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Standard Tabasaran: short grammar sketch

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ABSTRACT

This is a sketch grammar of Tabasaran (Glottolog code taba1259), a language of the Lezgian branch of the East Caucasian or Nakh-Daghestanian language family spoken in the Republic of Dagestan, Russian Federation. Tabasaran exhibits a complex morphology, characterized by the retention of archaic features such as preverbs, prefixed and infixes, negation and gender/number agreement. At the same time, the language shows curious innovations, including the development of personal agreement, the marking of verbal aspect through preverbalization and dialectal variations in tense and mood categories. Tabasaran is known for its rich nominal inflection comprising 46 cases, with 42 of them being spatial or adverbial. This paper covers all areas of grammar and is informed by modern typology. It is based on published descriptions, my own fieldwork, and corpus work collected in Dagestan in the years 2010, 2014 and 2015.

Keywords

Tabasaran, Lezgian branch, East Caucasian language family, Nakh-Daghestanian language family, aspect preverbs, locative preverbs, nominal cases, person agreement, gender/number agreement

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0. The number of speakers of Tabasaran is estimated at 126,136, according to the 2010 census. In Daghestan, the Tabasarans primarily occupy the districts of Tabasaran and Khiv, but a significant number have moved to the plain and gradually inhabited the Derbent and Kajakent Districts, notably the cities of Derbent, Makhachkala, Dagestanskije Ogni, Kaspijsk, as well as the towns of Mamedkala and Belidzhi. The Tabasaran zone is located at the intersection of the Lezgi (to the south), Aghul (southwest), Dargi (northwest), and Azeri (east) population zones.

Together with Lezgi and Aghul, Tabasaran belongs to the Eastern branch of the Samur languages, the central constituent of the Lezgi subfamily within Nakh-Daghestanian. Tabasaran was first written down in the 20th century. The first writing system, based on the Latin alphabet, was created in 1932, and was replaced in 1938 by a Cyrillic-based system. Today the language is present in the schools of the area where it is spoken – in primary education as a medium of instruction, and in secondary education as an object of study. It is also studied in pedagogical institutes and the philology departments of universities in Derbent and Makhachkala. Newspapers (the republican weekly publication *Tabasarandin nurar* ‘Rays of Tabasaran’, the religious republican monthly *As-salam*, the regional weeklies *Aku xäd* ‘Shining Star’ and *Tabasarandin ses* ‘Voice of Tabasaran’), reviews (*Dağustan dišahli* ‘Daghestanian Woman’, *Ppazi* ‘Falcon’), an annual (*Literaturayin Tabasaran* ‘Literary Tabasaran’), and other literary publications are available in the language.

Research on Tabasaran began in the second half of the nineteenth century. Russian General Baron Peter Karlovich von Uslar was the first to produce an excellent grammatical description of the language in 1870 (only published in 1979). The second grammatical sketch was published by Adolf Dirr in 1905. In the 1930s, Anatoly Genko undertook a study of several Tabasaran dialects. His Tabasaran-Russian dictionary, which also includes a dialectological study and texts in various dialects, was published in 2005. Magometov (1965) is the most comprehensive description of the language to date. Xanmagomedov (1970) presents a detailed account of the syntax of standard Tabasaran. A description of the Dübek dialect is offered by Kibrik (1982). The most complete Russian-Tabasaran dictionary is that by Xanmagomedov & Šal buzov (2001).

Among recent works, Bogomolova has published several papers (notably 2012, 2015, 2021) on various aspects of Tabasaran grammar.

Tabasaran is divided into two dialects: the southern dialect is principally spoken in the Khiv District and serves as the basis of the standard language, while the northern dialect is principally spoken in the Tabasaran District. Each has its own local varieties. The two dialects of Tabasaran are reasonably distinct, but intercomprehension between their speakers is possible. The present sketch describes Standard Tabasaran.

The corpus is made up essentially of published texts, including language and literature textbooks, collections of tales, legends and myths, proverbs, stories and short stories, newspapers, reviews, etc. The sources of the examples (and the abbreviations through which they are referenced in this paper) are presented in the table below. I also use spontaneous utterances and elicited examples from my fieldwork.

BKV	Qurbanov, Q.K. & Xanmähmadov, B.H. 2004. <i>Bukvar'. Šahrin mektebari? urxurayidariz</i> . Makhachkala: NII pedagogikayin izdatel'stvo.
BKV	Qurbanov, Q.K. & Xanmähmadov, B.H. 2007. <i>Bukvar'. 1 klass</i> . Makhachkala: OOO Izdatel'stvo NII pedagogiki.
Tab. č'al, 2kl	Qurbanov, Q.K. 2004. <i>Tabasaran č'al. Šahrarin mektebarin 2-pi klassdiz urxban va grammatikayin kitab</i> . Makhachkala: NII pedagogikayin izdatel'stvo.
Tab. č'al, 5kl	Zahirov, V.M. & Ähmadov, Q.A. 2005. <i>Tabasaran č'al. 5-pi klassdiz učebnik</i> . Makhachkala: NII Pedagogikayin Izdatel'stvo.
GX, 4	Žamalieva, Š.B. & Qaziev, Š.R. 2000. <i>Gafnan xazna 4</i> . Makhachkala: Izdatel'stvo NII pedagogiki.
Tab. lit., 8kl	Rasulov, M.A. & Kurbanov, M.M. 2002. <i>Tabasaran literatura</i> . Makhachkala: NII pedagogikayin izdatel'stvo.
SVOD	Gamzatov, G.G. 2012. <i>Svod pamjatnikov fol'klora narodov Dagestana</i> . Moscow: Nauka.
TXM	Gadzhev, A. & Gasanov, M. 1989. <i>Tabasaran xalq'din maqhvar</i> . Makhachkala: Dağučpedgiz.
Šahib	Äbdurähmanov, Hüseyin. 1995. <i>Ğaxnu-ğaxhundar Šahib</i> . Makhachkala: Dagestanskoe knizhnoe izdatel'stvo.
TVMPLIP	Kurbanov M.M. 2007. <i>Tabasaran v mifax, predanijax, legendax i pritchax</i> , Makhachkala: Dagestanskij nauchnyj centr Rossijskoj akademii nauk. Institut jazyka, literatury i iskusstva im. Gamzata Cadasy.
TXMIS	Häsanov, M. 1991. <i>Tabasaran xalq'din misalar</i> . Makhachkala: Dağučpedgiz.
KČČ	Qaziyev, Š. <i>Kazimdin ččil</i> .
TRS	Xanmagomedov, B.G.-K. & Šal buzov, K.T. 2001. <i>Tabasaransko-russkij slovar'</i> . Moscow: Nauka.

1. PHONOLOGICAL SKETCH

The consonantal system is represented in the table below. There are four series of occlusives: aspirated, intensive (/unaspirated), voiced, and glottalised. There are only two series of fricatives, distinguished by the feature of voice. Tabasaran stands out among the Nakh-Dagestania languages for having dento-labial (whistled) phonemes čv, etc. Contrastive secondary labialization occurs only with velar occlusives (kv, kkv, gv,

k'v) and uvulars (*qhv, qv, q'v, xv, ğv*). There are also five sonorant consonants: labial *m*, dental *n*, alveolar *r*, lateral *l* and palatal *j*.

	lab.	dent.	alv.	pal.	dento-labial	vel.	uvul.	laryng.
aspirated occlusives	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>č</i>	<i>čv</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>qh</i>	
intensive occlusives	<i>pp</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>cc</i>	<i>čč</i>	<i>ččv</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>q</i>	
voiced occlusives	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dž</i>	<i>džv</i>	<i>g</i>		
glottalised occlusives	<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>č'</i>	<i>č'v</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>q'</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
voiceless fricatives	<i>f</i>		<i>s</i>	<i>š</i>	<i>šv</i>	<i>xh</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>h</i>
voiced fricatives	<i>v</i>		<i>z</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>žv</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ğ</i>	

The vowel inventory is shown in the following table:

<i>i</i>	<i>ü</i>	(<i>ɪ</i>)	<i>u, ü</i>
<i>e</i>			(<i>o</i>)
		<i>a, ä</i>	

The sign *ü* is ambiguous: in the published corpus, it represents both the high front rounded vowel and the pharyngealized vowel. Only *a* and *u* can be pharyngealised (*ä, ü*). The vowels *o* and *ɪ* appear only in loanwords.

In the present sketch, I use transliteration of the Tabasaran orthography rather than a phonological transcription. In particular, doubling of a consonant represents intensity, *h* marks aspiration, *v* marks labialisation, and pharyngealised vowels are rendered as unlauded.

There is a wide range of possible syllable structures:

V	<i>a-xin</i> 'mattress', <i>i-č'i</i> 'empty'
CV	<i>da-ži</i> 'donkey', <i>xu</i> 'dog'
VC	<i>ij-mi</i> 'firm', <i>ül</i> 'bread'
CVC	<i>lä-xin</i> 'work', <i>lik</i> 'foot'
VCC	<i>inč'</i> 'smile', <i>ušvt</i> 'whistle'
CVRC	<i>mirkk</i> 'ice', <i>č'ürx</i> 'litter', <i>melz</i> 'tongue'

The word-initial consonant clusters CCV and CCVC arose due to the (historical) loss of pretonic high vowels *u* or *i*: *xpi* 'female', *xpir* 'women', *čyir* 'sisters', etc.

2. NOUNS

Nouns inflect for number and case, and control agreement in gender.

Two semantically transparent agreement classes of nouns are distinguished in the singular: human (H) and non-human (N). In the plural (PL), this distinction is neutralized and the plural markers are the same as those for the singular human gender. For more details about agreement markers and agreement rules, see 8.2.

2.1. Nominal plurals

The plural suffixes are *-ar*, *-är*, *-er* and *-yir*. In some cases plural formation is also marked by vowel mutation or vowel deletion (in unstressed position) in the nominal stem.

- *-ar* (the most common suffix) is added to nouns whose last syllable may contain various vowels: *marčč-ar* 'sheep', *xäd-ar* 'stars', *melz-ar* 'tongues', *q'ül-ar* 'mice'.
- *-är* attaches to some nouns whose final syllable contains /ä/ or /ü/: *č'ürx-är* 'garbage', *č'ägč'äg-är* 'cicadas'.
- *-er* attaches to some nouns whose final syllable contains /ü/ or /e/: *ül-er* 'flatbreads', *šve?-er* 'bears'.
- *-yir* is selected by vowel-final stems: *mā?li-yir* 'songs', *čve* > *čvyir* 'brothers'.

Three nouns show an irregular plural: *riš* > *šubar* 'girls', *xpir* > *xppar* 'women', *žilir* > *žilar* 'men'.

Certain nouns appear in the plural only: *xirččvar* 'saddlebags', *rič'iq'ular* 'lever scale', *terezar* 'scale, balance', *pirpyir* 'saddle', *äynar/äynyir* 'glasses'.

2.2. Case formation

There are 46 cases, of which 4 are grammatical and 42 spatial.

The absolutive is unmarked: *xudul* 'grandchild'.

The ergative is formed on the absolutive by means of the suffixes *-i*, *-yi*, *-di*, *-ri*, *-li*, *-ni*, *-u* (-ü), *-nu*, *-ru*, *-lu*. Which suffix is selected is often unpredictable and is ultimately lexically motivated.

The highly productive suffix *-i* is added to nouns ending in a sonant; all nouns in the plural thus form their ergative in *-i*: *tur* 'sword' > *tur-i*, *šubar* 'girls' > *šubar-i*. A vowel in the stem-final syllable can be lost before a suffix (which is stressed, as final syllables usually are in nouns) : *läxin* 'work' > *läxn-i*.

-yi forms the ergative of some vowel-final words: 'father' > *aba-yi*, 'dog' > *xu-yi*.

-di can form the ergative of nouns ending in a consonant or a vowel (in the latter case this vowel is omitted): *xan* 'khan' > *xan-di*, *daži* 'donkey' > *daž-di*.

The ergative of nouns for animals is most commonly in *-ru*, but other nouns can also take this suffix: 'goat' > *c'ih-ru*, 'dove' > *luf-ru*, 'squirrel' > *xaz-ru*, 'nail' > *mix-ru*.

The suffixes *-ri*, *-ni*, *-lu*, *-li*, *-u* (-ü), *-nu* attach to nouns ending in a consonant. The first three are less productive: 'foot' > *lik-ri*, 'mouth' > *ušv-ni*, 'wind' > *mik'-lu*, 'bird' > *žaq'v-li*, 'fox' > *sul-u*, 'demand' > *t'alab-nu*.

Several nouns have an irregular ergative form: *riš* 'girl' > *šuru*, *čve* 'brother' > *čvuččvu*, *či* 'sister' > *čučču*, *bay* 'boy' > *bali*, *žvi* 'man' > *žvuvu*, *c'a* 'fire' > *c'i*.

The ergative serves as oblique stem for all other cases, save for nouns that form their ergative with *-nu*, *-ru*, *-lu* and some nouns with an ergative in *-u*. Their oblique stem is in *-na*, *-ra*, *-la*, *-a*: ‘goat’ > *c’ih-ru* (ERG), *c’ih-ra-* (OBL)¹.

The genitive, the dative and the locative² cases are formed by suffixing the following morphemes to the oblique stem:

GEN	<i>-n</i>	POST	<i>-qh</i>
DAT	<i>-z</i>	SUB	<i>-kk</i>
IN	<i>-ʔ</i>	INTER	<i>-ǧ</i>
AD	<i>-h/-xh</i>	SUPER	<i>-(ʔ)in (< -(ʔ)il)</i>
CONT	<i>-k</i>		

In the interlocative, the vowel *-a* of the oblique stem is pharyngealised: ‘(bottle)neck’ > *q’iq’-na-* (OBL), *q’iq’-nǧ-* (INTER), and in the superlocative it becomes *-i* by regressive assimilation: *q’iq’-ni-ʔin* (SUPER).

The elative, lative and comitative series are formed by suffixing *-an*, *-na*, *-di* respectively to the locative form of nouns:

INEL	<i>-ʔan</i>	INLAT	<i>-ʔna</i>	INCOM	<i>-ʔdi</i>
ADEL	<i>-han/-xhan</i>	ADLAT	<i>-hna/-xhna</i>	ADCOM	<i>-hdi/-xhdi</i>
CONTEL	<i>-kan</i>	CONTLAT	<i>-kna</i>	CONTCOM	<i>-kdi</i>
POSTEL	<i>-qhan</i>	POSTLAT	<i>-qhna</i>	POSTCOM	<i>-qhdi</i>
SUBEL	<i>-kkan</i>	SUBLAT	<i>-kkna</i>	SUBCOM	<i>-kkdi</i>
INTEL	<i>-ǧǧan</i>	INTLAT	<i>-ǧna</i>	INTCOM	<i>-ǧdi</i>
SUPEL	<i>-lan</i>	SUPLAT	<i>-(ʔ)ina</i>	SUPCOM	<i>-(ʔ)indi</i>

The directives are formed by adjoining the suffix *-di* to the elative and lative series (the suffix *-na* of certain lative cases takes the form *-in* before *-di*):

INELDIR	<i>-ʔandi</i>	INLATDIR	<i>-ʔnadi</i>
ADELDIR	<i>-handi/-xhandi</i>	ADLATDIR	<i>-hindin/-xhindin</i>
CONTELDIR	<i>-kandi</i>	CONTLATDIR	<i>-kindi</i>
POSTELDIR	<i>-qhandi</i>	POSTLATDIR	<i>-qhindi</i>
SUBELDIR	<i>-kkandi</i>	SUBLATDIR	<i>-kkindi</i>
INTELDIR	<i>-ǧǧandi</i>	INTLATDIR	<i>-ǧindi</i>
SUPELDIR	<i>-landi</i>	SUPLATDIR	<i>-(ʔ)inadi</i>

For the functions of different spatial series, see the corresponding sections: locative cases 2.3.2., elative cases 2.3.3., lative cases 2.3.4., comitative cases 2.3.5., directive cases 2.3.6.

¹ In the examples provided in this sketch, the (semantically empty) oblique stem suffix is separated from the noun stem by a period. It is not shown in the morphemic glosses, e.g. *ǧul.a-ʔ* ‘village-IN’.

² The essive cases in Tabasaran are not strictly essive as they have both essive and lative uses. Therefore, to be able to account for this double function, I opt to use the term “locative” instead of “essive” (as suggested by Professor Gilles Authier, whom I thank).

2.3. Use of cases

For the use of grammatical cases to mark arguments, see section 9 below on verbal valency patterns.

