlíi]
<i>ahwálat</i>	circumstance, event	[A. ʔahwaal]
<i>aja</i>	do! (→ <i>awun</i>)	
<i>ajál</i>	child	
<i>ajlb</i>	shame	[A. ʔayb]
<i>ajnájar</i>	glasses, spectacles	[P. aʔine 'mirror'?]
<i>ajwán</i>	balcony	
<i>akálun</i> {A T L _{POESS} }	A strings T on L; A ties, attaches T to L	
<i>jab akalun</i> {A L _{POESS} }	A listens to L	
<i>akatun</i> /a'k ^h at ^h un/ {T L _{SBESS} }	T comes to L, T reaches L, L experiences T	
<i>akaʃun</i> /a'k ^h axun/ {T L _{SBESS} }	T mixes with L, T joins L, T enters L	
<i>aksi(na)</i> /ak ^h si(na)/	against (12.2.4.3.)	
<i>akudun</i> /a'k ^h udun/	invite to dance	
<i>akun (-áz, -úna, -ú)</i> /a'kun/		
1. {E _{DAT} T}	E sees T (15.4.1., 20.6.2.)	
2. {X ʔiz T}	T looks like X (24.2.1.)	
<i>ak'</i>	thus, like that (11.3.)	
<i>ak'ázarun</i>	bend	
<i>ak'ún (ek'íz, ak'ána)</i>	be stuck; (of the sun) set	
<i>ak'úrun</i> (A T L _{INESS})	A sticks T somewhere (L); A plants T	
<i>alá</i>	be on (17.6.5.)	
<i>alad</i>	go! (→ <i>fin</i>)	
<i>alámat</i>	amazement	
<i>aláqa</i>	relation	[A. ʔalaaqat]
<i>aláq^hun</i>		
1. {V _{INF} }	strive to V (20.2.1.)	
2. {L _{SRESS} }	strive for L	
<i>aláq'un</i>		
1. {T L _{SREL} }	L is able to do T	
2. {L _{SREL} [V _{INF}]}	L is able to V (20.2.2.)	
<i>alátun</i> {T L _{SREL} }	fall off, go away from L; go by, pass (time)	
<i>aláwa</i>	additional	
<i>alawa awun</i>	add	
<i>aláxun</i>	spill over; fade; become clear (weather); end	
<i>alážun</i>	tear off	
<i>alcúmun</i> /-ts ^h -/ {A T L _{SRESS} }	A hangs L on T; A measures T (using L as standard)	
<i>alčax</i> /al'ʧ ^h ax/	mean, base, vile	[T. alčak]
<i>alčukun</i> /al'ʧ ^h uk ^h un/	wind, wrap	
<i>aldátmišun</i>	deceive	[T. aldatmak]
<i>alím</i>	scholar	[A. ʔaalim]
<i>alk'ún (-íz, -ána)</i> {T L _{SREL} }	stick, cling (to L)	
<i>Alláh</i>	God	[A. ʔallaah]
<i>altádun</i> {A T L _{SREL} }	A strokes L with T	

<i>alt'úšun</i>	gather (intr.)
<i>alúdun</i> {A T L _{SREL} }	A takes away T from L
<i>alúk'un</i> {A T L _{SRESS} }	A puts T (clothes) on L, puts on T
<i>alúq'un</i>	fall
<i>a m</i>	that one; he, she, it (cf. 11.4.)
<i>a m á</i>	be still (17.6.6.)
<i>a m á l</i>	action; prank, trick [A. ʃamal]
<i>á m m a</i>	but (16.3.5.1.) [A. ʔammaa]
<i>a m ú q ' u n</i>	remain (17.4.)
{T _{ABS} [V _{INF}]}	T continues to V
<i>á n a</i>	there (11.3.)
<i>a n h e</i>	voilà, behold
<i>a n i q h</i>	on that side (11.3.), beyond (12.2.1.11.)
<i>a n ž á x</i>	only (13.2.2.); but (16.3.5.1.) [T. ancak]
<i>a p á j (-a) /a'paj/</i>	father-in-law
<i>a q á t u n /a'qat^hun/</i>	come out, appear
<i>a q á x u n</i>	rip open (intr.); become overripe
<i>a q á ž u n</i>	pull; compete
<i>a q ú d u n</i>	take out
<i>q'ílž a q ú d u n</i>	fulfill, realize
<i>a q ú ž u n</i>	burn, scorch (intr.)
<i>a q w á z u n</i>	stop (intr.)
<i>a q ' á l t u n</i> {T L _{SRESS} }	go up, appear (on L)
<i>a q ' á l t ' u n</i>	finish, be finished
<i>a q ' á l u n</i>	close
<i>a q ' á x u n</i>	climb
<i>a q ' ú l</i>	intelligence [A. ʃaql]
<i>a q ' ú n (-az, -una):</i>	
{E _{ABS} X _{GEN} } <i>ğawurda a q ' u n</i>	E understands X
<i>a q ' w a n</i>	so much (11.3., 12.1.4.)
<i>a q h á</i>	open
<i>a q h á j u n</i>	open (tr.) ; tell (story); discover; set free
<i>a r á</i>	interval, period [T. ara]
<i>a r á d a l a t ú n</i>	arise
<i>a r á - b i r</i>	time and again, sometimes
<i>a r a d a</i> {X _{GEN} }	between X
<i>a r á b a</i>	cart, vehicle [A. ʃarabat]
<i>a r t u x /art^hux/</i>	more [T. artik]
<i>a r z á</i>	complaint [P. arzu 'wish?']
<i>a s á n t</i>	easy [P. asan]
<i>a s k é r</i>	soldier [A. ʃaskar]
<i>a s k ' á n</i>	low
<i>a s l á n</i>	lion [T. aslan]
<i>a s ú l</i>	main, chief [A. aʃl]
<i>a s t a /as'ta/</i>	slow [P. aheste]
<i>a š k á r a</i>	evident, clear, open [P. aškara]
<i>a š q í</i>	inspiration, enthusiasm [A. ʃ-š-q]
<i>a t ú n (qwez, atána, ša) /a'tun/</i>	come
<i>a t ' á</i>	that, yonder (11.4.)
<i>a t ' ú ž u n</i>	frown, become gloomy
<i>a t ' ú n (-úz, -ána)</i>	cut off (tr./intr.) (15.6.)

<i>awá</i>	be in, be (cf. 9.5.1., 17.6.1.)	
<i>awá</i> {X _{POESS} /DAT Y _{ABS} }	X has Y	
<i>awádan</i>	fruitful, flourishing	
<i>awádarun</i>	roll, put down	
<i>awatun</i> /a'wat ^h un/	fall	
<i>awáz</i>	melody	
<i>awázun</i>	roll, flow	
<i>awúdun</i>	take down	
<i>awún</i> (<i>ijtz</i> , <i>awúna</i> , <i>aja</i>)	1. do, make	
	2. auxiliary verb (10.6., 9.3.5.)	
	3. make (17.5.)	
<i>axmáq'</i>	stupid	[A. ʔahmaq]
<i>axtármišun</i>	search, research	[T. aktarmak]
<i>axwár</i> (-i)	sleep	
<i>azáb</i>	suffering, torment	[A. ʃaʃaab]
<i>azád</i>	free	[P. azad]
<i>azár</i>	illness	[P. azar]
<i>azarlú</i> {Y _{SBEL} }	sick, suffering from Y	
<i>aztjat</i>	suffering, burden	[A. ʔaʃiiyat]
<i>azíz</i>	dear	[A. ʃaziiz]
<i>ažéb</i>	marvelous, amazing	[A. ʃajab]
<i>ažál</i>	death	[A. ʃajal]
<i>ažúǵ</i>	anger, spite	
<i>ažúz</i>	weak	[A. ʃaajiz]
<i>báde</i>	grandmother	
<i>baǵtšlamišun</i>	forgive	[T. baǵıslamak]
<i>baǵtışun</i>	give (as a gift)	[T. baǵıʃ]
<i>baǵlama</i>	bundle, parcel	[T. baǵlama]
<i>baǵmánči</i>	gardener	[P. baǵban]
<i>bahá</i>	expensive, dear	[P. bæha]
<i>baján</i>	explanation	[A. bayaan]
<i>balá</i>	1. child 2. misfortune, calamity	
<i>balk'án</i>	horse	
<i>balúǵ</i>	fish	[T. balık]
<i>barabár</i>	equal	[P. bæ-r-a-bær]
<i>barádaj</i>	about (12.2.4.2.)	
<i>barbát'un</i>	destroy	[P. bærbad]
<i>bárkalla</i>	praise; well done!	[A. baarik-allaah]
<i>barmák</i>	Caucasian fur cap	
<i>basmíšun</i>	press	[T. basmak]
<i>bašlamišun</i>		[T. bašlamak]
1. {A T}	A begins T	
2. {V _{MSD} }	begin to V (20.2.5.)	
<i>bašqá</i>	1. special	[T. baška]
{X _{SREL} }	2. except for X	
<i>batmíšarun</i>	sink (tr.)	[T. batmak]
<i>baxčá</i>	garden	[P. baýče]
<i>baxt</i> (-úni)	happiness, luck	[P. bæxt]
<i>bazár</i>	market	[P. bazar]

<i>bažahát</i>	hardly (16.3.4.1.)	
<i>bažánax</i>	wife's sister's husband	[T. bacanak]
<i>bäzíl</i>	several (cf. 14.2.1.)	[A. bařd]
<i>bedbáxt</i>	unhappy	[P. bædbæxt]
<i>bedén</i>	body	
<i>begénmiš xun</i> {T E _{DAT} }	E likes T	[T. beğenmek]
<i>behém</i>	sufficient; sufficiently, quite	
<i>behér</i>	harvest, crop	
<i>bejáburun</i>	disgrace	[bej- (8.2.2.) + abur]
<i>bejkéf xun</i>	be offended	[bej- + keř]
<i>bélki</i>	perhaps	[T. belki]
<i>bes</i>	1. sufficient 2. question particle, cf. 23.5.1.	
<i>bic'í</i>	small	
<i>bilbíl</i>	nightingale	[A. bulbul, T. bülbül]
<i>biné</i>	foundation	[A. binaa?]
<i>birdán</i>	suddenly	[T. birden]
<i>bišt</i>	deaf	
<i>bizárun</i> {A T}	A bores T, T is fed up with A	
<i>bizár xun</i> {T L _{SBEL} }	T is fed up with L	
<i>biž</i>	illegitimate child	
<i>bubá</i>	father	
<i>buğ (-ádi)</i>	steam	[T. buğu]
<i>buj</i>	stature, figure	[T. boy]
<i>bujrúğ</i>	order, command	[T. buyruk]
<i>bujrúğun</i> {A _{ERG} M _{DAT} [V _{MSD}]}	A orders M to V (20.3.2.)	
<i>bújur</i>	please	[T. buyur]
<i>ša bújur</i>	welcome	
<i>bul</i>	abundant	[T. bol]
<i>buláx</i>	spring, source	[T. bulak]
<i>bulút</i>	cloud	[T. bulut]
<i>burán</i>	pumpkin	[T. Az. borany]
<i>burž (-úni)</i>	debt	[T. borç]
<i>bustán</i>	garden	[P. bostan]
<i>buš</i>	empty	[T. boş]
<i>bürq'ü'</i>	blind	
<i>cal (cla) /tshal/</i>	wall	
<i>can /tsan/</i>	plowing	
<i>caw (-ú) /tsaw/</i>	sky, air	
<i>caz (cacúni) /tsaz/</i>	thorn	
<i>cegw (cekwré) /tseg^w/</i>	ant	
<i>cic'ib /tsh'its'ib/</i>	chicken	
<i>cif (-édi) /tsif, tsh'ifedi/</i>	cloud	
<i>cil (-íni) /tsil/</i>	seed, stone (of fruit)	
<i>cun (caz, cána, cuz) /tsun/</i>	strew, pour, sow; plow	
<i>cun (cwaz, cwána, cuz) /tsun/</i>	sew	
<i>cur (cúri) /tsur/</i>	cattle-shed	
<i>curu /tsu'ru/</i>	sour	
<i>cük (-édi) /tsyk^h, tsh'uk^wedi/</i>	flower	
<i>cük' (cük'wé) /tsyk', tsh'uk^wwe/</i>	millet	

<i>cürü'xüm</i> <i>cwar (-ádi) /tsʷar/</i>	sweet and sharp urine	
<i>c'aj (c'u, c'a, c'ajár)</i> <i>c'ájlapan</i> <i>c'akul /tsa'kʰul/</i> <i>c'alc'ám</i> <i>c'ar (-c'l)</i> <i>c'arú</i> <i>c'arx (-úni)</i> <i>c'eh (-ré)</i> <i>c'i</i> <i>c'urún (-áz, -ána, c'urúr)</i>	fire (7.1.4.) lightning feather smooth, polished line gray scratch goat this year (12.1.2.1.) melt (intr.)	
<i>čalšmiš xun</i> <i>čam (-rá) /ʃ-/</i> <i>čan (-di) /ʃan/</i> <i>čantá /ʃʰan'tʰa/</i> <i>čap</i> <i>čap</i> <i>čapla /ʃʰapʰla/</i> <i>čar (-č) /ʃar/</i> <i>čara /ʃʰara/</i> <i>čarasuz</i> <i>čara /ʃara/</i> <i>čarx (-ú) /ʃʰarx/</i> <i>čeb (čpi) /ʃʰeb/</i> <i>čpi-čeb</i> <i>čeb (čepédi) /ʃ-/</i> <i>čekme /ʃʰekʰme/</i> <i>češmé /ʃʰ-/</i> <i>češné /ʃʰ-/</i> <i>četin /ʃʰetʰin/</i> <i>čextr /ʃʰ-/</i> <i>či- /ʃi-/</i> 1. {E _{DAT} T _{ABS} } 2. {E _{DAT} [V _{INF}]} 3. {E _{DAT} [V _{PTP-di}]}	endeavor, make efforts bridegroom soul, life (hand)bag slanting, squinting, oblique press, printing-house left-hand paper; letter; skin (on milk), cream help, means necessary separate; stranger, foreign cliff, neck; wheel selves (11.2., 22.4.3.) each other (22.5.) clay boot source, spring specimen, model, prototype difficult wine know (9.5.2.3.) E knows T E knows how to V (20.2.2.) E knows that V (20.4.) earth, soil net warm face (7.1.1.4.) secretly, illegally dirty A teaches T to R (causative of <i>či-</i>) find out, learn, know (ANTIC of <i>čirun</i>) place instead of X crust, rind, peel	[T. çalışmak] [P. jan] [T. çanta] [P. çəp] [P. çap] [P. çəp] [P. çare] [P. çærx 'wheel'] [T. çekme] [P. çeşme] [T. çeşni] [T. çetin] [T. Az. çaxyr]
<i>čil (-i) /ʃ-/</i> <i>čil (-tini) /ʃʰ-/</i> <i>čimi /ʃʰ-/</i> <i>čin (čni, čnar) /ʃ-/</i> <i>činéba</i> <i>čirkín /ʃʰrkin/</i> <i>člrun {A T R_{DAT}} /ʃ-/</i> <i>čir xun</i> <i>čka /ʃʰka/</i> <i>čkádal {X_{GEN}}</i> <i>čkal /ʃʰkal/</i>		

<i>čubán</i> /ʃ ^h -/	shepherd, herder	[T. çoban]
<i>čubáruk</i> /ʃ ^h -/	swallow	
<i>čukúrun</i> /ʃ ^h -/	chase; run	
<i>čuk'úl</i> /ʃ ^h -/	knife	
<i>čuk'ún</i> (čk'íz, čk'ána) /ʃ ^h -/	dissolve, spread (intr.)	
<i>čumál</i> /ʃ ^h -/	cornel, Cornelian cherry	
<i>čun</i> /ʃ ^h -/	we (11.1.)	
<i>čuplax</i> /ʃ ^h -/	naked	[T. çıplak]
<i>čurú</i> /ʃ ^h -/	beard	
<i>čurún</i> (čráz, črána) /ʃ ^h -/	bake; ripen (tr./intr.)(15.6.)	
<i>čuxsáğul</i> /ʃ ^h -/	gratefulness; thank you!	[T. çok sağ ol]
<i>čuxún</i> (čuxwáz, čuxwána) /ʃ ^h -/	scratch	
<i>čül</i> (-d, -leri) /ʃ ^h -/	steppe (7.1.1.7.)	[T. çöl]
<i>čünü xun</i> /ʃ ^h -/	steal, hide	
<i>čüq'ü'n</i> (-q'wéz, -q'wéna) /ʃ ^h -/	press	
<i>čü'q'un</i> /ʃ ^h -/	say a word (negative polarity item)	
<i>čüxwér</i> /ʃ ^h -/	pear	
<i>čüxü'n</i> (-ü'z, čüxwéna) /ʃ ^h -/	wash	
<i>čxra</i> /ʃ ^h -/	spinning wheel	
<i>č'agún</i> (-úz, -ána)	freeze; become beautiful	
<i>č'ağán</i>	accordion	
<i>č'al</i> (-á)	language, speech, word (cf. also 20.8.2.)	
<i>č'aláq^h xun</i> {T _{ABS} L _{POESS} }	T believes L	
<i>č'ar</i> (-č'í)	hair	
<i>č'aw</i> (-á)	time	
<i>a č'awúz</i>	at that time	
[...V _{PTP}] č'awúz	when...V... (21.4.6.)	
<i>č'eméruk</i>	onion	
<i>č'exí</i>	big	
<i>č'iž</i> (-ré)	bee	
<i>č'ugún</i> (-gwáz, -úna)	pull, draw	
<i>č'uk</i> (-úni)	chunk, piece	
<i>č'ul</i> (-úni)	belt	
<i>č'uláw</i>	black	
<i>č'ur</i> (-á)	pasture	
<i>č'urú</i>	wild; sad	
<i>č'úrun</i>	spoil	
<i>č'ut</i> (-rá)	flea	
<i>dabán</i>	heel	[T. Az. daban]
<i>dad</i> (-úni)	taste	[T. tat]
<i>daftár</i>	notebook	[A. daftar]
<i>dağ</i> (-di, -lár)	mountain (7.1.1.7.)	[T. dağ]
<i>dak'ár</i>	window	
<i>daldám</i>	drum	
<i>dalú</i>	back (body part)	
<i>damár</i>	vein	[T. damar]
<i>damáx</i>	pride	

<i>daná</i>	calf	[T. dana]
<i>dar</i>	narrow	[T. dar]
<i>darıx</i> {X _{POESS} }	bored, fed up with X	[T. Az. daryxmag]
<i>darmán</i>	medicine	[T. dærman]
<i>dawámarun</i> {A V _{MSD} }	continue to V (20.3.2.)	[A. dawaam]
<i>dax</i> (-di)	dad	
<i>däwé</i>	war; struggle	[A. dařwat]
<i>de</i>	particle (cf. ex. 1051b)	
<i>değıřarun</i>	change, exchange	[T. değıřmek]
<i>delıl</i>	reason, argument, proof	[A. daliil]
<i>deq'tq'a</i>	minute	[A. daqııqat]
<i>deré</i>	valley, ravine	[T. dere]
<i>derın</i>	deep	[T. derin]
<i>dert</i> (derdıni)	sorrow, grief (7.1.4.)	[P. dærd]
<i>desté</i>	bunch, group	[P. dæste]
<i>dewé</i>	camel	[T. deve]
<i>déwir</i>	period	[A. dawr]
<i>dewlét</i>	wealth	[A. dawlat]
<i>dewrán</i>	time	[A. dawaraan]
<i>dib</i> (-di)	basis; (grammar:) stem	[T. dip]
<i>didé</i>	mother	
<i>dilt</i>	crazy	[T. Az. dälı]
<i>din</i> (-di)	religion	[A. diin]
<i>dinž</i>	comfortable	[T. dinç]
<i>diqét</i>	attention	[A. diqqat]
<i>dirı</i>	living, lively	[T. diri]
<i>dıřehli</i>	woman	
<i>dugún</i> (-i, -a)	valley	
<i>dugún</i> (digız, digána)	be beautiful, fit	
<i>duğrı</i>	true, honest, reliable	[T. doğru]
<i>dulanažág</i>	life, livelihood	[T. Az. dolanařag]
<i>dust</i> (-úni)	friend	[T. dust]
<i>dustág</i>	jail	[P. dostay]
<i>duřmán</i>	enemy	[P. dořmæn]
<i>duwúl</i>	root	
<i>düa</i> /dyʎa/	prayer	[A. duřaaʎ]
<i>dügmé</i>	button	[T. dügme]
<i>dünja</i>	world (3.1.1.3.)	[A. dunyaa]
<i>düşü's</i>	coincidence	[T. düşüş]
<i>düz</i>	correct, just	[T. düz]
<i>ecä'ğun</i> {A T L _{INESS} }	A pushes L with T, A sticks T into L (9.5.3.)	
<i>ecıgun</i>	put, set up, build	
<i>eč</i> (-ı)	waist	
<i>eč'ü'ğun</i>	rock (a cradle with a baby) (9.5.3.)	
<i>eč'él</i>	weed	
<i>edéb</i>	ethics, morals	[A. řadab]
<i>egéč'un</i>		
1. {T L _{ADESS} }	T approaches L	
2. {T V _{INF} }:	T starts V-ing	

<i>éger</i>	if (21.7.)	[P. ægær]
<i>eǧü'nun</i>	dig	
<i>ehll</i>	inhabitant	[A: ?ahlil]
<i>ekeč'un</i> /e'k ^h eč'un/	creep under; enter	
<i>eklsun</i> {A T L _{SBESS} }	A hits L with T	
<i>eksik</i> /e'k ^h si'k ^h /	incomplete, insufficient	[T. eksik]
<i>ekü</i> /e'k ^h y/	light, bright	
<i>ekw</i> (ekü'ni)	light, illumination; dawn	
<i>ekünaq^h</i> /e'k ^h ynaq ^h /	in the morning (12.1.2.3.)	
<i>ek'ü'xun</i>	be spread out	
<i>elä'č'un</i> {A L _{SREL} }	cross, go over, pass L	
<i>elä'ğun</i> {A T L _{SREL} }	A takes off T from L (9.5.3.)	
<i>eléq'un</i>	fall, become less, stop	
<i>elqū'n</i> (elqūwéz, -éna, -ü'ğ)		
1. {L _{POESS} }	turn toward L	
2. {L _{DAT} }	become L	
<i>elqū'run</i>		
1. {A T}	turn (tr.)	
2. {A T S _{INEL} G _{DAT} }	A turns/converts T (from S) into G; A translates T (from S) (into G)	
<i>elü'q'un</i>	bark; fight (animals)	
<i>emé</i>	aunt (father's sister) (cf. <i>imi</i>)	
<i>émir</i>	order, command	[A. ?amr]
<i>eǧä'ğun</i>	pour, put (food on the plate) (9.5.3.)	
<i>eǧe'č'un</i>	go out	
<i>eǧičun</i> /e'qij ^h un/	pour out (tr./intr.)(15.6.)	
<i>eǧtsun</i>	stick out	
<i>eǧü'ğun</i>	scold, abuse	
<i>eǧü'run</i>	make go around	
<i>eq'ü'n</i> (-q'wéz, -q'wéna) {A T}	A fucks T (taboo word)	
<i>eq^hü'n</i> (-q ^h wéz, -q ^h wéna)	bathe	
<i>erč'ł</i>	right-hand	
<i>ereq'</i>	vodka	[A. ?araq]
<i>erkek</i> /er'k ^h ek ^h /	male	[T. erkek]
<i>esér</i>	influence; impression	[A. ?aθar]
<i>esıllah</i>	completely, at all (13.5.1.)	
<i>eski</i>	old (of things)	[T. eski]
<i>ewä'ğun</i>	comb (9.5.3.)	
<i>ewél</i>	beginning; ancient; at the beginning	[A. ?awwal]
<i>ewér</i>	call, appeal	
<i>ewéz awun</i>	replace, substitute for	[A. ?iwad]
<i>ewılč'un</i>	get off, go down; set (of the sun)	
<i>ewlénmišun</i> {A T L _{SRESS} }	A marries T off to L	[T. evlenmek]
<i>ewlénmišxun</i> {X _{SRESS} }	T (a man) gets married to L	
<i>extr</i>	1. end	[A. ?axiir]
	2. (particle) after all (e.g. ex. 551a, 568b, 893)	
<i>extrimži</i>	last	
<i>extrni</i>	finally	
<i>éxun</i>	suffer, stand	
<i>eš</i>	yes (23.1.5.)	

<i>fad</i>	early (12.1.2.2.); quickly	
<i>fad-fad</i>	often; quickly	
<i>fádlaj</i>	long since	
<i>fáhun</i>	reason, consideration	[A. fahm]
<i>fajdá</i>	profit	[A. faaʔidat]
<i>fal (-di)</i>	prophecy, prediction	[A. faʔl]
<i>faráqat</i>	rest, peace	[A. faraayət]
<i>farqʻ</i>	difference	[A. farq]
<i>fäʻle</i>	apprentice	
<i>fend (-ini)</i>	trick	[P. fænd]
<i>fendigár</i>	cunning, sly	
<i>feqʻi</i>	mullah	
<i>fer (-ct)</i>	crack, split	
<i>fid (fité)</i>	dung, manure	
<i>fikir /fikʻir/</i>	thought	[A. fikr]
<i>fikir awun</i>	think (20.5.2., 20.7.2.)	
<i>fil (-di)</i>	elephant	[A. fiil, P. fil]
<i>fin (fiz, féna, alad)</i>	go	
<i>fitfinun /fitʻfinun/</i>	darn	
<i>fitne /fitʻne/</i>	slander, gossip	[A. fitnat]
<i>fitʻinun</i>	suck	
<i>fu (fua /fa, fuar /far)</i>	bread (7.1.4.)	
<i>fur (-ú)</i>	pit, hole	
<i>gad (gatu /gaʻtu/)</i>	summer	
<i>gadá</i>	boy	
<i>gádarun</i>	throw	
<i>gaf (-úni)</i>	word	
<i>gáh-gah</i>	sometimes	
<i>gah ... gah</i>	now ... now (18.2.3.)	
<i>galá</i>	be behind (17.6.3.)	
<i>galáz {X_{POESS}}</i>	with X (12.2.3.3., 14.5.2.6.)	
<i>galáiz {X_{ABS}}</i>	without X (12.2.3.3.)	
<i>galaj pataqʻh {X_{ABS}}</i>	toward X (12.2.2.6.)	
<i>galátun</i>		
1. {T _{ABS} L _{POESS} }	T falls off from L	
2. {T _{ABS} }	T becomes tired	
<i>galčukun /galʻtʻukʻhun/</i>	put on (clothes)	
<i>galkʻún (-íz, -ána)</i>	be attached	
<i>galtadun /galʻtadun/</i>	shake, rock, swing	
<i>galtugun /galʻtugun/ {T L_{POESS}}</i>	T chases after L; T cares for L	
<i>galú dun {A T L_{POEL}}</i>	take away, take off {T from L}	
<i>galúqʻun {T_{ABS} L_{POESS}}</i>	T hits (against) L;	
	T(words) comes to L('s awareness)	
<i>gam (-úni)</i>	carpet	
<i>gámiš</i>	buffalo	[P. gamiš]
<i>gapur /gaʻpʻur/</i>	dagger	
<i>gar (-ú)</i>	wind	
<i>gardán</i>	neck	
<i>gatfar (-i) /gatʻfar/</i>	spring	

<i>gatun</i> (-áz, -ána) /ga't ^h un/	beat, knock at	
<i>gat'únun</i>	approach, begin	
<i>gaw</i> (-rá)	aurochs	[P. gaw]
<i>gazár</i>	carrot	[cf. Hindi-Urdu gaajar 'carrot?']
<i>gehénš</i>	wide	[T. geniš]
<i>gel</i> (-é)	trace	
<i>geléžeg</i>	future	[T. gelecek]
<i>gečǵun</i> {AERG T _{ABS} L _{ADESS} }	A compares T with L	
<i>gelä'č'un</i>	separate (intr.), fall behind	
<i>gelǵū'n</i> (-čwéz, -čwéna, -čū'ǵ)		
{T L _{POESS} }	T looks after L, T takes care of L	
<i>gerék</i>	necessary (cf. 20.3.1.)	[T. gerek]
<i>get'é</i>	pot	
<i>gež</i>	late (12.1.2.2.)	[T. geč]
<i>gič'in</i> /gi't ^h in/	jug	
<i>gíla</i>	now (12.1.2.2.)	
<i>gilǵun</i> {A T L _{POESS} }	A connects, attaches T to L	
<i>gilǵ'un</i>	die (animal)	
<i>giman</i>	suspicion	
<i>gimí</i>	boat, ship	
<i>gimíš</i>	silver	[T. gümüş]
<i>giš'in</i>	hungry	
<i>giž' awun</i>	deafen	
<i>gúja</i>	as if (13.5.2.)	[P. guya]
<i>gum</i> (-ádi)	smoke	
<i>gumráh</i>	cheerful	[P. gom-rah 'spoiled']
<i>gun</i> (guz, gána, ce /ts ^h e/)	give	
<i>gunáh</i>	sin	[P. gonah]
<i>gurár</i>	stairs	
<i>gurc'úl</i>	puppy, cub	
<i>guž</i> (-a / -úni)	strength	[T. güč]
<i>gü'c'un</i> {A T L _{ADEL} }	A rubs L with T, A passes T over L	
<i>gügü'na</i> {X _{GEN} }	behind X (postp., 12.2.1.7.; adverb 12.1.1.6.)	
<i>gügü'niz</i> {X _{SREL} }	after X (postposition, 12.2.1.7., 21.4.5.)	
<i>gülle</i>	bullet	[T. gülle]
<i>gülü'šan</i>	sunny	
<i>gülü't</i>	stocking, sock	
<i>gün</i> (güz, gwéna)	reap	
<i>güné</i>	slope	
<i>gürčeg</i> /gyr't ^h eg/	beautiful	[cf. T. Az. göjček]
<i>gürü'šmiš'šun</i>	meet	[T. görüşmek]
<i>güt'ü'</i>	narrow	
<i>güzél</i>	beautiful	[T. güzel]
<i>güzétun</i> {A T}	A waits for T	[T. gözetmek]
<i>güzgü'</i>	mirror	[T. gözğü]
<i>gwa</i> {T L _{ADESS} }	T is at L (17.6.2.)	
<i>gwaz</i> {X _{ABS} }	with X (12.2.3.4.)	
<i>gwátun</i>	crack (intr.)	
<i>gwä'ğun</i> {A T L _{ADEL} }	A passes T over L, A smears T on L (9.5.3.)	
<i>gwen</i> (gwéni)	reaping, harvest	
<i>gzaf</i>	much, many, a lot (14.2.1.)	

