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Diana Forker

A GRAMMAR OF HINUQ

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A Grammar of Hinuq

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A Grammar of Hinuq

by

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De Gruyter Mouton

ISBN 978-3-11-030376-6
e-ISBN 978-3-11-030397-1
ISSN 0933-7636

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2013 Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston
Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen
♻️ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany
www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

My work in Daghestan and my life there, as well as the writing of this grammar involved the help of many people and institutions.

First of all, I want to thank my supervisor Bernard Comrie. I am happy that after having supervised my Masters thesis, he provided me with the possibility of continuing my research on Daghestanian languages by proposing that I write a grammar of Hinuq. He generously shared his linguistic knowledge and his profound insight into Daghestanian languages. Over the years, he has become a model for me of how a linguist and teacher should be.

My deepest gratitude goes to the Hinuq people, friends, hosts, and consultants. I especially want to thank Nabi Isaev, without whom it would have been impossible to write this grammar. He is the best informant a linguist could ever have, capable of telling interesting stories, imaginative in inventing sentences and examples, and patiently answering all my questions. I would also like to thank Džavgarat Isaeva for her warm friendship and help during my first trips to Hinuq. I am grateful to Magomed Gussejnov and his family as well as Šaxban Gussejnov and his family, who generously opened their doors to me, making the trips to Monastirski always very beautiful, and helped me as patient consultants. Beži barkalla to you all!

Arsen Abdulaev and his family was a great help in organizing my field trips and providing me with a home in Shamkhal. My friend Diana Šabanova, who first invited me to Daghestan and showed me her beautiful country, supported me during all the years. Rasul Mutalov and his family provided me with assistance and friendship during my last field trips.

I want to thank my colleagues and friends who helped me with the analyses, proofread the thesis, and made countless useful comments and suggestions, in particular Juliette Blevins, Thomas Goldammer, Sven Grawunder, my sister Melanie Forker, Harris Hadjidas, Iren Hartmann, Martin Haspelmath, Zaira Khalilova, Christfried Naumann, Johanna Nichols, Sebastian Nordhoff, Christian Räsack, Brent Reed, Olav Mueller-Reichau, Linus Schlüter, Matthias Urban, Rebecca Voll, and Alena Witzlack-Makarevich. I am also very grateful to Hagen Jung and Claudia Wegener for helping me in my struggle with formatting.

I further profited from discussions concerning individual issues of this research with Balthasar Bickel, Michael Cysouw, Denis Creissels, Misha Daniel, Stefan Keine, Zarina Molochieva, and John Peterson.

This grammar is based on research funded by the Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig. I thank

all my colleagues at the institute for their scientific and technical support and help in organizing field trips, and for discussions and comments. The MPI EVA is probably the best place in the world to carry out a research like this one.

From the very beginning Tristan, Joshua, and Jonathan have been behind my project. I thank them for the joy they have brought to my life.

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Abbreviations

For interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses I follow the Leipzig Glossing Rules. They can be found at <http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>. Complex glosses consist of at least two simple glosses, divided by a dot, e.g. PTCP.PST ‘Past participle’.

I-V	gender classes	IMANT	Immediate Anterior
ABL1	First Ablative case	IMP	Imperative
ABL2	Second Ablative case	IN	Location ‘in(side)’
ABS	Absolutive case	INDEF	Indefinite
ABST	Abstract suffix	LOC	Locative
ADD	Additive	MOD	Modifying enclitic
ADJ	Adjectivizer	MSD	Masdar
ALOC	‘Animate’ location	NARR	Narrative enclitic
ANT	Anterior converb	NEG	Negation
ANTIP	Antipassive	NHPL	Nonhuman plural
AT	Location ‘at’	OBL	Oblique
ATT	Attributive marker	OPT	Optative
CAUS	Causative	ORD	Ordinal numeral
CONC	Concessive converb	PL	Plural
COND	Conditional converb	POST	Posterior converb
CONT	Location with contact	POT	Potential
CVB	Narrative converb	PROH	Prohibitive
DAT	Dative case	PRS	Present
DIR	Directional case	PRT	Particle
DIST	Distributive	PST	Past
DOUBT	Enclitic signalling doubt	PTCP	Participle
ERG	Ergative case	PURP	Purposive
EMPH	Emphatic enclitic	Q	Interrogative
EQ	Equative enclitic	QUOT	Quotative enclitic
FUT	Definite future	REC	Reciprocal
GEN1	First Genitive	RED	Reduplication
GEN2	Second Genitive	REFL	Reflexive
GT	General tense	REL	Relativizer
HAB	Habitual participle	RES	Resultative participle
HPL	human plural	SG	Singular
ICVB	Imperfective converb	SIM	Simultaneous converb
ILOC	‘Inanimate’ location	SPR	Location ‘on’

SUB	Location ‘under’
TERM	Terminative converb
TOP	Topic
UWPST	Unwitnessed past
VOC	Vocative suffix

Other abbreviations

A	Agent
adj.	Adjective
adv.	Adverb
BC	backward control
EXP	Experiencer
G	Goal
intr.	Intransitive
LA	local agreement
LDA	long distance agreement
lit.	Literally
N	Noun
obl.	Oblique stem
P	Patient
R	Recipient
S	Single argument of an intransitive clause
STIM	Stimulus
T	Theme
tr.	Transitive
V	Verb
SAP	Speech act participant

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. The Hinuq people

1.1.1. Hinuq speakers and their village

Hinuq is one of the smallest Nakh-Daghestanian languages. It is the native language of about 600 people. The great majority of them live in the village of Hinuq in the southwestern part of Daghestan. About 30 households with a total of more than 100 members live in the village of Monastirski in the north of Daghestan near the town of Kizljar, and their number is growing. A few other Hinuq speakers live in Shamkhal near the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala, in Makhachkala, and in various other places in Daghestan. Figure 1 shows a map of Daghestan with the major places where Hinuq speakers live.

The self-designation of the Hinuq people is *Hinuze* or *Hinuzas ahlu* (whereby *ahlu* means ‘folk, people’), and the language is called *Hinuzas mec* (*mec* = ‘language’). The Russian name of the language is *Ginuxskij jazyk*, and the English term is *Hinukh*, *Ginukh*, or *Hinuq*. According to Khalilov & Isakov (2005: 15), the term derives from the Hinuq word *hune* ‘way’. The village name *Hinuq* can then be translated as ‘on the way’, from the word *hune* ‘way’ and the last segment *-q* would be a fossilized spatial case suffix.

The exact number of Hinuq speakers is unknown. Rizaxanova (2006: 8-10) provides some information about the number of Hinuq speakers during the past two centuries:

(1) Year	People	Households
1842		100
1873		31
around 1880	148	26
1886	35	7
1902	272	
1926	150	28
around 1950 ¹	about 200	
1967 ²	200	
1990	>500	117

¹ This number is estimated by Bokarev (1959: 111).

² This number is given by van den Berg (1995: 4).



Figure 1. A map of Daghestan, showing places where Hinuq people live or used to live

The Russian census of 2002 gives 522 as the number of Hinuq speakers.³ But my informants repeatedly told me that the actual number is probably a little higher, around 600. Ethnically, the Hinuq people are officially considered to be Avars. The Avars are the largest ethnicity in Daghestan.

The village of Hinuq (Russian *Ginux*) is located at an altitude of about 2,000 m. In the south the territory of the village borders with Georgia, in the west with the Tsez village Kidiro, and in the east with Bezhta. In the north it is surrounded by high mountains. The village is located in the Tsunta district (*Cuntinskij rajon*), which is now a border zone with Georgia. Since 2007 individuals who are not residents are not allowed to enter that border zone without a special permission, which makes every trip there a little complicated for outsiders. The permission is issued by the FSB (*Federal'naja služba bezopasnosti Rossijskoj Federacii*, i.e. the Federal Security Service) in Kaspiysk, and it takes at least two months to get the permit for a foreigner.

The village can be reached by car or small buses basically all the year through, but in winter the journey can be dangerous due to avalanches and falling rock caused by heavy rain. The trip from the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala (about 300 km) takes approximately seven hours by car and nine hours by bus. The bus has only recently been established. It connects Hinuq with Makhachkala and runs twice a week. The other settlements of Hinuq people are much more easily accessible, therefore I made the decision not to go to Hinuq when I only had a short time for my fieldtrips.

1.1.2. The social and ethnological background

The main occupation of Hinuq people used to be livestock-breeding, mainly sheep and goats, but also cows. Nowadays, many, but far from all inhabitants of the village, have their own animals. From the milk the women make various milk products such as cheese, kefir, sour cream, and butter. Almost everyone has a small garden to grow potatoes and other vegetables like beetroots or carrots and fruits like apples, gooseberries, currants, and cornel cherries. In summer and autumn women go to the forests in order to collect blueberries, raspberries, and mushrooms. Some Hinuq people work in the school, in the local administration in Kidiro, in the hospital in Kidiro, or as policemen to earn a living.

The living conditions in Hinuq are not easy. The winters are long with a lot of snow, the summers are short. Electricity is available, but especially in autumn and winter the supplies are often interrupted. Water is provided by a self-constructed system, but not every household has its own water supply. However,

³ <http://www.perepis2002.ru/>

the living standard is not much lower than in the capital. Although all young people leave the village for some time after school to get a higher education or to do their military service, some of them come back and therefore the village is constantly growing.

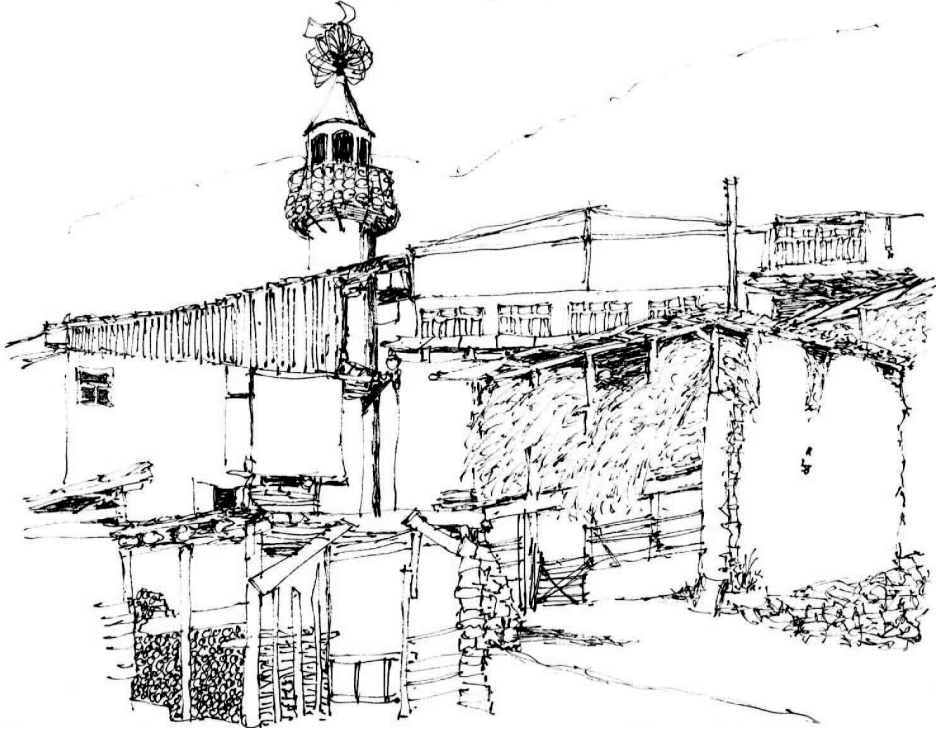


Figure 2. The minaret of the old mosque in Hinuq

The village has a school with eleven grades and about 100 pupils. There is an old mosque still in use. Recently a new mosque was opened. There are three shops where not only food but also small house items, stationery, and clothes are sold. The village also has a house for cultural events where folklore concerts are occasionally organized. People use mobile phones for communication. As of yet internet is not available.

Due to their contact with the Georgians, the Hinuq people were Christians before they converted to Islam around the 17th century. Now they are Sunni Muslims.