2.3.1. Grammatical cases

The **ergative** can mark a point in time or an instrument:

- (1) *šbu-b-p-i raž-ar-i dumu dus-niyi.*
three-N-say-AOP turn-PL-ERG 3SG <N>sit-AORPST
'The third time, it sat down.' (TXM, p.44)
- (2) *gazet-di ul-ar marcc ap'-uri...*
newspaper-ERG eye-PL clean do-IMC
'Wiping his eyes with the newspaper...' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.114)

The **genitive** expresses:

- all types of possession: *ča-n ušv* 'its muzzle', *sula-n gafar* 'the fox's words'
- a part-whole relation: *niri-n ğirağ* 'bank of the river'
- a material: *šüşdi-n gažin* 'glass jug'
- an ingredient: *nürxü-n aš* 'pilaf of spelt'
- a locative referential relation: *Q'arq'ul dağdi-n dävyr* 'the wars of Mount Qarqul'
- a point in time: *sad yiğā-n* 'one day'

Certain postpositions govern the genitive (see section 6).

The **dative** can mark a beneficiary:

- (3) *muxur=ra uxhu-z ğuz-ru-b vu.*
breast=ADD we.INCL-DAT <N>remain-EVTPRT-N COP
'The breast will be left for us.' (TXM, p.44)

or a direction, generally oriented towards the interior of a space:

- (4) *nežber ča-n ğul.a-z qhadak-nu ğ-ürü.*
worker self.OBL-GEN village-DAT return-SEQ come-EVT
'The worker returned to his village.' (TXM, p.119)

2.3.2. Locative cases

The **inlocative** marks localisation 'in':

- (5) *hadmu dävyr.i-? iştirak ğa-b-xh-un-za.*
those war.PL-IN participation PX.AOR-N-be-AOR-1SGA
'I took part in those wars.' (TXM, p. 45)

Localisation 'into' with movement can be found, but it is rare:

- (6) *ğul.a-n devletlu admyir a-yi xula-? uč'v-u.*
village-GEN rich man.PL be.in-PRT room.OBL-IN enter-AOR
'He entered the room where the rich men of the village were.' (TXM, p. 120)

Temporal use: *uxdi zamanayi-?* 'in former times, formerly'.

The **adlocative** marks localisation 'near to':

- (7) *urnar.i-xh gamuš daqh-na.*
 gate.PL-AD buffalo <N>lie-PRF
 'A buffalo is lying by the gates.' (Alekseev & Šixaliev, 2003, p.39)

It also indicates temporary possession:

- (8) *hamu t'ublan uvu-xh üx.*
 this ring you.SG-AD <N>keep.IMP
 'Keep this ring on you.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.239)

The **contlocative** expresses 'in vertical contact' or 'inside a mass':

- (9) *duğā-n mužri Pavlik.di-n garc'li-k kuk'-nu.*
 3SG.H.OBL-GEN beard Pavlik-GEN cheek-CONT <N>touch-AOR
 'His (the old man's) beard touched Pavlik's cheek.' (GX, 4, p. 48)
- (10) *žuk.u-k q'il kaxh.*
 soup-CONT salt <N>sprinkle.IMP
 'Put some salt in the soup.' (Alekseev & Šixaliev, 2003, p.41).

The **postlocative** marks localisation 'behind':

- (11) *Lena-yi stol.di-qh de?nu, šiklar zig-urayi.*
 Lena-ERG table-POST sit.H-SEQ picture.PL paint-IMPF
 'Lena, seated at the table, was drawing.' (GX, 4, p. 48)

or the object/amount for which something is exchanged:

- (12) *hamu yağluqh varž-na qa-b manat.di-qh tuv-di-va.*
 this shawl hundred-and twenty-N manat-POST give-FUT-2SGA
 'You will sell this shawl for one hundred and twenty manats.' (TXM, p.127)

or the possessor:

- (13) *šura-qh xhu-r čve qha.*
 girl.OBL-POST five-H brother be.behind
 'The girl has five brothers.' (Alekseev & Šixaliev, 2003, p.41)

It marks the object of *qhuğub* 'believe' and *qhpeqhub* 'listen' (both containing the preverb *qh-* of the same localisation 'behind'):

- (14) *učvu uzu-qh qhuğ-ra-dar-š ...*
 you.PL I-POST believe-PRS-NEG-CND
 'If you don't believe me...' (Šahib, p.27)
- (15) *durar mälim.di-qh qhpeqh-ura.*
 3PL teacher-POST listen-PRS
 'They are listening to the teacher.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl)

The **sublocative** expresses localisation 'under':

- (16) *duğu durar ča-n xil-ar.i-kk kka?-u.*
 3SG.H.ERG 3PL self.OBL-GEN hand-PL-SUB put.under-AOR
 'She hid them under her hands.' (GX, 4, p.49)

The **interlocative** expresses localisation 'between' or 'among':

- (17) *adaš.di-n k'vant'-ar.i-ğ paprus ğā-yi.*
 father-GEN lip-PL-INTER cigarette be.between-PST
 'The father had a cigarette between his lips.' (Alekseev & Šixaliev, 2003, p.41)

- (18) *dumu zikv-ar.i-ǰ žin š-ulu.*
 3SG feather-PL-INTER hide be-EVT
 'He hid among the feathers.' (TXM, p.28)

The **superlocative** designates localisation 'on':

- (19) *skameyka.yi-ʔin ǰuža ilimda.yi.*
 bench-SUPER old.man remain.on.NEG-PST
 'The old man was no longer on the bench.' (GX, 4, p.50)

It marks the object of *uluq'ub* and *alaqhub* 'meet':

- (20) *sa-r žvuv-ʔin lap pis muč'muč' ka-yi xpir alaqh-uru.*
 one-H man.OBL-SUPER very bad lip be.CONT-PRT woman meet-EVT
 'A man met a foul-mouthed woman.' (Šahib, p.27)

2.3.3. Elative cases

The **elative cases** indicate movement away, with various localisations as their starting point:

- (21) *xul-ʔan he<r>g-nu...*
 home.OBL-INEL <H>go.away-SEQ
 'Having left the house...' (GX, 4, p.48)
- (22) *k'vant'-ar.i-ǰän ǰidip-nu bali.*
 lip-PL-INTEL let.out-AOR boy.ERG
 'The boy let out (these words) from between his lips.' (GX, 4, p.47)
- (23) *kkadaǰ-nu gardan.di-kkan*
 <N>take.out-SEQ neck-SUBEL
 'having torn it from (lit. from under) his neck' (TXM, p. 46)

They also express translative movements:

- (24) *did-ʔan t'urin it'iǰ-nu.*
 3SG.N.OBL-INEL cord <N>put.out-AOR
 'He passed a cord through it (through a hole).' (TXM, p.45)
- (25) *čvuččvu bali-n ǰün.i-lan xil aldat-u.*
 brother.ERG boy.OBL-GEN shoulder-SUPEL hand stroke-AOR
 'The brother caressed the boy's shoulder.' (GX, 4, p.50)

The **adelative** marks the indirect object of the verb 'ask':

- (26) *kasib-ri duǰ-han herx-u...*
 poor-ERG 3SG.H.OBL-ADEL ask-AOR
 'The poor man asked him...' (TXM, p.127)

It also marks the subject of the verb 'be able':

- (27) *did-xhan zav-ʔina=ra uduč'v-uz š-ulu.*
 3SG.N.OBL-ADEL sky-SUPLAT=ADD <N>rise-INF can-EVT
 'It can even rise into the sky.' (TXM, p.28)

The **contelative** means 'on the subject of, about':

- (28) *xäližvuvu duǰa-z ča-n derd.na-kan ǰa-p-i.*
 guest.ERG 3SG.H.OBL-DAT self.OBL-GEN grief-CONTEL PX.AOR-say-AOR
 'The guest told him of his trouble.' (TXM, p.127)

It can mark a partitive complement:

- (29) *urgu-r.di-kan yirxhu-r čve*
 seven-H-CONTEL six-H brother
 ‘six of the seven brothers’ (TVMPLIP, p.75)

or the initial state of a transformation:

- (30) *did-kan arađi xhib-di.*
 3SG.N.OBL-CONTEL vodka become.N-FUT
 ‘This will transform into vodka.’ (Šahib, p.63)

It also marks the indirect object of the verbs *t’alab ap’ub* ‘demand’ and *kkun ap’ub* ‘request’:

- (31) *duđu duđ-kan t’alab ġ-ap’-u-ki...*
 3SG.H.ERG 3SG.H.OBL-CONTEL demand PX.AOR-do-AOR-PTCL
 ‘He demanded of him...’ (TXM, p.128)

The **postelative** can mark a starting point in space or time:

- (32) *aslan.di-n žvuq’-ar.i-qhan kkeġ-nu,*
 lion-GEN leg-PL-POSTEL <N>begin-SEQ
 ‘Having started with the lion’s haunches...’ (TXM, p.44)

- (33) *dävyir ġa-š-i-qhan-mina*
 war.PL PX.AOR-be-AOP-POSTEL-hither
 ‘Since the battles took place...’ (TXM, p. 45)

The **superrelative** can indicate a temporal interval: *sad yislan* ‘a year later’.

2.3.4. Lative cases

The **lative cases** are parallel to the relative cases and express movement towards the goal:

- (34) *t’ubžaq’v Allah.di-xhna qhuq’-nu.*
 sparrow God-ADLAT <N>arrive-AOR
 ‘The sparrow arrived in the presence of God.’ (TXM, p.28)
- (35) *žil.i-?ina qhuq’-u t’ubžaq’v...*
 earth-SUPLAT <N>arrive-AOP sparrow
 ‘The sparrow who came back to earth...’ (TXM, p.28)

The inlative has largely been replaced by the dative. According to Alekseev & Šixaliev (2003, p.44), it is still used today with some toponyms and some adverbs of location.

The adlative denotes a temporary possessor:

- (36) *sa-b-k’ana rang uzu-hna tuv-ra-dar.*
 one-N-at.least colour I-ADLAT give-PRS-NEG
 ‘She isn’t giving me even a single crayon.’ (GX, 4, p. 48)

2.3.5. Comitative cases

The **comitatives** determine the spatial relations that can exist between objects when they are moving at the same time. They also express translative meanings:

- (37) *q'ü-r-id=ra räq.ü-?-di ğ-ära-yi-gan...*
 two-H-COLL(H)=ADD road-IN-COM come-PRS-PRT-when
 'When they were both coming along the road...' (TXM, p.45)

- (38) *hamus lütke.yi-?-di ğäğ-ür-za.*
 now boat-IN-COM go-EVT-1SGA
 'I will now go in my boat...' (GX, 4, p. 49-50)

The postcomitative expresses the comitative meaning proper:

- (39) *Pavlik=ra ğayix uvu-qh-di!*
 Pavlik=ADD take.away.IMP you.SG-POST-COM
 'Take Pavlik with you too!' (GX, 4, p.50)

The supercomitative expresses instrument or manner:

- (40) *ğuža-yi četir.i-n k'ak'.ni-?-in-di ğum.ra-k šiklar ka?-rayi.*
 old.man-ERG umbrella-GEN end-SUP-COM sand-CONT picture.PL paint-IMPF
 'The old man was drawing pictures in the sand with the end of his umbrella.' (GX, 4, p. 47)

- (41) *saburlu ses.ni-?-in-di bali ğa-p-i:*
 patient voice-SUP-COM boy.ERG PX.AOR-say-AOR
 'In a calm voice the boy said:...' (GX, 4, p. 49)

The adcomitative marks the causee in the causative construction of transitive verbs:

- (42) *Mina.yi-xh-di šid x-uz ğit-ay*
 Mina-AD-COM water bring-INF let.IMP-PL
 'Make Mina bring water.' (Alekseev & Šixaliev, 2003, p.45)

2.3.6. Directive cases

The **directives** express a vague direction or an imprecise provenance:

- (43) *q'abi žuhud durar.i-xhin-di ildic-u.*
 old Jew 3PL-ADLAT-DIR turn.H-AOR
 'The old Jew turned towards them.' (Šahib, p. 64)
- (44) *klub.di-z ğul.a-n harsa-b teref.na-qhan-di kolxoznik-ar*
 club-DAT village-GEN every-N side-POSTEL-DIR collective.farmer-PL
uč š-ulayi.
 assemble be-IMPF
 'Kolkhozniks from all corners of the village met up at the club.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.38)

2.4. Nominal derivation

Two suffixes, *-val* and (more common) *-šin*, derive abstract nouns of quality from adjectives. Adjectives with a final vowel take both suffixes. The dictionary generally treats them as synonymous, sometimes with a slight semantic difference:

üru 'red' *üru-val* 'redness' *üru-šin* 'glow, flush'
muč'u 'dark' *muč'u-val/muč'u-šin* 'darkness'

Adjectives ending in a consonant (which are often borrowings) only produce the form in *-val*: *igit* ‘courageous’ > *igit-val* ‘courage’, *alčağ* ‘base’ > *alčağ-val* ‘baseness’.

Two non-productive, obsolete suffixes, *-in* and *-al*, derive concrete nouns from verbal roots³:

<i>axub</i>	‘sleep’	<i>axin</i>	‘mattress’
<i>lixub</i>	‘work’	<i>läxin</i>	‘work’
<i>bi<di>rxub</i>	‘sew’	<i>birxal</i>	‘sewing’
<i>a<b/r>xub</i>	‘sharpen’	<i>axal</i>	‘sharpener’

The suffix *-šv* (< *yišv* ‘place’) forms nouns of place on the basis of participles:

<i>lix-ru</i>	‘work-EVTPRT’	<i>lixrušv</i>	‘workplace’
<i>daqh-ru</i>	‘sleep-EVTPRT’	<i>daqhrušv</i>	‘bedroom’
<i>al-i</i>	‘be.on-PRT’	<i>ališv</i>	‘location’

The suffixes *-žvi* (M) and *-šiv* (F) create names of inhabitants on the basis of toponyms: *Xiv* ‘Khiv’ (village name) > *xivžvi* ‘man from Khiv’, *xivšiv* ‘woman from Khiv’. The same suffixes are added to names of ethnicities: *lezgi* > *lezgižvi* ‘Lezgi (man)’, *lezgišiv* ‘Lezgi (woman)”; or other words: *ğul* ‘village’ > *ğula(n)žvi* ‘villager’, *q’abi* ‘old’ > *q’abižvi* ‘old man’.

The suffixes *-qhan* (inherited, with cognates in some other Lezgi languages), *-ban* (borrowed from Persian) and *-či* (borrowed from Azeri) derive occupational nouns from nouns: *marčč* ‘sheep’ > *marččliqhan* ‘shepherd’, *xürč* ‘hunt’ > *xürčaban* ‘hunter’, *kolxoz* ‘collective farm, *kolkhoz*’ > *kolxozči* ‘collective farmer, *kolkhoznik*’.

The suffixes *-(b)äx*, *-bäq’*, *-rux*, *-ac* (*-äc*), *-nac* serve to derive nouns with negative connotations from words of various categories: *guč* ‘fear’ > *guč’bäx* ‘coward’, *nicc* ‘louse’ > *niccrux* ‘lousy person, fleabag’, *ğilicub* ‘wander’ > *ğilicnac* ‘beggar’, etc.

3. ADJECTIVES

In attributive function, adjectives are invariable, whatever the gender, the number or the function of the noun they modify: *äxü äšq* ‘great love’, *äxü bab* ‘grandmother’, *äxü älamat-ar* ‘great splendour-PL’. Two adjectives, *užu* ‘good’ and *uččvu* ‘beautiful’, agree with the head in gender and number (never in case): *uččvu-r riš* ‘beautiful girl’, *uččvu-b gaf* ‘beautiful word’, *uččvu-dar gaf-ar* ‘beautiful words’.

The substantivation of adjectives requires the presence of a gender-number suffix. They then inflect as nouns:

<i>äxü</i>	‘big’		
	H	N	PL
ABS	<i>äxü-r</i>	<i>äxü-b</i>	<i>äxü-dar</i>
ERG	<i>äxü-r-i</i>	<i>äxü-b-di</i>	<i>äxü-dar-i</i>
GEN	<i>äxü-r-i-n</i>	<i>äxü-b-di-n</i>	<i>äxü-dar-i-n</i>

³ The verbs shown in the table contain agreement markers (<*b*>, *bi-*, *di-*, <*r*>). For more details on gender and number agreement, see 8.2.

- (45) *äxü-r.i-n yic'iyirxhu-d yis vu-yi.*
big-H-GEN sixteen-N year COP-PST

'The elder one was sixteen years old.' (Šahib, p.56)

In predicative function, adjectives may be uninflected, inflected for gender-number, or followed by the adverbial suffix *-di*. The choice between these three forms is subtle:

- (46) *q'ürdnu yiğ-ar žiqi // žiqi-di š-ulu.*
in.winter day-PL short short-ADV be-EVT

'In winter the days are short.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.76), (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.128)

- (47) *rāq žiqi-b vu.*
way short-N COP

'The way is short.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.50)

Many adjectives are derived from nouns by means of the suffixes *-u*, *-ü*, *-i*, sometimes with apophony in the root: *ič'* 'well' > *ič'-i fun* 'empty stomach', *laz* 'white clay' > *liz-i rang* 'white colour', *bürq'* 'rheum' > *bürq'-ü ul* 'blind eye'.