<i>ğab</i> (<i>ğapú</i>)	hollow of the hand, handful	
<i>ğal</i> (- <i>úni</i>)	thread	
<i>ğaláb</i>	excitement	
<i>ğalat'</i>	error	[A. <i>yalat'</i>]
<i>ğalib</i>	victorious	[A. <i>yaalib</i>]
<i>ğam</i> (- <i>úni</i>)	sadness, grief, sorrow	
<i>ğawur</i>	understanding (only in fixed expressions)	
{T _{ABS} X _{GEN} } <i>ğawurda aq'un/hatun</i>		
	T understands X (15.3.15., 20.4.)	
	(lit. T comes to X's understanding)	
<i>ğed</i> (<i>ğétré</i>)	star; fish	
<i>ğejrát</i>	dignity, worth	[A. <i>ğayrat</i>]
<i>ğejrí</i>	1. other; alien	[A. <i>ğayr</i>]
	2. besides X (12.2.4.1.)	
{X _{SREL} }		
<i>ğel</i> (- <i>ct</i> , - <i>érar</i>)	sledge, sleigh, sled	
<i>ğer</i> (- <i>édi</i>)	saliva	
<i>ğerí</i>	fat, grease	
<i>ğil</i> (- <i>i</i>)	hand	
<i>ğucar</i> /ku'ts ^h ar/ (- <i>i</i>)	god	
<i>ğud</i> (<i>ğutú</i>)	fist	
<i>ğun</i> (<i>ğiz</i> , <i>ğána</i> , <i>ğwaš</i>)	bring	
<i>ğüč'</i> (- <i>ré</i>)	moth	
<i>ğül</i> (- <i>ü</i>)	husband	
<i>ğülä'ğ</i>	snake	
<i>ğürğü'</i>	weak	
<i>ğür</i> (- <i>ü</i>)	flour	
<i>ğürč'</i> (- <i>é</i>)	hunting	
	hunter	
<i>ğürčéq^han</i>	hunter	
<i>ğwar</i> (- <i>ct</i>)	log; leaven	
<i>ğweč'i</i>	small	
<i>ha</i>	that (11.4.)	
<i>ha</i>	particle expressing surprise (13.3.5.)	
<i>hafté</i>	week	[P. <i>hæfte</i>]
<i>hajaman</i>	discourse particle (e.g. ex. 1202b)	
<i>haját</i>	(court)yard	[A. <i>hiyaat'</i>]
<i>hajbát</i>	grandeur	[A. <i>haybat</i>]
<i>hajıf</i>	pity (cf. 15.4.1.)	[A. <i>hayıf</i>]
<i>hajwán</i>	animal	[A. <i>hayawaan</i>]
<i>hakim</i> /ha'k ^h im/	chief, superior	[A. <i>haakim</i>]
<i>hak'</i>	so, like this	
<i>hak'an</i>	simple	
<i>hal</i>	state, condition	[A. <i>haal</i>]
<i>halál</i>	allowed (according to the shariah); self-earned	[A. <i>halaal</i>]
<i>halčun</i> /'halt ^h un/	throw	
<i>halč'aj</i>	gloomy	
<i>haldun</i> {A T L _{SRESS} }	A puts T on L, A covers L with T	
<i>haltun</i> /'halt ^h un/ {T L _{SRESS} }	L meets T	
<i>halun</i>	chase; steer, drive; plow	

<i>ham...ham(ni)</i>	both...and (18.1.4.)	
<i>hamiša</i>	always	[P. hæmiše]
<i>haq̄ndaj</i> {X _{GEN} }	about X (12.2.4.2.)	
<i>haq̄iq̄at</i>	truth, reality	[A. haq̄iiqat]
<i>haq^h (-úni)</i>	truth	[A. haqq]
<i>haq^h</i>	right, just	
<i>háq^h-hisáb</i>	calculation; account	
<i>har</i>	every (11.7.2.)	[P. hæer]
<i>harájun</i>	scream	
<i>harám</i>	forbidden (according to the shariah)	[A. haraam]
<i>harf (-úni)</i>	letter	[A. harf]
<i>hasá'tda</i>	immediately, at once	
<i>hatun</i> /hat ^h un/ {L _{INESS} }	get, come (across); fall upon L	
<i>háтта</i>	even (13.2.1.)	[A. hattaa]
<i>hawá</i>	air; weather; melody	[A. hawaa?]
<i>hawáj(d)a</i>	gratis; in vain	
<i>hawiläj</i>	therefore (16.3.5.2.)	
<i>háxun</i> {L _{DAT} }	go into L, enter L	
<i>hazúr</i> {V _{INF} }	ready, prepared {to V} (20.2.1.)	[A. haadir]
<i>häd juğ</i>	Sunday	
<i>hä'lun</i>	solve (task); discuss	[A. hall]
<i>härq'ü'</i>	wide	
<i>hélbetda</i>	of course (16.3.4.1.)	
<i>helé</i>	still (12.1.2.7., 13.2.3.)	[T. hele, A. haalan?]
<i>heq' (-édi)</i>	sweat	
<i>her (-é)</i>	wether	
<i>herekat</i> /he'rek ^h at ^h /	movement; hurry	[A. harakat]
<i>hewés</i>	desire, enthusiasm	[A. hawas]
<i>hi</i>	which? (11.3., 11.5.3.)	
<i>hič</i>	at all, ever (11.6.3.)	[P. hič]
<i>hikája</i>	story	[A. hikaayat]
<i>hik'</i>	how? (11.3.)	
<i>hína</i>	where? (11.3.)	
<i>hítq'wan</i>	how much? (11.3.)	
<i>hisáb</i>	counting	[A. hisaab]
<i>hiss (-di)</i>	feeling	[A. hiss]
<i>hukumat</i> /huk ^h u'mat ^h /	state; government	[A. hukuumat]
<i>húžum</i>	attack	[A. hujuum]
<i>hül (-ü')</i>	sea	
<i>hüm (-édi)</i>	fog, haze	
<i>hürmét</i>	respect, esteem	[A. hurmat]
<i>hürs (-ü'ni)</i>	anger, irritation	[A. hirs 'greed, desire']
<i>hüzét</i>	dispute, quarrel	[A. hujjat]
<i>i</i>	this (11.4.)	
<i>ibádat</i>	prayer; service	[A. ŷibaadat]
<i>ibárat</i> {X _{SBEL} }	consisting of X	[A. ŷibaarat]
<i>ibłts</i>	devil	[A. ŷibliis]
<i>ic'ł</i>	raw	

<i>ič (-tɪni)</i>	apple	
<i>ič'ɪ</i>	empty	
<i>idára awun</i>	guide, direct	[A. ʔidaarat]
<i>iflɪn (-éz, -éna)</i>	become hot	
<i>igü ğun</i> {A T L _{ADESS} }	A allows T to approach L (9.5.3.)	
<i>igtsun</i> {A T L _{ADESS} }	A approaches T to L	
<i>igtɪ</i>	hero	[T. yiğit]
<i>igrámi</i>	dear	
<i>ihitjáž</i>	need, necessity	[A. ihtiyaaj]
<i>ihitját</i>	circumspection, prudence	[A. ihtiyaat]
<i>ijér</i>	beautiful	
<i>ijési</i>	owner, proprietor	[T. Az. jije]
<i>ikráh</i>	aversion, disgust	[A. ʔikraah]
<i>ikrám</i>	bow, greeting	[A. ʔikraam]
<i>ilä'sun</i> {T L _{SREL} }	T outruns, overtakes L	
<i>iličun</i> /i'liq ^h un/ {A T L _{SREL} }	A pours T over L	
<i>ɪlim</i>	science	[A. film]
<i>iltsun</i> {A T L _{SRESS} }	A presses (with T) on L	
<i>iltt'un</i>	wrap	
<i>illaki</i>	especially (13.2.1.)	
<i>imɪ</i>	uncle (father's brother)	[T. Az. ämi]
<i>ɪna</i>	here (11.3.)	
<i>inánmiš</i> {X _{POESS} }	certain of X, convinced of X	
<i>inhe</i>	voici, behold (11.3.)	
<i>iniq^h</i>	on this side (11.3.); since (12.2.1.10., 21.4.5.)	
<i>inkár</i>	negation, denial	[A. ʔinkaar]
<i>insáf</i>	mercy, humaneness;	
	humane, just	[A. ʔinšaaʔ]
<i>insán</i>	person	[A. ʔinsaan]
<i>insánijat</i>	mankind	
<i>inžikli awun</i>	disturb, trouble	[T. incik]
<i>iq'rar</i>	agreement	[A. ʔiqraar]
<i>ɪq'wan</i>	so much (11.3.)	
<i>iránbuba</i>	father-in-law (wife's father)	
<i>iránwax (-a)</i>	sister-in-law (wife's sister)	
<i>irt</i>	big	
<i>irtɪd</i>	seven	
<i>irs (-tɪni)</i>	inheritance, legacy, heritage	[A. ʔirθ]
<i>isä'tda</i>	now (lit. at this hóur, cf. <i>i, sät</i>)	
<i>islä'h</i>	quiet, meek	[A. ʔišlaah]
<i>isteklú</i>	beloved, respected	[T. istekli]
<i>istémišun</i> {A _{ERG} , C _{ADEL} [V _{MSD}]}	A asks C to V, A demands that V (20.3.2.)	[T. istemek]
<i>išára</i>	sign	[A. ʔišaarat]
<i>išél (-i)</i>	crying	
<i>išéxun</i>	cry, weep (=šexun)	
<i>išğ</i>	ray, beam	[T. işik]
<i>ištɪnun</i>	knead (dough)	
<i>išlémišun</i>	use	[T. işlemek]
<i>ištáh</i>	appetite	[T. ištah, A. ʔištihaaʔ]
<i>ištirák</i> {X _{INESS} }	participation (in X)	[A. ʔištiraak]

<i>itim</i> /i'tim/	man	
<i>iwí</i>	blood	
<i>ixtíbar</i>	trust, confidence	[A. ʔixtibaar]
<i>ixtíjar</i>	right, permission	[A. ʔixtiyaar]
<i>ixtílat</i>	conversation	[A. ʔixtílaaʔ]
<i>ízin</i>	permission	[A. ʔiðn]
<i>ja</i>	be (standard copula, 9.5.1., 17.1.-3.)	
<i>jaz</i>	as (Imperfective converb, 21.2.)	
<i>ja</i>	1. or (18.2.1., 18.2.4.)	[P. ya]
	2. vocative particle (13.5.6.)	
<i>jab</i> (<i>japú</i>)	ear	
<i>jac</i> (- <i>rá</i>)	bull, ox	
<i>jac'ú</i>	thick, fat	
<i>jad</i> (<i>ci</i> , <i>jatár</i>) /jad, tsi/	water (7.1.4.)	
<i>jağ</i> (- <i>ádi</i>)	oil, grease	
<i>jáğun</i>	hit, strike (cf. 9.5.3.)	
<i>jak</i> (- <i>k'ú</i>)	meat	
<i>jak'w</i> (<i>jak'ú</i>)	axe	
<i>jal</i>	breath; smell, stench	
<i>jal jáğun</i>	rest, relax	
{EDAT XGEN} <i>jal atun</i>	E smells Y	
<i>jaláw</i>	flame	[P. ælaw]
<i>jalğúz</i>	lonely	[P. yalyuz]
<i>jáni</i>	i.e., lonely	[A. yaʔnii]
<i>jaqín</i>	reliable	[A. yaqin]
<i>jar</i> (- <i>á</i>)	(morning) glow	
<i>jarár</i>	measles	
<i>jar</i> (- <i>di</i>)	beloved	
<i>jaráb</i>	question particle (23.5.2.)	
<i>jaráq'</i>	weapon, arms	[P. yæray]
<i>jarğt</i>	long	
<i>jarğá(l)</i>	far	
<i>jarğáldi</i>	for a long time	
<i>jarú</i>	red	
<i>jarx xun</i>	fall over	
<i>jaš</i> (- <i>di</i>)	age	[T. yaš]
<i>jašájiš</i>	life	[T. yašayış]
<i>jašámiš xun</i>	live	[T. yašamak]
<i>jašlú</i>	elderly	[T. yašh]
<i>jat'ani</i>	1. nevertheless (16.3.5.1.)	
	2. indefiniteness marker (11.3.)	
<i>jawáš</i>	quiet, slow	[P. yæwaš]
<i>jaxc'úr</i>	forty	
<i>jaxún</i>	lean	
<i>jazúx</i>	poor, miserable (cf. 15.3.15.)	[T. yazık]
<i>jeb</i> (<i>jepni</i>)	rope, string	
<i>jeke</i> /je'k ^h e/	big	
<i>jem</i> (- <i>di</i>)	fodder, forage	[T. yem]
<i>jemiš</i>	fruit	[T. yemiš]

<i>jerlt</i>	at all (13.5.4.)	
<i>jetim</i> /je't ^h im/	orphan	[A. yatiim]
<i>jezne</i>	son-in-law	[P. yæzne]
<i>jif</i> (-é, (j)ifér)	night (7.1.4., 12.1.2.4.)	
<i>jigtñ</i>	quick, lively	
<i>jis</i> (-á, (j)isár)	year (7.1.4., 12.1.2.4.)	
<i>juǰ</i> (jǰá, jǰar)	day (7.1.4., 12.1.2.4.)	
<i>juldáš</i>	friend, comrade, spouse	[T. yoldaš]
<i>jumšáǰ</i>	soft	[T. Az. jumšag]
<i>juq'</i> (juq'wá)	middle	
<i>jurgún</i>	tired	[T. yorgun]
<i>juxsúl</i>	lean, poor	[T. yoksul]
<i>juzún</i> (-áz, -ána)	move	
<i>kac</i> (-t, -ér) /kats ^h /	cat (7.1.1.5., 7.1.2.2. (C))	
<i>kač</i> /k ^h at ^h / (<i>kča</i>) /k ^h ʧa/	bitch	
<i>kaf</i> (káfadi, kfar) /k ^h -/	foam	[P. kæf]
<i>kahúl</i> /k-/	lazy	[cf. A. kasuul 'lazy' ?]
<i>kaka</i> /ka'ka/	egg	
<i>kakur</i> /ka'kur/	crooked, curved	
<i>kal</i> (-t, -ér) /k-/	cow (7.1.1.5., 7.1.2.2. (C))	
<i>kam</i> (-úni) /k-/	step	[P. gam]
<i>kamal</i> /k ^h -/	reason, intelligence	[A. kamaal]
<i>kap</i> (-ú) /kap ^h /	palm (of the hand)	
<i>kar</i> (-di, krar) /k ^h -/	thing	[P. kar]
<i>karč</i> /k ^h arʧ ^h / (<i>krčúni</i>) /k ^h arʧuni/	horn	
<i>kard</i> /kard/ (<i>katrá</i>) /kat'ra/	falcon	
<i>kartuf</i> /kartuf/	potato	[R. kartofel']
<i>kas</i> (pl. ksar) /k ^h -/	person	[P. kæs]
<i>kaš</i> /kaʃ/	hunger	
<i>katun</i> /'kat ^h un/	run	
<i>käǰun</i> /k ^h æʒun/ {A T LSBESS}	A touches L with T	
<i>kečmiš</i>	past	[T. gečmiš]
<i>kef</i> (-tñi) /k ^h -/	pleasure	[A. kayf]
<i>kefër</i>	north	
<i>keft</i> /k ^h -/	state of health, mood	
<i>kek</i> /k ^h ek ^h / (<i>kike</i>) /k ^h ike/	(finger-)nail, hoof	
<i>kekä'ǰun</i>		
1. {A T LSBESS}	A throws T at L	
2. {A LSBESS}	A begins L	
<i>kelém</i> /k ^h -/	cabbage	[P. kælæm]
<i>kešt</i>	poor [Az. kasyb 'poor', A. kaasib 'earning']	
<i>kimt</i> /k ^h -/	insufficient, deficient; stupid	[P. kæm]
<i>kic'</i> (-t) /k ^h -/	dog	
<i>kič'é</i>	afraid (cf. 9.5.2.2.)	
1. {EDAT SBEL}	E is afraid of S (15.4.1.)	
2. {EDAT VINF}	E is afraid of V (20.2.1.)	
<i>kiligun</i> /k ^h i'ligun/ {T _{ABS} C _{DAT} }	T looks at C	
<i>kilǰna</i> {C _{DAT} }	in view of C, because of C (12.2.3.1., 21.5.1.)	
<i>kim</i> (-t) /k-/	village square	

<i>kirs</i> /k ^h -/	crooked	
<i>kise</i> /k ^h ise/	purse	[T. kese, A. kiis, P. kise]
<i>kisun</i>	be silent	
<i>kišjug</i> /k ^h -/	Saturday	
<i>ksun</i> (-uz, -ána) /k ^h sun/	fall asleep	
<i>ktab</i> /k ^h tab/	book	[A. kitaab]
<i>ktádun</i>	mix; touch; soil, stain	
<i>kučukun</i> /k ^{hw} ʃuk ^h un/	bury	
<i>kudun</i> /k ^h udun/	start; exhaust; wake up	
<i>kuk'ún</i> (<i>kik'íz</i> , <i>kk'ána</i>) {TABS L _{SBESS} }	T sticks to L; T attacks L	
<i>kuk'úrun</i> (A _{ERG} TABS L _{SBESS})	A attaches T to L	
<i>kuk'úš</i>	peak	
<i>kuk'wárun</i>	tear, break, wear out	
<i>kul</i> (-úni) /k ^h -/	bush; bunch; toe; swarm (of bees)	
<i>kul</i> (-úni) /k-/	besom, whisk	
<i>kun</i> (-uz, -ána, <i>kug</i>) /k-/	burn (tr./intr.) (15.6.)	
<i>kuškúš</i> /k ^{hw} ʃkuʃ/	whisper	
<i>kutkún</i> /k ^{hw} t ^h ku/		
(<i>kítkíz</i> , <i>ktkána</i> , <i>kutkúk</i>)		
1. {TABS [VINF]}	T gets used to V-ing	
2. {TABS L _{SBESS} }	T gets used to L, T takes to L; T hits L	
<i>kutúgun</i> {TABS, C _{DAT} }	T suits C	
<i>kutún</i> {A _{ERG} TABS L _{SBESS} }	A puts T into L	
<i>kut'ún</i> (<i>kít'íz</i> , <i>kt'ána</i>)	rot	
<i>kut'unun</i>	tie, attach	
<i>kuxúnun</i>	shudder	
<i>kü</i> /ky-/	oblique stem of → <i>wuč</i> 'what'	
<i>küč</i> /k ^{hy} ʃ ^h /	migration	[T. göç]
<i>küče</i> /k ^{hy} ʃe/	street	[T. Az. küče]
<i>kühné</i> /k-/	old	[T. köhne]
<i>kük</i> /k ^h -/	fat, well-fed	
<i>külü'</i> /k-/	small	
<i>kümék</i> /k ^h -/	help	[T. komæk]
<i>kün</i> /k ^h yn/	you-all (i.e. you pl.) (11.1.)	
<i>kü'rsun</i> /k ^h -/	hang	
<i>kürü'</i> /k-/	short	
<i>kütä'hun</i> /k ^{hy} tæhun/ {A V _{AOP} }	A finishes [V-ing], use up [P. kotah 'short?']	
<i>kütén</i>	plow	[T. Az. kotan]
<i>kxin</i> (-iz, -éna) /k ^h xin/	write	
<i>kwa</i> /k ^h wa/	be under (17.6.4.)	
<i>kwačiz</i> {X _{ABS} }	except X (12.2.3.2.)	
<i>kwaz</i>	even (13.2.1.)	
<i>kwádarun</i>	lose (10.1.)	
<i>kwak</i> /k ^{hw} ak ^h / (<i>kukrá</i> , <i>kukwár</i>)	worm	
<i>kwan</i> /k ^w an/	particle (13.3.3.)	
<i>kwár</i> /k ^w ar/	jug	
<i>kwátun</i> /k ^{hw} at ^h un/	fall off, wake up	
<i>kwáxun</i> /k ^{hw} axun/	disappear, get lost	

<i>k'alám</i>	joint, node	
<i>k'alúb</i>	form, model, pattern	[A. qaalib]
<i>k'am</i> (-ú)	valley, ravine	
<i>k'amás</i>	stupid; idiot	
<i>k'ámuq'un</i>	be absent, lacking; still want, still love (cf. <i>k'an</i> , <i>amuq'un</i>)	
<i>k'an</i> (-í, -ér)	bottom (7.1.1.5., 7.1.2.2. (C))	
<i>k'an xun</i>	want (cf. 9.5.2.1.)	
1. {EDAT S _{ABS} }	E loves S; E wants S	
2. {EDAT V _{INF} }	E wants to V (20.2.1.)	
3. {VAOC}	it is necessary to V (20.6.1.)	
<i>k'anč'</i> (-úni)	stump, block	
<i>k'aní</i>	beloved, desirable	
<i>k'aník</i> (-aj)	(from) under	
<i>k'ap'ál</i>	heap, crowd	
<i>k'ar</i> (-c'í)	pole, rung	
<i>k'aráb</i>	bone	
<i>k'arás</i>	wood	
<i>k'ásun</i>	bite	
<i>k'ä'gun</i>	rebuke	
<i>k'ek</i> (-ré)	rooster	
<i>k'el</i> (-é)	lamb	
<i>k'élnun</i>	read, study	
<i>k'eréc</i>	walnut	
<i>k'erét'</i>	group, crowd	
<i>k'ew:</i>		
<i>k'ewé hátun</i>	get into trouble	
<i>k'ewí</i>	strong	
<i>k'ewun</i>	close, cover	
<i>k'ir</i> (-íni)	hook	
<i>k'údun</i>	defeat	
<i>k'uf</i> (-ú)	mouth	
<i>k'uk'</i> (<i>kuk'wá</i>)	peak, summit, top	
<i>k'ul</i> (-á)	shoulder, back	
<i>k'us</i> (-úni)	chunk, piece	
<i>k'utá</i>	hammer	
<i>k'üd</i>	nine	
<i>k'wač</i> (-í, -ér)	foot (7.1.1.5., 7.1.2.2. (C))	
<i>k'wádarun</i>	shake off strew, scatter	
<i>k'wağ</i> (-rá)	raven	
<i>k'wal</i> (-í, -ér)	house, room (7.1.1.5., 7.1.2.2. (C))	
<i>k'waláx</i> (-di/-i)	work, job; matter	
<i>k'wátun</i>	collapse, fail	
<i>k'wat'</i> (-úni)	lump, ball	
<i>k'wat'ál</i>	group, crowd, collection	
<i>k'wát'un</i>	collect	
<i>k'wáxun</i>	flow, drop, spill (intr.)	
<i>k'wenk'w</i> (<i>k'wenk'ü'</i>)	point, tip, edge	

<i>labár</i>	anchor	
<i>lacu</i> /lʌtsu/	white	
<i>lahaj</i>	ordinal numeral marker (13.1.3.)	
<i>lahána</i>	cf. 20.5., 21.5.3., 21.6.4.	
	(Aorist converb of → <i>luhún</i>)	
<i>laǵlǵǵ</i>	idle talk	
<i>lajix</i> (X _{DAT})	worthy (of X)	[A. laaʔiq]
<i>lajlá</i>	lullaby	[A. lajlat 'night']
<i>lak</i> /lakʰ/	bed (in the garden)	
<i>lak'áb</i>	nickname	
<i>lal</i>	dumb, mute, silent	
<i>lam</i> (-rá)	donkey	
<i>lamú</i>	damp	
<i>lap</i> /lapʰ/	very (12.1.4., 13.5.5.)	
<i>lapág</i> /la'pag/	(generic term for) sheep and goats	
<i>larp'</i> (-di), <i>larš</i> (-di)	splash	
<i>laš</i> (-úni)	stick	
<i>laz</i> (<i>lacádi</i>) /lʌtsadi/	kaolin, china clay	
<i>wilín laz</i>	white of the eye	
<i>kakád laz</i>	white of an egg	
<i>lazím</i>	necessary (cf. 20.3.1.)	[A. laazim]
<i>lánét</i>	curse, damnation	[A. laʃnat]
<i>leʒen</i>	horseshoe	
<i>legw</i> (<i>lekwe</i>) /le'kʷe/	wash-tub	
<i>leǵw</i> (<i>leǵu'</i> , <i>leǵwér</i>)	pothole; funnel	
<i>lehzé</i>	moment	[A. lahzat]
<i>leké</i>	spot, stain	[T. leke]
<i>leq'</i> (-ré)	eagle	
<i>leq'</i> (-fni)	liver	
<i>lezét</i>	delight, enjoyment	[A. laʒət]
<i>lezǵí</i>	Lezgian (adj., n.)	
<i>ležbér</i>	peasant	
<i>lif</i> (-ré)	pigeon, dove	
<i>lišán</i>	mark, sign	[A. nišaan]
<i>lišanlú</i>	engaged	
<i>luhún</i> (-úz, <i>lahána</i> , <i>lah(a)</i>)		
1. {A S}	say S	
2. {A R _{DAT} T _{ABS} }	call T "R"	
<i>luhúz</i>	cf. 20.5., 21.5.3., 21.6.4.	
	(Imperfective converb of → <i>luhún</i>)	
<i>luk'</i> (-rá)	slave	
<i>luw</i> (-á)	wing	
<i>lütkwé</i> /lytʰkʷe/	boat	
<i>mad</i>	still (12.1.2.7., 13.2.3.)	
<i>mádni</i>	more (13.2.3.)	
<i>mahrúm awun</i> {Z _{SBEL} }	deprive of Z	[A. mahruum]
<i>mahsúl</i>	grain crop	[A. mahsuul]
<i>majdán</i>	square	[A. maydaan]
<i>majíšat</i>	economy; farm	