Hinuq people traditionally favor marriages within the village and/or within the family. Families consist not only of Hinuq speakers but also of Tsez speakers and occasionally Bezhta speakers from the neighboring villages. Women move to the husband's house after the wedding and are expected to learn the language

of the husband. Therefore, many wives of Hinuq men are Tsez speakers, and Hinuq women have moved to Tsez villages.

A detailed description of Hinuq ethnology including information about agriculture, material culture, family and social life and spiritual and religious traditions can be found in a recent book by Rizaxanova (2006).



Figure 3. In the village of Hinuq

1.1.3. Some notes on the history

Not much is known about the ancient history of the Hinuq people. According to Rizaxanova (2006: 171), they settled their territory about 2000-2500 years ago. They alternately belonged to the union of Tsez villages called *Dido* and to the Ancuq-Bezhta community called *Antl-Ratl*. They had well-established contacts with Georgians, as well as with their Tsez and Bezhta neighbors. These contacts can be estimated to go back at least to the year zero (Comrie & Khalilov 2009b). During the winter Hinuq men would go to Georgia in order to work and earn money.

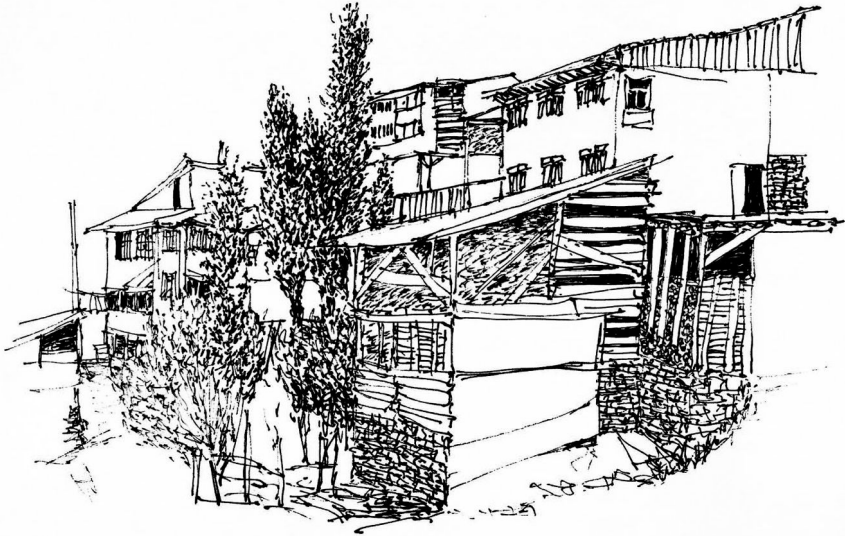


Figure 4. Houses and barns in Hinuq

In 1944 the Chechens were accused of collaborating with the Nazis and were therefore deported to Kazakhstan and other places. At the same time many Daghestanian people were forcibly resettled to Chechnya to the places which the Chechens had to vacate. The Hinuq people had to move to the village of Erseni in Chechnya. Because they did not want to go there, their houses were burned down. On the way to Chechnya, a journey which was undertaken on foot, and in the initial period many people died of malaria and other diseases. In 1957, when the Chechens were rehabilitated and came back to their villages, the Daghestanian people had to move back. The Hinuq people came back to their territory and had to rebuild their village anew.

In the 1960's and 1970's the Soviets pressured the people living in the Caucasus mountains to move to the lowlands, especially from those villages which lacked roads, electricity, and other infrastructure. The various ethnicities were assigned places in the lowlands to build up new settlements, and grants from the government were given to develop those settlements. Thus, beginning in 1986 Hinuq people began moving to the village of Monastirski in the Kizljar district of Daghestan (Figure 1). In that village not only Hinuq, but also Tsez, Dargi, Avar, Russian, Noghay, and other people live together. Every year more and more Hinuq families move the mountains to Monastirski.

1.2. The Hinuq language

1.2.1. The status of the Hinuq language

Hinuq is an oral language used by Hinuq people within their own community as the basic means of everyday communication. It lacks any dialectal variation. Hinuq does not have an official status in Russia. It is the first language acquired by Hinuq children. Hinuq is not studied at school, nor is it the language of instruction. All school teaching and all higher education is in Russian only. There are no published texts available in Hinuq apart from the texts in the grammars by Bokarev and Imnajšvili (Section 1.3.1) and a few poems written by Nabi Isaev, my main informant, which have been published in the local newspaper *Didojskie vesti* ('Dido news') in 2003 and 2006. The languages of mass media are Russian and partly Avar.

Pre-school Hinuq children speak mostly only Hinuq, at least if both parents are Hinuq speakers themselves and/or they live in the village of Hinuq. If one of the parents is Tsez, especially if the mother is Tsez, then the children most probably also speak Tsez. Furthermore, due to television broadcast in Russian, even pre-school children often have a passive command of Russian.

All Hinuq speakers older than 6 years (i.e. beginning with the school) have some command of Russian since education is exclusively in Russian. Although older speakers might not know it very well, they are all able to communicate in Russian with outsiders. Young Hinuq speakers living in the lowlands often know Russian better than Hinuq.

Avar is taught in school as the so-called *rodnoj jazyk* ('mother tongue'). Thus, all Hinuq speakers except for pre-school children have some knowledge of Avar. Since the phoneme inventories of Hinuq and Avar are rather similar, the knowledge of how to write Avar helps Hinuq speakers to write in their own language. The knowledge level of Avar mostly depends on the age of the speakers: older speakers know Avar better than younger ones because Avar used to be the lingua franca in the areas where Hinuq is located. Younger speakers do not know it very well. They speak Russian outside the community because Russian is more widespread and more important than Avar. However, in the past Avar has had a great impact on Hinuq, especially on the lexicon (Section 1.2.4).

Very old speakers have some command of Georgian since there have been well-established relationships between Georgians and Hinuq people for some centuries (Section 1.1.3). But nowadays the border is completely closed and there is no need to know Georgian anymore.

Other languages known by Hinuq speakers are Tsez as it is spoken in the neighboring village Kidiro and to a lesser extent Bezhta due to extensive relationships between the three Tsezic communities.

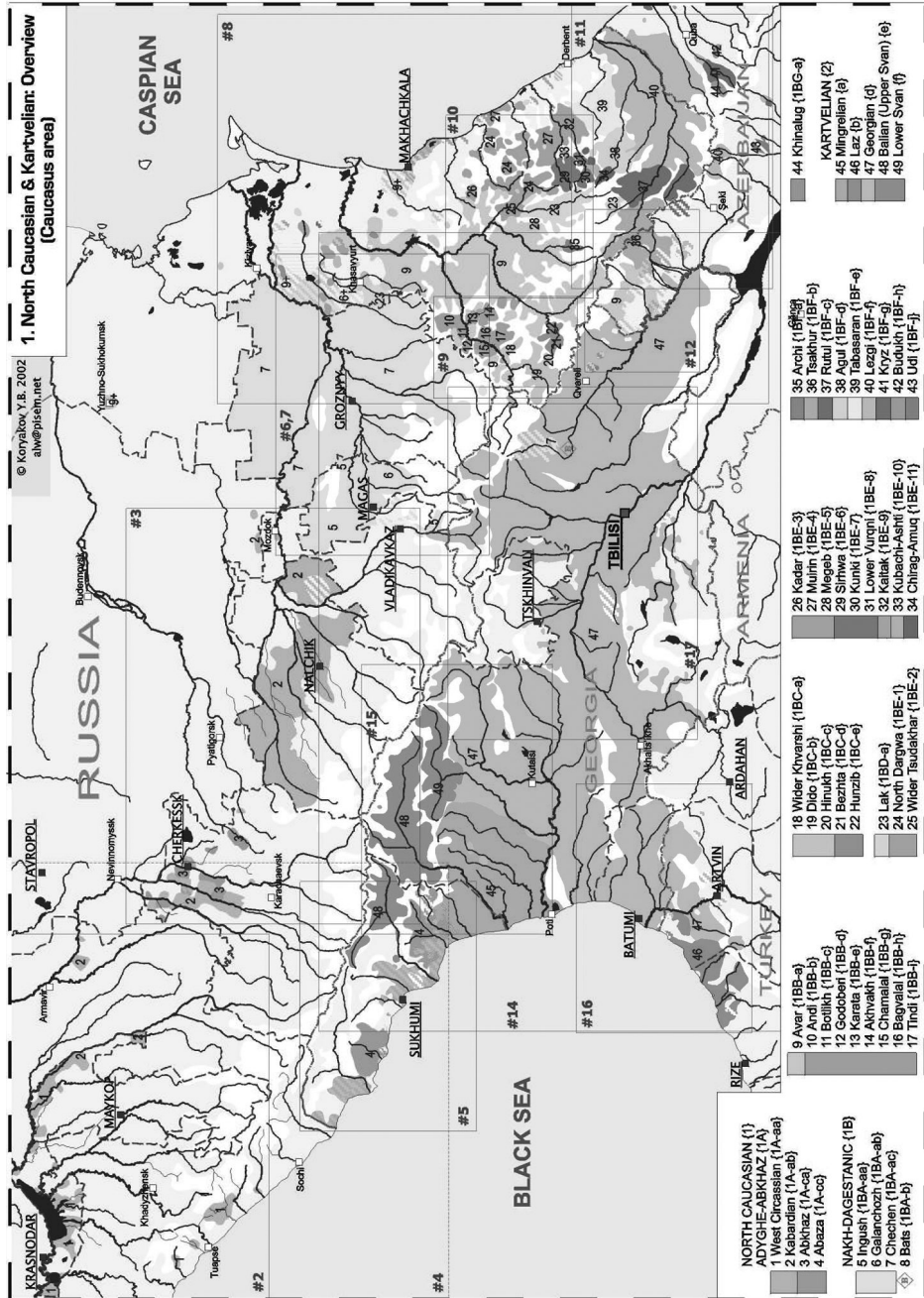


Figure 5. A linguistic map of the Caucasus (Koryakov 2006)

1.2.2. Genealogical affiliation

The Caucasus is the place with the greatest linguistic variation in Europe. The autochthonous languages of the Caucasus belong to three families: North-West Caucasian (or Abkhaz-Adyghe), North-East Caucasian (or Nakh-Daghestanian), and South Caucasian (or Kartvelian), with no provable genealogical relationship between them (see Figure 5).

Hinuq belongs to the Tsezic subbranch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (or East Caucasian) language family (2).

(2) Nakh-Daghestanian (North-East Caucasian)

Nakh branch

Chechen, Ingush, Tsova-Tush (or Batsbi)

Avar-Andic branch

Avar

Andic subbranch

Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Akhvakh, Bagvalal,

Tindi, Chamalal

Tsezic branch

East Tsezic subbranch

Bezhta, Hunzib

West Tsezic subbranch

Tsez, **Hinuq**, Khwarshi (incl. Inkhoqwari)

Lak

Dargi branch

Akusha, Urakhi, Mjurego-Gubden, Mugi, Tsudakhar,

Gapshima-Butri, Kadar, Muira, Mehweb, Sirkhi,

Amukh, Qunqi, Icari, Chirag, Kaitag, Kubachi, Ashti

Khinalugh

Lezgian branch

Udi, Archi

Nuclear Lezgian subbranch

Lezgian, Agul, Tabasaran, Tsakhur, Rutul, Kryz,

Budukh

Instead of considering Tsezic as a separate branch of Nakh-Daghestanian, some authors group it together with Avar and the Andic languages to the so-called Avar-Andic-Tsezic branch (cf. Alekseev 1999c, Korjakov 2006: 27). The Tsezic languages can be divided into East Tsezic, consisting of Hunzib and Bezhta, and West Tsezic, consisting of Tsez, Hinuq, and Khwarshi (whereby Khwarshi is divided into Khwarshi proper and Inkhoqwari, two very different dialects that can be considered to form separate languages). The language family tree given in (2) shows the position of Hinuq.