Some adjectives take the consonantal ending *-un*: *gaš* 'hunger' > *gaš-un* 'hungry', *lam* 'humidity' > *lam-un* 'humid'.

Others take *-an* or *-al*, with variants *-ni*, *-li* respectively: *k'uban/k'ubni* 'brave', *yağal/yağli* > 'high'.

Certain words, often borrowings, can function both as nouns and as adjectives: *igit* 'brave', *axmaq'* 'stupid', *alčağ* 'base', etc. When used as adjectives, they serve as dependents of nouns: *igit letčik* 'a brave pilot', and may be nominalized by accepting gender-number markers (*-r*, *-b*, *-dar*): *igit-ur* 'brave one', *igit-dar* 'brave ones', etc. When used as nouns, they appear as heads without any additional marking: *igit* 'brave person, hero'. Their plural forms are in *-ar*: *igit-ar* 'brave persons'.

The suffix *-si* derives similitive adjectives from words of various categories. In attributive function, they agree in gender/number with their head:

- (48) *šura-n-si-b maš*
girl.OBL-GEN-SIMIL-N face

'a face like a girl's' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.39)

These adjectives can be used in substantivised function without any formal modification:

- (49) *uččvu-dar-s-dar uldut'-uri*
beautiful-PL-SIMIL-PL cut-IMC

'cutting those (flowers) which looked beautiful' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.19)

4. PRONOUNS

Tabasaran pronouns do not have the same inflectional paradigm as nouns. They can be classified into the following types:

- interlocutive (or personal) pronouns
- demonstrative pronouns
- locative pronouns
- reflexive pronouns
- reciprocal pronouns

- interrogative pronouns
- various types of indefinite pronouns

4.1. Interlocutive pronouns

There are five first- and second-person pronouns. Their inflection presents several irregularities. The absolutive and the ergative are identical in form (S=P=A).

	I	you.SG	we.EXCL	we.INCL	you.PL
ABS/ ERG	<i>uzu</i>	<i>uvu</i>	<i>uču</i>	<i>uxhu</i>	<i>učvu</i>
GEN	<i>yiz</i>	<i>yav</i>	<i>ič</i>	<i>ixh</i>	<i>ičv</i>
DAT	<i>uzu-z</i>	<i>uvu-z</i>	<i>uču-z</i>	<i>uxhu-z</i>	<i>učvu-z</i>

Tabasaran also possesses a series of weak pronouns or pronominal indices which attach to the verb. This question is discussed in section 8.8.

The gender/number of interlocutive pronouns is indexed on the verb exactly like that of nouns: the verb agrees with S or P (S=P≠A):

- (50) **uzu** *ğa-ža<r>ğ-za.*
 I(S) PX.AOR-<H>run-1SGA
 'I ran.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.268)
- (51) *uzu uvu-z lăxin ag-idi-za.*
 I(A) you.SG-DAT work <N>seek-FUT-1SGA
 'I will look for work for you.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.111)
- (52) *Samad-ri uzu qhi<r>g-niyi.*
 Samad-ERG I(P) <H>wake-AORPST
 'Samad woke me.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.266)

The genitive of interlocutive pronouns is irregular. It can be substantivised: then it is marked for gender, in all cases, according to a human (-*ur*) / non-human (-*ub*) dichotomy in the singular. In the plural the gender distinction is neutralised, and the pronoun attaches to the plural marker -*dar*:

	SG/N	SG/H	PL
	<i>yiz lăxin</i> 'my work'	<i>yiz dust</i> 'my friend'	<i>yiz bayar</i> 'my sons'
ABS	<i>yiz-ub</i> 'mine'	<i>yiz-ur</i> 'mine'	<i>yiz-dar</i> 'mine'
ERG	<i>yiz-ub-di</i>	<i>yiz-ur-i</i>	<i>yiz-dar-i</i>
GEN	<i>yiz-ub.di-n</i>	<i>yiz-ur.i-n</i>	<i>yiz-dar.i-n</i>

- (53) *žil yav-ub vu.*
 soil you.SG.GEN-N COP
 'The land is yours.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.45)
- (54) *ixh-dar.i-z äğä...*
 we.INCL.GEN-PL-DAT know
 'Our people know...' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.248)

The other cases are formed by suffixing the appropriate morphemes to the absolutive-ergative form: *uzu-xh* (AD), *uzu-xh-na* (AD-LAT), *uxhu-xh-in-di* (AD-LAT-DIR),

uču-xh-di (AD-COM). In the elative and elative-directive series the final vowel of the pronouns is lost: *uv-xh-an* (AD-EL), *učv-xh-an-di* (AD-EL-DIR).

4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

There are four series of demonstratives, to which the emphatic particle *ha* can be prefixed:

	SG	PL
proximal	<i>mu, hamu</i>	<i>murar, hamrar</i>
distal	<i>t(u)mu, hatmu</i>	
anaphoric	<i>dumu, hadmu</i>	<i>durar, hadrar</i>
higher than the speaker/the observer	<i>ğumu, hağmu</i>	
lower than the speaker/the observer	<i>kkumu, hakkmu</i>	

Dumu and *durar* are used as third person pronouns.

The demonstratives have pronominal and adjectival uses:

- (55) *dumu ulixhna ğ-ürü.*
 3SG forward come-EVT
 'He came forward.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p. 152)
- (56) *dumu kas*
 that man
 'that man' (Šahib, p.52)

Pronouns inflect. In the singular the absolutive is identical for human and non-human genders, but from the ergative onwards they have different stems. The oblique stem of the plural is in *-i*:

	3SGH	3SGN	3PL
ABS	<i>dumu</i>	<i>dumu</i>	<i>durar</i>
ERG	<i>duğu</i>	<i>didi</i>	<i>durari</i>
GEN	<i>duğa-n</i>	<i>didi-n</i>	<i>durari-n</i>

There is also a second series of demonstratives:

proximal	<i>munu, hamunu</i>
distal/anaphoric	<i>t(u)munu, hatmunu</i>
higher than the speaker/the observer	<i>ğumunu, hağmunu</i>
lower than the speaker/the observer	<i>kkumunu, hakkmunu</i>

These words are found in attributive position: *tmunu ğul* 'the other village'. When used independently they must be substantivised by means of agreement markers: *munub* 'this' in non-human gender (oblique stem in *-di*: *munubdi*), *t(u)munur* 'that' in human gender (oblique stem in *-i*: *t(u)munuri*), etc.:

- (57) *mu t'afal=ra, tmunu-r=ra mühtal ğa-xh-i.*
 this thief=ADD other-H=ADD surprised PX.AOR-be-AOR
 'Both this thief and the other (thief) were surprised.' (Šahib, p.94)

4.3. Locative pronouns

These are words derived from the fusion of the demonstrative stems with the formative *-šv* (< *yišv* ‘place’):

proximal	<i>mušv</i>
distal	<i>tušv</i>
anaphoric	<i>dušv</i>
higher than the speaker/the observer	<i>ǰušv</i>
lower than the speaker/the observer	<i>kkušv</i>

These pronouns have a complete inflectional paradigm and can be used in the plural (*mušvari?* ‘in these places’, etc.):

- (58) *kkušv.a-?* *šid* *a-dar.*
 below.place-IN water be.in-NEG
 ‘There is no water down there.’ (TRS, p. 200)

They thus present nominal morphological and/or syntactic characteristics, “in particular by being able to assume the roles of subject and object” (Creissels, 2006a, p. 252). It is for this reason that I consider them locative pronouns and not locative adverbs.

In contrast, adverbs of place formed out of demonstrative stems only have case forms indicating direction (towards or from) (see section 5.2).

4.4. Reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

There are three reflexive pronouns, which inflect as follows:

	1-2SG	3SG	3PL
ABS	<i>žvuv</i>	<i>učv</i>	<i>čib</i>
ERG	<i>žvuv-u</i>	<i>ča-v</i>	<i>čp-i</i>
GEN	<i>žvuv-a-n</i>	<i>ča-n</i>	<i>čp-i-n</i>
DAT	<i>žvuv-a-z</i>	<i>ča-z</i>	<i>čp-i-z</i>

The genitive form can be substantivised by means of the gender-number markers: *-ur* (H), *-ub* (N), *-dar* (PL):

- (59) *xalu-yi* *ča-n-ub=ra* *x-ri.*
 uncle-ERG self.OBL-GEN-N=ADD bring-OPT
 ‘May Uncle bring his too.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.128)
- (60) *žvuv.a-n-dar.i-z* *čuxsaǰul* *k’-uri* *adat* *dar.*
 self1/2-GEN-PL-DAT thanks say-IMC custom COP.NEG
 ‘It is not customary to thank one’s own people.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.234)

The third person reflexive pronouns are obligatory when there is coreference with an antecedent. The use of a demonstrative pronoun in the same position marks disjoint reference with the subject:

- (61) *didi_i* *ča-n_i* *fun* *ac’-ru.*
 3SG.N.ERG self.OBL-GEN belly <N>fill-EVT
 ‘He_i filled his_i belly.’ (TXM, p. 46)

- (62) *duğa-n_i fun kasib-ri_i ac'-ru.*
 3SG.H.OBL-GEN belly poor-ERG <N>fill-EVT
 'The poor man_i filled his_i belly (someone else's).' (TVMPLIP, p. 149)

In the texts, the use of *žvuv* as a first and second person singular reflexive pronoun is rare:

- (63) *uvu žvuv gizaf savadlu vu-di hisab map'an.*
 you.SG(A) self1/2 very educated COP-IMC count PROHIB.do
 'Do not consider yourself highly cultured.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.39)
- (64) *hit'ik'-ur-za žvuv.a-n taxsir.*
 <N>hide-EVT-1SGA self1/2-GEN fault
 'I will hide my mistake.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.179)

Ordinary interlocutive pronouns are preferred:

- (65) *uzu yiz räq davam ap'-ur-za.*
 I(A) I.GEN way continuation do-EVT-1SGA
 'I will continue my journey.' (TXM, p.28)

By contrast, *žvuv* has special uses where it refers to an antecedent expressing general reference ('one, people, everyone'):

- (66) *č'al žvuv.a-n fikir mälum ap'-b.a-n alat vu.*
 language self-GEN thought known do-MSD-GEN instrument COP
 'Language is an instrument for expressing one's thoughts.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.3)
- (67) *žvuv.a-n bay-si kkun-diyi vari äl.di-z mu bay.*
 self-GEN son-SIMIL love-IMPF all people-DAT this boy
 'Everyone loved this boy like their own son.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.150)

For the first and second person plural reflexive, the interlocutive pronouns are used:

- (68) *uču ič bağ.di-z ğäğ-üra-ča.*
 we.EXCL we.EXCL.GEN garden-DAT go-PRS-1PL.EXCL
 'We are going to our garden.' (BKV, p.101)

The reflexive pronouns can also function as long-distance reflexives, taking an antecedent exterior to the minimal clausal unit to which they belong:

- (69) *ği-lig-u Gülperi_i ča-n_i ulixh xha-yi ğäšarat-ar.i-z.*
 PX.AOR-look-AOR Gulperi [self.OBL-GEN in.front.of be.in.front-PRT] insect-PL-DAT
 'Gulperi_i looked at the insects that were in front of her_i.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.71)

Reflexive pronouns can be interpreted as emphatic, even when they do not occupy the subject position. The antecedent and the reflexive/emphatic pronoun are both marked in the same case:

- (70) *durar.i-žin_i čip-žin_i ğaravul dit-un-za.*
 3PL-SUPER selves-SUPER sentry post-AOR-1SGA
 'I left a sentry to watch over themselves.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.248)

The reflexive/emphatic pronoun can come before its antecedent:

- (71) *učv_i bay_i zirek-ur vu-yi.*
 self(ABS) boy(ABS) prompt-H COP-PST
 'The boy_i himself_i was prompt.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.38)

The reflexive/emphatic pronouns can be cliticised: these forms are attested in the contexts of wishes and curses expressed in the optative:

- (72) *duğa-ni ağu ka-yi melz.na-z šaxmar-i q'ac' ap'-ri-čan!*
 3SG.H.OBL-GEN poison be.CONT-PRT tongue-DAT snake-ERG bite do-OPT-self.GEN
 'May the snake bite his evil tongue!' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.265)

The reflexive pronouns can be reduplicated: the first component is then in the same case as its antecedent, and the second is in the case demanded by the function of the reflexive in the clause. These juxtaposed forms seem to function as a compound which expresses the sense 'by oneself':

- (73) *duğui ča-vi=ča-k-di murmrar ap'-urayi.*
 3SG.H.ERG self-ERG=self.OBL-CONT-COM murmur.PL do-IMPF
 'He was murmuring to himself.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.142)

The reduplicated third person plural reflexive can also express reciprocal meaning. The first element of the reciprocal pronoun is always in the absolutive, whatever the case of the antecedent, and the second is in the case required by the function of the reciprocal argument in the clause:

- (74) *durar-i čib=čpi-z mühübbatval.i-n gaf-ar ğ-ap'-niyi.*
 3PL-ERG selves(ABS)=selves.OBL-DAT love-GEN word-PL PX.AOR-do-AORPST
 'They said words of love to each other.' (TVMPLIP, p.111)

- (75) *bağri ğul-na bab ša?ir-i čib=čpi-qh-di*
 native village-and mother poet-ERG selves(ABS)=selves.OBL-POST-COM
fici tev-ra?
 how compare-PRS
 'How does the poet compare (one's) native village and mother with each other?'
 (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.158)

Reciprocal pronouns are also formed through the reduplication of the numeral *sa* 'one':

- (76) *uzu-z-na yav šura-z sa-r-i-z=sa-r*
 I-DAT-and you.SG.GEN daughter.OBL-DAT one-H-OBL-DAT=one-H
kkun du-xh-na-čuz.
 love PERF-be-PRF-1PL.EXCL.DAT
 'Your daughter and I have fallen in love with each other.' (Tab. lit., 8kl.)

4.5. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *fuj* 'who?' and *fu* 'what?' have suppletive stems in the inflected forms:

ABS	<i>fuj</i>	<i>fu</i>
ERG	<i>šli</i>	<i>fti</i>
GEN	<i>šlin</i>	<i>ftin</i>
DAT	<i>šliz</i>	<i>ftiz</i>

- (77) *mu šli-n naq'v vu?*
 this who.OBL-GEN grave COP
 'Whose is this grave?' (SVOD, p. 73)

- (78) *xalq'-di fu ip'-uru ?*
 people-ERG what eat.N-EVT
 'What will the people eat?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.56)

The question words *funu(r/b)? fundar?* 'which (one(s))?', *fici(r/b)? ficdar?* 'how? what type?', *švnur(b/d)?* 'how many?', *fuq'an(ur/ub/dar)?* 'how much?' have both adjectival and pronominal uses. The following examples illustrate the use of the interrogative 'how?' in different genders:

- (79) *yav dada fici-r vu ?*
 you.SG.GEN mother how-H COP
 'What is your mother like?' (Tab. č'al, 2kl.)
- (80) *hava fici-b vu-yi ?*
 air how-N COP-PST
 'How was the weather?' (Tab. č'al, 2kl.)
- (81) *bic'i-dar ficdar vu ?*
 child-PL how.PL COP
 'What are the children like?' (Tab. č'al, 2kl.)