<i>majwá</i>	fruit	[P. mive]
<i>makan</i> /ma'k ^h an/	home; center	[A. makaan]
<i>mal</i> (-di)	cattle; property	[A. maal]
<i>malúm</i>	known	[A. maʃlum]
<i>mam</i> (mamúni, mumár)	breast	
<i>man</i>	particle (13.3.1.)	
<i>manát</i>	rouble	[P. mænat]
<i>maní</i>	song	
<i>maǰála</i>	article	[A. maqaalat]
<i>maq'</i> (-ádi)	fat	
<i>maq'ám</i>	melody	
<i>marf</i> (-ádi)	rain	
<i>markw</i> /mark ^{hw} / (-kúni)	stack (of hay etc.)	
<i>masá gun</i>	sell	
<i>masán</i>	expensive, dear	
<i>mása</i>	other (11.7.3.)	
<i>mašǰúl</i>	occupied, absorbed	[A. mašyuul]
<i>mašhúr</i>	well-known, famous	[A. mašhuur]
<i>mašín</i>	car	[R. mašina]
<i>mašmáš</i>	apricot	
<i>max</i> (-úni)	fairytale, myth	
<i>mažál</i>	leisure, time	[A. majaal]
<i>mažbúr</i>	obliged	[A. majbuur]
<i>mädén</i>	mine	[A. maʃdin]
<i>mähkém</i>	strong	[A. muhkam]
<i>mähtél</i>	wonderful	[A. muhtaal 'artful?']
<i>mefť</i> (-édi)	brain, marrow	
<i>meger</i>	question particle (23.5.3.)	[P. mægær]
<i>meǰw</i> (-ǰü', -ǰwér)	acorn	
<i>mel</i> (-é)	community work	
<i>menfä't</i>	profit	[A. manfaʃat]
<i>meq^hér</i> (-i)	wedding	
<i>meq'í</i>	cold	
<i>merdimazár</i>	harmful; wicked person	
<i>merhemet</i>	mercy, leniency	[A. marhamat]
<i>mertéba</i>	floor, storey	[A. martabat]
<i>mes</i> (-i)	mattress, bed	
<i>meséla</i>	for example	[A. maθalan]
<i>meséla</i>	question	[A. maʃʔalat]
<i>meslä't</i>	advice; argument	[A. maslaat]
<i>met</i> /met ^h / (-t'í)	knee	
<i>metléb</i>	wish; goal; meaning	[A. maʃlab]
<i>mez</i> (meci) /me'tsi/	tongue	
<i>mežlís</i>	party; parliament	[A. majlis]
<i>mič'í</i>	dark	
<i>milajím</i>	gentle, soft	[A. mulaaʔim]
<i>minét</i>	request	[A. minnat 'kindness?']
<i>minétun</i> {A _{ERG} C _{DAT} }	A asks C	
<i>mirés</i>	(paternal) relative	
		[A. miiraaθ 'inheritance?']
<i>mirg</i> (-i)	deer	

<i>misál</i>	example; proverb	[A. miθaal]
<i>misk'ál</i>	riddle	
<i>misk'ín</i>	mosque	[A. maskin 'house']
<i>mišér</i>	saw	[A. miʔšaar]
<i>mišít</i>	clean	
<i>muallím</i>	teacher	[A. muʃallim]
<i>mubáarak</i>	congratulation	[A. mubaarak]
<i>mug (-ká)</i>	nest	
<i>muhmán</i>	guest	[P. mehman]
<i>muk'rát'</i>	scissors	[cf. A. q-r-t]
<i>mum (-ádi)</i>	wax	[A. mum]
<i>mumkin /mum'kʰin/</i>	possible (cf. 20.3.1.)	[A. mumkin]
<i>muq̄ajat /mu'qajatʰ/</i>	careful, prudent	
<i>muq'úw {XGEN}</i>	near X (postp. 12.2.1.9., adv. 12.1.1.7.)	
<i>muq'wá (adv.)</i>	close, near	
<i>muq'wál-muq'wál</i>	often	
<i>muq'wára</i>	soon	
<i>murád</i>	desire, striving, purpose	[A. muraad]
<i>murdár</i>	unclean, vile; rascal	
<i>murk (murk'ádi)</i>	ice	
<i>mus</i>	when? (11.5.4)	
<i>musúrman</i>	Muslim	[P. mosæلمان]
<i>mut'láq'</i>	stingy	[A. muʔlaq 'free, absolute'?)
<i>mux (-á)</i>	barley	
<i>müǧ (müǧü', -ǧvér)</i>	bridge	
<i>mühü'bbat</i>	love	[A. maħabbat]
<i>mühtéz</i>	need	[A. muħtaaj]
<i>mükü /my'kʰy/</i>	the other (of two) (11.7.3.)	
<i>mürqʰ (-ü')</i>	rust	
<i>müštéri</i>	buyer, client	[A. muštarin]
<i>müt'ü'ǧ {XDAT}</i>	obedient to X	[A. muʔiif]
<i>müxc /myχts/ (-ü')</i>	barn	
<i>müžü'd</i>	eight	
<i>na luhúdi</i>	as if (13.5.2.)	
<i>nabút</i>	disabled; disabled person, cripple	[P. na-bud 'inexistent; destroyed']
<i>náǧah</i>	if	[P. naǧah 'suddenly']
<i>naǧw (naǧwádi)</i>	tear	
<i>naháq'(a)</i>	in vain	
<i>namús</i>	honor	[A. naamuus]
<i>naq'</i>	yesterday (8.2.1.3., 12.1.2.1.)	
<i>naq'w (-ádi)</i>	earth, soil	
<i>nárazi</i>	dissatisfied	[P. na-razi]
<i>nazík</i>	delicate; refined; weak	[P. nazik]
<i>nä'ni (Gen. nä'nin)</i>	evening (12.1.2.3.)	
<i>ne-</i>	→ <i>t'ün</i> ('eat')	
<i>nefés</i>	breath; spirit, soul	[A. nafas]
<i>nefs</i>	greed, passion	[A. nafs]
<i>néinki</i>	not only	

<i>nek</i> (-k'édi)	milk	
<i>ner</i> (néri, nérar)	nose (7.1.1.4.)	
<i>net</i> (net'ré)	louse	
<i>nexír</i>	herd (of cattle)	[T. Az. naxyr]
<i>netfžá</i>	result	[A. natiijat]
<i>ni</i>	smell	
<i>ni-</i>	—> <i>wuž</i> ('who?')	
<i>ničxír</i>	wild birds	[P. næxčír]
<i>nik</i> (-k't)	field	
<i>niní</i>	pupil (of eye); doll	[P. nini]
<i>nisl</i>	sheep's milk cheese	
<i>nistn</i>	noon (12.1.2.3.)	
<i>nizám</i>	order	[A. nizaam]
<i>nubát</i>	turn, order	[A. nawbat]
<i>nuğát</i>	dialect	[A. luyat]
<i>nur</i> (-di)	ray, light	[A. nuur]
<i>nük'</i> (-ré)	small bird	
<i>pab</i> /pab/ (<i>papa</i>) /pa'pa/	wife	
<i>pačah</i> /p ^h aʧ ^h ah/	king, czar	[P. padešah]
<i>pad</i> /pad/ (<i>pata</i>) /pa'ta/	side	
<i>pagw</i> /pagw/ (<i>pakuni</i>) /pa'kuni/	side (of body)	
<i>pahlíwan</i>	athlete, acrobat, fighter	[P. pæhlewan]
<i>paj</i> (-úni) /p ^h aj/	share, part	[T. pay]
<i>pajdax</i>	banner, flag	
<i>paka</i> /pa'ka/	tomorrow (12.1.2.1.)	
<i>pakama</i> /pa'kama/	morning (12.1.2.3., 8.2.1.3.)	
<i>panáh</i>	support	
<i>par</i> /par/ (-ct)	load, pack	
<i>parča</i> /p ^h arʧ ^h a/	cloth	[P. parče]
<i>partal</i> /p ^h ar't ^h al/	clothes	[T. Az. paltar]
<i>pašmán</i>	sad	[P. pæšiman]
<i>pataj</i> /pa'taj/ {X _{GEN} }	from X (12.2.2.5.)	
<i>patal(di)</i> /pa'tal(di)/ {X _{ABS} }	for X (12.2.2.4., 21.6.1.)	
<i>patáq^h</i>	crooked, curved	
<i>pataq^haj</i> /pa'taq ^h aj/ {X _{GEN} }	for X (12.2.2.4.)	
<i>pataw</i> /pa'taw/ {X _{GEN} }	to X (12.2.1.8.)	
<i>pejgambar</i>	prophet	[P. peyyambær]
<i>pek</i> /p ^h ek ^h / (-di)	silk	[T. Az. ipák]
<i>pel</i> (-e) /p-/	forehead	
<i>peléng</i> /p ^h -/	tiger	[P. pælæng]
<i>penžér</i> /p ^h -/	window	[P. pænjäere]
<i>peq^h</i> (-ré) /p-/	crow	
<i>perdé</i>	curtain	[P. pærde]
<i>perém</i> /p-/	shirt	[P. pirahæn?]
<i>perišan</i>	sad	[P. pærišan]
<i>peš</i> (-íni) /p-/	leaf	
<i>pešé</i> /p ^h -/	trade, profession, craft	[P. piše]
<i>pexíl</i>	envious	
<i>pi</i> /p ^h i/ (-di, -jar)	fat	

<i>pič'it</i> /p ^h ʃ'ɪ/	hollow	
<i>pis</i> /p ^h -/	bad	[P. pis]
<i>ptul</i> /p ^h tul/	great-grandchild (cf. <i>xtul</i>)	
<i>puč' xun</i>	perish	[P. puč]
<i>pud</i> /pud/	three	
<i>pul</i> (-úni) /p ^h ul/	money	[P. pul]
<i>purár</i> (-i) /p ^h -/	saddle	
<i>puš</i> (-úni) /p ^h uʃ/	vulva (taboo)	
<i>p'ah</i> (-ádi)	kiss	
<i>p'ap'rús</i>	cigarette	[R. papiros]
<i>p'iní</i>	cherry	
<i>p'ip'</i> /p'ip' / (pip'i) /p ^h ip'i/	corner	
<i>p'uz</i> (-á, -árar)	lip (7.1.1.7.)	
<i>q̄ab</i> (q̄apuni) /qa'puni/	vessel, box	[T. Az. gaban]
<i>q̄abán</i>	wild-boar	
<i>q̄acu</i> /qa'tsu/	green	
<i>q̄ačun</i> (-úz, -úna, -ú) /qa'ʃ ^h un/	take; buy	
<i>q̄ad</i>	twenty	
<i>q̄adága awun</i> {A _{ERG} T _{ABS} }	prohibit	
<i>q̄adím</i>	old, ancient	[A. qadiim]
<i>q̄ahríman</i>	brave; hero	[cf. A. qahraaman]
<i>q̄aj</i> (-ú)	wind	
<i>q̄ajda</i>	rule, order	[A. qaaʃidat]
<i>q̄ajǵú</i>	concern, trouble, anxiety	[T. kayǵ]
<i>q̄ajt</i>	cold (Aorist participle of → <i>q̄un</i>)	
<i>q̄al</i>	fight, row, scuffle	
<i>q̄álmaqal</i>	quarrel	[cf. A. qaal-wa-qiił]
<i>q̄alábulux</i>	panic; alarm	[cf. T. kalabalık 'crowd']
<i>q̄altn</i>	dense	[T. kalın]
<i>q̄alúrún</i> {A T R _{DAT} }	A shows T to R (cf. 20.4.)	
<i>q̄aníx</i>	greedy	
<i>q̄anšár</i>	opposite side	
<i>q̄anšárdiz</i> {X _{GEN} }	toward X (German X _{DAT} <i>entgegen</i>) (12.2.2.8.)	
<i>q̄a q̄átun</i> {T L _{ADEL} }	fall off, move away	
<i>q̄a q̄áidun</i> {A T L _{ADEL} }	A removes T from L	
<i>q̄arágún</i> {T _{ABS} }	get up, arise	
<i>q̄arár</i>	decision, resolution	[A. qaraar]
<i>q̄aráwul</i>	guard	[T. karakoł, R. karaul]
<i>q̄ari</i>	old woman	[T. kari]
<i>q̄aríb</i>	strange	
<i>q̄arší</i> {X _{DAT} }	opposite X, toward X (12.2.4.6.)	
<i>q̄aršílamišun</i>	meet	[T. karšílamak]
<i>q̄ast</i>	intention, will	
<i>q̄at</i> /qat ^h / (-úni)	layer; fold	[T. kat]
<i>q̄atí</i>	strong, harsh, fierce	[T. katu]
<i>q̄atkún</i>	lie (down)	
<i>q̄aw</i> (-ú)	roof, ceiling	

<i>qaxčun</i> /qaxʧʊn/	take away	
<i>qaz</i> (-rá)	goose	[T. kaz]
<i>qazánmišun</i>	earn	[T. kazanmak]
<i>qazúnun</i> 1. {T} 2. {A T}	1. tear (intr.) 2. tear (tr.) (15. 6.)	
<i>qažǵán</i>	kettle, pot	
<i>qe</i>	today (12.1.2.1., 8.2.1.3.)	
<i>qec</i> (-i)	outside	
<i>qecé</i>	outside (adv. 12.1.1.2., postp. 12.2.1.2.)	
<i>qejd</i> (-di)	remark	[A. qayd]
<i>qelé</i>	fortress	[A. qalʃat]
<i>qelém</i>	pen	[A. qalam]
<i>qen</i> (-i)	inside; internal organs	
<i>qené</i>	inside, within (adv. 12.1.1.1., postp. 12.2.1.1.)	
<i>qenfét</i>	candy	[R. konfeta]
<i>qení</i>	good	
<i>qeǵéč'un</i>	go away	
<i>qeǵwéj</i>	tortuous, curved	
<i>qeǵü'n</i> (-ǵwéz, -ǵwéna, <i>qeǵü'ǵ</i>)	1. {T _{ABS} } T walks, wanders, flies 2. {T _{ABS} L _{POESS} } T looks for L	
<i>qeréx</i>	bank, edge	
<i>qét'un</i>	decide	[A. qaʃ]
<i>qexü'n</i> (-di)	reproach	
<i>qib</i> (<i>q^hipré</i>)	frog	
<i>qib</i> (<i>q^hipt</i>)	yolk (of egg); yellow color (cf. <i>q^hipi</i>)	
<i>qilix</i>	character	
<i>qimét</i>	price; grade (at school)	[A. qiimat]
<i>qirmišun</i>	annihilate	[T. kirmak]
<i>qizil</i>	gold; golden	[T. kızıl]
<i>qizmíš, qizǵin</i>	hot	[T. kızmış, kızgın]
<i>quďǵúnun</i>	jump; quiver	
<i>qudrát</i>	power, might	[A. qudrat]
<i>quǵún</i> (-ǵwáz, -ána) {T L _{SRESS} }	T plays L (game)	
<i>quj</i>	let (Optative particle, 9.8.4.)	
<i>qul</i> (-á)	fireplace	
<i>quláj</i>	comfortable	[T. kolay]
<i>qullúǵ</i>	service, job, office	[T. kulluk]
<i>qullúǵči</i>	employee	
<i>qum</i> (-ádi)	sand	[T. kum]
<i>qumrál</i>	swarthy, dark-skinned	[T. kumral]
<i>qun</i> (<i>reǵz, qána, quǵ</i>)	become cold	
<i>qun</i> (<i>q^hwaz, q^hwána, quǵ</i>)	fall (precipitation)	
<i>qunší</i>	neighbor; neighboring	[T. komşu]
<i>qurbánd</i>	sacrifice	[A. qurbaan]
<i>qurmışun</i>	found, set up, organize	[T. kurmak]
<i>qurxulú</i>	frightful; dangerous	[T. korkulu]
<i>qurúluš</i>	structure	[T. kuruluş]
<i>quš</i> (-di)	bird	[T. kuş]
<i>qutármışun</i> {A T L _{SBEL} }	A rescues T from L	[T. kurtarmak]
<i>quw</i> (-di)	howling, wailing	
<i>quwát</i>	strength, power	[A. quwwat]

<i>q̄užáx</i>	arm's span; embrace	[T. kucak]
<i>q̄ül (-ü')</i>	wheat	
<i>q̄ün (-ü')</i>	shoulder	
<i>q̄ür (-é)</i>	hare	
<i>q̄ürü'</i>	blunt	
<i>q̄wal (-á)</i>	side	
<i>q̄walaw</i> {X _{GEN} }	near X, to X (12.2.2.2.)	
<i>q̄wan (-c̄i, -ér)</i>	stone (7.1.1.5.)	
<i>q'abúlung</i>	accept	[A. qabuul]
<i>q'ac' (-ú)</i>	scar; notch	
<i>q'ac'ún (-úz, -ána)</i>	become dirty	
<i>q'adár</i>	quantity	[A. qadr]
<i>q'al (-úni)</i>	stalk, blade (of grass)	
<i>q'alú</i>	dirty, muddy	
<i>q'aq'án</i>	tall, high	
<i>q'ar (-ádi)</i>	dirt, mud	
<i>q'aráj</i>	patience	
<i>q'at'</i>	fragment, piece, part	[A. qatf]
<i>q'at' awún</i>	cut	
<i>q'at'ún (-úz, -ána)</i>	perceive, understand, consider (cf. 20.4.)	
<i>q'eb (q'ep'tni)</i>	cradle	
<i>q'ec't</i>	lame	
<i>q'ec'tl</i>	naked	
<i>q'eč'ä'ğun</i>	rake out	
<i>q'efés</i>	cage	[A. qafaš]
<i>q'ehál</i>	brave, valiant	
<i>q'ehä't</i>	insufficient	
<i>q'el (-é)</i>	salt	
<i>q'eléc'</i>	thin	
<i>q'enér</i>	bridle	
<i>q'enä't</i>	economy, parsimoniousness	[A. qanaafat]
<i>q'erí</i>	rare	
<i>q'et'én</i>	special	
<i>q'et'un</i> {A _{ERG} V _{MSD} }	A decides to V (20.3.4.)	
<i>q'eztl</i>	light, easy	
<i>q'iblé</i>	south	[A. qiblat]
<i>q'if' (-ré)</i>	mouse	
<i>q'il (-t)</i>	head	
<i>q'ilé aq̄údun</i>	carry out	
<i>q'ilé fin</i>	occur, take place	
<i>q'iltw</i> {X _{GEN} }	near X, to X (12.2.2.2.)	
<i>q'ildi</i>	separately, alone	
<i>q'in (req'tz, q'éna, jiq')</i>	die; kill (15.6.)	
<i>q'in (-é)</i>	oath	
<i>q'isá</i>	tale, legend	[A. qišsat]
<i>q'isás</i>	revenge	[A. qišaas]
<i>q'ismét</i>	fate, destiny	[A. qismat]
<i>q'it</i>	insufficient	
<i>q'ulán</i>	middle	

<i>q'ulú</i>	flat	
<i>q'ulúq^h</i>	adv. back (12.1.1.6.); postposition :	
1. {X _{GEN} }	behind (12.2.1.6.)	
2. {X _{SREL} }	after (12.2.1.6., 21.4.5.)	
<i>q'un</i> (-az, -úna, jaq ^h)	hold, catch; bite; shear	
1. {A T }	A considers T an X	
2. {A T X _{INEL} }	dry	[cf. T. kuru]
<i>q'uráh, q'uráj, q'urú</i>	T becomes dry; T thirsts for L	
<i>q'urún</i> (-áz, -ána) {T L _{POESS} }	army	[P. ʏošuun]
<i>q'ušún</i>	bosom	
<i>q'üč</i> (q ^h üč'ü')	winter	
<i>q'üd</i> (q ^h üt'ü')	hedgehog	
<i>q'üǧü'r</i>	leg; dance	
<i>q'ül</i> (-ü')	elbow	
<i>q'ünt</i> (-ü')	old	
<i>q'üzü'</i>	1. as much as (24.2.3.)	
<i>q'wan</i>	2. up to, as far as (12.2.4.5.)	
	3. (particle) as it turned out (13.3.6.)	
	4. whenever; as long as (21.4.7.)	
	5. question particle (23.5.5.)	
<i>q'wanní</i>	if only, at least (13.2.2.)	
<i>q'we(d)</i>	two (13.1.1.)	
<i>q'wex</i> (q'üxü', q'üxwér)	groin	
<i>q^hač</i> (q ^h áčadi; q ^h čar)	grass	
<i>q^hel</i> (q ^h ilé)	anger (15.4.1.)	
<i>q^hfin</i>	go back (10.4.1.)	
<i>q^hičín</i> (-iz, -éna)	sprinkle	
<i>q^hipi</i> /q ^h ipi/	yellow	
<i>q^hitq'ínun</i>	explode, burst	
<i>q^hsan</i>	god	
<i>q^hun</i> (q ^h waz, q ^h wána)	drink	
<i>q^huǧún</i> (-ǧwaz, -ǧwána, -ǧuǧ)	become hard	
<i>q^hutq'únun</i>	shudder	
<i>q^huwún</i>	do again (10.4.1.)	
<i>q^hüčügan</i> /q ^h üčütsygan/	pillow	
<i>q^hürü'n</i> (-éz, -éna, q ^h ürü'q ^h)	laugh	
<i>q^hütü'l</i>	soft; good-natured	
<i>q^hweq^h</i> (q ^h üǧwé, q ^h üǧwér)	cheek	
<i>q^hwer</i>	laughter, smile	
<i>rab</i> (rapuni) /ra'puni/	needle	
<i>rad</i> (ratuni) /ra'tuni/	intestine	
<i>raǧ</i> (raǧni)	sun	
<i>raǧúl</i>	muddy; gray	
<i>rak</i> (rik'íni, rak'árar)	door (7.1.1.7.)	
<i>rang</i> (-ádi / -úni)	color; paint	
<i>raǧúrun</i>	send	[P. ræng]

<i>raq'</i> (-ú/-úni)	iron	
<i>rasálmış xun</i> {T _{ABS} L _{GRESS} }	L meets T	[T. rastlamak?]
<i>rasú</i>	light brown, red	
<i>rásun</i>	make, construct	
<i>raxún</i> (-áz, -úna)	talk	
<i>razí</i> {X _{GRESS} }	agreeing with X, satisfied with X	[A. raadın]
<i>raž</i> (<i>račúni</i> /raʃuni/)	grain	
<i>reğ</i> (<i>reğt̃ni</i>)	comb	
<i>reğw</i> (<i>reğü</i> ')	mill	
<i>reğü</i> ' {E _{DAT} X _{POEL} }	E is ashamed of X	
<i>reğü'n</i> (-éz, -éna)	grind (tr./intr.) (15.6.)	
<i>rehä't</i>	easy	[cf. A. raahat 'rest, comfort?']
<i>rehmét</i>	forgiveness	[A. rahmat]
<i>req'w</i> (-q'ü')	jaw	
<i>req^h</i> (<i>req'i</i>)	way, path	
<i>rext</i>	gray	
<i>rik'</i> (-t)	heart	
<i>rik' alaj</i>	beloved, favorite (lit. on which the heart is)	
{T E _{GEN} } <i>rik'el atun</i>	E remembers T	
{T E _{GEN} } <i>rik'elaj alatum</i>	E forgets T (15.3.15., 20.2.3.)	
<i>rišwét</i>	bribe	[A. rišwat]
<i>rufún</i> (-i)	belly	
<i>rug</i> (<i>rukwádi</i>)	dust	
<i>rugúd</i>	seven	
<i>rugún</i> (<i>rgaz, rgána</i>)	cook, boil (tr./intr.) (15.6.)	
<i>ruswáh awun</i>	soil; disgrace	
<i>ruš</i> (-á)	girl	
<i>ruxwájar</i>	sons (-> <i>xwa</i>)	
<i>rüh</i> (-di)	spirit	[A. ruuh]
<i>rüqh</i> (<i>rüqh wédi</i>)	ashes	
<i>sábur</i>	restraint, self-control	[A. şabr]
<i>sa(d)</i>	one, a (13.1.1., 11.6.3.); only (13.2.2.)	
<i>sádni</i>	nobody (11.6.4.)	
<i>sad lahána</i>	suddenly	
<i>sádra</i>	once (13.1.6., 11.6.3.); particle (13.3.8.)	
<i>sáda-sad</i>	each other (22.5.)	
<i>saf</i> (-úni)	sieve	
<i>sağ</i>	healthy	[T. sağ]
<i>sáğraj</i>	good bye; thank you	
<i>sajáğ</i>	mode, means, way	[A. şiyaaɣ]
<i>sakí</i>	almost (13.5.3.)	
<i>sal</i> (-á)	garden	
<i>salám</i>	greeting	[A. salaam]
<i>salám aléjkum</i>	hi	[A. salaam ʃalaykum]
<i>sam</i> (-úni)	straw	[cf. T. saman?]
<i>sánal</i>	together	
<i>sán-hisáb</i>	quantity, number	
<i>sas</i> (<i>sará, sarár</i>)	incisor, cutting tooth (7.1.4.)	
<i>sawád</i>	writing	
	[Az. savad 'writing', A. sawaad 'blackness?']	

<i>sawq'wát</i>	present, gift	[T. Az. sovgat]
<i>sät (-di)</i>	hour; clock	[A. saafat]
<i>sebéb</i>	reason, cause	[A. sabab]
<i>sečkí</i>	election	[T. sečki]
<i>sefér</i>	journey, trip; time (Fr. fois)	[A. safar]
<i>alátaj seférda</i>	last time	
<i>q'we seférda (=q'wédra)</i>	twice	
<i>seftl</i>	sad	[A. saafil 'low?']
<i>sehér</i>	early morning, dawn	[A. sahar]
<i>sekín</i>	quiet	[A. saakin]
<i>sel (-di, -lér)</i>	downpour, flood	[T. sel]
<i>senä't</i>	handicraft, profession	[A. şinaafat]
<i>senftz</i>	last night (12.1.2.1.)	
<i>serénžem</i>	measure, step, action	[T. serencam]
<i>serg (-kí)</i>	garlic	
<i>serhä't</i>	border	[P. sær-hædd, A. hadd]
<i>sertn</i>	cool, fresh; shade	[T. serin]
<i>ses (-tñi)</i>	voice	[T. ses]
<i>sew (-ré)</i>	bear	
<i>sifté</i>	at the beginning; first (adv.)	
<i>sijáhat</i>	journey	[A. s-w-h]
<i>sik' (-ré)</i>	fox	
<i>sil (-t)</i>	rye	
<i>sim (-tñi)</i>	wire	
<i>sinft</i>	class	[A. şinf]
<i>sintx</i>	defect	
<i>sir (-tñi)</i>	secret	[A. sirr]
<i>sirnáw</i>	swimming	[cf. P. šenawær]
<i>siw (-t)</i>	mouth	
<i>spel (or: süpél)</i>	moustache	
<i>stxa</i>	brother	
<i>st'al</i>	drop	
<i>suál</i>	question	[A. suʔaal]
<i>subút</i>	proof	[A. θubuut]
<i>sufrá</i>	table-cloth	[A. sufrat]
<i>sur (-ú)</i>	grave	
<i>surár</i>	graveyard	
<i>suw (-á)</i>	mountain	
<i>suwár</i>	holiday	
<i>súxun</i>	put	[T. sokmak]
<i>sühbét</i>	conversation	[A. şuhbat]
<i>sühü'r</i>	magic, witchcraft, sorcery	[A. suhuur]
<i>sürét</i>	picture	[A. şuurat]
<i>sürü'</i>	flock (of sheep)	[T. sürü]
<i>swas (susá, susár)</i>	bride; daughter-in-law	
<i>swax (suxwá, suxwár)</i>	molar (tooth)	
<i>ša</i>	come! (→ <i>atun</i>); particle (13.3.9.)	
<i>šad</i>	glad, joyful	[P. šad]
<i>šahíd</i>	witness	[A. šaahid]

<i>šak</i>	suspicion, doubt	[A. šakk]
<i>šal (-di)</i>	shawl, kerchief, cloth	[P. šal]
<i>šalwár (-di)</i>	pants	[P. šælwar, A. širwaal]
<i>šarág</i>	young one (of animals)	
<i>šart' (-úni)</i>	condition	[A. šart]
<i>šaz</i>	last year (12.1.2.1.)	
<i>šéher</i>	city, town	[P. šæhr]
<i>šehré</i>	highway	[P. šahrah]
<i>šej (šejłni, šejłér)</i>	thing	[A. šay?]
<i>šejt'án</i>	devil	[A. šaytaan]
<i>šekér</i>	sugar	[P. šekær]
<i>šéžun</i>	cry, weep	
<i>šikájat</i>	complaint	[A. šikaayat]
<i>šikil</i>	picture	[A. šakl]
<i>širín</i>	sweet	[P. širin]
<i>šit</i>	stale, trite	[T. Az. šit]
<i>šq'ünt</i>	snail	
<i>št'úmun</i>	dry (v.)	
<i>šumál</i>	stately, well-shaped	[T. Az. šumal]
<i>šumúd</i>	how many? (11.5.5.)	
<i>sa šumud</i>	several (14.2.1.)	
<i>šutkún (štíkiz, štkána)</i>	sweep	
<i>šük'ü'</i>	thin	
<i>šümä'ğ</i>	hazelnut	
<i>šüšé</i>	glass; bottle	[A. šiišat, P. šiše]
<i>šütq'ü'n (-q'wéz, -éna)</i>	be wrinkled; wither, fade	
<i>tab /tab/ (tapúni, tapárar)</i>	lie, falsehood (7.1.1.7.)	
<i>tablj /t^h-/</i>	obedient	[A. taabif]
<i>tadarak /t^h-/</i>	supply; equipment	[A. tadaaruk]
<i>tadt /t^h-/</i>	quick	
<i>tafáwat /t^h-/</i>	difference	[A. tafaawut]
<i>taj (-ct) /taj/</i>	foal	[T. taj]
<i>taj (-úni) /t^h-/</i>	separate member of a pair; equal	
<i>tajín /t^h-/</i>	certain	[A. tafyiin]
<i>takabur /t^ha^hk^habur/</i>	pride; proud	[A. takaabur]
<i>tak'án /t-/</i>	unpleasant, hateful, repugnant	
<i>talúq' (X_{DAT}) /t^h-/</i>	concerning X, related to X	[A. tafalluq]
<i>tamám /t^h-/</i>	complete, mature; exactly	[A. tamaam]
<i>tažmín awun</i>	provide	[A. tažmiin]
<i>tam (-ú)</i>	forest	
<i>tamášun /t^h-/</i>	look	[P. təmaša]
<i>tantiš /t^h-/</i>	known, acquainted	[T. tanis]
<i>tapán /ta'pan/</i>	false	
<i>tapás /t^ha^hp^has/</i>	paw	
<i>tapšürmišun {A T L_{SRESS}}</i>	entrust T to L	[T. Az. tapšyrmag]
<i>tapšúruğ</i>	instruction, task	
<i>taq'at /ta'q'at^h/</i>	strength	[T. takat]
<i>tar (-ct / -á) /t-/</i>	tree	
<i>taráš</i>	robbery	[P. taraj]