Hinuq's closest neighbor (both genealogically and geographically) is the Tsez dialect as spoken in the village of Kidiro, which is located about 3 km to the west of Hinuq. Alekseev (1999a) and Korjakov (2006: 21), based on glottochronology, estimate the time depth of Proto-Tsezic at 500 BCE and of Proto-West-Tsezic at 300 CE.

1.2.3. Typological overview of Hinuq

Hinuq has a medium-size vowel inventory with six vowels. The front rounded vowel /"u/ is only preserved in the speech of older speakers. Pharyngealized vowels occur in a restricted number of native words. As is typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages, Hinuq has a fairly rich consonant inventory. It distinguishes three types of stops and affricates: voiced, voiceless, and ejective. Ejectives are quite forceful. Therefore, the contrast between pulmonic consonants and ejectives is easily audible. All velar and uvular consonants occur in plain and labialized form. The syllable structure of native Hinuq words is $CV(:y)(C)$. Stress is not a particularly important category in Hinuq grammar and is often hard to identify.

The category of gender plays an important role throughout the grammar of Hinuq. Nouns belong to five different genders, whose assignment is only partially based on the semantics. Agreement of various parts of speech (verbs, adjectives, adverbs, demonstrative pronouns) is triggered by a combination of gender and number. It is mostly expressed by prefixes. The majority of vowel-initial verbs, a few adverbs and adjectives, and all demonstrative pronouns show agreement. Verbs and adverbs agree with the Absolutive argument of their clause; adjectives and demonstrative pronouns with the head noun.

Hinuq is a dependent-marking language. The morphology is strongly agglutinative and except for the agreement prefixes only suffixing. Hinuq has ergative case marking. The case system is rather large, consisting of 6 grammatical and 35 spatial cases. The spatial cases combine two dimensions: location and orientation. All nouns, pronouns, numerals, and a few adjectives distinguish a direct vs. an oblique stem. Case suffixes are always added to the oblique stem.

Verbs distinguish a fairly large number of tense, mood/modality, and aspect forms. The tense-aspect-mood forms are partially conflated with an evidentiality system that distinguishes between neutral vs. unwitnessed forms in the past tenses. Hinuq has many non-finite verb forms such as converbs, participles, and nominalized forms. These verb forms usually head subordinate clauses or occur in periphrastic verb forms of independent main clauses. The inventory of simple underived verbs is rather small, but Hinuq has a number of very productive strategies used to increase the inventory of verbs: causative derivation and inchoative derivation, compounding, light verb constructions, and also serial verb constructions.

Hinuq has postpositions governing various cases. Many of the postpositions are also used as adverbs, which makes a distinction of these two parts of speech occasionally difficult. The Hinuq numeral system from 20 to 99 is vigesimal. Hinuq has cardinal, ordinal, collective, multiplicative, and distributive numerals. There are about 20 enclitics that serve various grammatical and/or pragmatic functions.

The basic valency classes of Hinuq are intransitive, extended intransitive, transitive, extended transitive, and experiencer verbs, whereby the experiencer verbs are the only class having the most prominent argument in the Dative case. The valency classes correspond to the simple clause types with many extended intransitive and extended transitive verbs having non-canonical agents or other arguments expressed by spatial cases.

Types of complex sentences are adverbial clauses mostly headed by converbs, relative clauses formed with participles, and complement clauses. Reported speech is expressed by constructions differing from ordinary complement clauses. Some complement clauses headed by verbs showing agreement can display either local agreement with the complement clause as a whole, or long distance agreement with the embedded argument in the Absolutive. Coordination and subordination by means of conjunctions plays a very marginal role in clause combining.

In reflexive and reciprocal constructions with verbs belonging to certain valency classes (experiencer verbs and verbs with non-canonical agents), the role of the most prominent argument as indicated by the case marking can or even must be fulfilled by the reflexive or reciprocal pronoun and not by the controlling noun phrase. In addition, there is extensive long-distance reflexivization in various types of subordinate clauses.

Phrases are head-final. In clauses with transitive verbs the most frequent word order is agent-patient-verb, although main clauses admit all other five logically possible orders. Only subordinate clauses are more restrictive in their word order. Generally, word order is strongly influenced by information structure.

1.2.4. Language contact

Hinuq has been in immediate contact with three languages from which it has borrowed many words: Georgian, Avar and Russian. Nowadays, only Avar, and Russian constitute contact languages because the border to Georgia has been closed since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Furthermore, there has been and there still is extensive contact between Hinuq speakers and speakers of two other Tsezic languages, Bezhta and Tsez (Section 1.2.5). When comparing the lexicons of all three languages a striking similarity in the inventory of loan words becomes obvious. Therefore, this section is heavily based on Comrie & Khalilov (2009a, 2009b), who offer a description of language contact in Bezhta and lists of borrowed items. For the phonological adaptations that loans words have undergone in Hinuq see Section 2.4.7.

The contact between Hinuq speakers and Georgians must go back in time a fair distance. For the neighboring Tsezic languages Comrie & Khalilov (2009b) estimate that contact must go back at least to the year zero, and this can also be assumed for Hinuq. A list of examples of Georgian loans in Hinuq is given in (3).

(3)	Hinuq	Georgian
	<i>k'owzi</i> 'spoon'	< <i>k'ovzi</i>
	<i>wazi</i> 'grapevine'	< <i>vazi</i>
	<i>simindi/simildi</i> 'maize'	< <i>simindi</i>
	<i>otoxi</i> 'room'	< <i>otaxi</i>
	<i>ukru</i> 'silver'	< <i>okro</i> ('gold')
	<i>tupi</i> 'gun'	< <i>topi</i>
	<i>santali</i> 'candle'	< <i>santeli</i>
	<i>hayri</i> 'air'	< <i>haeri</i>
	<i>mat'i</i> 'goose'	< <i>bat'i</i>
	<i>yurdelo</i> 'priest'	< <i>myvdeli</i>
	<i>yino</i> 'wine'	< <i>yvino</i>
	<i>c'int'a</i> 'sock'	< <i>c'inda</i>
	<i>saq'dari</i> 'church'	< <i>saqdari</i>
	<i>c'ikay</i> 'mirror, glass'	< <i>č'ika</i>
	<i>(inah)zek'u</i> 'mushroom'	< <i>zok'o</i>
	<i>ixuraq</i> 'duck'	< <i>ixvi</i>

Avar has been the largest source for loans into Hinuq (though nowadays it is probably outranked by Russian). There has been intense contact for at least a few centuries. Hinuq was part of a larger Avar dominated community with Ancuq as the center and Avar was the lingua franca in that area for a long time

(only in recent times has it been replaced by Russian). Avar loans in Hinuq are readily identifiable and are found throughout the lexicon. There are adverbs and postpositions borrowed from Avar, but the loans are mostly adjectives, nouns, and verbs. In Hinuq, the adjectives from Avar do not show gender agreement anymore (Section 6.3). The verbs have been borrowed either in the Infinitive (whereby they have preserved the infinitival suffix in the Ancuq dialect *-izi/-ezi*, which is distinct from the infinitival suffix *-ize* of the standard language) or in the Masdar, a deverbal noun. In Hinuq, both such verb forms usually occur in light verb constructions together with the Hinuq verbs *-iq-* ‘be, become’ or *-u-* ‘do’ (Section 9.3.2).

(4) Hinuq	Avar
<i>bac'adaw</i> ‘clean’	< <i>b-ac'c'ada-w</i>
<i>baħaray</i> ‘bride’	< <i>baħaray</i>
<i>bak'arzi</i> ‘collect, gather’	< <i>bak'arzi</i>
<i>bałgo</i> ‘secretly’	< <i>bałgo</i>
<i>bercinaw</i> ‘beautiful’	< <i>bercina-w</i>
<i>berten</i> ‘wedding’	< <i>bertin</i>
<i>bet'erħan/bet'erhan</i> ‘husband, Lord’	< <i>bet'erhan</i>
<i>bič'i</i> ‘understanding’	< <i>bič'č'i</i>
<i>sadaq/cadaq</i> ‘together, with, all’	< <i>cadaq</i>
<i>č'ago/č'agu</i> ‘alive’	< <i>č'ago</i>
<i>č'uħi</i> ‘pride’	< <i>č'uħi</i>
<i>dahaw</i> ‘few, little’	< <i>daha-w</i>
<i>gamač'</i> ‘stone’	< <i>gamač'</i>
<i>t'ek</i> ‘book’	< <i>teĭ</i>
<i>ħalmaĭ, ħudul</i> ‘friend’	< <i>ħalmaĭ, ħudul</i>
<i>ħardezi</i> ‘ask, request, beg’	< <i>ħardezi</i>
<i>ħalt'i</i> ‘work’	< <i>ħalt'i</i>
<i>ħalki</i> ‘repose’	< <i>ħalĭ</i>
<i>kumak</i> ‘help’	< <i>kumak</i>
<i>kutakalda</i> ‘very, strongly’	< <i>kutakalda</i>
<i>maduħal</i> ‘neighbor’	< <i>maduħal</i>
<i>namuštizi</i> ‘be embarrassed, ashamed’	< <i>namuštizi</i>
<i>req'un</i> ‘in accordance with’	< <i>req'on</i>
<i>boži</i> ‘belief’	< <i>boži</i>

Neither today nor in the past has there been much direct contact between Hinuq speakers and Russian speakers, but Russian is clearly the language with the heaviest influence on Hinuq at the present stage. A big part of the public life takes place in Russian (e.g. television, newspapers, education, and economy).

The number of loans from Russian is constantly growing since nowadays all new loans, including all internationalisms are borrowed from Russian. An illustrative list is given in (5). The influence from Russian is especially obvious in translations from Russian into Hinuq, which not only contain more Russian words than natural discourse, but also show alternations in the syntax. For instance, the word order in Russian is predominantly agent-verb-patient, but in Hinuq it is agent-patient-verb. Another example is the use of nouns marked for plural after all numbers except for the numeral 1, which is the norm in Russian, but not in Hinuq (in Hinuq normally the singular is used).

Following Comrie & Khalilov (2009b), the year 1900 can be taken as a starting point for the entry of Russian loans directly into Hinuq. However, it seems that at least some loans entered the language earlier, mediated through Georgian.

(5) Hinuq	Russian
<i>balnica</i> ‘hospital’	< <i>bol’nica</i>
<i>banka</i> ‘tin, can’	< <i>banka</i>
<i>čaynik</i> ‘kettle’	< <i>čajnik</i>
<i>peč</i> ‘oven’	< <i>peč</i>
<i>iškola</i> ‘school’	< <i>škola</i>
<i>direktor</i> ‘director’	< <i>direktor</i>
<i>zamag</i> ‘shop assistant’	< <i>zavmag</i>
<i>rayon</i> ‘district’	< <i>rajon</i>
<i>agarod</i> ‘garden’	< <i>ogorod</i>
<i>tok</i> ‘electricity’	< <i>tok</i>
<i>gazet</i> ‘newspaper’	< <i>gazeta</i>
<i>magazin</i> ‘shop’	< <i>magazin</i>
<i>mašina</i> ‘car’	< <i>mašina</i>
<i>kino</i> ‘film’	< <i>kino</i> ‘cinema’
<i>armiya</i> ‘army’	< <i>armija</i>
<i>toxtur</i> ‘doctor’	< <i>doktor</i>
<i>sud</i> ‘court’	< <i>sud</i>
<i>naskibe</i> ‘socks’	< <i>noski</i>
<i>istoli</i> ‘table’	< <i>stol</i>
<i>meleci</i> ‘police’	< <i>milicija</i>

The other three languages that have had a certain impact on the Hinuq vocabulary are Arabic (6), Turkic languages (7), and Persian (8). It is unknown whether there has been any direct contact with speakers of Arabic, Persian, or Turkic languages. Most, if not all words from these languages found in Hinuq can also be found in Avar. Therefore, following Comrie & Khalilov (2009b), I assume Avar to be the intermediary language and the direct origin of the words

in Hinuq. Consequently, throughout this grammar I refer to loans from Arabic, Persian, and Turkic as Avar loans, although Avar was not the original source.