4.6. Indefinite pronouns

The following constructions are attested:

Ordinary pronouns: question word + *vu* (identity copula) + *-š* (hypothetical suffix):

- (82) *uxhu-z šli=vu-š zav-ʔan dix ap'-ura.*
 we.INCL-DAT who.ERG=COP-CND sky-INEL call make-PRS
 'Someone is calling us from the sky.' (SVOD, p. 63)

Free-choice pronouns: ordinary pronouns + additive focus particle *-ra* 'also, even':

- (83) *malla k'-uru-š, šil-kan=vu-š=ra, š-ulu.*
 mullah say-EVT-CND who.OBL-CONTEL=COP-CND=ADD be-EVT
 'As for mullahs, anyone can become one.' (SVOD, p. 67)

Specific pronouns contain the number *sa-* 'one':

- (84) *duǧa-z učv-si-r sa-r kas alaǧh-uru.*
 3SG.H.OBL-DAT self-SIMIL-H one-H person meet-EVT
 'He met someone like himself.' (SVOD, p. 62)

For negative pronouns, two structures are identified:

1) question word + particle *-k'a* (+ *-ra*)

- (85) *mu aku dūnʔä.yi-ʔ uzu-z fujk'a a-dar-zuz.*
 this light world-IN I-DAT nobody be.in-NEG-1SGDAT
 'In this wide world, I have no one.' (SVOD, p. 39)

- (86) *uzu-z fuk'ara ǧa-b-xh-un-dar*
 I-DAT nothing PX.AOR-N-be-AOR-NEG
 'Nothing happened to me.' (SVOD, p. 80)

2) specific pronouns + particle *-ra* 'also, even':

- (87) *amma kümek.na-z ğ-üru-r, sa-r kas=ra a-da-yi.*
 but help-DAT come-EVTPRT-N one-H person=ADD be.in-NEG-PST
 'But there was no one to come and help.' (SVOD, p. 45)

5. ADVERBS

5.1. Adverbs of manner

The suffix *-di* derives adverbs of manner from adjectives: *užu* 'good' > *užudi* 'well', *yarxi* 'long' > *yarxidi* 'at length', or from nouns: the adverbs produced in this way express 'in the capacity of' or 'with': *mālim-di* 'as a teacher', *nač-di* 'with shame':

- (88) *xan-di äyandar riš ča-z švušv-di kkun ap'-uru.*
 khan-ERG erudite girl self.OBL-DAT fiancée-ADV want do-EVT
 'The khan requested this erudite girl in marriage.' (TXM, p. 128)

-si creates similative adverbs on the basis of words belonging to various categories:

- (89) *igit-ri-si gaf tuv-ra-za.*
 hero-ERG-SIMIL word give-PRS-1SGA
 'I give you my word as a hero.' (Šahib, p. 39)

Adverbs derived from pronominal stems:

proximal	<i>mici, hamci</i>	'in this manner'
distal	<i>dici, hatci</i>	'in that manner'
anaphoric	<i>haci</i>	'in that manner'

Note also *fici?* 'how?' and *fici-vuš* (*vu-š*: COP-CND) 'somehow'. The three expressions below all mean 'in no way':

<i>hič sa-b žüre</i>	<i>sa-b žüre.yi-?indi-ra</i>	<i>hič sa-b-si-ra</i>
not one-N kind	one-N kind-with-even	not one-N-SIMIL-even

5.2. Adverbs of place

Adverbs derived from demonstrative stems only appear in cases indicating a direction:

	LAT	EL
proximal	<i>mina</i>	<i>milan, milin</i>
distal	<i>tina</i>	<i>tilan, tilin</i>
anaphoric	<i>dina</i>	<i>dilan, dilin</i>
higher than the speaker/the observer	<i>ġina</i>	<i>ġilan, ġilin</i>
lower than the speaker/the observer	<i>kkina</i>	<i>kkilan, kkilin</i>

In directive cases: *minadi/mindi* (LAT-DIR), *milandi/milindi* (EL-DIR). The emphatic particle *ha* can be added to all these forms: *hamina, hatlin*, etc.

- (90) *hatindi lig!*
 thither look.IMP
 'Look down there!' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p. 249)

- (91) *ğilindi Rizaxan ğ-ürü.*
 from.up Rizakhan come-EVT

'Rizakhan arrived from higher ground.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p. 128)

Interrogative adverbs of place have an inflectional paradigm reduced to five cases:

LOC	<i>naʔan</i>
EL	<i>naʔnan</i>
EL-DIR	<i>naʔnandi</i>
LAT	<i>naʔana</i>
LAT-DIR	<i>naʔanadi</i>

- (92) *uvu naʔan lix-ura-va?*
 you.SG where work-PRS-2SGA

'Where do you work?' (Şahib, p. 10)

- (93) *uvu naʔana ğäğ-ürä-va?*
 you.SG where go-PRS-2SGA

'Where are you going?' (Şahib, p. 11)

Note the negative adverbs: *naʔank'a* 'nowhere', *naʔanak'a* 'to nowhere', *naʔnank'a* 'from nowhere' and the indefinite adverbs: *naʔan-vuš* 'somewhere', *naʔana-vuš* 'to somewhere', *naʔnan-vuš* 'from somewhere'.

Certain adverbs come from nouns for body parts and from relational nouns: *ul* 'eye' > *ulih/ulixh* 'in front, ahead', *ğval* 'side' > *ğvalaqh* 'alongside', *q'al* 'back' > *q'aläqh* 'behind', *k'an* 'base' > *k'anakk* 'underneath', etc. These adverbs also have inflected forms in the lative, elative and directive cases.

- (94) *Pirdam ulih huč'v-ru.*
 Pirdam in.front approach-EVT

'Pirdam moved forwards.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p. 142)

- (95) *ğvalaqhindi huduč'v!*
 aside move.away.IMP

'Move aside!' (TRS, p. 110)

Most adverbs of place also function as postpositions – see 6.

5.3. Adverbs of time, degree and cause

Deictic adverbs are illustrated in the table below:

<i>naq</i> 'yesterday'	<i>ği</i> 'today'	<i>zakur</i> 'tomorrow'
<i>san</i> 'last night'	<i>aqhli</i> 'tonight'	<i>zakurişvan</i> 'tomorrow night'
<i>şvurğan</i> 'the day before yesterday'	<i>hamus(di)</i> 'now'	<i>sarit</i> 'the day after tomorrow'
<i>neşvgan</i> 'not long ago'	<i>hamusä?ät(di/na)</i> 'immediately'	<i>garit</i> 'in three days'

<i>uxdi</i> ‘early, long ago’	<i>miyğari, ği-zakur</i> ‘nowadays’	<i>č’vanq’it</i> ‘in four days’
<i>ulixhdi</i> ‘previously’	<i>cci</i> ‘this year’	<i>bagarixhdi</i> ‘soon’
<i>sač</i> ‘last year’		<i>qhayisan</i> ‘next year’
<i>surčan</i> ‘two years ago’		

The suffix *-gan* creates adverbs expressing times of day: *hir* ‘dawn’ > *hiringan*, *gvač’in* ‘morning’ > *gvač’ningan*, *lisun* ‘midday’ > *lisungan*, *xäbäqh* ‘evening’ > *xäbäqhgän*.

Adverbs of season take the suffix *-nu*: *q’ürd* ‘winter’ > *q’ürdnu* ‘in winter’, *xhad* ‘summer’ > *xhadnu* ‘in summer’, *čvul* ‘autumn’ > *čvnu* ‘in autumn’ (except for *xhadukra* ‘in spring’ < *xhadukar* ‘spring’). Suffixing *-di* to the same nouns gives *xhaddi* ‘throughout the summer’, etc.

Adverbs of frequency add the suffix *-ban* to the cardinals: *yağč’vur* ‘forty’ > *yağč’vuban* ‘forty times’, *varž* ‘a hundred’ > *varžban* ‘a hundred times’, etc. Reduplication is also found: *yiğ* ‘day’ > *yiğan* GEN/ADV > *yiğan-yiğan* ‘every day’.

Certain adverbs of degree come from demonstrative stems by means of *-q’an*: *muq’an* ‘so (much)’, etc.

There are some adverbs of cause: *äqhü* ‘cold’ > *äqhlu* ‘from cold’, *gaš* ‘hunger’ > *gašlu* ‘from hunger’, *guč’* ‘fear’ > *guč’bu* ‘from fear’.

6. POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions with spatiotemporal meanings predominantly take the genitive: *ulixh/ulih* ‘in front of’, *q’äläqh* ‘behind’/‘after’, *q’äläğ* ‘between’/‘among’, *ğvalaqh* ‘next to’, *k’anakk* ‘under’, *bagah/xh* ‘near’, *ayit* ‘in’, etc.: *duğan ulih* ‘in front of him’. Many such postpositions historically represent inflected noun roots, e.g. *ul.i-xh/h* ‘eye-AD’.

Badali ‘for’, *xhadi/qhadi* ‘with’ (< *xha* ‘be near’ and *qha* ‘be behind’), *xhtardi/qhtardi* ‘without’ govern the absolutive: *vatan badali* ‘for the homeland’, *xpir qhadi* ‘with the woman’.

Qaršu(di)/äksi ‘against’, *(di)lignu* ‘according to’ (lit. ‘having looked’), *dili(li)gdi* ‘despite’ are preceded by the dative: *din.di-z qaršu* ‘against religion’.

Yarxla(?) ‘far from’ takes the adelative case: *aslan.di-han yarxla* ‘far from the lion’.

Başqa/ğayri/savayi ‘beyond’ are used with the superlative: *did-lan savayi* ‘beyond that’.

Postpositions with spatiotemporal meanings are also used as adverbs – see 5.2.

7. NUMERALS

The **cardinals** from 1 to 10 are: *sa-* ‘one’, *q’ü-* ‘two’, *šbu-* ‘three’, *yuq’u-* ‘four’, *xhu-* ‘five’, *yirxhu-* ‘six’, *urgu-* ‘seven’, *mirži-* ‘eight’, *urč’vu-* ‘nine’, *yic’u-* ‘ten’. In attributive function, the numeral agrees in gender with the noun it modifies. Cardinals take the suffix *-r* for human gender, *-b* for non-human gender and *-d* if the head noun is one of the words *yiğ* ‘day’, *yišv* ‘night’, *yis* ‘year’, *varž* ‘a hundred’, *ağzur* ‘a thousand’: *urgu-r yitim* ‘seven orphans’, *urgu-b šüqh* ‘seven chicks’, *urgu-d yišv* ‘seven nights’.

The numerals from 11 to 19 are made up of *yic'ub* 'ten' followed by the units: *yic'i-sa-b/r/d* 'eleven', *yic'i-mirži-b/r/d* 'eighteen', etc. The numbering is transparently decimal starting from 50. The tens from 30 upwards do not agree with their heads:

20	<i>qab/r/d</i>		
30	<i>sumč'ur</i>		
40	<i>yağč'vur</i>		
50	<i>xh(u)c'ur</i>	< <i>xhub + yic'ur</i>	(= 5 x 10)
60	<i>yirxhc'ur</i>	< <i>yirxhub + yic'ur</i>	(= 6 x 10)
90	<i>urč'vc'ur</i>	< <i>urč'vub + yic'ur</i>	(= 9 x 10)

To form the intervening numerals, these tens are coordinated with the units by means of *-na*: *sumč'ur-na q'üb/r/d* '32'.

Hundreds, thousands and millions are obtained by juxtaposition: *varž* 'hundred' > *q'üdvarž* 'two hundred', *ağzur* 'thousand' > *q'üd ağzur* 'two thousand', *million* 'million' > *q'üb million* 'two million'.

The numeral modifying a noun precedes it, and the noun remains in the singular. However, when the head noun is separated from the numeral by another term (adjective, dependent genitive, relative clause...), the noun can bear a plural suffix:

- (96) *q'ü-r žihil bay-ar*
two-H young boy-PL
'two young men' (Šahib, p.63)
- (97) *q'ü-b ši?r.ar.i-n ğvarč-ar*
two-N poem.PL-GEN collection-PL
'two collections of poems' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.260)

Substantivised numerals are inflected for gender and case:

ABS	'one'	H.	<i>sar</i>	NH	<i>sab</i>
ERG			<i>sar-i</i>		<i>sab-di</i>
GEN			<i>sar-i-n</i>		<i>sab-di-n</i>

(98) *durar.i-kan q'ü-r-i paprus-ar zig-uri...*
3PL-CONTEL two-H-ERG cigarette-PL smoke-IMC
'Two of them were smoking...' (Šahib, p.67)

The **ordinals** are formed as follows: cardinal + (gender marker) + *-pi* (lit. 'said'): *q'ü-r-pi kas* 'the second person', *xhu-b-pi klass* 'the fifth grade', *šbu-d-pi yiğ* 'the third day'.

The ordinals are substantivised by the gender markers, which attach to *-pi*, and they inflect as follows:

ABS	H.	<i>sa-r-pi-r</i>	NH.	<i>sa-b-pi-b</i>	PL.	<i>sa-r/b-pi-dar</i>
ERG		<i>sa-r-pi-r-i</i>		<i>sa-b-pi-b-di</i>		<i>sa-r/b-pi-dar-i</i>
GEN		<i>sa-r-pi-r-i-n</i>		<i>sa-b-pi-b-di-n</i>		<i>sa-r/b-pi-dar-i-n</i>

- (99) *q'ü-b-pi-b-di-?* *dumu ilt'ik'-u mana.yi-? išletmiš d-ap'-na.*
two-N-ORD-N-OBL-IN 3SG <N>turn-AOP meaning-IN use PERF-do-PRF
'In the second (example), it is used in a figurative sense.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.121)

Collectives: the cardinal receives the suffix *-id* (or *-ed*) in human gender and *-ib* (or *-eb*) in non-human gender:

- (100) *q'ü-b-eb* *čival=ra*
 two-N-COLL(N) sack=ADD
 'the two bags' (TVMPLIP, p.157)
- (101) *šub-r-ed* *šubar=ra*
 three-H-COLL(H) girl.PL=ADD
 'the three daughters' (TVMPLIP, p.27)

Distributives are obtained by reduplication. Several types of apocope are found: *sa-sab* 'one by one', *urč'v-č'vub* 'nine by nine', *yi-yic'ub* 'ten by ten'. With compound numerals only the last component is reduplicated: *yic'ixhu-xhub* '15 by 15'. With hundreds and thousands, only the preceding numeral is reduplicated: *šu-šubud varž* '300 by 300'.

8. VERBS

The verb is morphologically complex. It can include one or two derivational preverbs (locative, reversive or other), an inflectional aspectual prefix, an ergative agreement in either gender (human and non-human) and in number with S (intransitive subject or stimulus of an affective verb) or P (patient of a transitive verb), a tense or mood morpheme, the negation marker, and one or two personal indices. The root usually consists of a single consonant.

Verbal categories can be synthetic or analytic. Tabasaran also has non-finite verb forms: the masdar, the infinitive, participles, converbs and numerous copulas.

8.1. Stem and preverbs

Verbs can possess: 1 stem ('weak' verbs), 2 stems (rarely), or 3 stems ('strong' verbs), marked for aspect:

	'lie down'	'beat'	'eat'
aorist stem	<i>daqh-</i>	<i>ğiv-</i>	<i>ğit'-</i>
perfect stem	<i>daqh-</i>	<i>yiv-</i>	<i>dit'-</i>
imperfective stem	<i>daqh-</i>	<i>yiv-</i>	<i>it'-</i>

Verbs possessing only one stem do not make aspectual distinctions, and have the following structure:

PV (locative or <i>d-</i> , <i>t-</i>)	PV (reversive or other)	(gender marker)	root
-3	-2	-1	0

The locative preverbs (or 'first position preverbs') borne by verbs correspond to the case suffixes that these verbs govern⁴ (except *d-* and *t-*):

IN	<i>?V-</i>	<i>(?)uč'vub</i> 'enter'
AD	<i>h(V)-</i>	<i>he<b/r>kub</i> 'block up'

⁴ Verbs in the tables are presented in the masdar form in *-Ub*. Angle brackets < > are used for infixes of gender and number agreement.

CONT	<i>k(V)-</i>	<i>kuč'vub</i> 'climb'
POST	<i>qh(V)-</i>	<i>qhegub</i> 'run after'
SUB	<i>kk(V)-</i>	<i>kkivub</i> 'place under'
INTER	<i>ǰ(V)-</i>	<i>ǰü<bü/dü>xüb</i> 'choose (from)'
SUPER	<i>VI(V)-</i>	<i>ilitub/ilipub</i> 'cover'
'flat' orientation	<i>d(V)-</i>	<i>deʔub/dep'ub</i> 'sit down'
	<i>t(V)-</i>	<i>tuvub</i> 'give'

A single spatial localisation can thus be expressed twice in the same construction, once by a noun suffix and once by a verb prefix:

- (102) *sul-u dumu ča-n gardan.di-kk kka-b-qh-u.*
fox-ERG 3SG self.OBL-GEN neck-SUB PV(SUB)-N-put.under-AOR
'The fox hung it around (lit. under) his neck.' (TXM, p.45)

The second position preverbs are:

'reversive' *-dV-*:

<i>ʔu-du-b-č'v-ub</i>	PV(IN)-REV-N-enter-MSD	'go out'
<i>k-tu-b-č'v-ub</i> (< <i>ku-du-b-č'v-ub</i>)	PV(CONT)-REV-N-enter into a compact mass-MSD	'go out'
<i>il-di-b-t-ub</i>	PV(SUP)-REV-N-put on-MSD	'remove'

This reversive preverb *-dV-* is different from the first-position prefix *d-*, and the two can combine: *da-da-b-ǰ-ub* 'take away'.

and a series of 'expressive' preverbs:

<i>-č'V-</i>	<i>ha-č'a<b/r>kkub</i>	'stretch out'
<i>-t'V-</i>	<i>hi-t'ik'ub</i>	'steal'
<i>-žV-</i>	<i>kka-ža<b/r>ǰub</i>	'run after'
<i>-c'V-</i>	<i>qh-c'axub</i>	'scratch'
<i>-čV-</i>	<i>qh-čaǰub</i>	'rinse'

Verbs with three stems are those which take a prefix in certain verbal aspects. They can also have a non-locative preverb (typically expressive), located after the aspectual prefix and before the infixed agreement marker:

(aspectual prefix)	(PV)	(gender marker)	root
-3	-2	-1	0

The aspectual prefix for the aorist stem is *ǰV-* and that for the perfect stem is *dV-*. The imperfective stem is unmarked:

	'seek'	'look'
imperfective	<i>ag-ura</i>	<i>lig-ura</i>
aorist	<i>ǰ-ag-nu</i>	<i>ǰi-lig-nu</i>
perfect	<i>d-ag-na</i>	<i>di-lig-na</i>