<i>taríf</i> /t ^h -/	praise	[A. taʕriif]
<i>tarix</i>	history	[A. taariix]
<i>tars</i> (-úni)	lesson	[A. dars]
<i>taʕsir</i>	influence; impression	[A. taʕθiir]
<i>taxsirkár</i>	culprit	[A. taxsiir]
<i>taʕajit'a</i>	or (18.2.2., 23.1.3.); otherwise (16.3.5.4.)	
<i>tazá</i> /t ^h -/	fresh	[P. taze]
<i>taʕúb</i> [L _{SRESS}] /t ^h -/	amazed, surprised at L	[A. tafajjub]
<i>tebrík</i> /t ^h -/	greeting	[A. tabriik]
<i>tehér</i>	manner	
<i>tek</i>	only (13.2.2.); lonely	[P. tæk]
<i>teklif</i> /t ^h ek ^h lif/	invitation, offer, recommendation	
<i>teklifun</i> {A R _{DAT} [V _{MSD}]}	A proposes to R to V	[A. takliif]
<i>telef awun</i>	destroy, annihilate	
<i>telef xun</i>	perish	
<i>temä'h</i>	profit	
<i>temén</i>	kiss	
<i>tempel</i> /t ^h emp ^h el/	lazy	
<i>terbija</i>	upbringing, education	[A. tarbiyat]
<i>terg xun</i> /t ^h -/	perish	[A. tark?]
<i>ters</i> /t ^h -/	obstinate, stubborn	[T. ters]
<i>téspača</i>	hurry, fuss	
<i>testiq'arun</i>	confirm	[A. taʕdiiq]
<i>teškíl awun</i>	organize, form	[A. taʕskii]
<i>texíl</i> /t ^h -/	grain	
<i>težriiba</i>	experience, practice	[A. tajribat]
<i>tfeng</i> /t ^h feng/	rifle	[P. tofaeng, T. tüfek]
<i>tik</i> /t ^h -/	steep, vertical	
<i>tike</i> /t ^h ike/	chunk, slice	[T. tike]
<i>tikrár</i>	repetition	[A. takraar]
<i>tir</i> /tir/	was (Past of → <i>ja</i>)	
<i>tuk'un</i> (-k'wáz, -k'úna)	cut	
<i>tum</i> (-úni) /t ^h um/	seed	[P. toxm]
<i>tum</i> (-úni) /tum/	tail	[P. dom]
<i>tumaž</i> /t ^h u'maž/	leather	
<i>tun</i> (<i>twaz, túna, tur</i>) /tun/	put	
1. {A T L _{ADV} }	A puts T somewhere (L)	
2. {A T}	A shaves T	
<i>tun</i> (<i>taz, túna, tur</i>) /t ^h un/	let	
1. {A T}	A leaves T, admits T	
2. {A C _{ADESS} [V _{INF}]}	A makes C V (20.2.4.)	
<i>tup</i> /t ^h up ^h / (-úni) /t ^h up ^h uni/	ball; cannon, gun	[P. tup]
<i>tup'al</i> /t ^h up'al/	ring	
<i>tur</i> /t ^h -/	sword	
<i>tuš</i> /t-/	is not (negative form of → <i>ja</i>)	
<i>tux</i> /t ^h -/	satisfied	[T. tok]
<i>tuxúl</i> /t ^h -/	lung	
<i>tuxún</i> (-úz, <i>tuxwána, twax</i>) /t ^h -/	bring, carry, lead	
<i>q'ilé tuxún</i>	carry out	
<i>tüd</i> /tyd/ (<i>tütü'ni</i>) /t ^h tytyni/	throat	
<i>tükwén</i> /t ^h kwén/	store, shop	[cf. T. dükkân, A. dukkaan?]

<i>tük'ü'n</i> (-ü'z, -k'wéna) /t ^h -/	fit, be in harmony	
<i>tük'ü'run</i> /t ^h -/	build; correct	
<i>tük'wén</i> /t ^h q ^h k'wén/	hole, crack	
<i>tünt</i> /t ^h ynt ^h /	strong, sharp; hot-tempered	
<i>tüq'ü'l</i> /t ^h q ^h y/	bitter	
<i>türétmišun</i>	create	[T. türetmek]
<i>twar</i> (-i) /t ^h war/	grain	
<i>t'a šun</i> (t'az, t'a šana)	hurt (9.5.2.4.)	
<i>t'ab</i> (t'ap'uni)	block, log	
<i>t'al</i>	illness, pain	
<i>t'aláb</i>	request, demand	[A. ʔalab]
<i>t'alábun</i> {A _{ERG} M _{ADEL} V _{MSD} } A asks M to V (20.3.2.)		
<i>t'aq'un</i> (-q'áz, -q'ána)	freeze	
<i>t'arám</i>	tight; good, beautiful	
<i>t'árwal</i>	pain	
<i>t'ám</i>	taste	[A. tašm]
<i>t'ebiát</i>	nature	[A. ʔabišat]
<i>t'ekw</i> (-é)	hole	
<i>t'imíl</i>	little, few	
<i>sa t'imil</i>	a little, a few (14.2.1.)	
<i>t'ub</i> (tup'ú)	finger	
<i>t'uk</i> (-úni)	ass, arse (taboo word)	
<i>t'un</i>	particle (13.3.4.)	
<i>t'ur</i> (-úni)	spoon; bud, twig	
<i>t'urfán</i>	storm; scandal	[cf. A. ʔuufaan]
<i>t'ušúnun</i>	knead, wrinkle	
<i>t'uz</i> {X _{RELATIVE} }	along X (12.2.4.4.)	
<i>t'ün</i> (nez, t'üna, neʔ)	eat	
<i>t'wal</i> (-úni)	twig, rod, stick	
<i>t'war</i> (-c'í/-úni)	name	
<i>t'wet'</i> (-ré)	fly (insect)	
<i>t'wex</i> (-é)	spot, speckle	
<i>uğri</i>	thief	[T. Az. oğru]
<i>ujáx</i>	awake, watchful	[T. uyanık]
<i>ujún</i>	trick	[Az. ojun]
<i>umúd</i>	hope	[A. ʔ-m-d]
<i>umún</i>	quiet, mild	
<i>umumí</i>	general	[A. ʔumuumii]
<i>un</i>	yes (23.1.5.)	
<i>urús</i>	Russian	
<i>usál</i>	lean; mean, homely	
<i>ust'ár</i>	master	[A. ʔustaað]
<i>utánmiš šun</i> /u't ^h anmiš/	be ashamed	[A. utanmak]
<i>uxšámiš šun</i>	become similar	
<i>uxšár</i>	similarity	[T. Az. oxšar]
<i>užúz</i>	cheap	[T. ucuz]

<i>üç'ü'</i>	salty	
<i>üç'ü'n</i> (<i>üç'wéz, üç'wéna</i>)	be destroyed	
<i>ühü' jagun</i>	cough	
<i>üft</i> (-ü'ni)	whistle	
<i>ülén</i>	bog, swamp	
<i>ülgü'č</i>	razor	[T. Az. ülgü]
<i>ülkwe</i> /yl'k ^h wel/	country	[T. ülke]
<i>ümür</i>	life	[A. fümür]
<i>ürdég</i>	duck	[T. ördek]
<i>ütkwem</i> /yt ^h k ^w em/	bold	
<i>üzü'm</i>	vine, grapes	[T. üzüm]
<i>wa</i>	and (18.1.3., 18.3.1.)	
<i>wa ja</i>	or (18.2.1.)	
<i>wa?</i>	not (13.4.); no (23.1.5.)	
<i>wac'</i> (-ü)	river	
<i>wad</i>	five	
<i>wafá</i>	faithfulness	[A. wafaa?]
<i>wahšít</i>	wild; wild animal	[A. wahšii]
<i>wak</i> (<i>wak'á</i>)	pig	
<i>wal</i> (-á)	bush	
<i>wan</i> (-cí, -ér)	voice, sound (7.1.1.5.)	
{EDAT XGEN} <i>wan atun</i>	E hears X (15.3.15.)	
<i>war</i> (-cí)	one door of a gate	
<i>warár</i>	gate	
<i>warz</i> (<i>wacrá, warcár</i>) /-ts-/	month; moon	
<i>was</i> (-úni)	penis (taboo word)	
<i>watan</i> /wa ^h an/	native country	[A. waŋan]
<i>wax</i> (-á)	sister	
<i>waxt</i> (-úni)	time	[A. waqt]
<i>a waxtúnda</i>	at that time	
{...VPTP} <i>waxtunda</i>	(conjunction) when (21.4.6.)	
<i>waxt-waxtúnda</i>	time and again	
<i>wažiblú</i>	important	[A. waajib]
<i>wädé</i>	time	
<i>wáz</i> (-tini)	sermon	[A. waŋz]
<i>wehín</i> (-tíz, -éna, weh)	throw	
<i>weléd</i>	child	[A. walad]
<i>weqí</i>	hard, rough	[A. waaqif?]
<i>weq'</i> (-t)	grass	
<i>werč'í</i>	sweet	
<i>werdíš xun</i>		
1. {XPOESS} <i>galáz</i>	get used to X	
2. {VINF}	get used to V-ing (20.2.2.)	
<i>werč</i> (<i>wečré</i>) /-t ^h -/	hen, chicken	
<i>werx</i>	birch	
<i>wesít</i>	legacy, testament	[A. wašii]
<i>wet'</i> (-ré)	mosquito	
<i>wezífa</i>	duty, task	[A. wažiifat]
<i>wič</i>	self (11.2., 22.4.)	

<i>wik'éh</i>	brave	
<i>wil (-t)</i>	eye	
<i>wilaját</i>	country	[A. wilaayat]
<i>wilt</i>	blue	
<i>wiltk</i> 1. (adv.)	forward (12.1.1.5.); before (12.1.2.2.)	
2. (X _{SREL})	before X (12.2.1.5.)	
<i>wiltkan</i>	former (8.2.1.3.)	
<i>wiltkdaj</i>	formerly	
<i>winél</i>	above (adv. 12.1.1.3., postp. 12.2.1.3.)	
<i>winí</i>	upper (11.4.)	
<i>wintz</i>	up (adv. 12.1.1.3., postp. 12.2.1.3.)	
<i>wir (-t)</i>	pond, pool, lake	
<i>wirí</i>	all, whole (11.7.1.)	
<i>wirt (wirt'édi)</i>	honey	
<i>wiš</i>	a hundred	
<i>wišr'š</i>	rustle	
<i>wiždán</i>	conscience	[A. wijdaan]
<i>wižé atún</i>	be suitable	
<i>wuč</i> (obl. <i>kü-</i> or <i>kwe-</i>)	what (11.5.2.)	
<i>wučtz</i>	why (11.5.6.)	
<i>wučtz lahájt'a</i>	for, because (16.3.5.3.)	
<i>wugún (-úz, -ána, gecé)</i>		
{A T RADESS}	(temporarily) give T to R	
<i>wun</i>	you (singular) (11.1.)	
<i>wuž</i> (obl. <i>ni-</i>)	who (11.5.1.)	
<i>xabár</i>	news	[A. xabar]
<i>xabar q'un</i> {A _{ERG} RADEL}	A asks R	
<i>xajf</i>	native (Aorist participle of → <i>xun</i>)	
<i>xak</i> /χak ^h / (<i>xkúni</i> /'χkuni/)	stake, peg	
<i>xalá</i>	aunt (mother's sister)	[P. xale]
<i>xalí</i>	watermelon	
<i>xalís</i>	true, real, authentic	[A. xaliis]
<i>xalq' (-di)</i>	people	[A. xalq]
<i>xalú</i>	uncle (mother's brother)	[P. xalu]
<i>xam (-úni)</i>	skin, hide	
<i>xar (-ú)</i>	bean; hail	
<i>xaráp'a</i>	ruins	[A. xaraabat]
<i>xarž (-úni)</i>	expenditure, expense	[A. xarj]
<i>xas</i> {X _{DAT} }	characteristic of X	[A. xaşş]
<i>xaš (-úni)</i>	cross	
<i>xat (xtúni)</i>	bead	
<i>xatá</i>	error; danger	[A. xaťaaʔ; xaťar]
<i>xatalú</i>	dangerous	
<i>xatúr</i> /xa ^t hur/	respect	[A. xaťar, xuťuurat]
<i>xat' (-úni)</i>	handwriting	[A. xaťf]
<i>xazína</i>	treasury	[T. hazne]
<i>xažálat</i>	grief, sorrow	[A. xajal]
<i>xci</i> /χtsi/	sharp	
<i>xc'u</i>	fragile, brittle	

<i>xeb</i> (<i>xpe</i> , <i>xper</i>)	sheep
<i>xéjlin</i>	a lot, very [P. <i>xeyl</i> 'herd, crowd?']
<i>xel</i> (<i>xilé</i>)	branch; one member of a pair
<i>xendéda</i>	widow
<i>xer</i> (<i>xiré</i>)	wound
<i>xesét</i>	character trait, inclination [A. <i>xaaşsat</i>]
<i>xew</i> (<i>xiwé</i>)	neck, collar
<i>xiwé q'un</i>	recognize; promise (cf. 20.3.4.)
<i>xgun</i>	give again; resell (Repetitive of <i>gun</i> , 10.4.1.2.)
<i>xijál</i>	thought [A. <i>xayaal</i>]
<i>xijír</i>	benefit, profit, good [A. <i>xayr</i>]
<i>ximír</i>	leaven; leavened dough
<i>xkádárun</i> {X _{ERG} }	X jumps (15.4.2.1., ex. 763)
<i>xkátun</i>	appear; be ruined
1. {T _{LSBEL} }	T appears from L, T escapes from L, T gets rid of L
2. {T}	T perishes
<i>xkát'un</i>	cut (out)
<i>xkáxun</i>	go out, be extinguished
<i>xkážun</i>	raise, lift
<i>xkă'ğun</i>	choose, elect (9.5.3.)
<i>xkét</i>	fairy tale
<i>xkéč'un</i> {T _{LSBEL} }	T goes out from L
<i>xkúđun</i> {A T _{LSBEL} }	A pulls out, takes out T from L
<i>xkun</i> (<i>xkiz</i> , <i>xkána</i> , <i>xkwaš</i>)	bring back, return (Repetitive of <i>ğun</i> , 10.4.1.2.)
<i>xkü'run</i>	touch
<i>xk'un</i> (<i>xk'iz</i> , <i>xk'úna</i>)	T touches L
{T _{LSBESS} }	own, proper, private [A. <i>xuşuuşii</i>]
<i>xsusi</i>	grandchild
<i>xtul</i> /χtul/	return (Repetitive of <i>atun</i> , 10.4.1.2.)
<i>xtun</i> (<i>xkwez</i> , <i>xtána</i> , <i>q^hša</i>) /χtun/	stomach
<i>xuk</i> /χuk ^h / (<i>xukwádi</i>) /χk ^w adi/	(15.6.)
<i>xun</i> (- <i>az</i> , - <i>ána</i>)	break (tr.); give birth to
1. {A T}	break (intr.); be born
2. {T}	particle (13.3.7.)
<i>xup'</i>	breast
<i>xur</i> (- <i>ú</i>)	by heart
<i>xurálaj</i>	apron
<i>xurúgan</i>	weave, knit
<i>xurún</i> (<i>xraz</i> , <i>xrána</i>)	pleasant [P. <i>xaš</i>]
<i>xuš</i>	carry back (Repetitive of <i>tuxun</i> , 10.4.1.2.)
<i>xutáxun</i>	take off (clothes)
<i>xut'únun</i>	keep, preserve, guard
<i>xün</i> (- <i>üz</i> , <i>xwéna</i>)	village
<i>xür</i> (- <i>ü'</i>)	food, meal [P. <i>xorak</i>]
<i>xürék</i>	spider
<i>xüšrékan</i>	son (7.1.4.)
<i>xwa</i> (<i>xci</i> , <i>ruxwájar</i>)	plum
<i>xwat</i> /χ ^w at ^h / (<i>xutúni</i>) /χtuni/	

<i>xwax</i> (-úni)	trough	
<i>xwešf</i>	joyful	
<i>xwex</i> (-ù'ni, <i>xwexwér</i>)	kernel, core	
<i>xzan</i>	family	
<i>ǰajft'ani</i>	1. indefiniteness marker (11.6.)	
	2. if only, at least (13.2.2.)	
<i>ǰax</i> (-ádi)	mold	
<i>ǰel</i> (<i>ǰilé</i>)	arrow	
<i>ǰi</i>	particle (13.3.2., 13.5.1., 20.7.)	
<i>ǰiz</i>	like (24.2.1., 18.1.4.)	
<i>ǰtin</i>	like (24.2.2.)	
<i>ǰun</i> 1. {X _{ABS} T _{ABS} }	X is T (17.1.-3.)	
2. {X _{SBEL} T _{ABS} }	X becomes T (17.4.)	
3. {V _{INF} }	Periphrastic Habitual auxiliary (9.7.1.)	
4. {X _{ADEL} V _{INF} }	X is able to V (20.2.2.)	
5. + verb stem	anticausative auxiliary (10.2.)	
<i>zajf</i>	weak, sickly	[A. ǰafiif]
<i>zalán</i>	heavy	
<i>zalúm</i>	tyrant; despotic	[A. ǰaalim]
<i>zalzála</i>	earthquake	[A. zalzalat]
<i>zamán</i>	time, era	[A. zamaan]
<i>zapun</i> /za'pun/	soap	
<i>zaráfat</i>	joke	[A. ǰaraafat]
<i>zarár</i>	damage, detriment	[A. ǰarar]
<i>zarb</i> (-úni)	quickness	
<i>zat'</i> (-úni)	thing	[A. ǰaat?]
<i>sa zat'ni</i>	nothing (11.6.4.)	
<i>zawál</i>	destruction; distress; defect	[A. zawaal]
<i>zehér</i>	poison	
<i>zehmét</i>	work	[A. zahmat 'crowd?']
<i>zeng</i> (-ini)	bell, ring	[P. zæng]
<i>zeng jáǰun</i> {A C _{DAT} }	A phones C	
<i>zertf</i>	elegant, beautiful	[P. zariif]
<i>ziján</i>	damage	[P. ziyan]
<i>zizarát</i>	pilgrimage	[A. ziyaarat]
<i>zirék</i>	energetic; clever	[P. ziræk]
<i>zul</i> (-ú)	fall, autumn	
<i>zulum</i>	tyranny, oppression	[A. ǰulm]
<i>zun</i>	I (11.1.)	
<i>zur</i>	half	
<i>zur</i> (-úni)	violence; threat	[P. zur]
<i>zurbá</i>	enormous, giant	[T. zorba]
<i>zurzún</i> (-áz, -úna)	tremble, shiver	
<i>zürné</i>	zurna (sort of lute)	[P. zorna]
<i>zwal</i>	boiling	
<i>zwer</i> (-cf)	twisting, rolling; quickness; running	
<i>zwerun</i>	run	

<i>žal</i>	question particle (23.5.4.)	
<i>žanawúr</i>	wolf	[T. canavar]
<i>žaq'ún (žaq'wáz, žaq'wana)</i>	chew	
<i>žawáb</i>	answer	[A. jawaab]
<i>žazá</i>	punishment	[A. jazaa?]
<i>žehíl</i>	young	[A. jaahil?]
<i>žehenném</i>	hell	[A. jahannam]
<i>žehré</i>	crimson	[cf. T. cehri 'reseda luteola']
<i>žélbun</i>	attract, concentrate	[A. jalb]
<i>žemä't</i>	inhabitants	[A. jamaaʕat]
<i>ženg</i>	fight (n.)	[P. jæng]
<i>ženg č'ugún</i>	fight (v.)	
<i>žennét</i>	paradise	[A. jannat]
<i>ženžél</i>	naughty child	
<i>žergé</i>	series, row	[T. Az. järgä]
<i>žibín</i>	pocket	[cf. A. jayb]
<i>žig'ir</i>	path, track	
<i>žin (-žl)</i>	spirit, jinn	[A. jinn]
<i>žins (-ini)</i>	kind, gender, race	[A. jins]
<i>žiw (-édi)</i>	snow	
<i>žizwí</i>	insignificant, trifle	[cf. A. juzʔii 'trivial']
<i>žugún (žig'iz, žgána, žugúg)</i>	E finds T (15.4.1.)	
{EDAT TABS}	generous	[T. cömert]
<i>žumárt</i>	self (11.2., 22.4.3.)	
<i>žuw</i>		
<i>žuzún (-áz, -úna)</i>	A asks X about T	
{A T XADEL}	kind, sort	[P. jur]
<i>žüré</i>	varied	
<i>žüréba-žuré</i>	boldness	[A. jurʔat]
<i>žürʔet</i>		

Chapter 27

English-Lezgian vocabulary

be able	<i>alaq'un, ŝun</i>	army	<i>q'ušun</i>
about	<i>haq̄indaj</i>	arrow	<i>šel</i>
above	<i>winel</i>	article	<i>maq̄ala</i>
abundant	<i>bul</i>	ashamed	<i>reğü, utanmiš</i>
accept	<i>q'abulun</i>	ashes	<i>rüq̄h</i>
achievement	<i>agalaq'un</i>	ask	<i>žuzun, xabar q'un;</i> <i>minetun, istemišun</i>
acorn	<i>meğw</i>		
acquainted	<i>taniš</i>	ass	<i>t'uk</i>
action	<i>amal, serenzem</i>	at all	<i>esillah</i>
add	<i>alawa awun</i>	athlete	<i>pahliwan</i>
advice	<i>meslät</i>	attach	<i>giligun, kuk'urun,</i> <i>kut'unun, galk'un,</i> <i>akalun</i>
afraid	<i>kič'e</i>		
after	<i>güğüniz</i>	attack (N)	<i>hužum</i>
against	<i>aksi</i>	attack (V)	<i>kuk'un</i>
age	<i>jaš</i>	attention	<i>diq̄et</i>
agreeing	<i>razi</i>	attract	<i>želbun</i>
agreement	<i>meslätwal, iq'rar</i>	aunt	<i>xala, eme</i>
air	<i>hawa</i>	aurochs	<i>gaw</i>
alarm	<i>q̄alabulux</i>	autumn	<i>zul</i>
all	<i>wiri</i>	awake	<i>ujax</i>
allowed	<i>halal</i>	axe	<i>jak'w</i>
almost	<i>saki</i>		
always	<i>hamiša</i>	back (N)	<i>dalu, k'ul</i>
amazed	<i>hejran, tažub</i>	back (Adv)	<i>q'uluq̄h</i>
anchor	<i>labar</i>	bad	<i>pis</i>
and	<i>wa, -ni</i>	bag	<i>čanta</i>
anger	<i>q^hel, hürs, ažuğ</i>	bake	<i>čurun</i>
angry	<i>ažuğlu</i>	balcony	<i>ajwan</i>
animal	<i>hajwan</i>	ball	<i>tup, k'wat'</i>
annihilate	<i>q̄irmišun</i>	bank	<i>q̄erex</i>
answer (N)	<i>žawab</i>	bare	<i>q'ec'il</i>
ant	<i>cegw</i>	bark	<i>elüq'un</i>
anxiety	<i>q̄ajğu</i>	barley	<i>mux</i>
appear	<i>aq̄atun, xkatun,</i> <i>aq'altun</i>	barn	<i>müxc</i>
	<i>ištah</i>	basis	<i>dib</i>
appetite	<i>ič</i>	bathe	<i>eq^hün</i>
apple	<i>fäle</i>	be	<i>ja, žun, awa</i>
apprentice	<i>agatun, agaxun,</i> <i>agudun, egeč'un,</i> <i>gat'unun, igisun</i>	bead	<i>xat</i>
approach	<i>mašmaš</i>	beam	<i>išig, nur</i>
	<i>xurugan</i>	bean	<i>xar</i>
apricot	<i>aradal atun</i>	bear (N)	<i>sew</i>
apron		beard	<i>čuru</i>
arise			

beat	<i>gatun</i>	box	<i>q̄ab</i>
beautiful	<i>gürčeg, ijer, t'aram, güzel, zerif</i>	boy	<i>gada</i>
because	<i>wučiz laħajt'a</i>	brain	<i>meft</i>
because of	<i>pataq^haj</i>	branch	<i>xel</i>
become	<i>xun</i>	brave	<i>wik'eh, q'ehal, q̄ahriman</i>
bed	<i>mes; lak</i>	bread	<i>fu</i>
bee	<i>č'iz</i>	break	<i>xun, kuk'warun</i>
before	<i>wilik</i>	breast	<i>xur; mam</i>
begin	<i>bašlamišun, kekäğun, gat'unun</i>	breath	<i>jal, nefes</i>
beginning	<i>ewel</i>	breathe	<i>nefes č'ugun / q̄a čun; jal aq̄adarun</i>
behind	<i>güğüna</i>	bribe	<i>rišwet</i>
believe	<i>ağun</i>	bride	<i>swas</i>
beloved	<i>k'ani, jar, isteklu</i>	bridegroom	<i>čam</i>
bell	<i>zeng</i>	bridge	<i>müğ</i>
belly	<i>rufun</i>	bridle	<i>q'ener</i>
belt	<i>č'ul</i>	bright	<i>ekü</i>
bend	<i>ak'ažarun</i>	bring	<i>tuxun, ğun</i>
benefit	<i>xijir</i>	bring back	<i>xutaxun, xkun</i>
besides	<i>ğejri</i>	brittle	<i>xc'u</i>
between	<i>arada</i>	brother	<i>stxa</i>
big	<i>č'exi, iri, jeke, zurba</i>	brother-in-law	<i>bažanax</i>
birch	<i>werx</i>	brown	<i>rasu</i>
bird	<i>nük', q̄uš, nič'ir</i>	buffalo	<i>gamiš</i>
give birth	<i>xun</i>	build	<i>tük'urun, ecigun</i>
bitch	<i>kač</i>	bull	<i>jac</i>
bite	<i>k'asun, q'un</i>	bullet	<i>gülle</i>
bitter	<i>tüq'ül</i>	bunch	<i>kul</i>
black	<i>č'ulaw</i>	bundle	<i>bağlama</i>
blackberry	<i>merejar</i>	burn	<i>kun, aq̄uğun</i>
blame	<i>tühmet</i>	bury	<i>kučukun</i>
blind	<i>bürq'ü</i>	bush	<i>kul, wal</i>
block	<i>t'ab, k'nč'</i>	but	<i>amma, anžax</i>
blood	<i>iwi</i>	butter	<i>ğeri, č'em</i>
blow	<i>uf gun, jal ttun; gar qeğün</i>	butterfly	<i>čepeluq'</i>
blue	<i>wili</i>	button	<i>düğme</i>
boat	<i>lütkwe, gimi</i>	buy	<i>(masa) q̄a čun</i>
body	<i>beden</i>	cabbage	<i>kelem</i>
boil	<i>rugun; zwal</i>	cage	<i>q'efes</i>
bold	<i>ütqwem</i>	calf	<i>dana</i>
boldness	<i>žüret</i>	call (N)	<i>ewer</i>
bone	<i>k'arab</i>	call (V)	<i>ewer gun; luhun</i>
book	<i>ktab</i>	camel	<i>dewe</i>
boot	<i>čekme</i>	candy	<i>q̄enfet</i>
border	<i>serhät</i>	cane	<i>nac'</i>
bored	<i>bizar, darix</i>	car	<i>mašin</i>
be born	<i>xun</i>	care for	<i>gelq̄un, galtugun</i>
bosom	<i>q'üč'</i>	careful	<i>muq̄ajat</i>
bottom	<i>k'an</i>		