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| (6) | Hinuq | Arabic |
| | <i>zaman</i> ‘time’ | < <i>zaman</i> |
| | <i>ħuk(u)mat</i> ‘government, power’ | < <i>ħuku:mat</i> |
| | <i>saʔat</i> ‘hour’ | < <i>sa:ʔat</i> ‘hour, clock’ |
| | <i>axir</i> ‘end’ | < ‘ <i>axi:r</i> ‘last’ |
| | <i>ʔumru</i> ‘life’ | < <i>ʔumr</i> |
| | <i>naslu</i> ‘generation, offspring’ | < <i>nasl</i> |
| | <i>insan</i> ‘human being’ | < <i>insa:n</i> |
| | <i>hawa</i> ‘air’ | < <i>hawa:ʔ</i> |
| | <i>maydan</i> ‘glade, square, field’ | < <i>mayda:n</i> |
| | <i>pikru</i> ‘thought, idea’ | < <i>fikr</i> |
| | <i>qʔurban</i> ‘sacrifice’ | < <i>qurba:n</i> |
| | <i>miskin(aw)</i> ‘poor’ | < <i>miski:n</i> |
| | <i>Allah</i> ‘Allah, God’ | < <i>alla:h</i> |
| | <i>din</i> ‘religion’ | < <i>di:n</i> |
| | <i>ʒamaʔat</i> ‘society, community’ | < <i>ʒamaʔyat</i> |
| | <i>dulan/dunyal</i> ‘world’ | < <i>dunya:</i> |
| | <i>šaytʔan</i> ‘devil’ | < <i>šayta:n</i> |
| | <i>ilbis</i> ‘devil’ | < <i>ibli:s</i> |
| | <i>ʔelmu/ʔilmu</i> ‘science’ | < <i>ʔilm</i> |
| | <i>ʔilla</i> ‘reason’ | < <i>ʔila:</i> |
| | <i>ʔalim</i> ‘scholar’ | < <i>ʔala:m</i> |
| (7) | Hinuq | Turkic |
| | <i>yaray</i> ‘weapon’ | < <i>yarag</i> |
| | <i>bazar</i> ‘market’ | < <i>bazar</i> |
| | <i>bazargam</i> ‘merchant’ | < <i>bazargan</i> |
| | <i>xan</i> ‘king’ | < <i>xan</i> |
| | <i>gama</i> ‘ship’ | < <i>gami</i> |
| | <i>kawu</i> ‘gate’ | < <i>kapu</i> |
| | <i>qarawul</i> ‘guard’ | < <i>qarawul</i> |
| | <i>ulka</i> ‘country’ | < <i>ülke</i> |
| (8) | Hinuq | Persian |
| | <i>šušā</i> ‘bottle’ | < <i>šišē</i> |
| | <i>šahar</i> ‘town’ | < <i>šahr</i> |
| | <i>nagaħ</i> ‘if’ | < <i>na:ga:h</i> ‘suddenly’ |
| | <i>ʔazal</i> ‘thousand’ | < <i>hazara</i> |

<i>čakar</i> ‘sugar’	< <i>šakar</i>
<i>zahru</i> ‘poison’	< <i>zahr</i>
<i>daru</i> ‘medicine’	< <i>dāru</i>
<i>tušman</i> ‘enemy’	< <i>dušman</i>
<i>ya</i> ‘or’	< <i>ya</i>
<i>aždaħ</i> ‘dragon’	< <i>ajedha</i>

1.2.5. Influence from Tsez

Hinuq’s closest neighbor is Tsez, and the contact between Tsez and Hinuq speakers should not be underestimated. Many Hinuq men marry Tsez women, who then move to the village of Hinuq. These women often do not fully acquire the Hinuq language and sometimes simply continue to speak Tsez, at least at home. Therefore, children who have grown up in a mixed family usually know both Tsez and Hinuq, but occasionally speak more Tsez at home than Hinuq. The influence from Tsez is more obvious in recent phonological changes, but there are also small morphological innovations.

One prominent recent change is the loss of labialization (Section 2.2.3). For example, the words in the left column illustrate three labialized Hinuq words as uttered by the elder generation. In contrast, younger Hinuq speakers pronounce the same words without the labialized consonant at the beginning, whereby the following vowel changes its quality. The words in the second column are also used by Tsez speakers of the neighboring village Kidiro.

(9) Older Hinuq speakers	Younger Hinuq speakers / Tsez speakers	Translation
<i>x^win</i>	<i>x^ɸon</i> or <i>xun</i>	‘mountain’
<i>k^wid</i>	<i>kud</i>	‘basket’
<i>k^widi</i>	<i>k’udi</i>	‘wine’
<i>q^winu</i>	<i>q’unu</i>	‘two-year animal’

However, it is not clear whether the loss of the labialization is really triggered by the influence from Tsez since it is also found with Hinuq words that do not have Tsez cognates that are completely identical with the Hinuq words as pronounced by younger speakers. For instance, *y^wero* ‘cow’ is now pronounced as *yore*. The Tsez cognate *yure* means ‘big animal with horns’, the Tsez word for cow being *ziya*.

Another change in the Hinuq phonology is the loss of the front rounded vowel (Section 2.1.1). This vowel is absent from Tsez, so maybe its loss can be attributed to the Tsez influence. Nevertheless, it is also absent from Russian, another language with a huge impact on Hinuq.

Another change probably attributable to Tsez is the change from /i/ to /e/ in some words. For example, older speakers say *-iʔi* ‘similar’, whereas younger speakers pronounce the same word as *-iʔe*, i.e. in the same way as the word occurs in Tsez.

In the morphology I found one clear trait from Tsez. Younger Hinuq speakers use the Tsez distributive suffix *-t'a* instead of the Hinuq ILOC-Essive *-ho*, which can be employed to convey the same meaning (10a, 10b).

- (10) a. *haze-z dahaw simindi-ya-s k'ot'o-t'a toʔʔo*
 they.OBL-DAT few corn-OBL-GEN1 plate-DIST give.ICVB
zoq'e-n
 be-UWPST
 ‘A little plate of maize was given to each of them.’ (N)
- b. *ʒiw.ʒiw-li-ʒ hayʔoy hesso-ho geni toʔʔo*
 every-OBL-DAT he.ERG some-ILOC pear give.PRS
 ‘He gave each of them some pears.’

1.3. Describing and analyzing Hinuq

1.3.1. Earlier literature

Since Hinuq is the smallest Tsezic language and for a long time was considered to be a dialect of Tsez, there is no long and extended tradition of its description and analysis. According to Bokarev (1959: 6), the first collection of 16 Hinuq words was published in 1916 by a Russian scholar named Serʒputovskij.

The first comprehensive description of Hinuq can be found in Bokarev’s book *Cezskie (didojskie) jazyki Dagestana* (‘Tsezic (Didoic) languages of Dagestan’). The monograph was published in 1959, but the material was in fact collected earlier, in 1933 in Hinuq and in 1949 when the Hinuq people lived in Chechnya. The book contains descriptions of the five Tsezic languages, whereby the focus is on the phonology and the morphology. The syntax is practically absent. The articles in *Jazyki Narodov SSSR IV* (‘The languages of the people of the USSR’), published in 1967, represent shortened versions of the grammatical sketches published in 1959 but additionally contained one text for each language.

In the following years mainly Georgian linguists investigated the Tsezic languages, including Hinuq. In 1963 the monograph *Ginuxskij dialect didojskogo jazyka* (‘The Hinuq dialect of the Dido language’) was published by Lomtadze. This book extensively treats the phonology and the morphology and even includes a few pages about the syntax and a number of texts. In the same year Imnajšvili published *Didojskij jazyk s sravnenii s ginuxskim i xvaršiskim jazykami*

(‘The Dido language in comparison with Hinuq and Khwarshi’), a comparative grammar of Tsez treating also Hinuq and Khwarshi.

Beginning from the 1970’s Kibrik and Kodzasov organized many field trips from Moscow State University to Daghestan in order to study Daghestanian languages. Material about Hinuq syntax can be found in *Materialy k tipologii ergativnosti* (‘Materials on the typology of ergativity’) from 1980 and 1981, and alternatively in a newer version of these books by Kibrik (2003), and partially also in Kibrik (1987). Furthermore, Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990) contains descriptions of the phonology and the case formation in many Daghestanian languages, including Hinuq.

In the past 15 years or so the Daghestanian Scientific Centre of the Russian Academy of Science, more precisely the Institute of Language, Literature and Art, has published dictionaries of many smaller, unwritten languages of Daghestan. The Hinuq-Russian dictionary by Khalilov and Isakov appeared in 2005, containing not only more than 7500 entries, but also a grammatical sketch. This sketch basically corresponds to Khalilov (1997), Khalilov & Isakov (1999) and Isakov (2000). It has been translated into English without any major changes and appeared in the third volume of the series ‘The indigenous languages of the Caucasus: The North-East Caucasian languages, Part 1’ (Isakov & Khalilov 2004). The last paper is basically the only description of Hinuq available in English.

1.3.2. This grammar

This book covers the most important aspects of Hinuq grammar thereby following the traditional order: phonology (Chapter 2), morphology (Chapters 3–14), syntax (Chapters 15–28), and also information structure (Chapter 29). Furthermore, it contains a long text in Hinuq with morpheme-by-morpheme glosses and an English translation (Chapter 30). The grammar is mostly based on the corpus as it is described in 1.3.4. But those topics that could not be covered comprehensively relying only on corpus analysis have been elicited.

To make the grammar reader-friendly I have tried to be as theory-neutral as possible and do not assume any knowledge of a particular theoretical framework or a particular terminology. I have chosen to capitalize the grammatical labels applied to individual Hinuq categories (e.g. Simple Present, Ergative). This reflects the fact that these categories are language-specific.

The orthography used in this grammar corresponds to the conventional orthography used in many other works on Tsezic languages. A table illustrating this orthography and other orthographies used in previous descriptions of Hinuq is given in Section 31.1 of the Appendix. The linguistic examples provide a morpheme-by-morpheme glossing and an English translation. After the trans-

lation the text from which the example was taken is indicated in parenthesis. If the example was elicited, no text name appears. Furthermore, the following symbols may occur in examples:

- [] Square brackets in Hinuq mostly indicate constituents (e.g. subordinate clauses). In Chapter 29 on information structure, they are used to indicate topic and focus. Occasionally square brackets appear in the first line of examples containing the context of the example sentence.
- { } Curly brackets are used to indicate alternatives.
- () The intended translation of ungrammatical or marginally acceptable examples is given in parentheses.
- * The asteriks indicates ungrammatical examples.
- ? A question mark indicates marginally acceptable examples.
- “ ” Quotation marks indicate reported speech.

1.3.3. Fieldwork

The material used in this grammar was collected during seven field trips to Daghestan between 2006 and 2011. Three of the field trips (in 2006, 2007, and 2009) led me to the village of Hinuq, where I spent about five months in total. Four other shorter trips of about two weeks each I spent mostly in the village of Monastirski, but also in Shamkhal, and in the Daghestanian capital Makhachkala. During the first period of my work (2006-2008), the focus of the field trips was on gathering material of various text genres (folklore, fairy tales and myths, proverbs, songs, oral life histories, procedural texts, and spontaneous conversations). After analyzing the material in Germany, I used the later field trips mainly for elicitation and data checking. In addition to freely narrated texts and elicitation, I used some stimuli: the pear story (Chafe 1980), the frog story (Mayer 1969, Slobin 2004), the topological pictures series (Bowerman & Pederson 2003, Levinson & Meira 2003) the tense-aspect-mood questionnaire by Dahl (1985), and map tasks which I created by myself.