Some verbs display suppletive stems distinguishing the imperfective on one hand from the aorist and perfect on the other:

	‘say’	‘come’	‘go’
imperfective	<i>k’-ura</i>	<i>ğ-ūra</i>	<i>ğäğ-ūra</i>
aoorist	<i>ğa-p-nu</i>	<i>ğa-f-nu</i>	<i>ğu-š-nu</i>
perfect	<i>du-p-na</i>	<i>du-f-na</i>	<i>du-š-na</i>

Non-locative preverbs in verbs with 3 stems:

		imperfective	aoorist	perfect
-c’V-	‘bend’	<i>c’a<b/r>k-</i>	<i>ğa-c’a<b/r>k-</i>	<i>da-c’a<b/r>k-</i>
-č’V-	‘crush’	<i>č’a<b/r>k’-</i>	<i>ğa-č’a<b/r>k’-</i>	<i>da-č’a<b/r>k’-</i>
-žV-	‘wash’	<i>žik’-</i>	<i>ği-žik’-</i>	<i>di-žik’-</i>
-t’V-	‘shake’	<i>t’u<b/r>ččv-</i>	<i>ğu-t’u<b/r>ččv-</i>	<i>du-t’u<b/r>ččv-</i>
-zV-	‘pull’	<i>zi-g-</i>	<i>ği-zi-g-</i>	<i>di-zi-g-</i>

8.2. Gender and number agreement

The verb agrees in gender and number with the primary argument in the absolutive case:

- (103) *dumu tup-si di-rğ-uru.*
3SG(ABS) ball-SIMIL H-roll-EVT
‘He rolls like a ball.’ (Tab. č’al, 2kl, p.53)
- (104) *araği ğadağ!*
vodka(ABS) <N>buy.IMP
‘Buy vodka!’ (Šahib, p.62)
- (105) *bali-z zimz-ar ğä-r-q-ü.*
boy.OBL-DAT ant-PL(ABS) PX.AOR-PL-see-AOR
‘The boy saw some ants.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.73)
- (106) *ayvan.di-n unč’v-ar bistni-z-di li<Ø>g-urayi.*
lounge-GEN window-PL(ABS) garden.OBL-DAT-DIR <PL>see-IMPF
‘The windows of the lounge looked out over the garden.’ (Šahib, p.53)

In the singular a distinction is made between nouns with human (H) and non-human (N) reference. In the plural (PL) all nouns are marked alike, and identically to the human singular:

	1 st series	2 nd series	3 rd series
N (SG)			
H (SG) / PL (N + H)	<d>	Ø	<r>

The first series is attested on verbs containing *-r-* next to the root, such as *birğub/dirğub* ‘roll’, and on verbs with no preverb, such as *biqhub/diqhub* ‘find’.

Verbs with initial sonant (*r-* or *l-*) infix the markers of the second series between the vowel of the sonant and the stem: *ru<b/Ø>q’ub* ‘arrive’, *li<b/Ø>gub* ‘look’.

Preverbed verbs always mark agreement for non-human gender (*-b-*). However, in human and plural gender some make use of the marker *-r-* while others omit it: *qhu<b/r>q’ub* ‘reach’, *(?)u<b/Ø>č’vub* ‘enter’.

The southern dialects have a strong tendency to lose gender-number agreement, which explains the existence of verbs which do not show agreement in literary Tabasaran today: *uxub* ‘drink’, *išub* ‘cry’, *zigub* ‘pull’, etc.

Morphophonological processes can lead to surface irregularities in agreement, as seen in the following words:

	‘sit down’	‘drive’	‘cover’	‘eat’
H/PL	<i>de-ʔ-</i>	<i>qha-ʔ-</i>	<i>ili-t- (t<*d+h)</i>	<i>it'- (t'<*d+ʔ)</i>
N	<i>de-p'- (p'<*b+ʔ)</i>	<i>qha-p'- (p'<*b+ʔ)</i>	<i>ili-p- (p<*b+h)</i>	<i>ip'-(p'<*b+ʔ)</i>

8.3. Non-finite verbal forms

The infinitive: imperfective stem + *-Uz*: ‘do’ > *ap'-uz*, ‘go’ > *ǰäǰ-üz*.

The masdar: imperfective stem + *-Ub*: ‘do’ > *ap'-ub*, ‘go’ > *ǰäǰ-üb*. This inflects for case (oblique stem in *-a*): *ap'-b-a-ʔ* ‘do-MSD-OBL-IN’, *ǰäǰ-b-a-kan* ‘go-MSD-OBL-CONTEL’, etc.

The following participles are distinguished:

	<i>ap'ub</i> ‘do’
imperfective in <i>-Urayi</i>	<i>ap'-urayi</i>
eventual in <i>-(U)ru</i>	<i>ap'-ru</i>
perfect in <i>-nayi</i>	<i>dap'-nayi</i>
aorist in <i>-U</i>	<i>ǰap'-u</i>

The participles have the same semantic values as the corresponding finite forms (see 8.5).

Tabasaran has a rich array of converbs, which will be presented in section 13 (Adverbial clauses).

8.4. Non-indicative finite verbal forms – modals

The **imperative** is built on the imperfective stem. For the majority of verbs, the second person singular imperative is identical to the stem, and the plural is formed by means of *-ay*: *agub* ‘seek’ > *ag, ag-ay, he<b/r>xub* ‘ask’ > *he<b/r>x, he<b/r>x-ay*.

Certain verbs form their imperative by adding the suffix *-in* to the stem (*-inay* in the plural): *ap'ub* ‘do’ > *ap'in, ap'in-ay*.

Others are furnished with a prothetic *y*⁵ which is not present in other verbal categories (except in the optative for certain verbs): *xhub* ‘be’/‘become’ > *yixh, yixh-ay, k'ub* ‘say’ > *yip, yip-ay*.

The imperative of some verbs is irregular: *ǰäǰüb* ‘go’ > *ǰarax, ǰarax-ay, ǰüb* ‘come’ > *ǰač, ǰač-ay*.

In the singular the imperative can be augmented by the vowel *-a*. This has the effect of making orders sound less harsh:

- (107) *Allahisan, uzu=ra uvu-qh-di ǰayix-a.*
 please I=ADD you.SG-POST-COM take.IMP-V
 ‘Please take me with you.’ (GX, 4, p.50)

⁵ This may be a fossilized former agreement marker.

It is also possible to attach the personal indices to the imperative. This serves to turn an order into a request:

- (108) *Allahisan, bab, kkikk.di-kan sa-b tiki ča-va.*
 please grandmother bun-CONTEL one-N piece give.IMP-2SGA
 'Grandma, please give me a little bit of bun.' (GX, 4, p.49)

The **prohibitive** has the structure: *mV-* + imperfective stem + *-An* (+ *-ay* in the plural): *ǧitub* 'let' > *mi-ǧit-an, mi-ǧit-an-ay, rāqüb* 'see' > *mā-rāq-än, mā-rāq-än-ay.*

Verbs beginning with a prothetic *y-* lose it in the prohibitive: *yivub* 'beat' > *mi-v-an, mi-v-an-ay.*

Sometimes in texts the second person singular prohibitive form of the verb is found augmented by the vowel *-a*:

- (109) *uzu mušva? mi-ǧit-an-a!*
 I here PROHIB-let-2SG-V
 'Do not leave me here!' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.252)

The **exhortative** is formed by suffixing the personal subject indices directly to the root of the verb, or to this root augmented by the vowel *-u/-ü*:

- (110) *q'ü-b gaf p-u-za uz-kan uvu-z.*
 two-N word say-V-1SGA I.OBL-CONTEL you.SG-DAT
 'I will say/let me say a couple of words to you about myself.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.121)
- (111) *ixh läxnar uż'val.i-ŋin-di kkuduk'-u-xha.*
 we.INCL.GEN work.PL goodness-SUP-COM finish-V-1PL.INCL.A
 'Let's finish our work properly.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.44)

The **optative** is formed by adding the suffix *-(U)ri* to the verbal root: *ap'ub* 'do' > *ap'-ri, ǧüb* 'come' > *ǧ-üri*. The optative of some verbs is irregular (for some, it is formed from the same irregular stem as the imperative): *k'ub* 'say' > *yip-ri, ǧaxub* 'take away' > *ǧayix-ri, ǧäǧüb* 'go' > *ǧarax-ri, xhub* 'be'/'become' > *iš-ri, yik'ub/yik'ub/yixub* 'die'/'kill' > *ič'-ri.*

The optative is used to express wishes, curses, requests or orders in the third person:

- (112) *yaraq'-ar hamus žihil-ar-i di-s-ri!*
 weapon-PL now youth-PL-ERG PL-take-OPT
 'May it be the young who now take up arms!' (TVMPLIP, p.95)

But in wishes and curses, it can also be used in the second person.

- (113) *xan, uvu saǧ iš-ri!*
 khan you.SG(S) alive be-OPT
 'Khan, (long) may you live!' (TVMPLIP, p.99)

Pronominal indices can be attached to a verb in the optative, but they are not obligatory:

- (114) *Allah-di ü<r>x-ri-vu.*
 God-ERG <H>protect-OPT-2SGP
 'May God protect you.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.233)

The **hypothetical conditional** takes a suffix *-š*, which can be joined to:

-the aorist participle: *ap'ub* 'do': *ǰap'u* (AOP) > *ǰap'i-š*, *darap'u* (AOP.NEG) > *darap'i-š*;

-an indicative form:

	affirmative	negative
PRS	<i>ap'-ura-š</i>	<i>ap'-ura-dar-š</i>
EVT	<i>ap'-uru-š</i>	<i>ap'-ur-da-š</i>
AOR	<i>ǰ-ap'-nu-š</i>	<i>ǰ-ap'-un-dar-š</i>
PRF	<i>d-ap'-na-š</i>	<i>d-ap'-na-dar-š</i>

-the copulas: *vu* 'be' > *vu-š*, *dar* 'be.NEG' > *dar-š*, *a* 'be in' > *a-š*, etc.

8.5. Synthetic indicative finite verbal forms

The aorist: aorist stem + *-nu* or *-u* (*-ü*, *-i*): 'be' > *ǰaxh-nu/ǰaxh-i*. The suffix *-nu* becomes *-un* when it is followed by personal desinences or the negative suffix. The vowel of the short form can be dropped if it is followed by another suffix. According to Magometov (1965), the short form of the aorist expresses the recent past. But in the texts, the two forms of the aorist seem to be used in parallel to express completed actions, detached from the present and portrayed as veridical. This is also a narrative tense, used alongside the eventual and the historic present:

- (115) *didi-z* *äxü aslan ǰä-b-q-ü.*
 3SG.N.OBL-DAT big lion PX.AOR-N-see-AOR
 'He saw a big lion.' (TXM, p.43)

The past aorist (aorist stem + *-niyi*) expresses events far back in the past, whose veracity is not secure and depends primarily on hearsay:

- (116) *dumu, tmunu ǰiraǰ.di-ʔin dus-niyi, k'-ur.*
 3SG that edge-SUPER <N>sit-AORPST say-EVT
 'He sat on the other bank, they say.' (TXM, p.44)

The perfect derives from the perfect stem suffixed with the morpheme *-na*, which is an amalgamation of the sequential suffix *-nu* and the locative copula *a* 'be.in' . It expresses processes completed in the past but not detached from the present:

- (117) *mu šiʔir-ar.i-ʔ mühübbat ǰürčeg his-si ulup-na.*
 these poem-PL-IN love beautiful sense-SIMIL show-PRF
 'In these poems, love is portrayed as a beautiful feeling.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.26)

It often expresses a resultative sense:

- (118) *haz t'aǰru-di-si deʔ-na-čva?*
 why sad-ADV-SIMIL sit.PL-PRF-2PLA
 'Why are you sitting with this sad demeanour?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.247)

The pluperfect is formed by means of the suffix *-nayi* (< *-nu* (SEQ) + *a-yi* 'be.in-PST') added to the perfect stem. It marks the anteriority of a process in relation to a moment in the past where its consequences continue to apply:

- (119) *dušv.a-z duǰa-z=ra tekliŋ d-ap'-nayi.*
 that.place-DAT 3SG.H.OBL-DAT=ADD proposition PERF-do-PQP
 'He had been invited there too.' (TXM, p.119)

It is the past resultative:

- (120) *xäližv pašman-di de?-nayı.*
 guest sad-ADV sit.H-PQP
 ‘The guest was sitting sadly.’ (TXM, p.127)

The present (imperfective stem + *-Ura* (< imperfective converb in *-Uri* + locative copula *a* ‘be.in’)) expresses a process underway at the moment of enunciation:

- (121) *haz dicdar äžayib t’ul-ar ap’-ura-va?*
 why such.PL strange action-PL do-PRS-2SGA
 ‘Why are you doing such strange things?’ (TXM, p.120)

It can express habits, permanent states or general truths:

- (122) *itni yiğ.a-n tukan-ar lix-ura-dar.*
 Monday day-GEN shop-PL work-PRS-NEG
 ‘On Mondays the shops are closed.’ (Šahib, p.9)
- (123) *har säät.na-lan säät.na-z daž-di sa-b ğizil x-ura-zuz.*
 every hour-SUPEL hour-DAT donkey-ERG one-N gold give.birth-PRS-1SGDAT
 ‘Every hour, the donkey lays a piece of gold for me.’ (Šahib, p.78)

This is also the narrative present.

The imperfect (imperfective stem + *-Urayi* (< *-Uri* (IMC) + *a-yi* ‘be.in-PST’)) serves to describe the context of events which are themselves expressed in the aorist or eventual:

- (124) *sumčri-n šadluğ, zarafat-ar e<r>xh-urayı.*
 wedding.OBL-GEN gladness joke-PL <PL>hear-IMPF
 ‘One could hear jokes and the merriment of the wedding.’ (TXM, p.120)

The eventual (imperfective stem + *-Uru, -Ur, -ru, -Ar, -ulu*) expresses general, gnomic values or the (uncertain) future:

- (125) *žvuq’-ar.i-n-t’an muxr.i-n yikk dad.na-n-ub š-ulu.*
 leg-PL-GEN-than breast.OBL-GEN meat tasty-GEN-N become-EVT
 ‘The meat of the breast is more tasty than that of the legs.’ (TXM, p.44)
- (126) *belki, papirus-i yiz derd yavaš ap’-ur.*
 perhaps cigarette-ERG I.GEN grief slow do-EVT
 ‘Maybe the cigarette will soothe my grief.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.113)

The eventual is often used with past value in narrative contexts:

- (127) *sa-d yis-lan durar qhana sa-r=sa-r.i-z alağh-uru.*
 one-N year-SUPEL 3PL again one-H=one-H-DAT meet-EVT
 ‘One year later, they met again.’ (Šahib, p. 8)

The certain future (imperfective stem + *-(i)di*) is a categorical future, presenting facts whose realisation is certain:

- (128) *haci yaq=ra ğuz-di, varž manat=ra xhib-di, kabab=ra.*
 so ram=ADD <N>remain-FUT hundred manat=ADD be.N-FUT kebab=ADD
 ‘So the ram will remain, and we will have a hundred manats and a kebab too.’
 (TXM, p.128)

The past eventual (imperfective stem + *-Uyi* or *-riy(i)*: *balg-uyi* ‘he would decorate’, *yiv-riy* ‘he would hit’) expresses habits and repeated actions in the past:

- (129) *uzu-z tekrar ap'-uy-va, bab, dumugan...*
 I-DAT repetition do-EVTPST-2SG mother at.that.time
 'Mother, back then you used to repeat to me...' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.180)

It is also the potential or unreal conditional:

- (130) *yiz xil-ar yit'-nadayi-š, ulup-uy-za-vuz.*
 I.GEN arm-PL tie-PQP.NEG-CND show-EVTPST-1SGA-2SGDAT
 'If my arms were not tied, I would show you (who you are dealing with).' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.243)

The future in the past (imperfective stem + *-(i)diy(i)*) has the same values as the past eventual:

- (131) *uzu harsab kepek ġ-üx-ün-da-yi-š,*
 I every kopeck PX.AOR-<N>keep-AOR-NEG-PST-CND
uzu kasib-di ġuz-idiy-za.
 I poor-ADV remain-FUTPST-1SGA
 'If I hadn't kept every kopeck, I would have remained poor.' (TVMPLIP, p.158)

8.6. Analytic verbal forms

There are four analytic **continuative tenses** which indicate the continuation or, in the negative, the cessation of an action or a state which started before their identification. They form as follows:

Continuative present	IMC in <i>-Uri + imi</i> 'be.still'
Continuative imperfect	IMC in <i>-Uri + imi-yi</i> 'be.still-PST'
Continuative perfect	SEQ in <i>-nu + imi</i> 'be.still'
Continuative pluperfect	SEQ in <i>-nu + imi-yi</i> 'be.still-PST'