carpet	<i>gam</i>	comb (V)	<i>ewäğun</i>
carrot	<i>gazar</i>	come	<i>atun</i>
carry	<i>tuxun</i>	come out	<i>aq̄atun</i>
cat	<i>kac</i>	comfortable	<i>dinž, q̄ilaj</i>
catch	<i>q'un</i>	compare	<i>geq̄igun</i>
cattle	<i>mal</i>	complaint	<i>şikajat, arza</i>
certain	<i>tajin; inanmiš</i>	complete	<i>tamam</i>
chamois	<i>suwan c'eh</i>	comrade	<i>juldaš</i>
change	<i>degišarun</i>	concentrate	<i>želbun</i>
character	<i>q̄ilix</i>	concern	<i>q̄ajğu</i>
characteristic	<i>xas</i>	concerning	<i>talug'</i>
chase	<i>halun, galtugun, čukurun</i>	condition	<i>šart'</i>
cheap	<i>užuz</i>	confidence	<i>ixtibar; inanmišwal</i>
cheek	<i>q^hweq^h</i>	confirm	<i>testiq'arun</i>
cheerful	<i>gumrah</i>	congratulation	<i>mubarak</i>
cheese	<i>nisi</i>	conscience	<i>wiždan</i>
cherry	<i>p'ini</i>	consisting of	<i>ibarat</i>
chew	<i>žaq'un</i>	continue	<i>dawamarun</i>
chicken	<i>cic'ib, werč</i>	conversation	<i>ixtilat, sühbet</i>
child	<i>ajal, bala, weled</i>	conviction	<i>inanmišwal</i>
chip	<i>q^hwalaq^h</i>	cook	<i>rugun</i>
choose	<i>xkäğun</i>	cool	<i>serin</i>
chunk	<i>tike, k'us, č'uk</i>	core	<i>xwex</i>
cigarette	<i>p'ap'rus</i>	corn (maize)	<i>hažibuğda</i>
cinder	<i>rüq^h, müq^h</i>	cornel	<i>čumalar</i>
circumstance	<i>ahwalat</i>	corner	<i>p'ip'</i>
city	<i>šeher</i>	correct (Adj)	<i>düz</i>
class	<i>sinif</i>	correct (V)	<i>tük'urun</i>
claw	<i>kek; qarmax (hajwandin tabasdal alaj)</i>	cough	<i>ühü jağun</i>
clay	<i>čeb</i>	count	<i>hisabun</i>
clean	<i>miši</i>	country	<i>ülkwe, wilajat, watan</i>
clear	<i>a čux, aškara</i>	of course	<i>helbetda</i>
clever	<i>zirek</i>	courtyard	<i>hajat</i>
client	<i>müšteri</i>	cover	<i>k'ewun, haldun</i>
climb	<i>aq'axun</i>	cow	<i>kal</i>
clock	<i>sät</i>	crack (N)	<i>fer</i>
close	<i>aq'alun, k'ewun, agalun</i>	crack (V)	<i>gwatun</i>
cloth	<i>šal, parča</i>	cradle	<i>q'eb</i>
clothes	<i>partal</i>	crane	<i>durna</i>
cloud	<i>bulux, cif</i>	crazy	<i>dili</i>
coincidence	<i>düşüş</i>	create	<i>türetmišun</i>
cold	<i>meq'i, q̄aji</i>	crimson	<i>žehre</i>
collapse	<i>kwatun, acaxun</i>	cripple	<i>nabut</i>
collect	<i>k'wat'un</i>	crooked	<i>kakur, pataq^h</i>
collective work	<i>mel</i>	crop	<i>mahsul, beher</i>
color	<i>rang</i>	cross (N)	<i>xaš</i>
comb (N)	<i>reğ</i>	cross (V)	<i>eläč'un</i>
		crow	<i>peq^h</i>
		crowd	<i>k'wat'al, k'ap'al, k'eret'</i>

cry	(i)šeʃun	difficult	ağur, ʃetin
cuckoo	kuk'up	dig	eğünun, per jağun
cucumber	afni	dignity	ğejrat, abur
culprit	taxsirkar	dirt	q'ar, palčux, q'uruš, ʃirk
cunning	amaldar	dirty	ʃirkin, q'alu, q'ac'aj
curse	länet	disappear	kwaʃun
curtain	perde	discover	aq ^h ajun
custom	adet	disgrace (V)	ruswah awun, bejaburun
cut	tuk'un, xkat'un	disgust	ikrah
cut off	at'un	dissolve	ʃuk'un
		disturb	inžikli awun
dad	dax	do	awun
dagger	gapur	doctor	duxtur
damage	zijan, zarar	dog	kic'
damp	lamu	donkey	lam
dance (N)	q'üler	door	rak
dangerous	xatalu, qurxulu	doubt	šak
dark	miči; qumral	dough	tini
darn	fitfinun	down	ağuz, agada
daughter	ruš	draw	č'ugun
dawn	seher	dress	partal
day	juğ	drink	q ^h un
deaf	biši, xelwet, bajaban	drive	halun
dear	aziz, baha, masan, igrami	drop	st'al
death	ažal	drum	daldam
debt	burž	dry (Adj)	q'uraj, q'uru
deceive	aldatmišun	dry (V)	št'umun, q'urun
decide	qet'un	duck	ürdeg
decision	qarar	dull (blunt)	qürü, k'wenk' alačir
deep	derin	dull (stupid)	bati, küt
deer	mirg	dumb	lal
defeat	k'udun	dumpling	
defect	zawal, sinix	("xinkal")	xink'ar
deficient	kimi	dung	fid
delicate	nazik	dust	rug
delight	lezet	duty	wezifa
demand	t'alabun, istemišun		
denial	inkar		
dense	qalin	eagle	leq'
deprive	mahrum awun	ear (body part)	jab
desire	hewes, metleb, murad	ear (of grain)	(texildin) q'il
	q'ismet	early	fad
destiny	barbat'un, telef	earn	qazanmišun
destroy	awun	earth	čil, naq'w
	čig	earthquake	zalzala
dew	q'in, giliq'un	easy	rehät, q'ezil, asant
die	tafawat, farq'	eat	t'un
difference	masak'a	economy	q'enät; majišt
differently		edge	qerex

education	<i>terbija</i>	fall off	<i>q̄a q̄atun, kwatun,</i>
egg	<i>kaka</i>	false	<i>galatun</i>
eight	<i>müžüd</i>	family	<i>tapan</i>
elbow	<i>q'ünt</i>	famous	<i>xzan</i>
elect	<i>xkäğun</i>	far	<i>mašhur</i>
election	<i>sečki</i>	farm	<i>jarğal, jarğaz</i>
elephant	<i>fil</i>	fat (Adj)	<i>jac'u, kük, jağlu</i>
embellish	<i>bezetmişun</i>	fat (N)	<i>pi, maq', jağlu, ğeri</i>
empty	<i>buš, ič'i</i>	father	<i>buba</i>
end (N)	<i>exir</i>	father-in-law	<i>iranbuba, apaj</i>
end (V)	<i>kütäh xun</i>	fear	<i>kič'e(wal)</i>
enemy	<i>dušman</i>	feather	<i>c'akul</i>
energetic	<i>zirek</i>	feeling	<i>hiss</i>
enough	<i>bes, behem</i>	female	<i>diši</i>
enter	<i>ekeč'un, haɣun</i>	few	<i>t'imil</i>
entertain	<i>mašğularun</i>	field	<i>nik</i>
enthusiasm	<i>ašq̄i, hewes</i>	fight	<i>q̄al, ženg</i>
entrust	<i>tapšurmişun</i>	figure	<i>buj</i>
envious	<i>pexil</i>	finally	<i>exir</i>
equal	<i>barabar</i>	find	<i>žuğun</i>
error	<i>ğalat', xata</i>	finger	<i>t'ub</i>
escape	<i>xkatun</i>	finish	<i>kütähun, aq'alt'un</i>
especially	<i>illaki</i>	fire	<i>c'aj</i>
ethical	<i>edebli</i>	fireplace	<i>q̄ul</i>
even	<i>hatta</i>	first	<i>sifte</i>
evening	<i>näni</i>	fish	<i>ğed, baluğ</i>
every	<i>har</i>	fist	<i>ğud</i>
example	<i>misal, mesela</i>	fit	<i>tük'un, dugun</i>
except	<i>ğejri, bašq̄a</i>	five	<i>wad</i>
exchange	<i>değišarun</i>	flag	<i>pajdax</i>
excitement	<i>ğalab</i>	flame	<i>jalaw</i>
exist	<i>awaz xun, jašamiš</i>	flat	<i>q'ulu</i>
	<i>xun</i>	flea	<i>č'ut</i>
expense	<i>xarž</i>	float	<i>sirnow awun</i>
expensive	<i>baha, masan</i>	flock (of sheep)	<i>sürü</i>
experience	<i>težriba</i>	flood	<i>sel</i>
explanation	<i>bajan</i>	floor	<i>merteba</i>
explode	<i>qh'itq'inun</i>	flour	<i>ğür</i>
ewe	<i>xeb</i>	flourishing	<i>awadan</i>
eye	<i>wil</i>	flow	<i>awaɣun, k'waɣun</i>
		flower	<i>cük</i>
face	<i>čin, sufat</i>	fly (insect)	<i>t'wet'</i>
fade	<i>šütq'un</i>	fly (V)	<i>luw gun</i>
fail	<i>kwatun</i>	foal	<i>taj</i>
fairy tale	<i>max, xket</i>	foam	<i>kaf</i>
faithfulness	<i>wafa</i>	fodder	<i>jem</i>
falcon	<i>kard</i>	fog	<i>čilin cif, hüm</i>
fall	<i>aluq'un, awatun,</i>	food	<i>xürek</i>
	<i>jarx xun; q̄un</i>	foot	<i>k'wač</i>
		forbidden	<i>haram</i>

forehead	<i>pel</i>	go away	<i>qe qeč'un</i>
forest	<i>tam</i>	go in	<i>haʃun, ekeč'un</i>
forget	<i>rik'elaj alatun</i>	go out	<i>eqeč'un, xkeč'un;</i> <i>xkaʃun</i>
forgive	<i>bağışlamişun</i>	go up	<i>aq'altun</i>
forgiveness	<i>rehmet</i>	goal	<i>metleb</i>
form	<i>k'alub</i>	goat	<i>c'eh</i>
former	<i>wilikan</i>	he-goat	<i>q'un</i>
fortress	<i>qe le</i>	god	<i>ğucar, Allah</i>
forty	<i>jaxc'u</i>	gold	<i>qizil</i>
forward	<i>wilik</i>	good	<i>q^hsan, qeni</i>
four	<i>q'ud</i>	goose	<i>qaz</i>
fox	<i>sik'</i>	gossip	<i>fitne</i>
fragile	<i>xc'u</i>	government	<i>hukumat</i>
free	<i>azad</i>	grain	<i>twar, texil, raž,</i> <i>mahsul</i>
freeze	<i>č'agun, t'aq'un</i>	grandchild	<i>xtul</i>
fresh	<i>taza, serin</i>	grandfather	<i>č'exi buba</i>
friend	<i>dust, juldaš, jaqa daš</i>	grandmother	<i>bade</i>
frightful	<i>qurxulu</i>	grapes	<i>üzüm</i>
frog	<i>qib</i>	grass	<i>weq', q^hač</i>
in front	<i>wilik</i>	grasshopper	<i>c'ic'</i>
frown	<i>at'uğun</i>	gratefulness	<i>čuxsağul</i>
fruit	<i>majwa, jemiš</i>	grave	<i>sur</i>
fuck	<i>eq'ün</i>	gray	<i>c'aru, rexi, rağul</i>
full	<i>ac'aj</i>	greed	<i>nefs</i>
funnel	<i>leğw</i>	greedy	<i>qanix, temähkar,</i> <i>azğun</i>
fur	<i>k'urt</i>	green	<i>qacu</i>
future	<i>geležeg</i>	greeting	<i>tebrik, salam, ikram</i>
garden	<i>sal, bağ, bustan,</i> <i>baxča</i>	grief	<i>xažalat, ğam, dert</i>
garlic	<i>serg</i>	grind	<i>reğün</i>
gate	<i>warar</i>	groin	<i>q'wex</i>
gather	<i>k'wat' awun/xun,</i> <i>alt'uşun</i>	group	<i>k'eret', k'wat'al, deste</i>
gender	<i>žins</i>	guard (V)	<i>xün</i>
general	<i>umumi</i>	guard (N)	<i>qarawul</i>
generous	<i>žumart</i>	guest	<i>muhman</i>
gentle	<i>milajim</i>	guide	<i>idara awun</i>
get	<i>qa čun, ağaq'un</i>	gun	<i>tup</i>
get off	<i>ewič'un</i>	guts	<i>rad</i>
get up	<i>qarağun</i>		
giant	<i>zurba</i>	hail	<i>xar</i>
gift	<i>sawq'wat</i>	hair	<i>č'ar</i>
girl	<i>ruš</i>	half	<i>zur</i>
give	<i>gun, wugun, bağışun</i>	hammer	<i>k'uta</i>
glad	<i>šad</i>	hand	<i>ğil</i>
glass	<i>šüşe</i>	handful	<i>ğab</i>
glasses	<i>ajnajar</i>	handicraft	<i>senät</i>
gloomy	<i>halč'aj, at'uğun</i>	handwriting	<i>xat'</i>
go	<i>fin</i>		

hang	<i>asmišun, alcumun, kürsun</i>	how	<i>hik'</i>
happiness	<i>baxt</i>	howling	<i>q̄u w</i>
hard	<i>k'ewi, mähkem, weqi</i>	humankind	<i>insanijat</i>
hardly	<i>bažahat</i>	hundred	<i>wiš</i>
hare	<i>q̄ür</i>	hunger	<i>kaš</i>
harvest	<i>gwen, beher</i>	hungry	<i>gišin</i>
hateful	<i>tak'an</i>	hunt	<i>gürč awun</i>
have	<i>awa</i>	hunter	<i>gürčeq^han</i>
hawk	<i>činerug</i>	hurry	<i>tespača</i>
hay	<i>weq'er</i>	hurt	<i>t'a šun</i>
hazelnut	<i>šümäg</i>	husband	<i>ḡül</i>
head	<i>q'il, kelle</i>		
healthy	<i>sağ</i>	I	<i>zun</i>
heap	<i>k'ap'al</i>	ice	<i>murk</i>
hear	<i>wan šun</i>	if	<i>eger, nagah</i>
heart	<i>rik'</i>	illness	<i>azar, t'al</i>
heavy	<i>ağur, zalan</i>	immediately	<i>hasät^{da}</i>
hedghog	<i>q'üğür</i>	important	<i>wažiblu</i>
heel	<i>daban</i>	impression	<i>tašir</i>
hell	<i>žehennem</i>	inclination	<i>xeset</i>
help	<i>čara, kümek</i>	influence	<i>eser, tašir</i>
hen	<i>werč</i>	information	<i>malumat</i>
herd	<i>nexir</i>	inhabitant	<i>ahali, ehli</i>
here	<i>ina</i>	inhabitants	<i>žemät</i>
hero	<i>igit, q̄ahrıman</i>	inheritance	<i>irs</i>
hi	<i>salam alejkum</i>	inside	<i>q̄ene</i>
hide (tr./intr.)	<i>čünüşun / čünüş šun</i>	inspiration	<i>a šqi</i>
hide (N)	<i>xam</i>	insufficient	<i>eksik, q'ehät, q'it</i>
high	<i>q'aq'an</i>	intelligence	<i>kamal, aq'ul</i>
history	<i>tarix</i>	intention	<i>q̄ast</i>
hit	<i>galuq'un, jağun, ekisun</i>	invitation	<i>teklif</i>
hoarfrost	<i>(q̄wadaj) cur</i>	iron	<i>raq'</i>
hold	<i>q'un</i>		
hole	<i>t'ekwen, tük'wen, fur</i>	jackdaw	<i>č'ağ</i>
holiday	<i>suwar</i>	jail	<i>dustağ</i>
hollow	<i>pič'i</i>	jaw	<i>req'w</i>
honest	<i>namuslu, duğri</i>	job	<i>k'walax, q̄ulluğ</i>
honey	<i>wirt</i>	join (V)	<i>akašun, agaltun</i>
honor	<i>namus</i>	joke	<i>zarafat</i>
hoof	<i>kek</i>	journey	<i>sijahat, sefer</i>
hook	<i>k'ir</i>	joyful	<i>xweši</i>
hope	<i>umud</i>	jug	<i>kwar, gičin</i>
horn	<i>karč</i>	jump	<i>q̄udğunun,</i>
horse	<i>balk'an</i>		<i>xkadarun</i>
horseshoe	<i>lelen</i>	just	<i>düz; insaf</i>
hot	<i>q̄izmiš, ifej</i>		
become hot	<i>ifin</i>		
hour	<i>sät</i>	keep	<i>xün</i>
house	<i>k'wal(er)</i>	kid (of goat)	<i>bac'i, ḡec'</i>

kill	<i>q'in</i>	line	<i>c'ar</i>
kind (sort)	<i>žüre, žins</i>	lion	<i>aslan</i>
king	<i>pačah</i>	lip	<i>p'uz</i>
kiss	<i>temen, p'ah</i>	liquid	<i>žimi; q'eri</i>
knead	<i>t'ušunun</i>	listen	<i>jab akalun</i>
knee	<i>met</i>	little	<i>ğweči, külü, žizwi,</i> <i>t'imil</i>
knife	<i>čuk'ul</i>	live	<i>jašamiš xun</i>
knit	<i>xurun</i>	lively	<i>diri, jigin</i>
knock	<i>gatun</i>	liver	<i>leq'</i>
know	<i>či-</i>	lizard	<i>čurčul, xürlünk'</i>
known	<i>malum, mašhur</i>	load	<i>par</i>
		lonely	<i>tek, jalğuz</i>
lack	<i>k'amuq'un</i>	long	<i>jargi</i>
lake	<i>wir</i>	look	<i>kiligun, tamašun</i>
lamb	<i>k'el</i>	look after	<i>gelqün</i>
lame	<i>q'ec'i</i>	look for	<i>qečün, axtarmišun</i>
language	<i>č'al</i>	lose	<i>kwadarun</i>
last	<i>exirimži</i>	louse	<i>net</i>
late	<i>gež</i>	love (N)	<i>mühübbat, k'aniwal</i>
laugh	<i>qhürün</i>	love (V)	<i>k'an xun</i>
laughter	<i>qhwer</i>	low	<i>ağuz, ask'an</i>
layer	<i>qat</i>	lower	<i>ağa</i>
lazy	<i>kahul, tempel</i>	lucky:	
lead (V)	<i>tuxun</i>	I was lucky	<i>zi baxtuni ğana</i>
leaf	<i>peš</i>	lullaby	<i>lajla</i>
lean (Adj)	<i>usal, jaxun, juxsul,</i> <i>agatun</i>	lump	<i>k'wat'</i>
		lung	<i>tuxul</i>
leather	<i>tumaž</i>		
leave	<i>tun</i>	magpie	<i>kerekul</i>
leaven	<i>ximir, ğwar</i>	main	<i>asul</i>
left-hand	<i>čapla</i>	make	<i>awun; tun; rasun</i>
leg	<i>k'wač, q'ül</i>	male	<i>erkek</i>
leisure	<i>mažal</i>	man	<i>itim, kas</i>
lesson	<i>tars</i>	manner	<i>teher</i>
let	<i>tun</i>	many	<i>gzaf, xejlin</i>
let go	<i>agaldarun, ğürğü</i> <i>awun</i>	market	<i>bazar</i>
letter	<i>harf; čar</i>	marrow	<i>mefť</i>
lie (N)	<i>tab</i>	marry (woman)	<i>ğülüz fin</i>
lie (V)	<i>qatkun, qatkanwa</i>	marry (man)	<i>ewlenmiš xun</i>
life	<i>ümür, jašajiš</i> <i>dulanažağ, čan</i>	marvelous	<i>ažeb</i>
	<i>aq'aldarun, xkažun</i>	master	<i>ust'ar</i>
lift	<i>ekw, nur</i>	matter	<i>k'walax, kar</i>
light (N)		meal	<i>xürek</i>
light (Adj)		mean	<i>alčax</i>
(of weight)	<i>q'ezil</i>	meaning	<i>metleb</i>
light (Adj) (bright)	<i>ekü</i>	measles	<i>jarar</i>
lightning	<i>c'ajlapan</i>	meat	<i>jak</i>
like (P)	<i>šiz, štin</i>	medicine	<i>darman</i>
like (V)	<i>begenmiš xun, k'an-</i>		

meet	<i>haltun, gürüşmiş şun, qarşilamişun, rasalmış şun</i>	need	<i>mühtež, ihtijaž</i>
melody	<i>maq'am, hawa, awaz</i>	needle	<i>rab</i>
melon	<i>xali</i>	neighbor	<i>qunşi</i>
melt	<i>c'urun</i>	nest	<i>mug</i>
mercy	<i>insaf, merhemet</i>	net	<i>čil</i>
middle	<i>juq'w, q'ulan</i>	nettle	<i>werg</i>
migration	<i>küč</i>	new	<i>c'iji</i>
milk	<i>(N) nek, (V) acun</i>	news	<i>xabar</i>
mill	<i>reğw</i>	nickname	<i>lak'ab</i>
millet	<i>cük'</i>	night	<i>jif</i>
mine	<i>mäden</i>	nightingale	<i>bilbil</i>
minute	<i>deq'iq'a</i>	nine	<i>k'üd</i>
mirror	<i>güzgü</i>	no	<i>wa?</i>
be mistaken	<i>jağalmış şun</i>	nobody	<i>sadni</i>
mix	<i>akaşun, ktadun</i>	node	<i>k'alam</i>
model	<i>češne</i>	noon	<i>nisin</i>
moment	<i>lehze</i>	north	<i>kefer</i>
money	<i>pul</i>	nose	<i>ner</i>
month	<i>warz</i>	notebook	<i>daftar</i>
mood	<i>kefi</i>	nothing	<i>sa zat'ni</i>
moon	<i>warz</i>	now	<i>isätda, gila</i>
more	<i>artux</i>	number	<i>san-hisab</i>
morning	<i>pakama</i>	nut	<i>k'erec, şümäg</i>
mosque	<i>misk'in</i>	oak	<i>meğün tar</i>
mosquito	<i>wet'</i>	oath	<i>q'in</i>
moth	<i>ğüč'</i>	oats	<i>gerger</i>
mother	<i>dide</i>	obedient	<i>müt'üg, tabij</i>
mountain	<i>dağ, suw</i>	obligation	<i>mažburwal</i>
mouse	<i>q'if</i>	oblique	<i>čap</i>
moustache	<i>spel</i>	obstinate	<i>ters</i>
mouth	<i>siw, k'uf</i>	occupied	<i>maşğul</i>
move	<i>juzun</i>	be offended	<i>bejkef şun</i>
movement	<i>herekat</i>	offer	<i>teklif</i>
much	<i>gzaf, xejlin</i>	often	<i>fad-fad, muq'wal- muq'wal</i>
mullah	<i>feq'i</i>	oil	<i>jağ</i>
Muslim	<i>musurman</i>	old	<i>q'üzü, kühne, qadim, jaşlu, eski</i>
nail	<i>kek</i>	once	<i>sadra</i>
naked	<i>q'ec'il, čuplax</i>	at once	<i>hasätda</i>
name	<i>t'war</i>	one	<i>sa(d)</i>
narrow	<i>dar, güt'ü</i>	only	<i>anžax, sa, tek</i>
native	<i>xaji</i>	onion	<i>čiček, č'emerek</i>
nature	<i>t'ebiat</i>	open (A)	<i>ačux, aškara, aq^ha</i>
near	<i>muq'wa</i>	open (V)	<i>aq^hajun</i>
necessary	<i>gerek, lazim, čarasuz</i>	opposite	<i>qanşar</i>
neck	<i>gardan, xew</i>	or	<i>(wa) ja, taşajt'a</i>
		order (N)	<i>bujruğ, emir; nizam; nubat</i>

organize	<i>q̄urmišun, teškil awun</i>	pillow	<i>q^hücügan</i>
orphan	<i>jetim</i>	pity	<i>hajif</i>
other (of two)	<i>mükü</i>	place	<i>čka</i>
other (another)	<i>masa</i>	play (V)	<i>q̄uğun</i>
outside	<i>q̄ec</i>	pleasant	<i>xuš</i>
overtake	<i>iläsun</i>	pleasure	<i>kef</i>
owl	<i>t'ib</i>	plow (N)	<i>küten</i>
owl (eagle owl)	<i>bajq̄uš</i>	plum	<i>xwat</i>
own (A)	<i>xsusi</i>	pocket	<i>žibin</i>
owner	<i>ijesi</i>	poison	<i>zeher</i>
ox	<i>(xesi) jac</i>	pole	<i>k'ar</i>
		poor	<i>kesib, juxsul, jazux</i>
		possible	<i>mumkin</i>
pain	<i>t'al, t'arwal</i>	pot	<i>q̄ažgan, get'e</i>
paint (N)	<i>rang</i>	potato	<i>kartuf</i>
palm (of hand)	<i>kap</i>	pour	<i>iličun, eq̄ičun, eq̄äğun</i>
pants	<i>šalwar, waxčag</i>	power	<i>q̄udrat, q̄uwat</i>
paper	<i>čar</i>	praise (N)	<i>tarif</i>
paradise	<i>žennet</i>	prayer	<i>ibadat, dúa</i>
parliament	<i>mežlis</i>	preserve	<i>xün</i>
part	<i>paj</i>	press	<i>čüq'un, ilisun, basmišun</i>
participation	<i>ištirak</i>	price	<i>q̄imet</i>
partridge	<i>q̄wed, č'alit'</i>	pride	<i>damax, takabur</i>
party	<i>mežlis</i>	profession	<i>peše, senät</i>
pass	<i>alaton; eläč'un</i>	profit	<i>menfät, xijir, temäh, fajda</i>
past	<i>kečmiš</i>	prohibit	<i>q̄adağa awun</i>
pasture	<i>č'ur</i>	promise	<i>xiwe q'un</i>
path	<i>žigir</i>	proof	<i>subut</i>
patience	<i>q'araj</i>	property	<i>mal</i>
paw	<i>tapas</i>	prophecy	<i>fal</i>
pea	<i>xar</i>	prophet	<i>pejgambar</i>
peak	<i>k'uk', kuk'uš</i>	prosperous	<i>awadan, abad</i>
pear	<i>čüxwer</i>	proverb	<i>misal</i>
peasant	<i>ležber</i>	provide	<i>taʔmin awun</i>
peg	<i>xak</i>	pull	<i>čugun, aq̄ažun, agažun</i>
pen	<i>q̄elem</i>	pull out	<i>xkudun</i>
penis	<i>was</i>	pumpkin	<i>buran</i>
people	<i>xalq'</i>	punishment	<i>žaza</i>
perhaps	<i>belki</i>	pupil (of eye)	<i>nini</i>
period	<i>dewir, ara</i>	puppy	<i>gur'ul</i>
perish	<i>puč xun, xkatun, terg xun, telef xun, uc'un</i>	purse	<i>kise</i>
permission	<i>ixtjar, izin</i>	push	<i>ecäğun</i>
person	<i>insan</i>	put	<i>ecigun, tun, kutun, suxun</i>
phone (V)	<i>zeng jağun</i>	put on	<i>galčukun, aluk'un</i>
picture	<i>šikil, süret</i>		
piece	<i>k'us, q't', č'uk</i>		
pig	<i>wak</i>		
pigeon	<i>lif</i>		
pilgrimage	<i>zijarat</i>		