My main informant during all this time was Nabi Isaev, a teacher of Avar in the village of Hinuq. He has not only a very good command of Hinuq, but also of Avar and Russian. He provided me with many Hinuq tales and legends. Since he is not only a teacher but also a writer who has published several books with poems in Avar, he also provided me with poems in Hinuq written by himself. In addition, he sat numerous hours with me answering my questions patiently and thinking of complete sentences for word forms that I presented to him. My second important informant was Magomed Gussejnov, a tax collector in Monastirski. Both informants studied at the Faculty of Philology of the Daghestanian

State University and are now about 60 years old. Furthermore, Magomed Davydov provided me with the most beautiful and very long fairy tales. Ali Isaev, the brother of my main informant Nabi Isaev, told me many anecdotes from his and his ancestors' lives and offered much useful information. Other useful information or texts were provided by Omar Abdulaev, Elmira Aburaxmanova, Nurbika Aburaxmanova, Avakar Aliev, Patimat Alievna, Ajšat Axmedova, Žanat Amarova, Šamsjat Jussupova, Raisat Sultanova, and Idris Zakarjaev. Further informants that narrated the pear story for me or were willing to respond to various other stimuli were Xava Abarkarova, Patimat Davidova, Rajganat Džaxparova, Rukijat Džaxparova, Magomed Gussejnov (the son of my second main informant), Ajšat Gussejnova, Šamil Isaev, Zuxra Isaeva, Magomed Jussupov, Omar Omarov, Šajix Paxrudinov, Elmira Paxrudinova, Madina Paxrudinova, Xavsat Paxrudinova, Sijadat Tagirova, and Patimat Zakarjaeva.

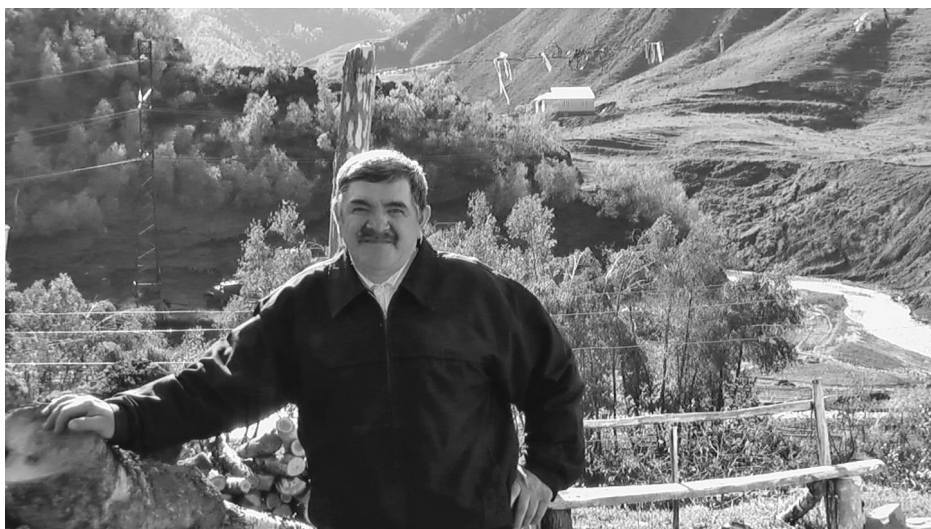


Figure 6. My main informant Nabi Isaev

The youngest daughter of Nabi Isaev, Džavgarat Isaeva, offered me not only her friendship, but also helped me transcribe and translate hours and hours of records, which I could never have done by myself. Elmira Paxrudinova, Sakinat Gamidova, and Raxmatbika Zakarjaeva also helped me with transcriptions and translations.

Last but not least my fieldwork would have been impossible without the hospitality of Šajix Paxrudinov and his wife Xanzabika and Idris Zakarjaev and his family with whom I lived in Hinuq, the Gussejnov families in Monastirski, Arsen Abdulaev and his wife Patimat in Shamkhal, Rasul Mutalov and his fam-

ily in Makhachkala, and finally my friend Diana Šabanova and her family in Makhachkala.

1.3.4. The corpus

The structure of the corpus on which this grammar is based is displayed in Table 1. It has mainly been collected by myself. It is made up of 122 texts, whereby the longest text, a fairy tale, consists of about 500 sentences, and the shortest texts, the proverbs, consist of only one sentence each. The youngest speakers were about 12 years old, the oldest speakers about 70 years old. Chapter 30 contains one representative fairy tale from my main informant Nabi Isaev.

The corpus consists of three types of data: (i) natural discourse, (ii) texts produced by means of stimuli, and (iii) elicited data. Under ‘natural discourse’ I subsume texts where the topic is not given by means of any stimuli. These texts can be of different genres: fairy tales, legends, anecdotes, autobiographical narrations and narrations of historical events, procedural texts, proverbs, poems, dialogues, etc. Such texts make up the major part of my corpus, and whereby most of these free narrations were collected by myself. But I have also included 12 texts from the grammars that I checked again with Hinuq speakers. These texts can be found in Lomtadze (1963), Imnajšvili (1963) and Bokarev (1967) and were collected by the authors of the respective grammars in the first half of the 20th century. All those examples presented in the grammar that contain (N) after the translation originate from natural discourse.

The texts that are based on the use of stimuli are all freely produced by using films (Pear story) or pictures (Frog story, map task, Topological Pictures Series). Examples produced by means of stimuli are marked with (S) after the translation.

Finally, I did many hours of elicitation, sometimes to gather new data or to get first insights into a new topic, but mostly to check my hypotheses after having analyzed a certain topic. During the elicitation sessions I spoke Russian with my informants. For the elicitation, I either had informants translate sentences from Russian, or I constructed Hinuq sentences and checked them, or I presented my informants with Hinuq word forms and asked them to invent Hinuq sentences containing those word forms. Examples coming from elicitation are not marked, i.e. they do not contain (N) or (S) after the translation.

For many, but not for all of the texts in my corpus I have audio recordings. The audio recordings were made with a DAT recorder (2006) and later on with the audio recorder Olympus LS 10. The texts that lack audio data are either from the grammars or they were slowly dictated by the informants so that I was able to type them directly. The texts that come with audio data were first recorded and then transcribed and translated with the help of informants.

Table 1. The Hinuq corpus

Genre	# Glossed texts	# Recordings
Natural discourse (ca. 34.700 words)		
Fairy tales, legends, anecdotes	34	23
Autobiographical narrations, history	8	7
Recipes	9	9
Proverbs	16	-
Poems, songs	18	13
Dialogues	3	3
Texts from grammars	12	-
Texts collected by using stimuli (ca. 8.800 words)		
Pear stories	14	14
Frog story	1	1
Map task	1	1
Topological picture series	4	3
Total (ca. 43.500 words)	120	74

The corpus as presented in Table 1 contains about 43.500 words, whereby the texts from natural discourse (including those from the grammars) consist of about 34.700 words, and the texts collected by the use of stimuli consist of about 8.800 words. Elicited data is not part of this corpus.

The texts were first transcribed using the Cyrillic orthography established in the dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005). The same informants that helped me to transcribe the texts also usually provided me with a rough translation into Russian. Then I was able to transcribe the texts again in the orthography used in this grammar and to gloss the texts in Toolbox. For a list of the transcription used in previous works on Hinuq and in this grammar see Appendix 31.1.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.1. Vowels

2.1.1. Realization

The Hinuq vowel inventory is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Vowel inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	[ɪ] [ʏ] i ü		[ʊ] u
Mid	[ɛ] e		[ɔ] o
Low		[a] a	

The lax vowels [ɪ], [ʏ], [ʊ], and [ɔ] have the tense variants [i], [y], [u], and [o]. The distribution of lax and tense vowels is not entirely clear. There is a tendency for stressed and/or long vowels to be tense (11).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| (11) | [ˈbum.bʊ.li] | ‘feather’ | [ˈmu.ʒi] | ‘matress’ |
| | [ˈʔi.jo] | ‘mother’ | [ˈmy.ʔy] | ‘fat, suet’ |
| | [ˈʔo.bu] | ‘father’ | [bɛ.ˈsu.ro] | ‘fish’ |
| | [ˈli.ho] | ‘dress.PRS’ | [jɛ.ˈdoː.ho] | ‘II.work.PRS’ |

However, this is not a strict rule. It is possible to find stressed vowels that are lax. This is the case with many monosyllabic words that consist of a closed syllable of the type *CVC*, and with a number of other words. It is also possible to find tense vowels that are unstressed, e.g. in word final position and in words with diphthongs, because diphthongs attract stress. Some examples are given in (12).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------------|
| (12) | [bɪ.ˈfɔn] | ‘hundred’ | [ʔɔ.ˈʔɔ.tsu] | ‘chicken’ |
| | [ˈkʰɔn.kʰa] | ‘bicycle’ | [ʔal.ˈdɔ.ʋo] | ‘before, in front’ |
| | [a.ˈqɪ.li] | ‘woman’ | [ʔɔg] | ‘ax’ |
| | [kʰɪd] | ‘basket’ | [mʊs] | ‘hair’ |
| | [ho.ˈbɔɪ] | ‘then, now’ | [hi.ˈbɑɪ] | ‘such’ |

In many cases the pronunciation of the vowels /i/, /o/, and /u/ is somewhere between tense and lax. A further complication is that stress is not very prominent in Hinuq and not always clear audible (Section 2.5). The distinction between tense and lax vowels is not phonemic, because there are no words that differ only in this single feature and it seems that at least for some words the pronunciation can vary between tense and lax depending on the speaker, the rate of speech and the context. Therefore, in this grammar both tense and lax variants are always written as *i*, *ü*, *u* and *o* except for phonetic transcriptions of examples appearing in square brackets.

The vowel /ü/ has only been preserved by some older speakers. Younger speakers replace /ü/ with /i/ or very occasionally with /u/. But labialization of the preceding consonant is also possible. Younger speakers do not recognize /ü/ as a phoneme of Hinuq anymore.

(13)	Older speakers	Younger speakers	Translation
	<i>tüλ'ü</i>	<i>tɪλ'i</i>	'finger'
	<i>q'üdü</i>	<i>q'idi</i>	'down'
	<i>b-üγ-ayaz</i>	<i>b-iγ-ayaz</i>	'III-take-PURP'
	<i>kü</i>	<i>ki/k^wi</i>	'blueberry'

Thus, the following minimal pairs or minimal oppositions can only be found with speakers that are more than 50 years old. Younger speakers only use the pronunciations in the right-hand column, which are in this case ambiguous.

(14)	<i>č'üγü</i>	'smithy'	<i>č'iyu</i>	'shoulder-blade'
	<i>üše</i>	'bull.PL'	<i>iše</i>	'snow'
	<i>üšü</i>	'the first green grass'	<i>?iši</i>	'apple'

2.1.2. Diphtongs

In addition to the vowels listed in 2.2.1, Hinuq has six diphthongs [ɔɪ] (written *uy*), [aɪ] (*ay*), [ɔɪ] (*oy*), [ɛɪ] (*ey*), [aʊ] (*aw*) and [ɔʊ] (*ow*). These diphthongs can be analyzed as consisting of two phonemes, a vowel and a semivowel. For the last two diphthongs *aw* and *ow* this is obvious because they are sometimes realized as [av] and [ɔv], with an audible frication. For the first four diphthongs it can be argued that at least some of the words ending with [ɛɪ] have an alternative variant lacking a diphthong and ending simply in [ɛ]. Illustrative examples are:

(15)	<i>q'ay</i>	'thing'	<i>hayti</i>	'there'
	<i>k'oboy</i>	'shirt'	<i>ažey, aže</i>	'tree'
	<i>q'uy-q'uya</i>	'other'	<i>dawla</i>	'wealth'
	<i>hestow hes</i>	'alone'	<i>t'ok'aw</i>	'anymore'

2.1.3. Long vowels

All vowels occur long. Long vowels seem to occur only in stressed position. Long vowels can be either an inherent part of the morpheme or the result of a morphophonological process (2.4.3). Inherent long vowels occur in the following cases: (i) in suffixes, (ii) root-finally with a number of verbs, (iii) /i:/ occurs in a number of nouns, pronouns, question words, adjectives, and verbs.

Suffixes that have long vowels are *-li:* and *-do:* for the Antipassive (Section 9.2.5). Examples are *k'ilik'-do:-z* (wash-ANTIP-PURP) and *qaλe-li:-ž* (shout-ANTIP-PURP).