- (132) *dumu žak'v lic-uri imi.*
 this sparrow <N>search-IMC be.still
 'this sparrow continues to search...' (TXM, p.28)
- (133) *Šahib-na Širin miliciya.yi-n häyat.di-? ulx-uri imi-yi.*
 Shahib-and Shirin police-GEN yard-IN dispute-IMC be.still-PST
 'Shahib and Shirin were still arguing in the yard of the police station.' (Šahib, p.61)
- (134) *dumu da-?ax-nu imi.*
 3SG PERF-sleep-SEQ be.still
 'He is still asleep.' (Šahib, p.57)
- (135) *gvač'nin zav.u-k xād-ar ka<r>xh-nu imi-yi.*
 in.the.morning sky-CONT star-PL <PL>light-SEQ be.still-PST
 'In the morning, the stars were still shining in the sky.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.8)

The analytic imperfect: imperfective converb in *-Uri + verb* 'become'. This form expresses both progressive and habitual semantics:

- (136) *didi šli-n vu-š rurar=fun-ar u<r>čč-uri ġa-xh-nu.*
 3SG.N.ERG who.OBL-GEN COP-CND intestine.PL=belly-PL <PL>wash-IMC PX.AOR-be-AOR
 'She was washing someone's insides.' (TVMPLIP)

- (137) *duğu žihil-ar.i-z, hargan nasihät-ar tuv-ri š-uyi.*
 3SG.H.ERG youth-PL-DAT always exhortation-PL give-IMC be-EVTPST
 'He was always giving advice to the young.' (Šahib, p. 36)

When an ongoing or habitual action is expressed using the analytic imperfect, it is certain that this action is no longer taking place in the present. In contrast, the synthetic imperfect does not offer information on the current state of affairs:

Prospective future/debitive in -bandi: When *-bandi* is followed by the identity copula *vu*, it expresses a future:

- (138) *uzu sä-q'ü-dar yiğ-ar.i-lan xul-ʔan he<r>g-bandi vu-za.*
 I one-two-PL day-PL-SUPEL home.OBL-INEL <H>go.away-DEB COP-1SGA
 'In one or two days I am going to leave the house.' (GX, 4, p.47)

When *-bandi* is followed by the verb *xhub* 'be', it has a debitive sense:

- (139) *Šahib sumčri-z marxh kt'ip-i-gan ğäğ-bandi ğa-š-i.*
 Shahib wedding.OBL-DAT rain cease-AOP-when go-DEB PX.AOR-be-AOR
 'Shahib had to go to the wedding once the rain stopped.' (Šahib, p.82)

8.7. Negation

In non-indicative moods and with non-finite forms, the negative marker (*dar*) can be prefixed (with verbs not containing a preverb) or infix (with verbs containing a preverb), and negation can also be marked by reduplicating the second syllable of the verb (with verbs consisting of three syllables):

		AFF	NEG
masdar	'do'	<i>ap'-ub</i>	<i>dar-ap'-ub</i>
infinitive	'become'	<i>š-uz</i>	<i>dar-š-uz</i>
exhortative	'say'	<i>p-u-xha</i>	<i>dar-p-u-xha</i>
	(1PL.INCL)		
optative	'ask'	<i>he<b/r>x-ri</i>	<i>hedre<b/r>x-ri</i>
imperfective converb	'let'	<i>ğit-ri</i>	<i>ğidrit-ri</i>
optative	'flay'	<i>älč'äğ-ri</i>	<i>älč'äč'äğ-ri</i>
eventual participle	'finish'	<i>kkuduk'-ru</i>	<i>kkududuk'-ru</i>
imperfective participle	'exit'	<i>uduč'v-rayi</i>	<i>ududuč'v-rayi</i>

The structure of the prohibitive is given in section 8.4.

The indicative forms are negated with the suffixes *-dar* (for deictic tenses) or *-dayi* (for tenses transposed into the past):

ap'ub 'faire' :

	AFF	NEG
present	<i>ap'-ura</i>	<i>ap'-ura-dar</i>
aorist	<i>ğ-ap'-nu</i>	<i>ğ-ap'-un-dar</i>
short aorist	<i>ğ-ap'-u</i>	<i>ğ-ap'-dar</i>

perfect	<i>d-ap'-na</i>	<i>d-ap'-na-dar</i>
certain future	<i>ap'-idi</i>	<i>ap'-idar</i>
imperfect	<i>ap'-ura-yi</i>	<i>ap'-ura-da-yi</i>
past aorist	<i>ǰ-ap'-ni-yi</i>	<i>ǰ-ap'-un-da-yi</i>
pluperfect	<i>d-ap'-na-yi</i>	<i>d-ap'-na-da-yi</i>
future in the past	<i>ap'-idi-yi</i>	<i>ap'-ida-yi</i>

The negation of the eventual and past eventual can be achieved by a prefix (1, 2), an infix (3, 4), by reduplicating the second syllable of the verb (5) as in non-indicative finite verbal forms and non-finite verbal forms, or by a suffix (6, 7) as in indicative finite verbal forms:

(1)	<i>dar-ap'-ar-za</i>	NEG-do-EVT-1SGA	'I will not do'
(2)	<i>där-ǰ-riyi</i>	NEG-come-EVTPST	'he would not come'
(3)	<i>adrac'-ur</i>	NEG.<N>fill-EVT	'he will not fill'
(4)	<i>adraqh-riyi</i>	NEG.<N>fall-EVTPST	'he would not fall'
(5)	<i>alalaxh-ar-za</i>	NEG.<N>dress-EVT-1SGA	'I will not dress'
(6)	<i>ǰ-ür-dar-za</i>	come-EVT-NEG-1SGA	'I will not come'
(7)	<i>ap'-ur-da-y-za</i>	do-EVT-NEG-PST-1SGA	'I would not do'

8.8. Personal clitics

The personal clitics attach to the predicate after the tense and mood suffixes. They come from the free interlocutive pronouns (section 4.1) with certain modifications:

	1SG	2SG	1PL.EXCL	1PL.INCL	2PL
ABS	-zu/-za	-vu/-va	-ču/-ča	-xhu/-xha	-čvu/-čva
ERG	-za	-va	-ča	-xha	-čva
GEN	-yiz/-iz	-yav/-av	-yič/-ič	-yixh/-ixh	-yičv/-ičv
DAT	-zuz	-vuz	-čuz	-xhuz	-čvuz
AD	-zuxh	-vuxh	-čuxh	-xhuxh	-čvuxh
ADEL	-zuxhan	-vuxhan	-čuxhan	-xhuxhan	-čvuxhan

Person agreement in the transitive construction:

The free interlocutive pronouns have neutral alignment as regards case marking (A=P=S). By contrast, the personal clitics which are their referential equivalents treat agent and patient differently:

	1SG	2SG	1PL.EXC	1PL.INCL	2PL
			L		
agent	-za	-va	-ča	-xha	-čva
patient	-zu	-vu	-ču	-xhu	-čvu

- (140) *yiz rāq davam ap'-ur-za.*
 I.GEN way continuation do-EVT-1SGA
 'I will continue my journey.' (TXM, p.28)
- (141) *uzu adaš-di Mähäčğala.yi-z ğu-x-zu.*
 I(P) father-ERG Makhachkala-DAT PX.AOR-carry.AOR-1SGP
 'My father took me to Makhachkala.' (BKV, p.126)

Person agreement in the intransitive construction: split intransitivity:

The following intransitive construction features an interlocutive pronoun indexed as patient on the verb (S=P):

- (142) *uvu qheg-b.a-ʔan eg-na-vu.*
 you.SG(S) <N>bark-MSD-INEL <N>tire-PRF-2SGS (=P)
 'You are tired from barking.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.153)

Intransitive verbs that admit this type of construction are very much in the minority. They express processes which are not controlled by the subject: *aqhub* 'fall into', *uldugub* 'get lost', *č'arğub* 'freeze', *hiriqub* 'start (as a result of being startled)', *ede<b/r>čub* 'vomit', *babkan xhub* 'be born', etc.

The following example illustrates a second type of intransitive construction, in which there appears an interlocutive pronoun represented on the verb by the same index as the agent of prototypical verbs of action (S=A):

- (143) *äxü bab.a-xhna ğäğ-ür-za.*
 big mother-ADLAT go-EVT-1SGS (=A)
 'I will go to my grandmother('s).' (GX, 4, p.49)

Verbs like this, which take an S term indexed exactly like the A term of the transitive construction (when S is a personal pronoun), are more numerous. They are predominantly agentive: *ğäğüb* 'go', *uč'vub* 'enter', *urxub* 'study', etc. This class also includes the copulas:

- (144) *uzu yitim bay vu-za.*
 I(S) orphan boy COP-1SGS (=A)
 'I am an orphan.' (TVMPLIP, p. 66)

For some intransitive verbs, two types of structure are observed: 1) in some examples, S is indexed like P, 2) in others, like A. The difference between these two structures is sometimes correlated with a semantic difference:

čvu<b/r>xub 'slip; skate, go sledding' (Kurbanov, K.K., 2003, p.92):

- (145) *uzu čvu<r>x-ura-zu.* (146) *uzu mārḡār.i-ʔ-di čvu<r>x-ura-za.*
 I(S) <H>slide-PRS-1SGS (=P) I(S) sled-IN-COM <H>ride-PRS-1SGS (=A)
 'I am slipping / sliding.' 'I am sledding.'

aqhub 'fall' (the following examples are obtained through elicitation):

- (147) *uzu aqh-ra-zu.* (148) *uzu aqh-ra-za haa!*
 I(S) fall-PRS-1SGS (=P) I(S) fall-PRS-1SGS (=A) PTCL
 'I am falling (accidentally).' '(Look at how) I am falling (on purpose)!'

However, these constructions are often in free variation:

yik'ub 'die':

- (149) *yik'-ura-zu* *Aynaxanum.di-z* *yip.*
die-PRS-1SGS (=P) Aynaxanum-DAT say.IMP
'I am dying, tell Aynakhanum.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.243)
- (150) *uzu* *da<r>ǧ-nu* *yik'-ura-za.*
I(S) <H>freeze-SEQ die-PRS-1SGS (=A)
'I am freezing to death (lit. I am dying of cold).' (TVMPLIP, p.148)

Other roles indexed on the verbal word:

Personal clitics, in the examples below, refer to:

the genitive dependent of a noun and argument of the predicate:

- (151) *xpir* *gizaf* *ac'u* *du-xh-na-yiz.*
wife very fat PERF-become-PRF-1SGGEN
'My wife has grown very fat.' (Šahib, p. 92)
- (152) *yiz* *uvu-xhna* *sa-b* *suʔal* *a-yiz.*
I.GEN you.SG-ADLAT one-N question be.in-1SGGEN
'I have a question for you.' (Šahib, p.60)

the dative - experiencer and recipient:

- (153) *uvu-z* *naʔnan* *äǧä-vuz,* *ǧe-exh-un-vuz* *dumu* *gaf?*
you.SG-DAT from.where know-2SGDAT PX.AOR-<N>hear-AOR-2SGDAT that word
'How do you know, did you hear this word?' (Šahib, p.27)
- (154) *adaš-di* *uzu-z* *q'ü-b* *manat* *pul* *tuv-un-zuz.*
father-ERG I-DAT two-N manat money give-AOR-1SGDAT
'Father gave me two manats.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.119)

spatial cases (less frequent):

- (155) *uxhu-xh* *zapas* *čarx* *xha-xhuxh.*
we.INCL-AD spare wheel be.near-1PL.INCLAD
'We have a spare wheel.' (Šahib, p.91)
- (156) *učvu-k* *namus* *ktar-čvuk.*
you.PL-CONT honour be.CONT.NEG-2PLCONT
'You have no honour.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.243)

The number of pronominal indices taken by a verbal form cannot exceed two. When two indices are cumulated, the first is always *-za* (1SG: agent or agentive intransitive subject), while the second varies according to context:

- (157) *gardan* *yiv-ur-za-yav.*
neck cut-EVT-1SGA-2SGGEN
'I will cut your head off.' (TXM, p.127)

Pronominal indices are obligatory in the exhortative, possible but not obligatory in the imperative and optative moods (see section 8.4), and never attested in the prohibitive mood. In the interrogative mood the verb can take second person pronominal indices only:

- (158) *uču-xh* *de<r>g-dar-in-va?*
we.EXCL-AD <H>remain.EVT-NEG-Q-2SGA
'Aren't you staying with us?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.134)

- (159) *fu k'-ura-š yexh-ura-dar-in-čvuz?*
 what say-PRS-CND <N>hear-PRS-NEG-Q-2PLDAT
 'Can't you hear what they are saying?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.231)
- (160) *uzu yav čve dar-in?*
 I you.SG.GEN brother COP.NEG-Q
 'Am I not your brother?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.81)

Those indices which make reference to the subject (agent and intransitive subject) cumulate pronominal and agreement-marking functions. Their presence is obligatory, even if free pronouns are also present in the clause, but they can also represent the subject argument by themselves. The index of the dative experiencer of certain affective verbs ('see', 'hear', 'want') is also progressively acquiring the status of an agreement marker. All other indices are optional, and thus have pronominal function only.

9. VERBAL VALENCY PATTERNS

9.1. Main syntactic types of verbs

Monovalent intransitive verbs have a single argument in the absolutive case, which controls their gender-number agreement: *xhub* 'be'/'become', *diyib>b>ğub* 'stop', *išub* 'cry', *qhib>b/r>gub* 'wake up', etc.

- (161) *ğa-b-xh-nu ğa-b-xh-un-dar sa-b sul.*
 PX.AOR-N-be-AOR PX.AOR-N-be-AOR-NEG one-N fox
 'There was once a fox.' (TXM, p.45)

Bivalent intransitive verbs:

In constructions with the copula *vu* there can be two arguments in the absolutive, the subject and subject complement (predicate nominal):

- (162) *lük' q'uvvatlu naxšir vu.*
 eagle(ABS) strong bird(ABS) COP
 'The eagle is a strong bird.' (TXM, p.28)

Affective verbs, verbs of sensation or cognition, have an experiencer marked in the dative, which comes first in its clause, and a stimulus in the absolutive which controls verbal agreement: *räqüb* 'see', *kkun xhub* 'love'/'want', *ägü xhub* 'know', *<bi/di>qhub* 'find', etc.

- (163) *uvu-z äxü älamat-ar ğä-r-q-ün-vuz.*
 you.SG-DAT big splendour-PL PX.AOR-PL-see-AOR-2SGDAT
 'You have seen great splendour.' (TXM, p.46)

The possessive construction has the same structure:

- (164) *Murad.li-z sa-b lizi mudur a.*
 Murad-DAT one-N white kid be.in
 'Murad has a white kid.' (BKV, p.61)

Certain verbs mark the stimulus in oblique cases:

- (165) *uvu-z uz-xhan guč'-uri a-yin?*
 you.SG-DAT I.OBL-ADEL fear-IMC be.in-Q
 'Are you afraid of me?' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.100)

The verbs of aiming *ligub* 'look' et *kkiligub* 'wait' have a viewer in the absolutive and a viewee in the dative:

- (166) *didi-z vari uxdit'an kkilig-urayi.*
3SG.N.OBL-DAT all very.long.ago wait-IMPF

'Everyone had been awaiting this (news) for a long time.' (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.143)

Other verbs have the same valence pattern but the term encoded in the dative has the status of argument with a peripheral syntactic role:

- (167) *dumu sumčri-z ğu-š-u.*
3SG wedding.OBL-DAT PX.AOR-go-AOR

'He went to the wedding.' (TXM, p.120)

The genitive as argument of the verb *xhub* 'be'/'become' or of the copulas *a* 'be.in' or *vu* 'be' yields another construction expressing possession:

- (168) *mudri-n xhu-b vaz du-xh-na.*
kid.OBL-GEN five-N month PERF-be-PRF

'The kid was five months old.' (BKV, p.61)

- (169) *yiz ğaršival a-dar-iz.*
I.GEN opposition be.in-NEG-1SG.GEN

'I have nothing against it.' (TXM, p.45)

- (170) *didi-n üru jandak-na yarxi üru kuš-ar vu.*
3SG.N.OBL-GEN red body-and long red plait-PL COP

'She has a red body and long red braids (as well).'

 (TVMPLIP, p. 41)

Transitive verbs: the agent is marked in the ergative and the patient in the absolutive:

- (171) *äxü bab-u bic'i kkikk-ar u<r>ž-urayi.*
big mother-ERG small bun-PL <PL>bake-IMPF

'The grandmother was baking some little buns.' (GX, 4, p. 49)

Ditransitive verbs take three arguments: agent in the ergative, patient in the absolutive, addressee/recipient in the dative:

- (172) *duğu žihil-ar.i-z hargan nasihät-ar tuv-ri š-uyi.*
3SG.H.ERG youth-PL-DAT always exhortation-PL give-IMC be-EVTPST

'He was always giving advice to the young.' (Šahib, p. 36)

9.2. Valency changes

Valency reduction > verbal lability:

Labile verbs with effacement of the agent: *yik'ub* 'kill'/'die', *t'u<b/r>ččvub* 'shake'/'tremble', *u<b/r>gub* 'burn' (tr./intr.), *ğič'ik'ub* 'raise'/'get up', *ilt'ik'ub* 'return' (tr./intr.), etc.