quantity	<i>q'adar, san-hisab</i>	right	
quarrel	<i>hüzet, qalmaqal</i>	(permission)	<i>ixtijar</i>
question	<i>sual, mesela</i>	right-hand	<i>erč'i</i>
quick	<i>tadi</i>	ring	<i>tup'al</i>
quickly	<i>fad-fad, tadiz</i>	ripen	<i>agaq'un, čurun,</i> <i>aqaxun</i>
quickness	<i>zarb, zwer</i>	river	<i>wac'</i>
quiet	<i>jawaš, sekin, isläh,</i> <i>umun</i>	road	<i>reqh</i>
		robbery	<i>taraš</i>
rain	<i>marf</i>	rock (V)	<i>eč'äğun</i>
raise	<i>aq'aldarun, xkažun</i>	roll	<i>awažun, awadarun</i>
ram	<i>her</i>	roof	<i>qaw</i>
rare	<i>q'eri</i>	room	<i>k'wal</i>
rascal	<i>murdar</i>	rooster	<i>k'ek</i>
raven	<i>k'wağ</i>	root	<i>duwul</i>
raw	<i>ic'i</i>	rope	<i>jeb</i>
razor	<i>ülgüč</i>	rot	<i>kut'un</i>
reach	<i>agaq'un, akatun</i>	rotten	<i>kt'aj, laqh'u</i>
read	<i>k'elun</i>	rouble	<i>manat</i>
ready	<i>hazur</i>	rough	<i>weqi</i>
real	<i>xalis</i>	round	<i>elqwej</i>
reality	<i>haqiqat</i>	row, series	<i>žerge</i>
reap	<i>gün</i>	rub (V)	<i>güc'un, t'ušunun,</i> <i>külü awun</i>
reason (mind)	<i>fahum, kahal</i>	ruins	<i>xarap'a</i>
reason (cause)	<i>sebeb, delil</i>	rule	<i>qajda</i>
rebuke	<i>k'äğun</i>	run	<i>katun, zwerun,</i> <i>čukurun</i>
recognize	<i>xiwe q'un</i>		
reconcile	<i>barišmiš awun</i>	Russian	<i>urus</i>
red	<i>jaru</i>	rust	<i>mürq^h</i>
relation	<i>alaqa</i>	rustle	<i>wišriš</i>
relative (N)	<i>mires</i>	rye	<i>sil</i>
relax	<i>jal jağun</i>		
reliable	<i>jaqin, duğri</i>	sacrifice	<i>qurband</i>
religion	<i>din</i>	sad	<i>pašman, perišan,</i> <i>sefil</i>
remain	<i>amuq'un</i>	saddle	<i>purar</i>
remark	<i>qejd</i>	saliva	<i>ğer</i>
remove	<i>qaqudun</i>	salt	<i>q'el</i>
repetition	<i>tikrar</i>	salty	<i>üc'ü</i>
replace	<i>ewez awun</i>	sand	<i>qum</i>
reproach	<i>qexün</i>	satisfied	<i>tux; razi</i>
request (N)	<i>t'alabun, minet</i>	Saturday	<i>kišjuğ</i>
respect	<i>hürmet, xatur</i>	saw	<i>mišer</i>
rest (V)	<i>jal jağun</i>	say	<i>luhun</i>
result	<i>netiža</i>	scar	<i>q'ac'</i>
return (intr.)	<i>qh'fin, xtun</i>	scatter	<i>k'wadarun</i>
return (tr.)	<i>xkun</i>	scholar	<i>alim</i>
revenge	<i>q'isas</i>	science	<i>ilim</i>
get rid	<i>xkatun</i>	scissors	<i>muk'rat'</i>
riddle	<i>misk'al</i>		
rifle	<i>tfeng</i>		
right (correct)	<i>düz</i>		

scold	<i>eḡūḡun</i>	skin	<i>xam</i>
scratch	<i>čuxun; c'arxar awun</i>	sky	<i>caw</i>
scream	<i>harajun</i>	slave	<i>luk'</i>
sea	<i>hül</i>	sledge	<i>ḡel</i>
search	<i>axtarmišun</i>	sleep (N)	<i>axwar</i>
secret (N)	<i>sir</i>	sleep (V)	<i>ksun</i>
secretly	<i>čineba</i>	slope	<i>ḡüne</i>
see	<i>akun</i>	slow	<i>jawaš, asta</i>
seed	<i>tum, cil</i>	small	<i>ḡweč'i, külü, bic'i</i>
seize	<i>q'un, ḡil kügün</i>	smear	<i>ḡwäḡun</i>
self	<i>wič, žuw, čeb</i>	smell	<i>jal, ni</i>
sell	<i>masa gun</i>	smoke	<i>gum</i>
send	<i>raḡurun</i>	smooth	<i>c'alc'am</i>
separate (V)	<i>geläč'un</i>	snail	<i>šq'ünt</i>
sermon	<i>wäž</i>	snake	<i>ḡüläḡ</i>
service	<i>ḡulluḡ</i>	snow	<i>žiw</i>
set (sun)	<i>ewič'un, ak'un</i>	soap	<i>zapun</i>
seven	<i>irid</i>	sock	<i>gülüt</i>
several	<i>bäzi</i>	soft	<i>jumšaḡ, milajim, q^hütül</i>
sew	<i>cin</i>	soil (N)	<i>naq'w, čil</i>
shade	<i>serin, q^hen</i>	soldier	<i>asker</i>
shake	<i>galtadun</i>	solve	<i>hälun</i>
shame	<i>ajib</i>	some	<i>bäzi, sa šumud</i>
sharp	<i>tünt, xci</i>	sometimes	<i>gah-gah, ara-bir</i>
shear	<i>q'un</i>	son	<i>xwa</i>
sheep	<i>xeb</i>	song	<i>mani</i>
shepherd	<i>čuban</i>	son-in-law	<i>jezne</i>
ship	<i>gimi</i>	soon	<i>muq'wara</i>
shirt	<i>perem</i>	soot	<i>p'ip'inar</i>
short	<i>kürü</i>	soil	<i>sühür</i>
shoulder	<i>ḡün</i>	sorcery	<i>xažalat, ḡam, dert</i>
show	<i>ḡalurun</i>	sorrow	<i>žüre</i>
shudder	<i>q^hutq'unun, kuxunun</i>	sort	<i>čan, nefes</i>
side	<i>pad, ḡwal, pagw</i>	soul	<i>ses, wan</i>
sieve	<i>saf</i>	sound	<i>curu</i>
sign	<i>lišan, išara</i>	sour	<i>bulax</i>
be silent	<i>kisun</i>	source	<i>ḡajmax</i>
silk	<i>pek</i>	sour cream	<i>q'ible</i>
silver	<i>gimiš</i>	south	<i>raxun</i>
similar	<i>uxšar awaj, uxšar</i>	speak	<i>q'et'en</i>
similarity	<i>ḡwedaj</i>	special	<i>č'al, raxun</i>
simple	<i>uxšar</i>	speech	<i>xüšrekan</i>
sin	<i>hak'an</i>	spider	<i>k'wažun, alažun</i>
sing	<i>gunah</i>	spill	<i>rüh, nefes; žin</i>
sink	<i>mani luhun</i>	spirit	<i>cük'un wehin</i>
sister	<i>batmišarun</i>	spit	<i>larp'</i>
sister-in-law	<i>wax</i>	splash (N)	<i>xun</i>
sit down	<i>iranwax</i>	split	<i>č'urun</i>
six	<i>acuq'un</i>	spoil	<i>t'ur</i>
	<i>rugud</i>	spoon	<i>t'wex, leke</i>
		spot	

spouse	<i>juldaš</i>	strong	<i>tünt, q̄ati, k'ewi,</i> <i>mähkem</i>
spread	<i>čuk'un, ek'ä xun</i>	study	<i>k'elun</i>
spring	<i>gatfar</i>	stump	<i>pun, k'anč'</i>
sprinkle	<i>qh'čin</i>	stupid	<i>k'amaš, kimi,</i> <i>axmaq'</i>
square	<i>majdan, kim</i>	substitute	<i>ewez awun</i>
squeeze	<i>čüq'ün</i>	success	<i>agalq'un</i>
stack	<i>markw</i>	suck	<i>fit'inun</i>
stairs	<i>gurar</i>	suddenly	<i>birdan</i>
stale	<i>šit</i>	suffer	<i>exun</i>
stallion	<i>ajğur balk'ann</i>	suffering	<i>azijat, azab</i>
stand	<i>aqwazun</i>	sufficient	<i>behem, bes</i>
star	<i>ğed</i>	sugar	<i>šekar</i>
starling	<i>č'ulaw nük'</i>	suit	<i>kutugun</i>
start	<i>egeč'un, kudun,</i> <i>bašlamišun</i>	suitable	<i>wiže</i>
state (condition)	<i>hal</i>	summer	<i>gad</i>
stay	<i>amuq'un</i>	summit	<i>k'uk'</i>
steal	<i>čünüxun</i>	sun	<i>rağ</i>
steam	<i>buğ</i>	Sunday	<i>häd juğ</i>
steep	<i>tik</i>	sunny	<i>gülüšan</i>
step	<i>čül, kam; serenžem</i>	superior	<i>hakim</i>
stick (N)	<i>laš, t'wal</i>	supply	<i>tadarak</i>
stick (V)	<i>ak'urun, alk'un,</i> <i>kuk'un, ecäğun,</i> <i>ak'un</i>	support	<i>panah</i>
stick out	<i>eğis xun</i>	surprised	<i>tažub</i>
still	<i>hele, mad</i>	suspicion	<i>šak, giman</i>
stingy	<i>mut'laq'</i>	swallow (N)	<i>čubaruk</i>
stocking	<i>gülüt</i>	swamp	<i>ülen</i>
stomach	<i>xuk</i>	swarm	<i>kul</i>
stone	<i>q̄wan</i>	sweat	<i>heq'</i>
stone (of fruit)	<i>cil</i>	sweep	<i>šutkun</i>
stop (intr.)	<i>aqwazun</i>	sweet	<i>širin, werc'i</i>
store (shop)	<i>tükwen</i>	swim	<i>sirnaw awun</i>
storey	<i>merteba</i>	swing	<i>galtadun</i>
story	<i>hikaja</i>	sword	<i>tur</i>
stork	<i>legleg</i>	table-cloth	<i>sufra</i>
storm	<i>t'urfan</i>	tail	<i>tum</i>
straight	<i>düz</i>	take	<i>q̄ačun</i>
strange	<i>q̄arib</i>	take away	<i>aludun, q̄axčun</i>
stranger	<i>čara</i>	take off	<i>eläğun, xut'unun,</i> <i>galudun, xkudun</i>
straw	<i>samar, ağalar</i>	take out	<i>aquđun</i>
strawberry	<i>neq'i</i>	take down	<i>awudun</i>
street	<i>küče</i>	tale	<i>xket, max, hikaja,</i> <i>q'isa</i>
strength	<i>guž, q̄awat, taq'at</i>	talk	<i>raxun</i>
strew	<i>alaxun</i>	tall	<i>q'aq'an</i>
strike	<i>jağun</i>	task	<i>wezifa</i>
strive	<i>alaq̄'un</i>	taste	<i>t'am, dad</i>
stroke	<i>altadun</i>		

teach	<i>čirun</i>	trough	<i>xwax</i>
teacher	<i>muallim</i>	true	<i>xalis, dugri</i>
tear (V)	<i>kuk'warun,</i> <i>qazunun</i>	trust	<i>ixtibar</i>
tear off	<i>alažun</i>	truth	<i>haqičat, haq^h</i>
tear (N)	<i>nağw</i>	try	<i>alaq^hun</i>
tell	<i>luhun, aq^hajun</i>	turn	<i>elqin, elqurun</i>
testament	<i>wesi</i>	turn (N)	nubat
thank you	<i>sağraj, čuxsağul</i>	tyranny	<i>zulum</i>
that (demonstr.)	<i>a, ha, at'a</i>	tyrant	<i>zalum</i>
there	<i>ana</i>	twenty	<i>qad</i>
thief	<i>uğri</i>	twig	<i>xel, t'wal</i>
thick	<i>jac'u</i>	two	<i>q'wed</i>
thin	<i>šük'ü, q'eleč'</i>	uncle	<i>xalu, imi</i>
thing	<i>kar, šej, zat'</i>	under	<i>k'anik</i>
think	<i>fikirun</i>	understand	<i>gawurda aq'un,</i> <i>q'at'un</i>
this	<i>i</i>	unhappy	<i>bedbaxt</i>
thorn	<i>caz</i>	up	<i>winiz, wine(l)</i>
thought	<i>xijal, fikir</i>	urine	<i>cwar, q'eri jad</i>
thousand	<i>ağzur</i>	use	<i>išlemišun</i>
thorn	<i>caz</i>	get used	<i>werdiš xun, kutkun</i>
thread	<i>ğal</i>	usual	<i>adetdin</i>
three	<i>puđ</i>	in vain	<i>nahaq', hawaj(d)a</i>
throat	<i>tüd</i>	valley	<i>dere, k'am, dugun</i>
throw	<i>halčun, gadarun,</i> <i>wehin, kekäğun</i>	varied	<i>žüreba-žüre</i>
thunder	<i>cawun wan; caw</i> <i>raxazwa</i>	vehicle	<i>araba</i>
tie	<i>kut'unun</i>	vein	<i>damar</i>
tiger	<i>peleng</i>	very	<i>lap</i>
tight	<i>t'aram</i>	victorious	<i>ğalib</i>
time	<i>zaman, čaw, waxt,</i> <i>dewran, wäde; sefer</i>	village	<i>xür</i>
tip	<i>k'wenk'w</i>	violence	<i>zur</i>
tired	<i>galatnawa; jurğun</i>	vodka	<i>ereq'</i>
today	<i>qe</i>	voice	<i>wan, ses</i>
together	<i>sanal</i>	vomit	<i>eqün čun, qusmišun</i>
tomorrow	<i>paka</i>	vulva	<i>puš</i>
tongue	<i>mez</i>	waist	<i>eč'</i>
tooth	<i>sas, swax</i>	wait	<i>ğuzetun</i>
top	<i>k'uk'</i>	wake up	<i>kwatun, kudun</i>
touch	<i>xk'un, xkürun,</i> <i>ktadun, käğun</i>	walk	<i>qe qün</i>
town	<i>šehar</i>	wall	<i>cal</i>
trace	<i>gel</i>	walnut	<i>k'erec</i>
translate	<i>elqurun</i>	wander	<i>qe qün</i>
treasury	<i>xazina</i>	want	<i>k'an xun</i>
tree	<i>tar</i>	war	<i>däwe</i>
tremble	<i>zurzun</i>	warm	<i>čimi</i>
trick	<i>fend, ujun, amal</i>		
trouble	<i>qajğu</i>		

wash	<i>čüxün</i>	woman	<i>dišehli; q̄ari</i>
wash-tub	<i>legw</i>	wonderful	<i>mähtel</i>
water	<i>jad</i>	wood	<i>k'aras</i>
wax (N)	<i>mum</i>	word	<i>č'al, gaf, kelima</i>
way	<i>req^h; sajağ</i>	work	<i>k'walax, zehmet</i>
we	<i>čun</i>	world	<i>dünja</i>
weak	<i>a žuz, gürgü, zajif</i>	worm	<i>šar, kwak</i>
wealth	<i>dewlet</i>	worthy	<i>lajix</i>
weapon	<i>jaraq'</i>	wound	<i>eč'el, xer</i>
weather	<i>hawa</i>	wrap	<i>ilit'un, alčukun</i>
weave	<i>xurun</i>	wrinkle	<i>t'ušunun</i>
wedding	<i>meq^her</i>	write	<i>kxin</i>
weed	<i>eč'el</i>	writing	<i>sawad</i>
week	<i>hafte</i>		
weep	<i>šežun</i>	year	<i>jis</i>
welcome	<i>ša bujur</i>	yellow	<i>q^hipi</i>
wet	<i>q'ežej</i>	yes	<i>eš, un</i>
wether	<i>her</i>	yesterday	<i>naq'</i>
what?	<i>wuč</i>	yolk	<i>qib</i>
wheat	<i>qül</i>	you	<i>wun, kün</i>
wheel	<i>čarx</i>	young	<i>žehil, kürpe</i>
when?	<i>mus</i>		
where?	<i>hina</i>		
whisk	<i>kul</i>		
whisper	<i>kuškuš</i>		
whistle	<i>üft</i>		
white	<i>lacu</i>		
who?	<i>wuž</i>		
whole	<i>wiri</i>		
wicked	<i>merdimazar</i>		
wide	<i>härq'ü, gehenš</i>		
widow	<i>xendeda</i>		
wife	<i>pab</i>		
wild	<i>čuru, wahši</i>		
wild boar	<i>q̄aban, wak</i>		
willow	<i>c'welin tar</i>		
win	<i>ğalib žun</i>		
wind	<i>gar, q̄aj</i>		
window	<i>dak'ar, penžer</i>		
wine	<i>čexir</i>		
wing	<i>luw</i>		
winter	<i>q'üd</i>		
wipe	<i>(güc'na) mižun</i>		
wire	<i>sim</i>		
wish	<i>metleb</i>		
witness	<i>šahid</i>		
with	<i>galaz, gwaz</i>		
wither	<i>šütq'un</i>		
without	<i>galačiz, gwačiz, alačiz</i>		
wolf	<i>žanawur</i>		

Cross-references to additional examples

The example sentences contained in this grammar often illustrate not only the immediate point for which they are cited, but also other interesting phenomena which are treated elsewhere in the grammar. This index allows the reader to find further examples illustrating the same point for many example sentences.

Plain numbers and number-letter combinations refer to the examples in Chs. 1-24, and numbers of the form n.m refer to sentences from the texts in Ch. 25 (n = number of text, m = number of example).

23:	6.1	181:	867, 1090, 1118a, 1190, 2.35, 5.23
139:	538, 1071b	182:	400a, 477a, 486, 740b, 758b, 1085a
140:	254b, 303a, 313a, 320b, 322, 327c, 424c, 528b, 545a, 635, 653b, 812a-b, 829a, 841a, 1169e, 1190, 1206b, 3.14, 4.31	184:	820b
143:	1002a, 1009b, 1013, 1201c	186:	746a
146:	143, 180c, 207b, 209, 308a	188:	869, 1036b, 3.39, 3.44
147:	210, 320c	189:	1052a, 1159
148:	341, 1038a, 3.29	191:	1051a, 1160a, 1252, 3.6, 3.42
150:	255, 543b, 801b	192:	705, 706, 761, 1120
152:	347, 567a, 669a, 847a, 867b, 1005b	193:	469a, 1007d, 1023
154:	319b, 354a, 710, 943, 1007b, 1078, 1114a, 1168b, 5.10	194:	144, 291c, 315b, 445, 467b, 531b, 666b, 778b, 885, 1006, 1169e
155:	7, 479b, 659, 688a-b, 839b, 871, 1092c, 1243a, 1244b, 3.3	195:	294, 977b
159:	4.17, 4.33-34	196:	308a, 319a, 427b, 457a, 483c, 511a, 659, 661a, 760, 892, 926a, 938, 1007c, 1081, 1200, 1210a, 1250a, 3.35
160:	615a	198:	446
162:	7, 314, 333b, 574a, 1099a, 1141d, 1160b, 1.4, 1.8	198b:	2.30
166:	11	199:	746b, 747a, 749a, 801c
167:	136, 193b, 262b-c, 307a, 311, 319b, 332b, 351, 522b, 595b, 651b, 922	200:	306, 1149a
169:	220c, 308b, 650, 894a, 928a, 1072a, 1117c, 1.7, 5.1	201:	163b, 165, 188b, 210, 251b, 252, 320d, 324b, 400c, 516b, 740c, 779a, 802b, 1092a
170:	577	202:	313c, 925, 1055c
171:	836, 1083	203:	312d, 918, 923
172:	156b, 1007e, 5.14	204:	357b, 921, 925, 977b, 4.52
173:	213, 466b, 483d, 638a, 749b, 775, 1066a-b, 1092c, 1118b, 1121c, 6.8	205:	243b, 650
178:	1.3, 1.10, 1.13	207:	167a, 925, 928a, 1050b
179:	822a, 5.7	210:	604b, 612a, 617a, 1118a, 3.42
180:	810, 866, 919	211:	435a, 575, 651a, 922a
		213:	303c, 312a, 327b, 468b, 485b, 639c, 674a, 914b, 1220, 3.29, 6.8

- 214: 182b, 409, 513, 541b, 564a, 628a, 820a, 822b, 885, 1084a, 1209, 1250b, 3.26, 3.42, 4.1, 5.21, 5.30
- 215: 5.8, 5.12
- 217: 854b
- 218: 162a, 200a, 305, 308b, 311, 312a, 316, 323a, 346, 483c, 595a, 918
- 219: 615b, 1007d
- 220: 554, 563a
- 221: 158b, 306, 437b, 480a, 508a, 608b, 609b, 672, 1036b, 1251a
- 222: 200a, 312c, 508a, 567b, 665b, 759, 821b, 878c, 1238, 3.4, 4.68
- 223: 186b, 319b, 321a, 401b, 647, 661b, 710, 781, 802b, 817a, 891b, 1050a
- 224: 200b, 488, 522a-b, 524a-b, 573a-b, 3.29
- 224c: 319a
- 225: 615b
- 226: 5.12, 5.15
- 227: 156a, 190b, 193a, 225a-b, 546b, 554, 555a, 562, 564a, 620b, 631a, 671d, 731a, 874b, 877b, 898a, 978a
- 228: 591b, 811, 1069a
- 231: 211, 616a
- 233: 2.18, 3.10, 5.10
- 234: 2.15
- 239: 561, 922a, 1089
- 240: 732a, 829b, 3.1, 5.14
- 241: 1.16, 4.43, 4.45
- 242: 427b, 1061a, 3.28
- 243: 829b
- 244: 307a, 343, 354a, 537, 856a, 867b, 871, 4.43
- 245: 3.7
- 246: 3.4, 3.43
- 249: 840
- 251: 275b, 531b, 778b, 828b
- 252: 780a, 860c, 914a, 1133a, 1149b, 1157c
- 255b: 159, 840, 847a-e, 4.17, 4.33
- 259: 290b, 312a, 324a, 485a, 507c, 512, 524a, 620b, 636, 643b, 728a, 779b, 783, 883a-b, 888, 973b, 1027, 1056a, 1093b-c, 1201b, 1222-25, 2.32-33
- 260: 817c, 1045, 1048, 1221, 1237b, 1238, 3.9
- 261: 513, 919, 994, 1133b, 1210b, 5.8
- 263: 1123
- 265: 5.18
- 268: 829b, 1084b
- 269: 3.42
- 270: 547, 682a, 784, 803b, 873, 1104b, 2.5, 2.44, 4.8, 4.16, 4.54
- 275: 941
- 278: 564a, 567b
- 279: 213, 270a, 312a, 550, 650, 676b, 882, 4.2
- 280: 312a, 603a, 854b, 891b, 1114b, 5.2
- 281: 569a, 571b, 631b, 693a, 778b, 803b, 829a, 856b, 920a, 1036c
- 285: 441b, 660, 922a
- 287: 356a, 435a, 444b, 828b, 838a, 1019a, 4.65
- 289: 9b, 200c, 347, 361b, 466h, 470b, 546b, 609b, 633, 744c, 752d, 827a, 1009b
- 290: 334, 532a, 885, 902, 1072b, 1093b, 1158b, 3.11
- 291: 744b, 899, 902-904, 916c, 1048, 1093b, 1095b, 1097a, 1158a, 1237a, 3.4
- 292a: 251a
- 292b: 197
- 292c: 1085a
- 293: 979a
- 295: 1013
- 299a: 270a
- 303: 136, 139, 194a, 205b, 207b, 316, 341c, 354a, 359b, 447, 455a, 466h, 1055a, 1158b, 1186c-d
- 304: 4.31
- 305: 188a, 224b, 1117c
- 306: 169b, 189, 224c, 430, 443a, 446, 451, 520c, 564a, 1142c
- 307: 11, 162b, 172, 209, 224a, 291b, 297, 435b, 466f, 1058b, 1097a, 1183b, 3.18-19
- 308: 169a, 190a, 191b, 193a, 260a, 319, 479b, 487a, 496b, 526b, 546b, 676b, 779b, 780b, 915b, 923, 936b, 1055d, 1116, 1179

532 Cross-references to additional examples

308b:	259a	345:	220a
308c:	351, 541c, 658a, 944a-b, 958	346:	291c
309:	289b, 511a, 2.28	349:	197, 200b, 541a, 544b, 547, 647, 812b, 913b, 966a, 1192c
310:	170, 291a, c, 341a, 349, 352, 391, 400a-c, 530b, 567a, 720, 947a, 1056a, 1065a	351:	226b, 461c, 489c, 666b, 676b, 693, 802b, 832, 936b, 1092d, 1133c, 1192a-b, 1234
312:	157, 194b, 225a, 442a, 443b, 544b, 641a, 714b, 818a, 889b, 921, 1008c, 1023, 1072c, 1092c, 1121c, 4.42	358:	461c
313:	153b, 162a, 164, 176c, 279c, 400b, 427a, 525a, 539, 544a, 546b, 724c, 2.6, 4.29, 4.35, 4.66	359:	275a, 2.31, 2.46
315:	180a-b, 191a, 349, 350, 445, 525b, 574b, 1060b, 1064, 1114b	361:	4.50
316:	163b, 171b, 186b, 191a, 243c, 276a, 520a, 536, 647, 5.2-3	361a:	828c, 2.12
317:	276, 312c, 348, 362a-b, 402, 437b, 466g, 505-506, 507c, 508a, 882, 1026, 1083, 2.7, 3.15	363:	181a, 191a, 447b, 457a, 483c, 543b, 602c, 996, 1043c, 1049c, 1096, 1158a
319:	475a, 480a, 1007e, 4.20	367:	428b, 1003a, 1065b, 1082, 1202a, 2.5, 6.5, 6.7
320:	5.31	375:	180c, 261, 289a, 477c, 478b, 479a, 484a, 490b, 522a, 552, 616a, 647, 780b, 818a, 825, 829b, 1027, 1044a, 1067a, 2.4, 4.2, 4.48, 4.54, 4.76, 5.7
324:	200b, 427b, 429a, 455e, 456a, 469a, 537, 543b, 566a, 615a-b, 616a, 624a-b, 630-31, 636, 652, 789-92, 857, 1107, 4.8	390d:	612b
324c:	752a, 927, 1093c, 2.7	391:	489a, 542a
325:	196a, 324a, 357b, 461, 469a, 633, 752b,d, 1005b, 1037b, 1113a, 3.22, 4.8, 4.42, 4.54, 4.64	399b:	925
326:	1197, 3.16	400:	11, 143, 444a-b, 509b, 516b, 609a, 744b, 925, 1080, 1237a, 5.18, 5.30
327:	158b, 424c, 487b, 521, 637b, 816b, 1051b, 2.16, 3.14	402:	466g, 2.48
329:	2.7, 4.22	404:	266a, 541b
330:	296, 578, 1043b, 1048, 1094- 96, 1150, 4.32, 4.48-49, 4.73, 5.2	409:	1006
331:	428b	410:	253
332:	473a, 4.48	415:	194a, 215, 1054a, 1118b, 4.54, 4.62
333:	254b, 844c	416:	1233, 4.52
334:	1099a	417:	1023
338:	171a, 306, 511a, 547, 658b, 1061a, 1081, 1082, 1111	419:	353b
339:	200c, 569a, 775	422b:	161a, 1016, 1026
341:	469b, 479b, 507b, 560b, 820b, 1038a, 3.29, 5.10, 5.27, 5.30, 6.7	423:	184b, 466b, 725, 739, 1005b, 1015, 1128, 3.25
		427:	929c
		428:	830
		429:	1162, 5.20
		430:	5.15, 5.17
		435:	973b
		437:	811
		438:	866, 2.15
		440:	173b-c, 183a, 185c, 224c, 319d, 320a, 352, 361b, 489a, 613, 916a, 922a
		441:	163a, 182a, 289b, 295, 315d, 346, 353b, 467b, 540b, 818b

- 442: 163b, 828e, 1231a, 1238, 3.4, 3.44, 5.12
443: 477a, 485b, 509b, 914a, 954-58, 1002a, 2.6
444: 828e
445: 224b, 251b
446: 251b
447: 3.4
449: 243a, 1206a, 1212a, 2.23, 4.27
455: 520c, 817b, 918, 1121b, 2.22, 3.37
455f: 312c
457: 919, 1163b, 2.38
461: 496b
462: 480a, 484a
466a: 569b, 617c, 714b, 865, 916b, 920a, 1044c, 1121a
466b: 194b, 330a, 618c, 508b, 2.37, 4.50
466d: 9b, 835, 4.68
466e: 194b, 291c, 1201b, 1249
466f: 974a,c,e, 1117b
466h: 3.22
469: 910b, 974b, 1032, 1117b, 4.44, 4.50, 4.68
470: 330b, 361b, 2.51
471: 259a, 530a, 563a, 757b, 834, 930b, 1010, 1024b, 1078, 1094, 4.69
472: 2.10, 4.20
474: 469a, 890, 1027, 4.54
475: 204a, 444a, 957, 1063d, 1105, 1160a, 4.3, 4.29, 4.70
476: 190b, 1201c
477: 11, 965c, 1019b, 1049b, 4.25, 4.62
478: 1067a, 1169c
479: 150c, 169d, 181b, 339, 501c-d, 682a, 831, 915b, 936b, 1117c, 2.2
480: 732a
481: 214a, 263, 461b, 1143a, 1.6, 5.16
482: 910c, 1144
483: 1119c
484: 914c
485: 957
486: 251b, 400a, 686b, 893, 905b, 1229a
487: 183b, 185b-c, 247, 531a, 903, 1179, 3.4, 4.25
490: 868a
491: 158a, 4.4
492: 3.4, 3.43
493a: 143, 954a
496b: 713
497: 222, 444b, 651a, 978a, 4.35, 4.51
498: 315a, 317a, d, 547, 562, 974b, 1121c
499: 262b, 313c, 339, 551b, 929a, 2.8
501: 308b, 312b, 451, 477c, 478a, 483c, 561, 815b, 821a, 831, 915b, 916c, 1009b, 1117, 2.2, 2.42
502: 319c, 877a, 1057b
503: 574b, 671e, 881
504: 186b, 276a, 313c, 316, 1007c, 1039, 1072b-c, 1201b
507a: 318
508: 2.48, 3.15
510: 186b, 262c, 315c, 933c, 3.15
511: 266b, 270a-c
515: 2.47
522a: 1065c
522b: 834
523: 607
525: 780a, 1119a, 5.31
526: 875b, 957, 1219
530: 1074a
531: 312a, 319d, 5.27
532: 4.53
534: 331, 354b, 455b, 492, 831, 865, 926a, 929d, 946b, 987, 1050a-b, 1053b, 1072a, 1092b, 1117c, 1153, 1186a, 1239b
538: 1196a, 2.25, 4.19, 4.35, 4.44, 4.74
539: 666b, 708b, 1089
541: 391a, 565, 954a, 3.33
542: 391b
544: 427a, 2.8
546: 2.9
547: 319d, 1084a, 4.29
548: 1075
549: 354b
551: 156a, 276b, 466b, 722, 832, 890, 1089
554: 5.30
556: 124b
560: 1150c