Hinuq has a number of verb roots that end with a long vowel (16). These verbs differ both phonologically and morphologically from the verbs that end with a short vowel and therefore form their own conjugation class (see Section 7.2.2 for details). Among these verbs stem-final /a:/ is by far the most frequent long vowel. Verbs are the only root morphemes that contain the long vowels /a:/, /e:/, /o:/, and /u:/.

(16)	<i>ga:-ho</i>	‘drink-PRS’	<i>b-a:-ho</i>	‘HPL-yell-PRS’
	<i>b-ihī:-ž</i>	‘HPL-fight-PURP’	<i>b-u:-ho</i>	‘III-do-PRS’
	<i>xede:-z</i>	‘spin-PURP’	<i>b-edo:-ho</i>	‘HPL-work-PRS’

There some minimal pairs or minimal oppositions with these verbs:

(17)	<i>b-ú:-ho</i>	‘III-do-PRS’	<i>b-uh-ó</i>	‘III-die-PRS’
	<i>r-á:-ho</i>	‘NHPL-yell-PRS’	<i>yeme-rá-ho</i>	‘mill-OBL-ILOC’
	<i>b-edó:-s</i>	‘HPL-work-PST’	<i>aldoyo-dó-s</i>	‘before-DIR-ABL1’

A handful of words have [i:] (or [y:]) in their stem. Apart from a few verbs with [i:] (e.g. *-ihī:-* ‘fight’ (16)), these are two interrogative pronouns, a few nouns, and three adjectives. However, except for the pronouns the long [i:] is the result of the sequence of the two phonemes /i/ and /y/ which are phonetically realized as [i:]. Nominal, pronominal, and adjectival roots contain no other long vowels besides [i:]. Note that the vowel length correlates with the stress and the word-final position of the vowel. The three adjectives given in (18) can be stressed on the first vowel instead of the last, in which case the last vowel is short (see (84) below).

(18)	<i>nī:/ nū:</i>	‘where’	<i>iy</i>	‘blood’
	<i>miy/mihi</i>	‘birch’	<i>k^wiy</i>	‘ram, wether’
	<i>ī:</i>	‘whose’	<i>qiy</i>	‘hare’
	<i>-egiy</i>	‘good’	<i>yiy</i>	‘milk’
	<i>gaqiy</i>	‘bad’	<i>-[?]ežiy</i>	‘big, old’

The following minimal pairs and minimal oppositions containing long vs. short vowels are available:

(19)	<i>itni</i>	‘Monday’	<i>ni:</i>	‘where’
	<i>irqi</i>	‘herd, flock’	<i>qiy</i>	‘hare’
	<i>-iti</i>	‘be similar’	<i>ti:</i>	‘whose’
	<i>Ø-iš</i>	‘I-eat.IMP’	<i>i:-š</i>	‘blood-GEN1’
	<i>Ø-iq-iš</i>	‘I-happen-PST’	<i>qi:-š</i>	‘hare-GEN1’
	<i>xan-i-š</i>	‘khan-OBL-GEN1’	<i>ni:-š</i>	‘where-GEN1’

2.1.4. Pharyngealization

Like the other West Tsezic languages Tsez and Khwarshi, Hinuq has a phonetic feature of vowels commonly called “pharyngealization” (or sometimes “epiglottalization”) whereby the root of the tongue is retracted towards the back wall of the pharynx.

In Hinuq, pharyngealization is quite restricted. This means that it is phonemic because it cannot be predicted. But it is optional, and there are no minimal pairs. The only Hinuq example generally cited in the literature is the adjective *-²eži* ‘big, old’ (cf. Bokarev (1959: 112), Lomtadze (1963: 23), Imnajšvili (1963: 19), Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990: 330)). Only Khalilov & Isakov (2005) mention in addition a few more words that are also claimed to have pharyngealized vowels: *²aši/ʔaši* ‘much, many, often’, *g²aqi* ‘bad’, *²og* ‘thigh’ and some more. However, most of these words are clearly not pharyngealized in my material. Looking at my own corpus, I found the native Hinuq words given in (20), which show some kind of pharyngealization. Most of these words alternate between /ʔa/ and /²a/ at the beginning.

(20)	<i>aši / ²aši</i>	‘much, often’	<i>ac / ²ac</i>	‘door’
	<i>²ač^hino</i>	‘nine’	<i>aššu / ²aššu</i>	‘thick, fat’
	<i>aλ / ²aλ</i>	‘village’	<i>²ela!</i>	‘enough’
	<i>-eži / ²eži</i>	‘big, old’	<i>iši / ²iši</i>	‘apple’
	<i>-ečču / -²ečču</i>	‘fat’		

The alternation depends on the speakers and on the speech tempo, i.e. in fast speech the pharyngealization is almost inaudible or disappears completely. Some speakers do not pharyngealize at all. For instance, as already noted by Lomtadze (1963), pharyngealization in the adjective *-²eži* does not occur with all speakers. It is especially clear after the agreement prefix of the first gender *Ø-* [*ʔ^hεʒi*] and after the agreement prefix of the fifth gender/non-human plural *r-* [*r^hεʒi*]. Some but not all of my young informants who are less than 20 years

old do not pronounce pharyngealized vowels in the native Hinuq words given in (20), but do pronounce them in Avar loan words (21). There is thus perhaps an ongoing loss of this feature in Hinuq.

Furthermore, it is difficult to differentiate between the pharyngeal (or epiglottal) stop /ʔ/ and pharyngealization as a type of secondary articulation indicated by ^ʔ. For instance, in the examples listed in (20) the vowel sounds like the vowels in loans that are preceded by /ʔ/. Hinuq has many such loans from Avar. A few of them are listed in (21).

(21)	<i>ʔagartɪ</i>	‘relatives’	<i>ʔadat</i>	‘tradition’
	<i>ʔelmu</i>	‘science’	<i>ʔilla</i>	‘reason’
	<i>ʔoloqbe</i>	‘youth’	<i>ʔumru</i>	‘life’
	<i>maʔarul</i>	‘mountainous’	<i>reʔel</i>	‘free time’
	<i>wacʔal</i>	‘male cousin’	<i>q'urʔan</i>	‘Koran’
	<i>daʔba-roʒi</i>	‘discussion’	<i>ɫaraʔ</i>	‘flat’
	<i>mapʔul</i>	‘scoundrel’		

It seems that there is actually no phonetic difference between *ʔV*, mostly found in loan words (21), and ^ʔ*V* in Hinuq native words (20), but in contrast to the native words, pharyngealization in loan words is obligatory and not only found at the beginning of words, but also in the middle of words (*VʔV*, *CʔV*, *VʔC*) and at the end of words. In this grammar, obligatory pharyngealization is indicated by /ʔ/ and optional pharyngealization by ^ʔ before the affected vowel.

There has been some discussion concerning pharyngealization in Hinuq and in other Tsezic languages (cf. Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990), Maddieson et al. (1996), Comrie (2003a), Grawunder et al. (2009)). The precise nature and the historical development of pharyngealization remains a subject of debate. Lomtadze (1963: 23) claims that pharyngealization developed under the influence of the neighboring language Tsez. Imnajšvili (1963: 19) states that pharyngealization and the pharyngeal fricative /ʔ/ developed from the glottal stop. Isakov and Khalilov (2004: 173, 2005: 567) argue that pharyngealization is a feature of the vowels /a/ and /e/.

2.2. Consonants

2.2.1. Realization

Table 3 presents the consonant inventory of Hinuq. In this table, the three series of stops are, in the given order: voiceless nonejective, voiceless ejective, and voiced. The two series of fricatives are voiceless and voiced. The two series of affricates are voiceless nonejective and voiceless ejective. In every box the first

row represents the phonetic value of each phoneme, while the second row gives the orthographic symbols used in this grammar (see also Section 31.1 in the appendix for the complete orthography).

The nonejective uvular stop usually has a strong fricative component during the release phase of the stop. Thus, phonetically it is rather an affricate [qχ] and therefore categorized by Isakov & Khalilov (2004) as such. However, with some lexemes such as *žiqu* ‘today’ the friction is normally absent. In Table 3 the plain uvular stop is classified together with the ejective uvular stop. /q/ and /qʔ/ are not only distinguished by the stronger friction of /q/ in respect to /qʔ/, but also by the time interval between the release of the stop and the beginning of the next vowel (VOT). This period is longer for /q/ than for /qʔ/.

This distinction is generally found between voiceless pulmonic and ejective stops and has already been observed by Maddieson et al. (1996: 98). The closure duration for voiceless pulmonic stops is usually quite short and is followed by a relatively lengthy period of voiceless noise during the VOT. In other words, voiceless pulmonic stops are slightly aspirated. In contrast, in ejective consonants the VOT is (almost) silent. In addition, pulmonic stops often show a short amount of preaspiration.

The semivowel /w/ is realized as a voiced labiodental fricative [v] in the syllable onset, especially at the beginning of words, and mostly as a labial-velar approximant [w] in the middle of words and in the coda, though sometimes even in the coda it can have a weak friction. Only two inherited Hinuq words (*wili* ‘in Georgia’, *wazra* ‘horsefly’) and some loans begin with /w/, almost exclusively followed by /a/:

(22)	<i>wili</i>	‘in Georgia’	<i>wazra</i>	‘horsefly’
	<i>wazi</i>	‘grapevine’	<i>wasi</i>	‘testament’
	<i>warani</i>	‘camel’	<i>weł</i>	‘thing’

In terms of the final element in native Hinuq morphemes the labial-velar approximant is only found after the vowels /o/ and /a/ in a small number of demonstrative pronouns and in the emphatic enclitic =*tow*. Very occasionally in these words /w/ is pronounced [v] or [w]. Usually the sequence -*aw* or -*ow* at the end of a word leads to the formation of the diphthongs [aʊ] and [ɔʊ] (see Section 2.1.2). In loan words such as the last four words given in (23), /w/ occurs also after /e/, /i/, and /u/.

(23)	<i>haw</i>	‘that, she’	<i>hibaw</i>	‘that’
	<i>izaw</i>	‘that’	<i>hago=tow</i>	‘same’
	<i>bečedaw</i>	‘rich’ (from Avar)		
	<i>behulew</i>	‘possible’ (from Avar)		

Table 3. Consonant inventory

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Postalveolar	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	[p] [p'] [b] p p' b	[t] [t'] [d] t t' d			[k] [k'] k k' [k ^w] [k' ^w] k ^w k' ^w	[q] [q'] q q' [q ^w] [q' ^w] q ^w q' ^w	((ʔ)) ʔ	[ʔ] ʔ
Fricative	((f)) f	[s] [z] s z	[ʃ] ʃ	[ʃ] [ʒ] ʃ ʒ		[χ] [χ'] x x' [χ ^w] [χ' ^w] x ^w x' ^w	[h] ħ	[h] h
Affricate		[tʃ] [tʃ'] c c'	[tʃ] [tʃ'] tʃ tʃ'	[tʃ] [tʃ'] tʃ tʃ'				
Nasal	[m] m	[n] n						
Liquid		[r] r	[l] l					

Semivowels: [w], written as w, [j], written as y

<i>miskinaw</i>	‘poor’ (from Avar)
<i>žiw-žiw</i>	‘each, every’ (from Avar)

In native Hinuq words /w/ almost never occurs word-internally, with two exceptions: in the word *šeg^we-šewre* ‘mare’ and in some inflectional forms of one verb it is inserted to avoid two subsequent vowels (e.g. *-u:-w-a*, the Infinitive of the verb *-u:-* ‘do’, see 2.4.1). However, there are some loans with word-internal /w/, e.g. *hawa* ‘air, sky’, *kawu* ‘gate’, *haywan* ‘animal’, *dawla* ‘wealth’, and the name *Džawharat*. As can be seen in these examples, in loans and names /w/ can be followed by vowels, semivowels and consonants, but never by consonants.

The occurrence of the other semivowel, the palatal approximant /j/, is less restricted. It is found between vowels in word stems, e.g. *iyu* ‘mother’, *haya* ‘mosquito’. It also occurs before and after consonants, e.g. *hayto-* ‘that.OBL’, *hibayru* ‘so’, *qorya:-* ‘boil’, *c’oq’ya:-* ‘stich’, but never between two consonants. It can follow vowels and thus form diphthongs (24). Diphthongs are described in more detail in Section 2.1.2.