- (173) *gaš-u yik'-ura-zu.* (174) *yik'-ura-zu.*
hunger-ERG <N>kill-PRS-1SGP die-PRS-1SGS
'Hunger is killing me.' (TXM, p.43) 'I am dying.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.243)

Labile verbs with effacement of the object: *urxub* 'read/study':

(175) *Āldi kitab urx-ura.*
 Ali.ERG book read-PRS
 'Ali is reading a book.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.41)

(176) *Āli xhubpi klass.di-? urx-ura*
 Ali fifth class-IN study-PRS
 'Ali studies in the fifth grade.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.24)

Valency increase > permissive-causative construction:

This construction is introduced by the verb *ǧitub* 'let', which governs an infinitive. The causer is always encoded in the ergative.

If the verb in the infinitive is intransitive, its subject (the causee) stays in the absolutive:

(177) *Žuhey-i durar ǧǧ-üz ǧit-dar.*
 Juhey-ERG [3PL go-INF] let.EVT-NEG
 'Juhey did not let them go.' (TVMPLIP, p.77)

If the verb in the infinitive is transitive, its subject can be encoded in two different ways:

-either it is in the adcomitative case:

(178) *Kazim.di-xh-di ∅ ččil x-uz ǧit-u.*
 Kazim-AD-COM [∅(ERG) lamb bring-INF] let-AOR
 'He made Kazim bring the lamb.' (KČČ, p.2)

-or it retains its ergative marking; it is not excluded for two ergatives to be used in the same clause in this way, to mark the causer and the causee:

(179) *didi Ūžž-ru sa-b q'adar gak'vlar di<r>č-uz ǧit-ru.*
 3SG.N.ERG [Ujj-ERG one-N quantity wood.PL <PL>throw-INF] let-EVT
 'He made Ujj throw away some of the wood.' (TVMPLIP, p.27)

When the causer does not exercise strict control over the process but only allows the causee to act, only the second structure is found, where the causee keeps its ergative agent properties.

10. NON-VERBAL PREDICATION: COPULAR CLAUSES

The copulas are given in the table below. Negation of the spatial copulas is suffixal: *qha-dar* (be.behind-NEG).

	identity copula	spatial copulas	continuative spatial copulas
AFF	<i>vu</i>		
NEG	<i>dar</i>		
IN		<i>(?)a</i>	<i>imi</i>
AD		<i>xha/ha</i>	<i>xh(i)mi</i>
POST		<i>qha</i>	<i>qh(i)mi</i>
CONT		<i>ka</i>	<i>k(i)mi</i>
SUB		<i>kka</i>	<i>kkimi</i>
INTER		<i>ǧä</i>	<i>ǧimi</i>
SUPER		<i>al</i>	<i>ilmi</i>

The copulas have only two tenses (present and imperfect), one participle and several converbs. The identity copula serves to express identification, categorisation and characterisation:

- (180) *dumu furi vu.*
3SG hole COP
'It is a hole.' (Šahib, p.53)
- (181) *uzu yitim bay vu-za.*
I(S) orphan boy COP-1SGA
'I am an orphan.' (TVMPLIP, p. 66)
- (182) *zav uk'u vu.*
sky blue COP
'The sky is blue.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.158)

The spatial copulas localize the referent of the subject and express an existential value:

- (183) *ixh kolhoz hamusä?ät hadmu yišv-?in al.*
we.INCL.GEN collective.farm now this place-SUPER be.on
'Our *kolkhoz* is now found in this location.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.56)
- (184) *sa-b mesela a.*
one-N problem be.in
'There is a problem.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.121)

The copula *(?)a* 'be in' can also express characterization, the predicative complement then being an adverb of manner:

- (185) *dumu šaklu-di a-yi.*
3SG hesitant-ADV be.in-PST
'He was undecided.' (TXM)

The majority of spatial copulas participate in the construction of possessive predicates, the possessor appearing in the genitive, the dative, or a spatial case (see sections 2.3 and 9.1).

11. RELATIVES

Attributive participial relatives precede the head noun. The participles are unoriented: the same participle can serve to relativize various syntactic roles:

- (186) – *žil-ar čirkin ap'-ura-yi alčgar*
[Ø(ERG) land-PL dirty do-PRS-PRT] villain.PL
'the rogues who are besmirching the lands' (TVMPLIP, p.59)
- (187) *mu xu-yi – ap'-ura-yi gaf-ar*
[this dog-ERG Ø(ABS) do-PRS-PRT] word-PL
'the words that this dog says (lit. does)' (Šahib, p.84)
- (188) – *vari ülke.yi-? kolhoz-ar düzmiš ap'-ura-yi vaxt.na-?*
[Ø(IN) all country-IN collective.farm-PL arrange do-PRS-PRT] time-IN
'At the time when *kolkhozes* were being set up throughout the country...' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.97)

Relative clauses can also be non-restrictive. In the following example the relative has an explicative role:

- (189) *qhäl ğa-f-i Riğ-di...*
 [anger PX.AOR-come-AOP] sun-ERG
 'The Sun, who grew angry...' (TVMPLIP, p.21)

The canonical position of the term relativized inside the relative may be null, as in the examples above, but it can also be occupied by a reflexive pronoun which must then be analysed as resumptive. This occurs when the relative reaches a certain degree of complexity, or for purposes of disambiguation when it would not otherwise be clear which term was relativized:

- (190) *čib-kan ktit-uz š-lu hädisyir*
 [[selves-CONTEL <N>tell-INF] can-EVTPRT] event.PL
 'the events one can speak of' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.256)
- (191) *Abu-Muslim.di-n ğilinž ča-řinna ıxtıbar d-ap'-na-yi xızan*
 [Abu-Muslim-GEN sabre self.OBL-SUPLAT trust PERF-do-PRF-PRT] family
 'the family to whom the sword of Abu Muslim had been entrusted' (TVMPLIP, p.70)

Free participial relatives have a substantivized participle as head, and the position of head noun is left empty. Participles are substantivised in the absolute in exactly the same way as adjectives, by attaching a gender-number suffix. Agreement is with the referent of the relative, which is the term relativized:

- (192) *hadrar ü<r>x-üra-yi-r*
 those <PL>protect-PRS-PRT-H
 'the one who protects them' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.241)

The substantivised participle inflects, and the relative clause of which it is the head can occupy any function in the matrix clause.

Haspelmath (1993: 342-343) distinguishes between "specific headless relative clauses" and "non-specific headless relative clauses" (or "generalized relative clauses") in Lezgi. In the former type, the absence of a head noun is made possible by discourse anaphora, the property expressed by the relative being interpreted as describing a referent recoverable in context:

- (193) *uvu sa-r kas.di-z=ra ğä-b-q-ü-b.di-kan ktit-nu kkun-dar.*
 [you.SG one-H person-DAT=ADD [PX.AOR-N-see-AOP-N-CONTEL] <N>tell-SEQ] want-NEG
 'You must not talk to anyone about what you have seen.' (TVMPLIP, p.103)

A free relative with a general sense is illustrated by the following proverb:

- (194) *gızař xu-yir ap'-ru-r-i gızař kuč'lar ap'-ur.*
 [much oath-PL do-EVTPRT-H-ERG] much lie.PL do-EVT
 'He who swears a great deal (also) lies a great deal.' (TXMIS, p.20)

Relatives employing an interrogative have as their head a hypothetical verbal form in -š. They tend to precede all other terms in the matrix clause. These relatives are never attributive:

- (195) *učv-kan fuž dirbařlu-r vu-ř, maydan.di-z uduč'v-ri!*
 [you.PL-CONTEL who brave-H COP-CND] square-DAT go.out-OPT
 'May he who is the bravest among you step forward on to the battlefield!' (TVMPLIP, p.84)

They are often correlative:

- (196) *uxh-kan funu-b äxü-b vu-š, sifte haddi ip'-idi.*
 [we.INCL.OBL-CONTEL which-N big-N COP-CND] firstly that.ERG eat.N-FUT
 'Whichever of us is the elder, he will eat first.' (TXM, p.45)

It appears that all syntactic positions can be relativized by means of this strategy, as any term in the clause can be replaced by an interrogative:

- (197) *šli Ähmad ğa-k'-nu-š,*
 [who.ERG Ahmad PX.AOR-kill-AOR-CND]
hadġu duġa-n mayit žin ap'-ri!
 3SG.H.ERG 3SG.H.OBL-GEN corpse hide do-OPT
 'May the one who killed Ahmad also hide his corpse!' (TVMPLIP, p.174)
- (198) *šli-n xil.i-? dumu aqh-i-š,*
 [who.OBL-GEN hand-IN 3SG <N>fall-AOP-CND]
hadġa-z didi devlet x-uru.
 3SG.H.OBL-DAT 3SG.N.ERG fortune bring-EVT
 'It will make rich the one whose hand it falls into.' (TVMPLIP, p.40)

12. COMPLEMENT CLAUSES

Participial complement clauses are factual in character. The participle bears the substantivisation marker *-b*:

- (199) *Šahib.ri-z äġä-yi, šah-di ča-n k'ul aldap'-u delleg*
 Shahib-DAT know-PST [shah-ERG [self.OBL-GEN head shave-AOP] barber
yiv-nu yik'-ura-yi-b.
 beat-SEQ kill-PRS-PRT-N]
 'Shahib knew that the shah killed any barber who shaved his head.' (Šahib, p.39)

Infinitival complement clauses express a process whose realization is expected or possible in the future:

- (200) *duġa-z učv yik'-uz kkun-di a.*
 3SG.H.OBL-DAT [self kill-INF] want-IMC be.in
 'He wants to kill himself.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.78)
- (201) *gunnah-ar ka-yi-dar.i-xhan Dürqh.ä-? uč'v-uz š-ul-da-yi.*
 sin-PL be.CONT-PRT-PL-ADEL [Durk-IN enter-INF] can-EVT-NEG-PST
 'Those who had sins could not enter Durk.' (TVMPLIP, p.104)

The **masdar** inflects for case and as a result provides a wide range of complement and adverbial clauses. The masdar always agrees with its absolutive argument. The superordinate verb agrees with the masdar in the non-human gender when the masdar is its primary argument:

- (202) *Avšalumov-di duġri äser-ar di-k'-ub kkeġ-niyi.*
 Avšalumov-ERG [true work-PL PL-write-MSD] <N>begin-AORPST
 'Avšalumov began writing realistic works.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.363)

Case marking is preserved on the arguments of the masdar:

- (203) *durar-i čpi-kan funi-r.i-z vu-š=ra, riš tuv-ub*
 3PL-ERG [selves.OBL-CONTEL which-H-DAT COP-CND=ADD girl give-MSD]
kkun ap'-uru.
 want do-EVT
 'They asked for the girl to be married to one of them.' (TVMPLIP, p.170)

However, sometimes expressed in the genitive are:

- the single argument of an intransitive masdar:

(204) *räğni-kk kka-yi-dar.i-z bali-n iš-ub exh-uri š-ulu.*
 mill.OBL-SUB be.under-PRT-PL-DAT [boy.OBL-GEN cry-MSD] <N>hear-IMC be-EVT
 ‘Those who are in the mill can hear the boy crying.’ (TVMPLIP, p.114)
- the patient of a transitive masdar, which continues to control gender-number agreement of the masdar:

(205) *dumu gaf-ar.i-n di-k'-b.a-z fikir tuv-ay!*
 [these word-PL-GEN PL-write-MSD-DAT] attention give.IMP-PL
 ‘Pay attention to the spelling of these words.’ (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.118)
- the stimulus of a masdar in an affective construction:

(206) *häybatlu-b vu-yi räq-üb duğ-a-n.*
 awful-N COP-PST [<N>see-MSD 3SG.H.OBL-GEN]
 ‘His appearance was fearsome.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.151)
- the agent of a transitive masdar:

(207) *žaq'v-li ča-n ip'-ub davam ğ-ap'-u.*
 sparrow-ERG [self.OBL-GEN eat.N-MSD] continuation PX.AOR-do-AOR
 ‘The sparrow continued to eat.’ (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.116)

The masdar in the absolutive can stand in subject position (with modal predicates) or direct object position (with manipulation and phase predicates).

The masdar in the ergative plays the role of transitive subject:

- (208) *baxtlu xh-p-u ilt'ik'-ur duğ-a-n k'ul.*
 [happy be-MSD-ERG] <N>turn-EVT 3SG.H.OBL-GEN head
 ‘Being happy will turn his head.’ (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.55)

The masdar appears in the genitive when governed by the postpositions *badali* ‘for’, *q'äläqħ* ‘after’, *ulixh* ‘before’, *häq'naʔan* ‘about’, etc.

The masdar can appear in the dative (often interchangeably with the infinitive):

- (209) *mik'-lu ğul.a-z-di ğ-üb.a-z maniğval ap'-uyi.*
 wind-ERG [village-DAT-DIR come-MSD-DAT] obstacle do-EVTPST
 ‘The wind prevented people from coming to the village.’ (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.117)

Some verbs take masdars inflected for one or another spatial case:

- (210) *uvu qheg-b.a-ʔan eg-na-vu.*
 you.SG [<N>bark-MSD-INEL] <N>tire-PRF-2SGA
 ‘You are tired from barking.’ (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.153)
- (211) *bali uču yik'-b.a-kkan azad ğ-ap'-nu.*
 boy.ERG we.EXCL [die-MSD-SUBEL] free PX.AOR-do-AOR
 ‘The boy saved us from dying.’ (Tab. č'al, 2kl, p.102)
- (212) *uču dars-ar äğü ap'-b.i-ʔin mašğul vu-ča.*
 we.EXCL [lesson-PL know do-MSD-SUPER] busy COP-1PL.EXCL.A
 ‘We are busy learning our lessons.’ (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.157)

Imperfective converbs are used in the complements of verbs of perception and indicate processes in progress:

- (213) *duğa-z nir.i-ʔ sa-r dišahli-yi fu=vuš žik'-uri räq-ürü.*
 3SG.H.OBL-DAT river-IN [one-H woman-ERG something <N>wash-IMC] see-EVT
 'He noticed that a woman was washing something in the river.' (TVMPLIP, p.44)

The **sequential converb** is attested in various contexts, with a potential or factual value:

- (214) *dumu č'iri bit' vu, dumu du-b-k'-nu kkun-du.*
 3SG bad snake COP [3SG PERF-N-kill-SEQ] want-PRS
 'This is a bad snake, it should be killed.' (TVMPLIP, p.39)
- (215) *durar.i-kan har-ur-i-z, učv uxti du-k'-nu kkun-diyi.*
 3PL-CONTEL each-H-OBL-DAT [self before PERF-die-SEQ] want-IMPF
 'Each of them wanted to die before the other.' (TVMPLIP, p. 107)
- (216) *duğu vari läxnar d-ap'-nu kkudu<r>k'-uru.*
 3SG.H.ERG [all work.PL PERF-do-SEQ] <PL>finish-EVT
 'He finished doing all the chores.' (Šahib)

13. ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

13.1. The sequential

The sequential allows for the concatenation of clausal units which relate a sequence of events, only the last being marked for TAM. In general its subject is coreferent with that of the main clause:

- (217) *uzu hamusäʔät du-š-nu lig-ur-za.*
 I [immediately PERF-go-SEQ] look-EVT-1SGA
 'I will go (there) immediately and look.' (GX, 4, p. 48)

This secondary predication can also express a manner or cause:

- (218) *ğazamat.di-z malayik-ar t'i<r>x-nu ğ-ürü.*
 prison-DAT angel-PL [<PL>fly-SEQ] come-EVT
 'Some angels came flying to the prison.' (TVMPLIP, p.94)
- (219) *aslan, guč' du-b-xh-nu, diyiğ-u.*
 lion [fear PERF-N-be-SEQ] <N>stop-AOR
 'The lion was afraid and stopped.' (TXM, p.44)

The negative sequential can be translated into English by means of predicates introduced by 'without':

- (220) *malla, aš dir-ip'-di, ğudužv-nu ğu-š-nu.*
 mullah [pilau NEG-eat.N-SEQ] [get.up-SEQ] PX.AOR-go-AOR
 'The mullah got up and left without eating any pilau.' (TVMPLIP, p.165)

13.2. Imperfective converb

The imperfective converb (verbs + *-(U)ri*, copulas + *-di*) can have a subject which is not coreferent with the subject of the main clause. It is a converb of manner:

- (221) *t'ubžaq'v t'ix-uri du-b-š-nu Allah.di-xhna qhuq'-nu.*
 sparrow [[<N>fly-IMC] PERF-N-go-SEQ] God-ADLAT <N>arrive-AOR
 'The sparrow went flying away and arrived in the presence of God.' (TXM, p.28)

It marks a temporal relation of simultaneity:

- (222) *xpir-i* 'Amin' *k'-uri*, *Nüh-di* *dažri-lan*
 [wife-ERG 'Amen' say-IMC] Noah-ERG donkey.OBL-SUPEL
va xu.y-lan xil-ar aldat-uru.
 and dog-SUPEL hand-PL stroke-EVT

'While his wife said 'Amen', Noah would touch the donkey and the dog.' (TVMPLIP, p.27)

Sometimes the sense of the imperfective converb is causal:

- (223) *ğul-ar* *u<r>g-uri*, *kum-ru* *deryir* *ac'-ru.*
 [village-PL <PL>burn-IMC] smoke-ERG valley.PL fill-EVT

'The villages were burning and the valleys were filling with smoke.' (TVMPLIP, p.124)

And sometimes final:

- (224) *ül* *ip'-uri*, *deʔ-na* *Äyvaz.*
 [bread eat.N-IMC] sit.H-PRF Eyvaz

'Eyvaz sat to eat.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.214)

The negative imperfective converb bearing a prefix or infix of negation serves to negate a concomitant process:

- (225) *ül* *dir-ip'-uri* *pašman-di* *xäližv* *deʔ-b.a-n* *bahna*
 [bread NEG-eat.N-IMC] sad-ADV guest sit.H-MSD-GEN pretext

'the reason why the guest was sitting sadly without eating' (TXM, p.127)

The (rather infrequent) reduplicated imperfective converb expresses manner:

- (226) *ğäğ-üri=ğäğ-üri*, *sul-na* *žanavar* *sa-b* *bağ.di-z* *aldaqh-u.*
 [go-IMC=go-IMC] fox-and wolf one-N garden-DAT fall-AOR

'Walking along, the fox and the wolf arrived at a garden.' (TXM, p.45)

A slightly different imperfective converb involves reduplication and negation: the first component is positive and the second is negative. This marks a rapid succession of events:

- (227) *Leyla* *ğarz.u-n* *k'ak'.ni-žina* *ruq'-uri=du-ruq'-ri* *Äbdurähman-di*
 [Leyla rock-GEN top-SUPLAT arrive-IMC=NEG-arrive-IMC] Abdurahman-ERG
dumu *ča-n* *xabaqh* *di-di-s-nu* *mak* *ğ-ap'-nu.*
 [3SG self.OBL-GEN in.the.arms PERF-H-take-SEQ] kiss PX.AOR-do-AOR

'No sooner had Leyla arrived at the top of the rock than Abdurahman took her in his arms and kissed her.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.93)

Tabasaran has a secondary imperfective converb formed by means of the suffix -*di*, which is added to:

present	-Uradi/-Uri adi
continuative present	-Uri (i)midi
perfect	-nadi/-nu adi
continuative perfect	-numidi/-nu (i)midi

- (228) *šiʔrar di-k'-uz Bagaudin-di hele mekteb.di-ʔ*
 [poem.PL PL-write-INF Bagauddin-ERG [still school-IN
urx-uri imi-di qhüǰ-nu.
 study-IMC be.still-IMC] begin-AOR
 'Bagauddin began to write poems when he was still studying at school.' (Tab č'al, 5kl, p.174)
- (229) *či, čve da-ax-nu imi-di, xul-ʔan ǰäǰ-üru*
 sister [brother PERF-sleep-SEQ be.still-IMC] house.OBL-INEL go-EVT
 'The sister left the house while the brother was still asleep.' (TVMPLIP, p.20)

13.3. Temporal clauses

The converb **-gan** 'when' (preceded by any participle) expresses a process simultaneous with or anterior to that of the main clause:

- (230) *učv yik'-ru-gan, Šix-di vasiyat ap'-uru...*
 [self die-EVTPRT-when] Shikh-ERG will do-EVT
 'When he was dying, Shikh requested...' (TVMPLIP, p.122)

The hypothetical in **-š** (added to the aorist participle or the eventual) with temporal value ('when') is found in narrative contexts. The event in the subordinate clause takes place in the past. The main clause expresses an event which comes as a surprise to the character(s) implicated in the event expressed by the subordinate clause:

- (231) *xula-z ǰ-üru-š, xula-ʔ fuk'a a-da-yi.*
 [house.OBL-DAT come-EVT-CND] house.OBL-IN nothing be.in-NEG-PST
 'When he returned, there was nothing left in the house.' (Šahib, p.78)

-qhan (added to a participle) expresses 'after':

- (232) *dušvaʔ ǰi-lic-qhan, uču teatr.i-z ǰu-š-ča.*
 there PX.AOR-walk.AOP-ANT we.EXCL theatre-DAT PX.AOR-go.AOR-1PL.EXCL.A
 'After going for a walk there, we went to the theatre.' (BKV, p.127)

-qhanmina and **-qhantina** express 'since':

- (233) *gaga ǰa-k'-i-qhanmina dada yas.na-ʔ imi.*
 [father PX.AOR-die-AOP-INCEP] mother mourning-IN be.still
 'Since the father died, the mother has been in mourning.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.243)

The postposition **q'äläqh** 'after' can govern a masdar in the genitive or superlative. The event described in the main clause follows that of the subordinate clause:

- (234) *häzur xh-p-lan q'äläqh urgu-r qähriman bulaǰ.di-ʔinna ǰäǰ-üru.*
 [ready be-MSD-SUPEL after] seven-H hero spring-SUPLAT go-EVT
 'After preparing themselves, the seven heroes went to the spring.' (TVMPLIP, p.47)

A subordinate clause introduced by **-si** (added to a participle) expresses a process immediately preceding that of the main clause ('as soon as'). The participle can be bare or optionally substantivized by means of the invariable marker **-b**.

- (235) *Šahib ġä-r-q-si kamaxžvuva-n ul-ar.i-? qhāl*
 [Shahib PX.AOR-H-see.AOP-IMMANT] person.from.Kemakh.OBL-GEN eye-PL-IN anger
ut'uq'-u.
 <N>catch-AOR

'On seeing Shahib, the man from Kemakh gave him an angry look.' (Šahib, p.44)

- (236) *bit' ġä-b-q-ü-b-si, čirkkv-ar-i haryir ġ-ap'-u.*
 [snake PX.AOR-N-see-AOP-SBST-IMMANT] fledgling-PL-ERG cry.PL PX.AOR-do-AOR
 'As soon as they saw the snake, the fledglings cried out.' (Tab. č'al, 5kl, p.58)

-q'an gahdi 'as long as', **-q'an** 'as (progressively)' attach to a participle:

- (237) *dumu ičv arayı? umbu-q'an gahdi...*
 [3SG you.PL.GEN among be.still.PRT-as.long.as]

'As long as it is among you...' (TVMPLIP, p.56)

- (238) *dağ.di-z ža<r>ğ-ura-yi xalq'-ar zařina uduč'v-ru-q'an...*
 [[mountain-DAT <PL>run-PRS-PRT] people-PL up go.out-EVTPRT-GRAD]
 'As the peoples running up into the mountains went further and further up...' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.90)

-ayiz joins to the verbal root and expresses 'until' (in this use, **-ayiz** can be followed by **-q'an**), 'before', 'while':

- (239) *du-k'-nu ġäğ-ayiz-q'an uvu-z luk'-val ap'-ur-za.*
 [PERF-die-SEQ go-POSTR-until] you.SG-DAT slave-ABST do-EVT-1SGA

'I will be your slave until I die.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.73)

- (240) *ip'-uz qhüğ-ayiz=ra lavaš qht'acc-uru.*
 [[eat.N-INF begin-POSTR=ADD] lavash <N>finish-EVT

'Before he even started to eat, the lavash was gone.' (TXM, p.119)

- (241) *aslan-di, didi-z šid tuv-ayiz,*
 lion-ERG [3SG.N.OBL-DAT water give-POSTR]
sa-r-i-z=ra ixtiyar tuv-da-yi.
 one-H-OBL-DAT=ADD right give.EVT-NEG-PST

'While he was watering it, the lion didn't allow anyone (to cut off the water).' (TVMPLIP, p.172)

13.4. Manner clauses

The converb in -ayan (preceded by a perfective stem) expresses manner or a succession of events:

- (242) *dağlu-yir, dušmnar.i-řin alžaq-ayan,*
 mountain.dweller-PL [enemy.PL-SUPER attack-MAN]
dišladi dağ-lar.i-? žin š-ulyi.
 quickly mountain-PL-IN hide be-EVTPST

'The mountain dwellers would attack the enemy and then immediately hide in the mountains.' (TVMPLIP, p.92)

The suffix -si combines with a bare or substantivized participle or a converb (**-gan**, **-(U)ri**, **-di**) to give the similitive converb, which is used with the sense of 'as', 'as if', 'a little' according to context:

- (243) *sabpnu dumu hiliq-gan-si diyiğ-u.*
 suddenly 3SG [<N>shudder.AOP-when-SIMIL] <N>stop-AOR
 ‘Suddenly he stopped as if he had taken fright.’ (TXM, p.43)
- (244) *herx-u žihil-i kälqh-ri-si.*
 ask-AOR youth-ERG [laugh-IMC-SIMIL]
 ‘...the young man asked, laughing a little.’ (Šahib, p.50)

The particle -q’an combines with a participle bearing the invariable substantivisation marker *-b*, and expresses a quantitative comparison:

- (245) *uvu-z uv-xhan š-lu-b-q’an lig.*
 you.SG-DAT [you.SG.OBL-ADEL be-EVTPRT-SBST-as.much] look.IMP
 ‘Take a look for yourself, as much as you like.’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.231)

13.5. Causal clauses

The postposition (di)lignu (lit. ‘having looked’) introduces a causal clause whose head is a masdar or an action noun in *-val* in the dative:

- (246) *čpi-n xular axh-b.a-z lignu...*
 [selves.OBL-GEN house.PL crash.down-MSD-DAT because]
 ‘Because their house had collapsed...’ (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.133)

The converbs k’uri (lit. ‘saying’), **dupnu/pnu** (lit. ‘having said’) are used with finite predicates:

- (247) *duğu uzu q’abi-b vu k’-uri, ukk-uru.*
 3SG.H.ERG [I old-N COP say-IMC] <N>slaughter-EVT
 ‘He will slaughter me, since I am old.’ (TVMPLIP, p.168)

13.6. Purpose clauses

The postposition badali ‘for’ governs a masdar in the genitive:

- (248) *Tabasaran üx-b.a-n badali, qährimnar-i urgu-b ğala div-ru.*
 [Tabasaran <N>defend-MSD-GEN for] hero.PL-ERG seven-N castle build-EVT
 ‘To defend the land of Tabasaran, the heroes built seven castles.’ (TVMPLIP, p.48)

The infinitive has no overt subject. It is controlled either by the subject or by another argument of the superordinate verb. The infinitive can be followed by *k’uri* (lit. ‘saying’) or *pnu* (lit. ‘having said’):

- (249) *uvu-z k’ul aldap’-uz dix d-ap’-na-za.*
 you.SG-DAT [head shave-INF] call PERF-do-PRF-1SGA
 ‘I have summoned you to shave my head.’ (Šahib, p.39)
- (250) *Yura duğa-z yišv tuv-uz k’-uri čkidi ğudužv-u.*
 Yura [3SG.H.OBL-DAT place give-INF say-IMC] quickly get.up-AOR
 ‘Yura got up quickly to give up his place to him.’ (Tab. č’al, 2kl, p.122)

The optative can be used in purpose clauses in combination with one of the converbs of the verb *k’ub* ‘say’ (*k’uri*, *dupnu*, *pnu*):

- (251) *iccru-dar-i ses-er dar-ap'-ri k'-uri, duxtri samolet.di-?*
 [sick-PL-ERG voice-PL NEG-do-OPT say-IMC] doctor.ERG aeroplane-IN
sa-b išik' pivyir=ra iv-ru.
 one-N box beer.PL=ADD put.in-EVT

'So that the patients would not make any noise, the doctor also placed a box of beer in the aeroplane.' (Šahib, p.9)

13.7. Conditional clauses

In **hypothetical conditionals**, the hypothesis is envisaged as likely in the future. The protasis is in a participial form of the aorist followed by *-š*. In the apodosis we most often find one of the future tenses, the eventual or the present:

- (252) *eger šur-han kümek ap'-uz dar-š-i-š, uzu fu čara ap'-idi?*
 [if girl.OBL-ADEL [help do-INF] NEG-can-AOP-CND] I what solution do-FUT
 'If the girl cannot help me, what will I do?' (TXM, p.128)

In **factual conditionals**, the hypothesis is concerned with a past action, a state, a result or a present action. In the protasis the aorist, perfect or present is used. In the apodosis there are no restrictions:

- (253) *eger mu t'afalval Lenge Šāʔbnu ġ-ap'-nu-š, qhuġ-ar-za.*
 [if this stealing Lenge Shaban.ERG PX.AOR-do-AOR-CND] believe-EVT-1SGA
 'If it is Lenge Shaban that committed this theft, I'll believe it.' (TVMPLIP, p.99)
- (254) *da-ax-na-dar-š, uz-kan fikrar ap'-ura-va.*
 [PERF-sleep-PRF-NEG-CND] I.OBL-CONTEL thought.PL do-PRS-2SGA
 'If you aren't sleeping, you are thinking of me.' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.229)
- (255) *učvu uzu-qh qhuġ-ra-dar-š, Häziqhušvqhušv.di-xhan herx-ay!*
 [you.PL I-POST believe-PRS-NEG-CND] Hajikushvkushv-ADEL ask.IMP-PL
 'If you don't believe me, ask Hajikushvkushv!' (Šahib, p.27)

In **counterfactual conditionals**, the verb of the protasis is most often in the past aorist, and that of the apodosis is in the past eventual. In such constructions Tabasaran does not distinguish between present irrealis and past irrealis:

- (256) *egerki, ixh xän.a-ʔ a-yi marčč-ar.i-kan*
 [if we.INCL.GEN sheepfold-IN be.in-PRT] sheep-PL-CONTEL
ġür-ar ġa-xh-niyi-š, sa-b tki-si-b ip'-uy-za.
 rabbit-PL PX.AOR-be-AORPST-CND] one-N piece-SIMIL-N eat.N-EVTPST-1SGA
 'If the sheep in our fold became rabbits, I would eat a piece.' (Šahib, p.18)

Parametric conditionals contain an interrogative:

- (257) *durar fti-z tašbih ġ-ap'-i-š, riš šad š-ulu?*
 [3PL what.OBL-DAT comparison PX.AOR-do-AOP-CND] girl glad be-EVT
 'What should one compare them (her eyes) to, for the girl to be happy?' (Tab. lit., 8kl, p.51)

13.8. Concessive clauses

Concessives are formed by adjunction of the additive focus particle *-ra* 'also', 'even' to the conditional mood of the verb in *-š*.

Global concessives:

- (258) *xäbäq̄h du-b-xh-na-š=ra, č'at' aku-di imi.*
 [evening PERF-N-be-PRF-CND=ADD] outside light-ADV be.still
 'Even though evening has come, it is still light outside.' (Tab č'al, 5kl, p.55)

In **alternative concessives**, the choice between two alternative conditions is presented as being without importance for the process described in the apodosis:

- (259) *xälužv užu-r vu-š=ra, xarži-r vu-š=ra, xälužv vu.*
 guest [good-H COP-CND=ADD] bad-H COP-CND=ADD] guest COP
 'A guest is a guest, whether he's good or bad.' (TVMPLIP, p.63)

In **interrogative concessives**, one parameter of the protasis is presented as being without importance for the content of the apodosis:

- (260) *šli-n-ub vu-š=ra dumu furi vu ha!*
 [who.OBL-GEN-N COP-CND=ADD] 3SG hole COP PTCL
 'Whoever's it is, this is a hole!' (Šahib, p.53)

14. ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent	INTER, INT	interlocative
AD	adlocative	LAT	lative
AFF	affirmative	MAN	manner
ANT	anterior converb	MSD	masdar
AOP	aoist participle	N	non-human
AOR	aoist	NEG	negative, negation
C	consonant	P	patient
CND	conditional	PERF	perfective prefix
COLL	collective	POST	postlocative
COM	comitative	PQP	pluperfect
CONT	contlocative	PRF	perfect
DIR	directive	PRT	participle
EL	elative	PST	past
EVT	eventual	PTCL	particle
EXCL	exclusive	PURP	purposive converb
GRAD	progressive converb	PV	preverb
H	human	PX	prefix
HORT	exhortative	Q	global question
IMC	imperfective converb	REV	reversive
IMMANT	immediate anterior converb	S	subject or stimulus
IMP	imperative	SEQ	sequential converb
IMPF	imperfect	SIMIL	similative
IN	inlocative	SUB	sublocative
INCEP	inceptive converb	SUPER, SUP	superlocative
INCL	inclusive	V	vowel, verb

Angle brackets < > are used for infixes.

A and U also represent archiphonemes: A stands for the low vowels *a* and *ä*, while U stands for the high vowels *u* and *ü*.

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