- 561: 6.8
562: 5.11
564: 136, 141, 194a, 221b, 309b,
352, 353b, 457c, 643a, 665b,
782, 836, 903, 908, 914a, 989,
1097c, 1208b
565: 4.24
566: 335b, 3.17
567: 2.8, 4.53
568: 307b
569: 1213a
570: 1040, 1092b
571: 979a
573: 3.4
574: 1145
581: 136, 139, 165, 205b, 437a,
477b-c, 483a, 525b, 528b,
530b, 559, 567a, 624b, 722,
812a, 814, 986b, 1052c, 1127,
2.22
586: 387
587: 531a
589: 523, 607, 1218a-b
591: 949
593: 251b, 452, 501e, 677, 818a,
1129, 1191, 1196b, 4.4
595: 311, 591b, 1071b
596: 262b
597: 354b, 480a, 524b, 716, 934b
598: 900c, 1061a
603: 179a, 566b, 1238
604: 538, 914a, 1252
605: 308b, 914a, 1061a, 2.7, 2.34
608: 2.38
609: 448, 2.38
610: 195, 1142c, 6.8
611: 440a, 569b, 977a
612: 176b, 431a, 909b
614: 9b, 193a, 260a, 561, 640, 842,
971b, 980, 1036a, 1126, 1145
616: 641b, 2.6
617: 401, 674b, 728b, 1098, 1121b
618: 330a, 544a, 744b, 2.46
620: 643a, 1221
624: 813
626: 320d
628: 811, 4.22, 4.34, 4.46
629: 2.6
630: 1198c, 1202a, 4.70
632: 356b, 904b, 1202b, 2.31, 3.22,
4.17
633: 636
635: 1.1, 1.7, 1.9
636: 630, 1197, 1198c, 4.65, 4.68
637: 327a, c, 3.14
639: 1174, 1205b
639b: 611, 647, 1159, 1200
639d: 944a
641: 225a
643: 1117b, 3.6
644: 1037b, 1238
645: 349, 929c, 1095a
647: 848c
648: 223c, 473b, 965c, 1078
649: 2.23
650: 4.42
651: 4.18
652: 214b, 325a-b, 789, 847c,
1176c, 1211a, 2.32, 4.38
653: 478d, 484c, 1213b-c, 2.27, 4.6,
4.17-18, 4.36-37, 4.56
663: 529b, 820b, 827b, 859, 1019a
664: 627a, 914b, 944b
664c: 169b, 563b
665: 156b, 158a, 188a, 517, 608b,
671e, 686c, 827a, 861, 916c
668: 882
669: 819, 914a, 985a
671: 828a, 832, 863b, 942a, 1044b,
5.4
673: 173b, 207a, 260b, 443a, 4.8,
4.40
674: 320b, 1043b
675: 541a, 644a, 878a, 924, 946a,
5.23
676a: 179b, 2.50, 5.1, 5.5
676b: 260a, 478d, 874e, 1217b
678: 280a, 311, 431a, 527, 555c,
818a, 2.24, 4.2, 4.27, 5.5-6
680: 311
681: 527, 565, 1119b,
682: 752c
686: 259b
686a: 151a, 190a, 204b, 303c, 549,
562, 575, 620b, 643b, 752d,
849, 892, 1117a, 2.15
686b: 536
686c: 162b, 188a, 472, 530a, 646,
842, 882, 1018, 1024b, 1078
686d: 605, 617a, 822b, 872
686e: 290a, 470b, 483b
687: 1186e

- 690: 300, 347, 361b, 541a, 544b,
573b, 803b, 812b, 831, 6.6
- 693: 290a, 2.50, 5.5
- 694: 295, 440b, 538, 1002a
- 695: 441b, 554, 1227a
- 697: 352, 516a, 914a
- 698: 7, 220b, 437a, 563b
- 699: 315a
- 702: 214a, 216, 247, 276b, 511b,
610, 714b, 929b, 956, 1086b,
1216a, 1229b, 5.13
- 704: 1019b, 1041, 1054b
- 706: 192, 431a, 603a, 851, 854a,
909b, 1065b, 1099b
- 708: 475b, 643c, 815c, 916a, 963,
1008a, 1051c, 2.34, 3.21, 4.3
- 710: 341d, 441b, 639a, 646, 660
- 711: 713, 836, 970b, 1110, 5.18
- 712: 803b, 848c, 907b, 951, 1018,
1024a, 1036c, 1104b, 1153,
2.41
- 714: 5.31, 6.1
- 719: 580
- 722: 327a, 602b, 777b
- 723: 320c
- 724: 266b, 324a, 334, 466g, 606,
902, 1083
- 725: 187b, 896a, 1054a, 1168a-b
- 727: 213, 720
- 728: 291a, 461a, 536, 758a, 910b,
933a, 1110
- 729: 652, 929e, 1158a, 5.7
- 731: 253
- 732: 315a, 329a, 446, 802b, 828d,
852, 4.18
- 733: 1007d, 2.25
- 734: 348, 349, 461c, 690, 717,
1057a, 1119c, 3.2, 5.8
- 735: 387, 457b, 552, 797b, 900b,
933b, 973a, 1158a, 2.8
- 736: 532a, 721, 3.16
- 737: 315d
- 738: 2.20
- 740: 219, 673a, 812b, 822b, 1135,
2.26, 4.44
- 741: 493b, 658c, 1142a
- 744: 221a, 251a, 329b, 422-424,
530b, 617a, 641a, 1169b
- 746: 106b, 199, 608a, 920b, 926c,
1085a, 1167c
- 747: 199, 741
- 750: 272c-d, 643a, 712b, 941, 1096,
4.40
- 752: 325c
- 753: 668c
- 754: 437a, 618a, 665b, 827b,
1050b, 1099a
- 755: 557, 561
- 757: 519, 628b, 640, 913b, 965a, c,
1003
- 759: 206, 215, 461c, 925, 1167b,
1186d
- 760: 457c, 1250a
- 762: 571a, 603b, 607
- 774: 447c
- 776: 8, 9b, 444b, 546b, 553, 648a,
1049c, 1126
- 777: 463
- 778: 11, 220a, 251b, 260a, 266a,
289b, 319a, 320b-c, 444a,
508b, 519, 563a, 591c, 676b,
758a-b, 1080, 1211b, 2.2-3
- 779: 308a, 1044a
- 781: 341c, 470b, 612b
- 782: 361d, 457c, 461b-c
- 812: 200b, 1022, 1054b, 1063e,
1180b, 1202a, 2.6, 2.11, 3.5,
3.9
- 815: 251a, 328b, 335c, 889b, 967,
1032, 1097b, 1172b, 1173c,
1206b, 3.7
- 816: 291b, 357b, 478d, 616a, 637a,
651a, 913c, 922a, 976, 1198d,
1202a, 1246a, 2.16, 4.23, 4.32,
4.34, 5.2
- 817b: 292
- 818: 603b, 307a, 313b, 680b, 913c,
930a, 1009b, 1097c, 1150a
- 819: 259b
- 820: 8, 296, 628b, 658a
- 821: 590a
- 821a: 255b
- 821b: 254a, 262b, 323d
- 822: 259-261, 270, 290b, 1052b
- 823: 1186b, 2.34, 3.9, 4.52
- 828: 225a, 469b, 547, 1208c
- 828c: 2.12
- 831: 276c, 311, 317a, 356a, 620a,
629, 639d, 671e, 831, 835
- 835: 625, 626, 3.22
- 838: 614, 359a, 625, 634a-b, 812b

- 839: 347, 349, 441a, 443a, 449,
458a, 540a, 551c, 627b
- 840: 928c-d
- 841: 1170b
- 843: 10, 169b, 200b-c, 252, 313a,
341d, 351, 356a, 360b, 402,
446, 511b, 620a, 639c, 710,
803b, 1019b, 1216a, 1228,
2.40
- 844: 134, 358b, 569a, 716, 828b,
907b, 1024b, 1089, 1103b,
1192c, 1200, 1248b, 1253, 3.6
- 847: 255b, 840
- 848: 318, 446
- 849: 3.1
- 851: 200c
- 852: 198
- 853: 138
- 854: 1097a, 1123
- 856: 296, 609a, 4.60, 4.65
- 857: 1123
- 859: 218a-c, 243a, 455d, 466a, 635,
4.25-27
- 860: 811, 4.6, 4.21
- 861: 429b, 650, 856b, 861
- 862: 294, 360c, 362c-d, 483c, 835
- 863: 217a, 483b, 496b, 563b, 590b,
825, 863a, 914a, 2.1
- 864: 668b, 815a, 1005b
- 865: 455b, 495, 496a, 1026b, 1186a
- 867: 1106a, 1190
- 868: 528b, 540a
- 869: 1121b
- 874: 455f, 834
- 876: 516b, 617c, 643c, 828a, 2.5
- 877: 124c, 195, 361a, 483a, 627a,
920c
- 878: 154a, 2.10, 4.11, 4.15
- 881: 361a, 508b, 569b, 616a, 618c,
682b, 920c, 1057a, 4.68
- 883: 478a
- 887: 140
- 889: 259b, 507b, 4.2
- 896: 171b, 311, 321a, 435b, 448,
524a, 546b, 587, 639a, 686c,
851, 1239a
- 898: 835, 4.58
- 900: 204a, 222, 442a, 444b, 569a,
570b, 781, 862a, 870, 1235,
2.29
- 901: 4.43, 4.52
- 902: 291b
- 905: 676b, 1147, 2.4
- 905c: 279c-d
- 905d: 4.1
- 907: 519, 644a
- 909: 150a, 431a, 520c, 528b, 548b,
567c, 716, 1003b, 2.3, 2.39
- 911: 2.5
- 912: 184a
- 915: 354a, 3.8
- 916: 347, 555a, 886a, 922c
- 920: 251b, 443a, 819, 4.48
- 921: 317c, 543b, 829b, 924-27, 4.13
- 924: 187a-b, 401b, 820a, 5.19
- 926: 921
- 927: 317c
- 928: 198a
- 929: 251b, 486, 563a, 666b, 686b,
820a, 3.41
- 930: 266a, 270c, 276b, 290a, 347,
351, 516b
- 930a: 185b, 573a
- 930b: 139, 226b, 610, 892, 1117a,
1128, 1201c
- 931: 185d, 343, 346, 1198a, 3.26,
4.1
- 934: 202b, 540b, 573b, 574a, 682b,
686e, 692a, 867c, 868b, 871,
913b, 1044a, 2.4, 2.35
- 936: 666b, 832
- 937: 1234
- 942: 308b, 876c, 878b, 976, 2.24,
4.21, 5.7
- 943: 645, 975
- 944: 277, 294, 296, 308c, 428b, 650,
658a, 828c, 1005b
- 945: 1162
- 946: 1092d
- 947b: 4.75
- 949: 609b
- 957: 485a-b
- 959: 427b
- 963: 551a, 666b, 825, 897, 1095a,
1149b, 1201b
- 966: 1199a
- 968: 716, 1251b
- 970: 1063e, 1172a, 1209
- 971: 900c
- 972: 642
- 973: 317a, 829a, 1005c, 1045,
1073b, 1084a, 1087, 5.18

- 974: 470a, 649, 3.36, 4.50
 975: 1147, 4.28
 977b: 1195a-b, 1212b
 979: 4.27
 982: 260b
 983a: 214b, 356b, 634a
 984: 818b, 987, 1211b
 985: 922c, 1028, 3.10
 986: 198b, 323b, 346, 355, 564b,
 674a, 805, 808a
 987: 212, 225b, 629, 1117a
 989: 801c, 804, 1193a
 991: 7, 174, 186b, 193a, 208a,
 289b, 329c, 353b, 361d, 402,
 568a-b, 609b, 834, 1202a,
 1232c, 1246b
 992: 5.11
 995: 802a
 996: 289b, 783, 864c, 910b, 1132,
 1156, 3.20, 4.52
 998: 640, 900d, 1051a
 999: 179b, 199, 353a, 444a, 526b,
 551b, 926c, 1049a, c, 1160a
 1000: 171a, 214a, 467b, 651b, 744c,
 1038a, 1163a, 1167b, 1180b,
 1199b, 1213b, 1226a, 1230b,
 4.65, 6.2
 1001: 658b
 1002: 913b, 1092c, 5.8, 6.8
 1003: 6, 178a, 304, 640, 734a, 820a
 1004: 801a, 1067b (3.40, 6.6)
 1004b: 3.9
 1005: 612a, 1118b, 1168c
 1006: 614, 713
 1007: 627, 801b, c, 910c, 1046, 1081,
 1082, 1089, 5.15
 1009: 200c, 306, 1193b, 1210b, 2.41,
 2.51, 4.3, 4.31, 6.1
 1010: 682a, 779a, 950, 1235
 1011: 289a, 291c, 360a, 2.29
 1012: 341c, 1169d, 1253
 1013: 261, 1155, 3.21
 1014: 8
 1017: 658c, 1158a
 1023: 176c
 1024: 714b, 951, 1209
 1029b: 467a, 806, 809, 929d, 1085a
 1030: 226b, 429b, 616b, 714a, 837,
 903, 948, 1162, 1167a, 2.28,
 4.65
 1031: 263, 4.29
 1035: 1159
 1038: 1159
 1039: 507b, 828e
 1044: 190a, 496b, 631a, 2.47, 5.20
 1046: 217a, 5.17
 1049: 9a, 187c, 223b, 311, 400c, 408,
 466h, 493a, 575, 633, 641b,
 1025, 1071a, 1158b, 1239b,
 2.5, 2.20, 2.23, 2.35, 2.43,
 3.16, 4.2
 1050: 3.23, 3.39
 1051: 353b, 355, 487b, 546b, 4.9,
 4.65
 1052: 4.39, 4.40, 4.53
 1054: 9b, 200b, 290b, 291a, 319c,
 354a-b, 530b, 532a, 595, 914a,
 916c, 1126-27, 3.4
 1055: 1199b
 1056: 442b, 446
 1057: 124c, 200b, 224b, 307b, 446,
 483b, 524b, 632, 828d, 874d,
 877a, 881, 887, 888, 1058b,
 2.8, 2.24, 3.33
 1058: 485b, 1114a
 1060: 168b, 1054a, 1063a, c, 4.55,
 5.18
 1061: 1009a
 1062: 354b, 881, 3.31, 4.21
 1063: 4.29, 4.33
 1063d: 1033
 1064: 277
 1065: 11, 174, 191b, 277, 609a,
 643a, 780a, 803b, 811, 856b,
 894b, 900a, 1036c, 1116,
 1125a-b, 1153
 1067: 319a, 919
 1069: 1024a, 3.22
 1070: 10, 253, 761, 802b, 5.9
 1071: 157, 536, 900c
 1073: 12, 1050b
 1074: 1130
 1078: 1132, 2.8
 1079: 5.6
 1081: 408
 1084: 2.7
 1086: 828c
 1090: 487a, 520b, 552, 648a, 954d,
 1023, 1118b, 1167a, 1194a,
 1253, 5.3, 5.6
 1092: 193b, 352, 972c, 973d, 1065a,
 1087, 4.62

- 1093: 2.14
 1095: 1048, 3.4
 1097: 307a, 334, 357a, 358b, 456a, 651a, 829a, 978b, 1024b, 1216a, 3.11
 1099: 616a
 1101: 360b-c, 635
 1102: 322, 360a, 1043c
 1104: 825, 848b
 1106: 780b
 1114: 323c, 491a, 523, 541c, 2.49, 5.17
 1115: 308b, 4.50, 4.63
 1116: 5.16
 1117: 254a, 311, 312a, 629, 914b, 1058b
 1118: 188b, 520c, 602c
 1119: 184a, 429b, 592, 612b, 651a, 1206b, 2.12, 2.14
 1120: 174, 176c, 208b, 226b, 427b, 1024a, 1069a, 1103b-c, 1129
 1125: 224b, 489b
 1126: 253
 1133: 1075, 3.39, 6.8
 1140: 332b
 1141: 161a
 1142: 276b, 563b, 671d
 1143: 483b, 1179
 1153: 291a
 1154: 448
 1155: 261
 1156: 213
 1158: 294
 1161: 530b
 1162: 5.20
 1164: 171b, 908
 1165: 483c, 511b, 545b, 896a, 1054a, c, 1074a
 1166: 171b
 1169: 186a, 190a, 319b, 476, 489a, 540a, 653c, 1009a, 1086a, 1088
 1172: 184a
 1177: 431b, 916b
 1178: 618c, 916b, 972c, 973c
 1182: 328b, 362d
 1186: 307b, 335a-c, 431b, 653b
 1186a: 507c, 516a, 758a, 843b, 970a
 1188: 163a, 752a, 1097b, 1198d, 2.27, 2.30
 1190: 251a
 1191: 1196b
 1198: 317b, 324b, 448, 566a, 628b, 630, 636, 648b, 674b, 752a, 815b, 816b, 818b, 889b, 894d, 901b
 1202: 966b, 985a, 3.38
 1204: 173b, 451, 572a, 830
 1207: 335c, 867d, 1009a, 1179, 1183b, 4.21
 1208: 451, 572a, 830, 1204, 1211a
 1210: 329c, 5.20
 1211: 1208b, 2.36
 1212: 163a, 949, 979a
 1213: 653a, d, 4.45
 1214: 1207b
 1215: 2.37
 1216: 275b, 590b, 699c, 920b, 939, 941, 1099a, 1109b, 1187, 2.40, 5.20, 6.2
 1217: 297, 460
 1218: 5.4
 1219: 358b
 1221: 620a-b, 1089, 3.9
 1224: 820b
 1226: 262c
 1231: 838a, 1105
 1232: 243b, 279d, 317d, 444a, 482, 836, 947a, 971a, 1133a, 1165, 4.60, 6.4
 1234: 828e
 1236: 951
 1238: 1120
 1239: 752d
 1241: 724a, 1077a, 1159, 2.10, 2.12
 1243: 2.50, 3.12, 4.66, 6.2
 1244: 525b, 541b, 548b, 947a
 1245: 276b, 6.3
 1250: 361a, 1169c
 1250c: 4.17
 1251: 2.9
 1252: 538

References

Abbreviations:

ADD	Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie naučnoj stepeni doktora filologičeskix nauk [Abstract of doctoral dissertation]
AKD	Avtoreferat dissertacii na soiskanie naučnoj stepeni kandidata filologičeskix nauk [Abstract of candidate dissertation]
AN SSSR	Akademija Nauk SSSR [USSR Academy of Sciences]
AzGU	Azerbajdžanskij gosudarstvennyj universitet [Azerbaijani State University]
AzSSR	Azerbajdžanskaja SSR [Azerbaijani Republic]
Daggiz, Daggosizdat	Dagestanskoe gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo
Dagučpedgiz	Dagestanskoe učebno-pedagogičeskoe izdatel'stvo
DGU	Dagestanskij gosudarstvennyj universitet [Daghestanian State University]
EIKJa	<i>Ežegodnik Iberijsko-Kavkazskogo Jazykoznanija / Iberiul-k'avk'asiuri enatmecnierebis celicdeuli / Annual of Ibero-Caucasian Linguistics</i>
GruzSSR	Gruzinskaja SSR [Georgian Republic]
IJaL	Institut Istorii, Jazyka i Literatury im. Cadasy (Dagestanskij Filial AN SSSR) [Cadasa Institute of History, Language and Literature, Daghestanian Branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences]
UZ IIJaL	<i>Učenyje Zapiski Instituta Istorii, Jazyka i Literatury im. Cadasy. Serija filologičeskaja</i>

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Index of Affixes

- a 1. Imperative (9.3.1.3.)
2. oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (B))
- A 1. verbal thematic suffix (9.2.)
2. oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (H))
3. Inessive suffix (7.1.2.3.)
- Aba adverb suffix (8.1.2.2.)
- Ac- preverb (10.1.3.)
- Adi oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (E))
- Ag- preverb (10.1.3.)
- AgAl- preverb (10.1.3.)
- aj 1. Aorist participle (9.3.3.2.)
2. Elative case (7.1.2.)
3. Inelative case (7.1.2.3.)
- Ak- preverb (10.1.3.)
- Al- preverb (10.1.3.)
- Aldi adverb suffix (8.1.2.2.)
- an adjectival derivational suffix (8.2.1.3.)
- Aq̄- preverb (10.1.3.)
- Aq'Al- preverb (10.1.3.)
- ar 1. plural (7.1.1.1., 7.1.1.4.)
2. causative (10.1.)
- Ar plural (7.1.1.3.)
- Arar plural (7.1.1.8.)
- Aw- preverb (10.1.3.)
- äj Inelative suffix (front-vowel stems) (7.1.2.3.)
- ba- adverb interfix (12.1.5.2.)
- ban nominal derivational suffix (7.3.1.8.)
- bej- adjectival derivational prefix (8.2.2.)
- bur substantivizer, plural (7.1.1.9., 8.1.1.)
- cī, -c'i oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (J))
- č negative suffix (9.3.)
- či agent noun suffix (7.3.1.4.)
- čī, -č'i oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (J))
- da 1. Future (9.3.2.4.)
2. substantivizer, singular, oblique stem (8.1.1.)
3. adjectival predicative suffix (8.1.3.1.)
- dakaz adjectival adverb (8.1.2.1.)
- daldi Posterior converb (9.3.2.7.)
- di 1. oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (A))
2. Directive case (7.1.2.)
3. substantivizer, singular (8.1.1.)
4. Archaic Future (9.10.2.)
5. temporal adverb suffix (12.1.2.5.)
- diz adjectival adverb (8.1.2.1.)
- e → -A

- er
 1. → -Ar
 2. plural (7.1.1.5.)
 3. plural (7.1.1.6.)
- er → -Arar
- edi → -Adi
- gAl- preverb (10.1.3.)
- gan nominal derivational suffix (7.3.1.6.)
- gw- preverb (10.3.1.)
- h- preverb (10.3.1.)
- hAl- preverb (10.1.3.)
- t → -U
- i oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (C))
- ijar plural (7.1.1.10.)
- in Hortative (9.3.2.5.)
- ini → -Uni
- ir Past (after negative) (9.3.)
- iz Infinitive/Imperfective converb (9.3.2.1.)
- j
 1. Past (9.3.)
 2. participle (9.3.)
 3. Optative (9.3.1.2.)
- ja Archaic Preterit (9.10.1.)
- jar plural (7.1.1.2.)
- ji Aorist participle (9.3.3.2.)
- k Sub localization, Subessive case (7.1.2.)
- kaj Subrelative case (7.1.2.)
- kAk- preverb (10.1.3.)
- kdi Subdirective case (7.1.2.)
- kw- preverb (10.3.1.)
- k'a adjectival adverb (8.1.2.2.)
- l Super localization, Superessive case (7.1.2.4.)
- la
 1. Temporal converb (9.3.4.1.)
 2. causal adverb suffix (12.1.3.)
- laj Superrelative case (7.1.2.4.)
- lamiš- verbal denominal derivational suffix (10.5.)
- lAr plural (7.1.1.7.)
- lda Hearsay Evidential (9.7.3.)
- ldi Superdirective case (7.1.2.4.)
- ler → -lAr
- lu adjectival derivational suffix (8.2.1.1.)
- lux nominal derivational suffix (7.3.1.5.)
- mir Prohibitive (9.3.2.6.)
- n
 1. Genitive case (7.1.2.)
 2. Hortative (9.3.2.5.)
 3. Masdar (9.3.1.1.)
 4. Periphrasis form (9.3.5.)
- na
 1. Aorist (9.3.3.1.)
 2. Aorist converb (9.3.3.4.)
- n(a)ma Continuative Perfect (9.3.3.3.)
- n(a)maz(di) Immediate-Anterior converb (9.3.3.5.)
- n(a)wa Perfect (9.3.3.3.)
- ni
 1. Interrogative mood (9.3.3.4.)

	2. coordinator, additive focus particle (18.1.1.-2.)
<i>q̄Aq̄-</i>	preverb (10.1.3.)
<i>-q^h</i>	Post localization, Postessive case (7.1.2.)
<i>q^h(i)-</i>	Repetitive prefix (10.4.1.1.)
<i>-q^haj</i>	Postelative case (7.1.2.)
<i>-q^han</i>	agent noun suffix (7.3.1.3.)
<i>-q^hdi</i>	Postdirective case (7.1.2.)
<i>-r</i>	1. Aorist participle (9.3.3.2.)
	2. rare Imperative suffix (9.3.1.3.)
	3. Archaic Imperfective participle (9.10.4.)
<i>-ra</i>	1. multiplicative suffix (13.1.6.)
	2. → <i>-rA</i>
	3. Archaic Preterit (9.10.1.)
<i>-rA</i>	oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (F))
<i>-raj</i>	Optative (9.3.1.2.)
<i>-rdawaj</i>	Graduative converb (9.3.2.8.)
<i>-re</i>	→ <i>-rA</i>
<i>-ri</i>	Archaic Imperfective participle (9.10.4.)
<i>-suz</i>	adjectival derivational suffix (8.2.1.1.)
<i>tA-</i>	negative prefix (9.3.5.)
<i>-t'a</i>	Conditional mood (9.3.4.3.)
<i>-u</i>	oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (D))
<i>U</i>	1. oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (I))
	2. adjectival derivational suffix (8.2.1.2.)
	3. verbal thematic suffix (9.2.)
<i>-uj</i>	Optative (9.3.1.2.)
<i>-un</i>	Masdar (9.3.1.1.)
<i>-Uni</i>	oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (G))
<i>-ur</i>	archaic Aorist participle suffix (9.3.3.2.)
<i>-üni</i>	→ <i>-Uni</i>
<i>-w</i>	Ad localization, Adessive case (7.1.2.)
<i>-waj</i>	Adelative case (7.1.2.)
<i>-wal</i>	1. abstract noun suffix (7.3.1.1.)
	2. Purpose/Manner converb (9.3.4.6.)
<i>-waldi</i>	Immediate-Anterior converb (9.3.4.2.)
<i>-wdi</i>	Addirective case (7.1.2.)
<i>-wi</i>	nominal derivational suffix (7.3.1.2.)
<i>-wiläj</i>	Causal converb (9.3.4.7.)
<i>-x-</i>	Repetitive infix (10.4.1.3.)
<i>-xana</i>	nominal derivational suffix (7.3.1.7.)
<i>xk-</i>	preverb (10.1.3.)
<i>x(U)-</i>	Repetitive prefix (10.4.1.2.)
<i>-z</i>	1. Imperfective converb/Infinitive (9.3.2.1.)
	2. Dative case (7.1.2.)
	3. adjectival adverb (8.1.2.1.)
<i>-z(a)ma</i>	Continuative Imperfective (9.3.2.3.)
<i>-z(a)maz</i>	Immediate-Anterior converb (9.3.2.9.)
<i>-z(a)wa</i>	Imperfective (9.3.2.2.)
<i>-ží</i>	oblique stem (7.1.2.2. (J))

Subject Index

This subject index to the grammar serves at the same time as index to the bibliography. In addition to entries referring to a section of the text or to a bibliographical entry, this index contains names of grammatical phenomena that do not occur in Lezgian (these are marked with "(-)"). References are to section numbers only. Major references are printed in boldface.