(24)	<i>ubbay</i>	‘kiss’	<i>beɬay</i>	‘dagger’
	<i>ižey</i>	‘eye’	<i>k^wezej</i>	‘hand’
	<i>coy</i>	‘eagle’	<i>hoboy</i>	‘then, now’
	<i>quy</i>	‘noise’	<i>hayɬuj</i>	‘she.ERG’

It occurs word-initially before a vowel, e.g. *yocu* ‘spittle’, *yez* ‘copper’. In addition, /j/ is often epenthetic when occurring at morpheme boundaries to avoid sequences of vowels, e.g. *-edo:-yo* ‘work-COND’, *-ixi-ya* ‘go-PTCP’ (Section 2.4 for the morphophonological rules).

That both semivowels belong to the consonant inventory of Hinuq can be shown with the help of the coordinative enclitic. If this enclitic is added to vowels, it is =*n*. However, if the preceding phoneme is a consonant, then the allomorph =*no* is used to avoid word-final consonant clusters, e.g. *haw=no* ‘she=and’, *coy=no* ‘eagle=and’, or *ižey=no* ‘eye=and’.

A non-phonemic glottal stop occurs before word-initial vowels (including vowel-initial words in compounds) like *ixu* [ʔixu] ‘river’, *iyu-obu* [ʔijo-ʔobu] ‘parents’, lit. ‘mother-father’, or *ot’iš* [ʔot’iʃ] ‘he slept’. In accordance with tradition, /ʔ/ is not written in word-initial position. There are a few words that have a phonemic glottal stop between two vowels of the same quality (which is always written). The list given in (25) is exhaustive. There is only one Avar loan word where the glottal stop occurs at the end of a syllable, namely *wabaʔ* ‘cholera’.

(25)	<i>aʔa</i>	‘rhododendron’	<i>maʔa</i>	‘threshold’
	<i>miʔi, müʔü</i>	‘fat, suet’	<i>heʔer-</i>	‘lift up’
	<i>oʔocu</i>	‘chicken’	<i>oʔo</i>	‘no’

Although pharyngeals are not extraordinarily frequent, at least the voiceless fricative /h/ occurs in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. In contrast, the pharyngeal stop /ʔ/ is exclusively found in loans (Section 2.1.4).

Though /f/ is not a phoneme of native Hinuq words, it is preserved with recent Russian loans and pronounced as /f/ by speakers of all ages, e.g. *front* ‘front’. In older loan words it has usually been replaced by /p/ (2.4.7).

2.2.2. Distribution of consonants

All plain consonants occur in initial, medial, and final position in Hinuq words and loans (26). In (26) loans are indicated with (L). In native Hinuq words the occurrence of the glottal stop ʔ is restricted because it occurs only in initial and intervocalic position (25). Labialized consonants never occur in syllable-final position, and there are no loans with them in syllable-final position (and therefore also not in word-final position). *p*, *pʷ*, *tʰ*, *k*, *q*, *c*, *cʰ*, *č*, *h*, ʔ, ʔ and all labialized consonants are absent in affixes or enclitics. The labialized and the pharyngeal consonants and the glottal stop are already restricted in their occurrences; especially the pharyngeals are quite rare. So this is probably the explanation as to why they do not occur in enclitics and affixes. But I have no explanation as to why all ejectives with the exception of /kʰ/ and /ʁʰ/ are absent from affixes and enclitics.

(26)	C	Initial	Medial	Final
	b	<i>buq</i> ‘sun’	<i>k’oboy</i> ‘shirt’	<i>šub</i> ‘lawn’
	p	<i>pelu</i> ‘wooden tube’	<i>λ’epu</i> ‘lip’	<i>nep</i> ‘fat deposit’
	pʰ	<i>p’ez</i> ‘reed’	<i>p’ap’aru</i> ‘talk active’	<i>gup</i> ‘swelling’
	d	<i>de</i> ‘I, I.ERG’	<i>yʷede</i> ‘day’	<i>ked</i> ‘girl’
	t	<i>teł</i> ‘inside’	<i>tuturu</i> ‘dirty’	<i>qot</i> ‘palm’
	tʰ	<i>t’oq</i> ‘knife’	<i>sot’i</i> ‘around’	<i>at</i> ‘flour’
	g	<i>goł</i> ‘be’	<i>igo</i> ‘near’	<i>og</i> ‘ax’
	gʷ	<i>gʷarži</i> ‘vicious union of bones’	<i>-egʷey</i> ‘small’	
	k	<i>kut’i</i> ‘smoke’	<i>t’eka</i> ‘goat’	<i>šek</i> ‘waterskin’
	kʷ	<i>kʷezey</i> ‘hand’	<i>cem-mekʷa</i> ‘cheese’	
	kʰ	<i>k’i</i> ‘weeping willow’	<i>zok’i</i> ‘cup’	<i>xuk</i> ‘dipper’
	kʷʰ	<i>kʷ’idi</i> ‘wine’	<i>akʷ’e</i> ‘nail’	
	q	<i>qeqe</i> ‘porridge’	<i>aqili</i> ‘woman’	<i>čeq</i> ‘forest’
	qʷ	<i>qʷen</i> ‘farm’	<i>aqʷe</i> ‘urine’	
	qʰ	<i>q’idi</i> ‘down’	<i>λoq’on</i> ‘hat’	<i>muq</i> ‘column’
	qʷʰ	<i>qʷ’ena</i> ‘two.OBL’	<i>aqʷ’e</i> ‘mouse’	

c	<i>ca</i> ‘star’	<i>nuce</i> ‘honey’	<i>ac</i> ‘door’
c’	<i>c’udu</i> ‘red’	<i>boc’e</i> ‘wolf’	<i>moc</i> ‘neck’
č	<i>čiyō</i> ‘salt’	<i>moči</i> ‘field, place’	<i>ič</i> ‘threshing-floor’
č’	<i>č’e</i> ‘fire’	<i>q’ič’i</i> ‘piece’	<i>(h)imič</i> ‘clay’
s	<i>sira</i> ‘why’	<i>nosod</i> ‘at noon’	<i>hes</i> ‘one’
š	<i>šeλ’u</i> ‘clothing’	<i>qešu</i> ‘wall’	<i>ɣ^weriš</i> ‘cow.PL’
z	<i>zek</i> ‘tomorrow’	<i>hozu</i> ‘separately’	<i>guz</i> ‘hill’
ž	<i>žo</i> ‘thing’	<i>uži</i> ‘boy, son’	<i>bež</i> ‘enclosure’
ʃ	<i>ʃu</i> ‘who’	<i>koʃe</i> ‘fast’	<i>geʃ</i> ‘down, under’
λ	<i>λebu</i> ‘year’	<i>q’oλu</i> ‘skin’	<i>aλ</i> ‘village’
λ’	<i>λ’ere</i> ‘up, on’	<i>puλ’o</i> ‘sidewards’	<i>beλ</i> ‘sheep’
ɣ	<i>yeme</i> ‘mill’	<i>yeɣe</i> ‘slowly’	<i>muɣ</i> ‘pannier’
ɣ ^w	<i>ɣ^we</i> ‘dog’	<i>eɣ^wada</i> ‘sweat’	
x	<i>xu</i> ‘meat’	<i>xexbe</i> ‘child(ren)’	<i>bex</i> ‘grass, hay’
x ^w	<i>x^win</i> ‘mountain’	<i>cax^wa</i> ‘chicken pox’	
ʔ	<i>ʔelmu</i> (L) ‘science’	<i>maʔarul</i> (L) ‘Avar’	<i>nuʔ</i> (L) ‘witness’
ʔ	<i>eli</i> ‘we, our’	<i>maʔa</i> ‘threshold’	<i>wabaʔ</i> (L) ‘cholera’
h	<i>haya</i> ‘mosquito’	<i>koħlo</i> ‘ball’	<i>q’eh</i> ‘bad tobacco’
h	<i>hago</i> ‘he, this’	<i>purho</i> ‘by, at’	<i>muh</i> ‘grain’
m	<i>mecu</i> ‘forearm’	<i>xemu</i> ‘stone’	<i>gom</i> ‘be.NEG’
n	<i>noce</i> ‘louse’	<i>hune</i> ‘way’	<i>t’igan</i> ‘rope, string’
l	<i>lami</i> ‘partition’	<i>gulu</i> ‘horse’	<i>ardel</i> ‘long ago’
r	<i>roži</i> ‘word’	<i>zeru</i> ‘fox’	<i>ɣemer</i> ‘wheel’
w	<i>waqi</i> ‘walnut’	<i>kawu</i> (L) ‘gate’	<i>hibaw</i> ‘that’
y	<i>yoλu</i> ‘ashes’	<i>boyu</i> ‘bull-calf’	<i>hibay</i> ‘such’

2.2.3. Labialization

All velar and uvular consonants occur in plain and labialized form. Labialization is mostly found with syllable-initial consonants, mostly in word-initial position. But there are also a number of examples with word-internal labialization, especially within verbs. Syllable-final (and therefore word-final) labialization is not attested. Usually only one consonant per word is labialized, but there are a handful of words where in careful speech the first and the second consonant are identical and can both be labialized. However, in fast speech usually only one of the consonants is actually labialized, whereas the other consonant is not.

- (27) *g^weg^we-s* ‘lose-PST’ *k^wek^we-s* ‘itch-PST’
q^waq^wa ‘Adam’s apple.IN’ *q^waq^wadiro* ‘woodpecker’

The labialized consonants can be followed by all vowels except /u/. The occurrence of labialized consonants before /o/ is restricted to Present tense forms of those verbs whose stems end with /_C^we/ (e.g. *λex^w-o* ‘remain-PRS’), but it is generally very weak in this position.

Some minimal pairs and minimal oppositions for labialized consonants are presented in the following list (28). The relevant consonants are underlined.

(28)	<u>g</u> ^w <i>an</i>	‘rheumatism’	<u>g</u> <i>am</i>	‘drink.UWPST’
	<u>aq</u> ^w <i>e</i>	‘mouse’	- <u>aq</u> ^w <i>e</i>	‘come.GT’
	- <u>ix</u> ^w <i>iš</i>	‘sit.PST’	<u>ix</u> ^w <i>iš</i>	‘river.GEN1’
	<u>hes q</u> ^w <i>en</i>	‘one farm’	<u>hesq</u> ^w <i>en</i>	‘nobody’
	<u>k</u> ^w <i>iligo</i>	‘meeting.point.AT’	<u>k</u> ^w <i>ilikko</i>	‘wash.PRS’
	<u>y</u> ^w <i>eros</i>	‘cow.GEN1’	<u>y</u> ^w <i>ermos</i>	‘fence.GEN1’
	<u>k</u> ^w <i>et’es</i>	‘right’	<u>k</u> ^w <i>et’as</i>	‘buttock.GEN1’

Labialized consonants do not represent clusters but are rather an instance of secondary articulation because they are often replaced by plain consonants, especially by younger speakers. If the transformation occurs with a consonant that precedes /i/, then this vowel usually turns into /ü/. If the transformation occurs before /e/, then this vowel usually becomes /o/. In other words, the vowels shift from front to back. The transformation may even affect preceding vowels, but they change only from /e/ to /o/. A similar change can be observed in the oblique form of the second person singular personal pronoun: the variant used by older speakers is *dew-* (e.g. *dew-de* ‘you.SG.OBL-ALOC’), but younger speakers use *dow-* (e.g. *dow-de*). This change might at least partially be attributed to influence from the neighboring language Tsez (1.2.5).