- abbreviations p. xix-xx
- absence 16.3.3.4.
- absolute construction (-)
- Absolutive case **7.2.2.1.**, 15.2., 15.3.1., 15.4.2.1.-2.
- Absolutive absorption 15.4.2.1.
- abstract nouns 7.3.1.1.
- accompanying circumstance 21.2.
- accusative case (-)
- active voice (-)
- Addirective case 7.2.2.7.
- additive focus particles 13.2.1.
- addition 16.3.3.15.
- additional examples (see index after Ch. 27)
- Adelative case **7.2.2.6.**, 15.3.4., 21.4.4.
- Adessive case **7.2.2.5.**, 15.3.3.
- adjectival adverbs 8.1.2.
- adjectival inflection 8.1.
- adjectival valence 14.5.1.
- adjective Ch. 8
- adjective phrase 14.4.3., **14.5.**
- adjective-to-noun conversion
- adjective-verb-compounds 10.6.3.
- adjuncts
 - in the adjective phrase 14.5.2.
 - clausal adjuncts 16.2.3., **16.3.**
- adpositions → postpositions
- adverbial argument 15.3.14.
- adverbial clauses 21., 22.2., 23.2.3.3.
- adverbial phrases 17.7.
- adverbs 12.1.
 - adjectival adverbs
- Affective Construction 15.4.1.
 - [Alekseev 1975, Šejxov 1986]
- affixes (see preceding index)
- Affricate Assimilation 5.13.
- agent nouns 7.3.1.3., 7.3.1.4.
- agreement 17.2.
- allophonic variation
 - vowels 3.2.2.
 - consonants 3.3.2.
- alphabet 3.1. [hažibegof 1928, Kazanfar-Beg 1871, Mamedov 1911]
- alternative concessive conditional clauses 21.8.3.
- alternative questions **23.1.3.**, 23.3.1.3.
- anaphora **22.1.**, 8.1.1.1.
- answers **23.1.5.**, 11.6.3.
- anticausative 10.2.
- antipassive (-)
- Aorist 9.3.3.1., 9.6.3.
- Aorist converb 4.1.2.1., **9.3.3.4.**, **9.9.4.**, 12.1.5.1., **21.1.** [Alekseev 1989b]
- Aorist participle **9.3.3.2.**, 9.10.1.
- Aorist stem 9.1., 9.3.3.
- applicative (-)
- apposition 14.2.2., **14.3.**
- approximate numeral expressions 13.1.8.
- Arabic influence 2.3., 18.1.3. [Gajdarov 1977a]
- Arabic loanwords 3.2.1.1., 4.2.2.2., 6.1.2. [Zabitov 1979, 1983]
- arbitrary control 20.3.5.
- Archaic Future 9.10.2.
- Archaic Imperfective participle **9.10.4.**, 21.4.4.
- Archaic Preterit 9.10.1.
- arguments 15.
 - position 16.2.2.
 - free omission 15.5.
- article 13.1.1.
- aspect → Imperfective, Aorist, Perfect, Future, Periphrastic Habitual, Continuative
- auxiliary 10.4.1.

- Azerbaijani influence → Turkic influence
 beneficiary 7.2.2.4., 12.2.2.4.
 bibliography [Gjul'magomedov & Saadiev 1982]
 bilingualism of Lezgian speakers 2.1.1.
 body part 7.2.2.4. [Alekseev 1986]
 cardinal numerals 13.1.1.
 cases 7.1.2., 7.2.2. [Hjelmslev 1937:38-49, Mejlanova 1960, 1961, 1987]
 causal adverbs 12.1.3.
 causal clauses 21.5.
 Causal verb 9.3.4.7., 21.5.2.
 causative 10.1., 20.2.4. [Alekseev & Šejxov 1985, Hewitt 1981]
 cause 16.3.3.6.
 census figures 2.1.1.
 citation form 9.9.1.
 classifier (-)
 classifying copular clauses 17.1.
 cleft sentence 19.4., 23.1.2., 23.2.4.
 cliché comparison 24.2.2.
 cognition verbs 20.4., 20.7.1.
 comitative 16.3.3.2.
 comparative clause 21.9.3., 24.1.2.
 comparative construction 13.2.3., 24.1.
 comparison 21.9.3.
 comparison of equality 24.2.
 compensatory lengthening 3.2.1.2.
 complement clauses 20., 22.3., 23.2.3.2.
 complement-taking nouns 20.9.
 complex sentence 19.-21. [Gadžiev 1948, 1954b, 1963]
 compound verbs 10.6., 15.4.2. [Gjul'magomedov 1980b]
 compound nouns 7.3.2.
 concessive clause 21.8.
 concessive conditional clauses 21.8.2.-4.
 conditional clause 9.10.2., 9.10.3., 21.7.
 Conditional mood 9.3.4.3., 9.8.5.
 conjunction (part of speech) [Juzbekov 1988]
 conjunction (conjoining) 18.1.
 conjunction reduction →
 coreferential omission in coordination
 conjunctive adverbs 16.3.5.
 consonants 3.3. [Jaraliev 1989, Mejlanova 1981, Trubetzkoy 1931]
 —consonant alternations 5.1.-5.4., 5.8.-10., 5.13. [Job 1977, 1981, Talibov 1977, Topuria 1974, Trubetzkoy 1931]
 —consonant cluster 4.1.2.1., 4.2.1.-2.
 —cooccurrence of consonants 4.3.
 constituent questions → parametric questions
 contact with other languages 2.4.
 Continuative copulas 17.6.6.
 Continuative Imperfective 9.3.2.3., 9.6.5.
 Continuative Perfect 9.3.3.3., 9.6.5., 21.4.2.
 contrastive focus 13.4., 19.3.2.
 converbs 9.9.5., 12.2.3., 17.4., 20.6.
 → Aorist verb, Immediate-Anterior converbs, Posterior converbs, Causal verb, Gradative verb, Imperfective verb, Purpose/Manner verb, Secondary Imperfective converbs [Haspelmath fc. b]
 conversion
 —adjective-to-noun conversion 7.3.3., 8.1.1.2.
 —verb-to-noun conversion 9.9.1.
 coordination Ch. 18
 copredicative adjective 21.2.
 copula 9.5.1., 14.1., 17.
 → standard copula, local copulas
 copular clauses 17.
 copulative compounds 7.3.2.
 coreference Ch. 22
 coreferential omission 16.1.2., 22.2.-3.
 —in coordination 18.3.2.
 correlative comparative clause 24.1.3.2.
 correlative relative clause 19.2.
 counterfactual 9.6.2., 9.7.2., 21.7.2.
 counterfactual comparison 13.5.2.
 Daghestanian languages [Giginejšvili 1977, Kibrik & Kodzasov 1988-90]
 Dative 7.2.2.4., 14.5.1.1., 15.3.2., 15.4.1.
 declension [Gajdarov 1987b]
 deep ergativity 18.3.2. [Haspelmath 1991]
 defective verbs 9.5.1.-2.
 definite article (-)
 degree adverbs 12.1.4., 24.1.3.1.

- degree consecutive construction
 13.5.1., 13.5.2.
 deictic situation
 deliberative questions 9.8.3., 9.8.4.,
 23.7.
 demonstrative pronouns/
 determiners 11.3., 11.4., 14.4.3.
 [Šejxov 1983c]
 denominal verbs 10.5.-6.
 deobjective (-)
 derivational morphology
 —adjectival 8.2.
 —nominal 7.3.
 —verbal Ch. 10
 desiderative (-)
 determiner 11.3.-11.7.
 dialects 2.2., 3.3.1. [Gajdarov 1963b,
 Mejlanova 1964, Ramaldanov
 1987]
 —Anyx dialect [Gadžiev 1957a]
 —Axceh dialect [Gajdarov 1961,
 —Genko 1926, Topuria 1959]
 —Džaba dialect [Ganieva 1972a, b,
 1980, 1981, 1983, 1985]
 —Fij dialect [Abdulžamalov 1965]
 —Gilijar dialect [Mejlanova 1958]
 —Güne dialect [Mejlanova 1957,
 1959, 1970, Topuria 1959]
 —Kutkašen dialect
 [Gjul'magomedov 1966, 1967, 1968]
 —Quba dialect [Gadžiev 1955b,
 Genko 1929, Kubatov 1973, 1977,
 Mejlanova 1981]
 dictionary
 —Russian-Lezgian [Gadžiev 1940b,
 1950, 1955a]
 —Lezgian-Russian [Talibov &
 Gadžiev 1966]
 —> orthography
 —> homonyms
 —> synonyms
 different-subject adjectives 14.5.4.
 digraphs 3.1.
 diminutive (-)
 direction 7.2.2.4.
 direct object 16.1., 20.5.1.
 direct speech 20.1., 20.5.1.
 Directive cases [Mejlanova 1961]
 discontinuous constituents 16.2.4.
 discourse particles 13.3., 23.5.
 disjunction 18.2.
 Dissimilatory loss of /r/ 5.14.
 distal demonstrative 11.4.
 distributive numerals 13.1.7.
 dual (-)
 dummy subject (-)
 echo compounds 7.3.4.
 echo questions 23.4.
 emotional complement-taking
 predicates 20.5.3.
 emphatic reflexive pronouns 11.2.
 epistemic sentence adverbials
 16.3.4.1., 21.9.1.
 equative construction 24.2.
 Ergative case 7.2.2.2., 15.2. [Mejlanova
 1954a, Topuria 1967a, 1984]
 ergativity [Häspelmath 1991, Job 1985,
 Kibrik 1980a, b, Mel'čuk 1981,
 1988a]
 —> deep ergativity
 ethnography [Agaširinova 1978,
 Ixilov 1967]
 ethnonym "Lezgian" 2.1.4. [Lazarev 2-
 oj 1849]
 ethnonyms 8.1.4.
 evaluative complement-taking
 predicates 20.7.4.
 evidential 9.7.3.
 excessive degree 24.3.
 exclamation 13.3.7., 23.6.
 exclusive/inclusive 1pl (-)
 exclusion 16.3.3.14.
 existential sentence 14.2.3.
 experiential verbs 15.4.1.
 extraction constructions (-)
 extraposition 20.1., 20.7.
 factitive verbs 10.6.3.
 factive complement clause 20.3.6.,
 20.4.
 feminine gender (-)
 fientive verbs 10.6.3.
 final clause—> purpose clause
 finite verb forms 9.3.
 focus particles 13.2., 18.1.2., 19.3.2.
 focusing 9.3.5., 13.4., 19.3.2., 23.1.2.,
 23.2.4. [Xajdakov 1986]
 folklore [Dalgat 1962, A. Gadžiev 1941,
 G. Gadžiev 1984, Lionidze &
 Sultanov 1892]
 fractions 13.1.4.
 free-choice indefinite pronouns
 11.6.2.

- free omission of arguments 15.5.
 free relative clause 11.7.2., 19.1.2.
 Future 9.3.2.4., 9.6.2.
 future time reference 9.6.2., 9.7.2.
 geminates → non-aspirated stops
 gender (-) [Gadžiev 1958, Mejlanova
 1962]
 genetic affiliation 1.1.
 Genitive
 —functions 7.2.2.3.
 —reduced Genitive 7.1.2.5.
 —Genitive argument 15.3.15.
 —Genitive noun phrase 14.4.1.,
 17.2., 17.8.
 —predicative Genitive NP 7.2.2.3.,
 17.2.
 gerund → converb, Masdar
 given information 16.2.2.
 Gradulative converb 9.3.2.8., 21.4.4.
 grammar [Alq'adarskij 1939-41, M.
 Gadžiev 1940a, 1955a, 1957b,
 Hažibegov 1934, Mejlanova 1967,
 Schiefner 1873, Uslar 1896, Žirkov
 1941]
 grammatical relations 16.1.
 grammatical terminology 1.3.3.
 grammaticization 9.7.3., 12.2., 22.3.
 habitual situation 9.6.1., 9.6.2., 9.7.1.
 headless relative clause 19.1.2.
 Hearsay Evidential 9.7.3.
 heavy shift 16.2.2., 20.1.
 High Vowel Loss 5.6.
 historical-comparative grammar
 [Alekseev 1985, 1989a]
 historical-comparative phonology
 [Giginejšvili 1977, Talibov 1980]
 history 2.1.3.
 homographs 3.1.
 homonymy [Gajdarov & Mirzoev
 1981, Osmanova 1962a, b]
 honorific (-)
 Hortative 9.3.2.5., 9.8.3., 13.3.9., 23.7.
 identifying copular clauses 17.1.
 ideophones 10.6.2.
 Immediate-Anterior converbs 9.3.2.9.,
 9.3.3.5., 9.3.4.2., 21.4.3.
 Imperative 5.4., 9.3.1.3., 9.8.1., 13.3.1.,
 13.3.3.-4., 13.3.8.-9., 15.6.2.
 [Mejlanova 1954b, Talibov 1986,
 Topuria 1967b]
 imperfect → Past, Imperfective
 Imperfective 4.1.2.1., 9.3.2.2., 9.6.1.
 Imperfective converb 4.1.2.1., 8.1.2.1.,
 9.3.2.1., 9.9.3., 21.2.
 Imperfective Continuative 9.3.2.3.
 inalienable possession 19.1.1.
 inceptive (-)
 inclusive numerals 13.1.5.
 indefinite article 13.1.1.
 indefinite pronouns 11.3., 11.6.
 indicative verb forms 9.3., 9.7.
 indirect object 15.3.2.2.
 indirect questions 19.2., 23.3.
 indirect speech 20.1., 20.5.1.
 In localization 7.1.2.3.
 Inelative case 3.2.1.1., 7.2.2.18., 13.1.4.,
 15.3.13.
 Inessive case 7.2.2.17., 15.3.12.
 [Topuria 1967a]
 Infinitive 9.3.2.1., 9.7.1., 9.9.3., 20.2.,
 21.6.2. [Šejxov 1989]
 inflectional morphology 7.1-2., 8.1.,
 Ch. 9
 information structure 16.2.2.
 instrument 7.2.2.2., 7.2.2.7., 7.2.2.16.,
 16.3.3.3., 21.2.
 interjection 6.1.2., 13.6.
 Interrogative mood 9.3.4.4., 9.8.6.
 interrogative pronouns 11.3., 11.5.
 intonation 23.1.1. [Gjul'magomedov
 1981]
 intransitive verb 15.2. [Šejxov 1983a]
 inversion of the verb 16.2.1.
 Involuntary Agent Construction
 7.2.2.6., 15.6.3.
 Iranian loanwords → Persian
 loanwords
 irrealis complement clauses 20.2.1.-2.
 irregular nouns 7.1.4.
 irregular verbs 9.5.
 juxtaposition 18.1.4.
 kinship term 14.3.
 labialized obstruents 3.1., 3.2.2.1.,
 3.3.2.1., 4.1.1., 4.5., 4.6., 5.7.-8.
 [Talibov 1972, Gjul'magomedov
 1974]
 Labial Obstruent-Vowel Harmony
 4.5., 5.9.
 labile verbs 15.6. [Haspelmath 1991,
 Mejlanova & Talibov 1977, Šejxov
 1987]
 language contact 2.4.

- lengthening, compensatory 3.2.1.2.
lexicalization 9.9.1., 9.9.2.
literature, Lezgian [Agaev 1969,
Dalgat 1962, Ganieva 1976, Gašarov
1975, 1983, Musaev 1986, Vagabova
1970]
loanwords 4.2.2.2., 7.1.1.4.
[Vinogradova 1982]
→ Arabic, Russian, Turkic
localizations 7.1.2.1., 10.3.2.
location 7.2.2.17.
local copulas 9.5.1., 17.6.
long-distance reflexives 22.4.2.
Loss of /k/ 5.12.
malefactive 7.2.2.4.
manipulative verbs 20.3.2.
manner 7.2.2.7., 7.2.2.16., 11.3.,
16.3.3.5., 21.2.
masculine gender (-)
Masdar 9.3.1.1., 9.9.1., 20.3., 20.9.
[Šejxov 1989]
Masdar stem 9.1., 9.3.1.
mass noun 7.2.1.
Metathesis of Labialization 5.8.
modal complement-taking predicates
20.3.1.
mood → Imperative, Hortative,
Optative, Conditional,
Interrogative
morpheme-by-morpheme glosses
1.3.5.
morphology Ch. 7-13 [Gajdarov 1987a]
morphophonemic alternations
→ vowel harmony
→ consonant alternations
movement rules (-)
multiple questions 23.2.5., 23.3.1.2.
multiplicative adverbial 24.1.3.1.
multiplicative numerals 13.1.6.
Nakho-Daghestanian 1.1.
narrative tense 9.6.3.
nasal assimilation 3.3.2.5.
nasalization of vowels 3.3.2.4.
nationality words 8.1.4.
negated disjunction 18.2.4.
negation 9.3.2.6., 9.3.5., 11.6.3., 13.4.,
15.6.1., 18.2.4., 19.3.2.
negative indefinite pronouns 11.6.3.
Neutralization of Obstruent
Labialization 4.6.
nominal Masdar 9.9.1., 10.6.2.
nominalization → Masdar,
participle
non-aspirated stops [Gajdarov 1957b,
Mejlanova & Talibov 1987]
non-finite verb forms 9.3.
non-indicative verb forms 9.3., 9.8.
non-restrictive relative clauses 19.1.3.
non-specific free relative clauses
19.1.2., 19.2.
non-standard valence patterns 15.4.
noun incorporation (-)
noun morphology Ch. 7
noun class (-)
noun phrase 14.1.-4., 20.9.
number [Gajdarov 1985,
Gjul'magomedov 1985b,
Mejlanova 1985a, Šejxov 1988,
Zagirov 1985]
→ paucal
→ plural
→ singular
numeral classifier (-)
numerals 13.1., 14.4.3. [Šaumjan 1938]
object → direct object
object control 20.2.4.
oblique stem 7.1.2.2.
omission of NPs
—free omission 15.5.
—coreferential omission 16.1.2.,
18.3.2., 22.2.-3.
Optative 9.3.1.2., 9.8.4.
ordinal numerals 13.1.3.
orthoepic norm 3.3.1.
orthography 3.1., 3.2.1.1., 3.2.2.2., 4.1.1.
[Gadžiev & Alkadarskij 1938,
Gadžiev 1941, Hažiev & Hajdarov
& Mejlanova 1964, hežibegen 1931]
palatalization of obstruents 4.1.1.
paradigms
—noun inflection 7.1.5.
—verb inflection 9.4.
parametric concessive conditional
clauses 21.8.4., 19.2.
parametric questions 23.2.
participle 9.9.2., 9.3., 19.1. [Mejlanova
1989]
→ Aorist participle
→ Archaic Imperfective participle
particle 13.2.-5. [Juzbekov 1988]
partitive phrase 14.2.2.
passive (-)

- passive equivalent 15.5., 16.2.2.
 Past 9.6.6.
 patient 15.1.
 paucal 7.1.2.5. [Talibov 1985]
 Perfect 4.1.2.1., 9.3.3.3., 9.6.4.
 perfective event 9.6.3.
 performative situation 9.6.1.
 Periphrasis forms 9.3.5., 10.2., 10.4.,
 18.1.1.-2.
 Periphrastic Future 9.7.2.
 Periphrastic Habitual 9.7.1.
 Persian loanwords 2.4. [Mejlanova &
 Talibov 1973, Saadiev 1977]
 Persian influence 20.7.
 personal names
 personal pronouns 11.1., 13.1.2., 22.1.
 pharyngealization 3.2.1.1. [Kodzasov
 1986]
 phasal verbs 20.3.3.
 phonological alternations 5.
 phonology Ch. 3-6 [Gajdarov 1959,
 Gjul'magomedov 1981, 1985a,
 Hajdarov 1982, Jaraliev 1983, 1989,
 Job 1977, 1981, Kodzasov 1986,
 Kibrik & Kodzasov 1990, Šejxov
 1981, Talibov 1980]
 phonotactics Ch. 4
 phrase [Osmanova 1970]
 phraseology [Gjul'magomedov 1971,
 1973, 1975, 1977a, b, 1978, 1980a,
 1981, 1982a, 1985b, 1990,
 Ramaldanov 1984, 1987]
 place names 7.2.1., 7.2.2.14., 14.3.
 [Gajdarov 1963]
 plural 4.1.2.2., 7.1.1., 7.2.1., 13.1.1.
 pluralia tantum 7.2.1. [Zagirov 1985]
 poetry [Ganieva 1976, Gašarov 1975]
 polar concessive conditional clauses
 21.8.2.
 polar questions 23.1., 23.3.1.1.
 polite address 11.1.
 polysemy [Osmanova 1962a]
 possession 7.2.2.3., 7.2.2.4., 7.2.2.8.
 Postdirective case 7.2.2.10.
 Postrelative case 7.2.2.9., 15.3.6.
 Posterior converbs 9.3.2.7., 21.4.2.,
 24.1.2.
 Postessive case 7.2.2.8., 14.5.1.2., 15.3.5.
 Post-obstruent Aspirated
 Deaspiration 5.3.
 postpositions 10.3.2., 12.2. [Mejlanova
 1983b, Juzbekov 1988]
 Post-tonic Vowel syncope 4.1.2.
 predicate nominal 7.2.2.1., 17.1.-2.
 predicative-only adjectives 14.5.3.
 predicative substantivized participle
 19.3.
 predicative suffixes on adjectives
 8.1.3. [Ramaldanov 1980]
 Pre-ejective Ejective Aspiration 5.1.
 prefix [Jaraliev 1983]
 Pre-obstruent Unaspirated Aspiration
 5.4.
 prepositions (-) (→ postpositions)
 prerruptive stops → non-aspirated
 stops
 Pretonic High Vowel Syncope 4.1.1.,
 9.2.6.
 preverbs 10.3., 10.4.1. [Šejxov 1981,
 Talibov 1958, Topuria 1983]
 price expressions 16.3.3.12.
 pro-drop → pronoun-dropping
 progressive 9.6.1.
 Prohibitive 9.3.2.6., 9.8.2.
 pronouns Ch. 11 [Mejlanova 1983a]
 → personal, interrogative,
 indefinite, demonstrative
 pronouns
 pronoun dropping 22.1.
 proper name 14.3.
 proverbs 9.6.2., 17.1.
 purpose clauses 21.6., 24.3.
 Purpose/Manner converb 9.3.4.6.,
 9.7.3., 21.6.3., 21.9.
 quantifier 11.7.1.-2., 14.2.
 quantifier float 11.7.1.-2., 14.2.3.
 question particles 23.5.
 questions 16.2.1., Ch. 23
 realis complement clauses 20.2.3.
 recipient 7.2.2.4.
 reciprocalization 22.5.
 reduced *awun*-compounds 10.6.1.
 reduplication 7.3.4., 9.3.1.3., 10.6.2.,
 13.1.7.
 reflexive pronouns 11.2., 22.4.
 reflexivization 22.4.
 relational adjective 7.2.2.3., 8.2.1.3.
 relative clause 14.4.2., 19., 23.2.3.1.
 → free relative clause
 relative pronouns (-)
 remote past 9.6.3.

- Repetitive 10.4.
 restrictive focus particles 13.2.2.
 resultative **9.6.4.**, 21.1., 21.3.1.
 resumptive pronoun 19.1.1., 22.4.2.
 role-dominated language 15.2.
 Russian influence 2.4., 11.1., 21.2.,
 21.5.4. [Gjul'magomedov 1985c]
 Russian loanwords 6.1.2., 10.6.2.,
 13.1.1. [Šejxov 1981]
 —transliteration 3.1.
 —plural 7.1.1.10.
 scalar quantifiers 14.2.1.
 scope of modality 21.1.
 scope of negation 13.4., 15.6.1.
 Secondary Imperfective converb
 8.1.3.1., **9.3.4.5.**, **21.3.**
 semantic roles 15.1.
 sentence adverbials 16.3.4.
 [Mejlanova 1986]
 sequence of tenses (-)
 simple sentence [Gadžiev 1948, 1954a]
 singular 7.1., 13.1.1.
 source 16.3.3.11.
 sources of example sentences 1.3.4.
 spatial adverbials 16.3.1.
 spatial adverbs **12.1.1.**, 12.2.1.
 spatial nouns 12.2.2.
 specialized verbs 9.9.5.
 specific free relative clauses 19.1.2.
 specific indefinite pronouns 11.6.3.
 spelling → orthography
 stacked relative clauses 14.4.2.
 stage directions 9.6.2.
 standard copula 9.5.1.
 standard Lezgian 2.3.
 standard of comparison 19.1.1., 23.2.1.,
24.1.
 standard valence patterns 15.3.
 status of Lezgian 2.3.
 stimulus of emotions 7.2.2.9., 7.2.2.12.
 stress Ch. 6 [Žirkov 1940]
 stress-attracting suffix 6.2.1.
 stress-neutral suffix 6.2.2.
 strong verbs 9.1., **9.2.**
 structure of the grammar 1.3.2.
 Subdirective case 7.2.2.13.
 Subrelative case **7.2.2.12.**, 14.5.1.3.,
 15.3.8.
 Subessive case **7.2.2.11.**, 15.3.7.
 subject **16.1.**, 22.2. [Haspelmath 1991,
 Mel'čuk 1981, 1988a]
 —subject control 20.2.1.-3.
 subjectless copular clauses 17.3.
 subjunctive (-)
 subordinate clauses 19.-21. [Gadžiev
 1956b, Gjul'magomedov 1989]
 substantivization **8.1.1.**, 13.1.2.
 —substantivized participle **19.1.2.**,
 19.3., **20.4.**, 21.4.5.
 —substantivized adjective 17.2.
 Super localization 7.1.2.4.
 Superdirective case **7.2.2.16.**, 13.1.8.,
 15.3.11.
 Superlative case **7.2.2.15.**, 14.5.1.5.,
 15.3.10., 21.4.5., 24.1.1.
 Superessive case **7.2.2.14.**, 14.5.1.4.,
 15.3.9.
 superlative degree 24.1.4.
 suppletion in:
 —verbal stem formation 9.2.7.
 —interrogative pronouns 11.5.1.-2.
 —indefinite pronouns 11.6.4.
 —Imperative 9.3.1.3.
 —nominal stem formation/plural
 formation 7.1.4.
 surnames 14.3.
 syllable structure 4.2.
 syncope → vowel syncope
 synonyms [Gjul'magomedov 1982b]
 syntax Ch. 14-24
 switch-reference with 'want' 16.1.3.,
 20.6.1.
 tag questions 23.1.4.
 temporal adverbials 16.3.2.
 temporal adverbs 12.1.2.
 temporal clauses 21.4.
 Temporal converb **9.3.4.1.**, 16.3.4.5.,
21.4.1.
 tense → Past, Future [Haspelmath fc.
 b]
 terminology [Alikberov 1940,
 Gadžibekov 1932, Gadžibekov et al.
 1932, Hežibegov 1932, Mejlanov
 1932, Ramaldanov 1982]
 → grammatical terminology
 textbooks [Alkadarskij 1932, 1934,
 Kazanfar-Beg 1871]
 texts 25.
 thematic vowel 9.1.
 time
 —point of time 7.2.2.4., 7.2.2.17.
 timeless situation 19.3.1.

- tone (-)
- topic of speech/thought 7.2.2.12., 12.2.4.2.
- toponymics → place names
- transitive verbs 15.2. [Šejxov 1980]
- transliteration 3.1.
- typology [Alekseev 1980]
- Turkic influence 2.4., 18.1.3., 20.7, 21.4.3. [Gajdarov 1972, Gjul'magomedov 1973, Kubatov 1971, Saadiev 1957a]
- Turkic loanwords 4.5., 6.1.1., 8.2.1.1. [Aslanov 1977, Kubatov 1973, 1977, Saadiev 1957b, Džidalaev 1990]
- universal quantifiers 11.7.1.-2., 13.1.5.
- Unstressed Vowel Heightening 5.3., 5.11.
- user's guide to this grammar 1.3.
- uvular consonants 3.2.2.1.
- valence
—verbal valence Ch. 15
—adjectival valence 14.5.1.
- valence patterns 15.1.-4. [Šejxov 1982, 1983b, Topuria 1983]
- verb [Moor 1984, 1985, Topuria 1959]
—inflection 9.
—derivation 10.
—position 16.2.1.
—stem formation 9.2.
- verbal noun → Masdar
- vocative 7.2.2.1., 13.5.6. [Mejlanova 1986]
- vocabularies Ch. 26-27
- vowels 3.2.
—inventory 3.2.1. [Talibov 1988]
—long vowels 3.2.1.2.
- vowel harmony 4.4., 5.5. [Gajdarov 1957a]
—Labial Vowel Harmony 4.4.2.
—Palatal Vowel Harmony 4.4.1.
- vowel syncope 3.1., 4.1., 5.6.
—Pretonic High Vowel Syncope 4.1.1., 5.5.
—Posttonic Vowel Syncope 4.1.2.
- weak verbs 9.1.
- weather situations 15.2.
- wh-questions → parametric questions
- Word-final Ejective Aspiration 5.9.
- Word-final Ejective Voicing 5.3.
- Word-final Unaspirated Voicing 5.2.
- word formation [Gajdarov 1966, 1988]
→ derivational morphology
- word order
—in the noun phrase 14.4.
—at the clause level 16.2.
- word stress Ch. 6
- writing system → alphabet
- yes-no questions → polar questions



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