(29)	Labialized	Non-labialized	Translation
	<i>k^wana</i>	<i>kana</i>	‘wood shaving’
	<i>λex^w-o</i>	<i>λex-o/λox-o</i>	‘remain-PRS’
	<i>x^win</i>	<i>xun</i>	‘mountain’
	<i>q^wič’a</i>	<i>q’uč’a</i>	‘oat flour’
	<i>k^wid</i>	<i>kud</i>	‘basket’
	<i>k^widi</i>	<i>k’udi</i>	‘wine’
	<i>y^winu</i>	<i>yunu</i>	‘hornless’
	<i>q^wec’e</i>	<i>q’oc’e</i>	‘together’
	<i>y^were</i>	<i>yore</i>	‘cow’
	<i>y^wede</i>	<i>yode</i>	‘day’
	<i>zeq^wes / zoq^wes</i>	<i>zoq’es</i>	‘be.PST’

There are two nouns and one numeral that distinguish the Absolutive stem from the oblique stem by means of labialization:

(30) Absolutive stem	Oblique stem	Translation
<i>rek^we</i>	<i>rek^wu⁴</i>	‘man’
<i>šeg^we</i>	<i>šoge-</i>	‘mare’
<i>q^wono</i>	<i>q^wena-</i>	‘two’

2.3. Phonotactics

2.3.1. Syllable structure and word structure

The syllable structure of native Hinuq words is relatively simple. In stems only syllables of the types *CV*, *CV:*, and *CVC* are permitted. Inflected words can contain syllables of the types *CV:C* and *CVyC*. The syllable template is *CV(:y)(C)*, with optional segments in parenthesis. In (31)-(34) all four syllable types are illustrated. Word-initial glottal stops are not written. The exemplifying syllables are underlined.

(31) CV			
<u><i>žo</i></u>	‘thing’	<u><i>le</i></u>	‘water’
<u><i>bu.še</i></u>	‘house’	<i>šer.ba</i>	‘guest’
<u><i>ša.ša.ru</i></u>	‘narrow’	<i>bum.bu.li</i>	‘feather’
(32) CV:			
<u><i>i:</i></u>	‘blood’	<i>qe.ba:ho</i>	‘think.PRS
<u><i>qi:</i></u>	‘hare’	<i>edo:ho</i>	‘he works’
(33) CVC			
<u><i>mus</i></u>	‘hair’	<u><i>iš</i></u>	‘bull’
<u><i>mec.xer</i></u>	‘money’	<u><i>žar.ža.li</i></u>	‘chain’
<u><i>coy</i></u>	‘eagle’	<u><i>i.žey</i></u>	‘eye’
<u><i>haw</i></u>	‘she’	<u><i>hes</i></u>	‘one’

There are no native Hinuq root morphemes that contain superheavy syllables. Only loan words contain superheavy syllables with two consonants in the coda (e.g. the Avar loans *bašs* ‘discussion’ and *naps* ‘personality’). However, there can be native Hinuq words with *CV:C* and *CVyC* syllables containing long vowels or diphthongs. These forms are always inflected. Typically the superheavy syllables occur word-finally. But because additional enclitics can be added, a superheavy syllable can also make up the first syllable of a phonological word. Note that the sequence /ji/ in two words in (34) is pronounced as [i:], but the

⁴ Note that younger speakers use this form even as the Absolutive stem.

palatalized consonant at the syllable end indicates that the semivowel /j/ is followed by /i/, which triggers the palatalization (Section 2.4.5).

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|--------------|
| (34) | <u>ga</u> :-z | ‘drink-PURP’ | <u>ʔe.ž</u> a:-z | ‘laugh-PURP’ |
| | <u>hayiš</u> =no | ‘there.ABL I=and’ | <u>y^weyiš</u> | ‘dog.GEN I’ |
| | <u>be.ʔay</u> -d | ‘dagger-INS’ | | |

The restrictions on the syllable structure of monomorphemic words extend to polymorphemic words. Sequences of two consonants in the syllable are generally avoided. Mechanisms that help to prevent clusters at morpheme boundaries are vowel deletion and insertion and the insertion of glides (2.4.1).

Minimal words (i.e. free roots) have the shape *CV*, e.g. *žo* ‘thing’, *ʔe* ‘water’. Minimal bound roots have the shape *V*-. The only examples of this type are the two verbs *-u*:- ‘do, make’ and *-a*:- ‘cry’.

2.3.2. Geminates

Geminates occur with all consonants except /pʔ/, /h/, /ʔ/, /ʔʔ/, /cʔ/, and labialized consonants. Again, /h/, /ʔʔ/, /pʔ/, and also /ʔʔ/ in word-medial position are infrequent consonants, which might be the reason why they lack geminates. In addition, native Hinuq morphemes never end with /h/, /ʔʔ/ or /ʔʔ/. Geminates occur in stems only in intervocalic position, mostly in adjectives before the adjectival ending *-u*, but never in affixes or enclitics (35). Additionally, geminates occur at morpheme boundaries (see below).

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (35) | <i>ubbay</i> | ‘kiss’ | <i>ʔoppu</i> | ‘low’ |
| | <i>xoddo</i> | ‘husband’ | <i>k’ottu</i> | ‘short’ |
| | <i>at’t’u</i> | ‘wet’ | <i>kekku</i> | ‘light’ |
| | <i>šuk’k’u</i> | ‘thick, dense’ | <i>aqqa</i> | ‘thirst’ |
| | <i>oq’q’u</i> | ‘hard, difficult’ | <i>qicca</i> | ‘pillow’ |
| | <i>b-ečču</i> | ‘III-fat’ | <i>b-oč’č’u</i> | ‘III-cold’ |
| | <i>hezzo</i> | ‘then, after’ | <i>niššu</i> | ‘narrow’ |
| | <i>essu</i> | ‘sibling’ | <i>čoyyu</i> | ‘hardened’ |
| | <i>b-oʔʔo</i> | ‘III-in.the.middle’ | <i>yilla</i> | ‘stick’ |
| | <i>axxa</i> | ‘ear’ | <i>anna</i> | ‘knee bend’ |
| | <i>zarra</i> | ‘destiny’ | | |

There are (almost) no minimal pairs, but some minimal oppositions (36).

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|--------|---------------|----------|
| (36) | <i>ceq’q’u</i> | ‘sour’ | <i>meq’u</i> | ‘thread’ |
| | <i>at’t’u</i> | ‘wet’ | <i>ʔ’at’u</i> | ‘cry’ |

<i>kekku</i>	‘light’	<i>λ’ereku</i>	‘shawl’
<i>b-oλλo</i>	‘III-in.the.middle’	<i>b-oλλo</i>	‘III-fast’
<i>ubbay</i>	‘kiss’	<i>uba</i>	‘quarter’

The realizations of geminates differ considerably among the speakers and according to the speech rate. Therefore the phonological status of the geminates needs a separate examination. A preliminary analysis of the closure duration, VOT, and the total duration of stops and affricates showed that at least the difference in the closure duration between singletons and geminates isolated and inside a phrase is significant. But the exact phonological nature of the geminates needs further research.

In addition to their occurrence in stems, geminates occur at morpheme boundaries in verbal and nominal inflection and with one enclitic. Verbs with a stem-final consonant (conjugation class 1, see Section 7.2.2) exhibit lengthening of that consonant in the Simple Present tense. Ejective consonants transform into plain geminates. Some examples are given below, whereby (37) illustrates plain consonants that become geminates and (38) ejectives that become plain geminates. This process is not found in other verbal forms or in other parts of the Hinuq morphology.

(37)	Imperative	Simple Present	Translation
	<i>cax-o!</i>	<i>caxxo</i>	‘write’
	<i>-ok-o!</i>	<i>-okko</i>	‘peel’
	<i>-os!</i>	<i>-osso</i>	‘fall’
	<i>neλ!</i>	<i>neλλo</i>	‘give’
(38)	Imperative	Simple Present	Translation
	<i>-ik’-o!</i>	<i>-ikkko</i>	‘beat’
	<i>-et’e!</i>	<i>-etto</i>	‘burst’
	<i>got’-o!</i>	<i>otto</i>	‘pour’
	<i>-ac’-o!</i>	<i>-acco</i>	‘eat’
	<i>-ič’-o!</i>	<i>-iččo</i>	‘fill’
	<i>-uλ’!</i>	<i>-uλλo</i>	‘fear’

In nominal inflection there are three possibilities for the occurrence of geminates at morpheme boundaries: (i) before the second genitive suffix *-zo* and before the spatial case suffixes *-qo* ‘AT-Essive’, *-de* ‘ALOC-Essive’, *-ho* ‘ILOC-Essive’, and *-λ’o* ‘SPR-Essive’, (ii) before the oblique stem suffixes *-mo* and *-na*, and (iii) before the Absolutive plural suffix *-be*. This phenomenon is restricted to a few nouns (39). Finally, geminates occur if the topic-marking enclitics =*gozo*, =*gon*, or =*gozon* are added to words that end in /g/, and if the enclitic =*te*, which

expresses surprise, is added to a word ending in /t/. Note that the geminates of /xʰ/, /g/, and /h/ occur only at morpheme boundaries, but never in roots.

(39)	<i>guz-zo</i>	‘elevation-GEN2’	<i>čeq-qo</i>	‘forest-AT’
	<i>ked-de</i>	‘girl-ALOC’	<i>muh-ho</i>	‘grain-ILOC’
	<i>ʃiχʰ-χʰo</i>	‘finger.OBL-SPR’	<i>im-mo-qo</i>	‘column-OBL-AT’
	<i>tʰen-na-s</i>	‘breast-OBL-GEN1’	<i>χeb-be</i>	‘year.OBL-PL’
	<i>hag=gon</i>	‘that=TOP’	<i>teʃ=ʃe</i>	‘inside=really’

2.3.3. Consonant clusters

Consonant clusters consisting of two consonants occur only in intervocalic position in Hinuq words. This restriction refers also to glides. Most frequent are clusters involving sonorants, but there are other clusters as well.

Loans may, as an exception, have two successive consonants in final position and more than two consonants in intervocalic position, e.g. *baħs* ‘discussion’, *naps* ‘personality’, *dandčʰwaj* ‘meeting’, or the Russian borrowing *xozyaystwo* ‘household’. The same is true for some borrowed place names, e.g. *γizlyar* / *Kizlyar* ‘Kizljär’ and *Buynaksk*. But often loan words undergo vowel insertion (2.4.7). The following list illustrates consonant clusters in derived and underived stems.

- plosive plus plosive
kʰedbo ‘barren’, *naħaqʰda* ‘useless, vain’, *zokʰda* ‘cellar storeroom’
- plosive plus affricate
akčey ‘very small, very little’, *maqʰχu* ‘lightning’, *χʰaqʰχu* ‘immediately’, *čokχu* ‘water with food remains for feeding animals’, *beqči* ‘party’
- fricative plus plosive
sastʰuri ‘pillow’, *qeštʰu* ‘ice/ski track’, *uxtʰuri* ‘grindstone’, *rizqʰi* ‘property’, *azqʰa* ‘hoarfrost’, *xetʰu-bisbilla* (also *xetʰu-bismilla*) ‘snail’
- fricative plus fricative
ižho/ižyo ‘avalanche’
- fricative plus affricate
axcuχer ‘on the back’, *axχu* ‘phlegm, spittle’, *žaxχi* ‘jingling’, *-exχʰe-s* ‘become.warm-PST’, *tʰošču* ‘weeding’
- affricate plus fricative
mecxer ‘money’

- sonorant plus obstruent
hayʔuy ‘she.ERG’, *arxi* ‘ditch’, *ʁerba* ‘guest’, *žaržali* ‘chain’, *gelču* ‘rolling pin’, *alxu* ‘pasture’, *aldoɣo* ‘before, in front, first’, *k’ek’elba* / *k’ek’elbo* ‘tendon’, *bumbuli* ‘feather’, *lampa-q’il* ‘wooden ceiling’, *domp’oli* ‘clumsy fellow’, *k’onk’a* ‘bike’, *k’onc’u* ‘leg’
- obstruent plus sonorant
bečnu ‘knee’, *aʔnu* ‘apron’, *eʁni* ‘winter’, *mihna* ‘bird’, *hoc’na* ‘groin’, *žežmu* ‘tremble’, *k’up’la* ‘ball’, *zabru* ‘watering can’, *k’ep’ri* ‘hit’, *kašit’ri* ‘grass mowing’, *oqru* ‘whole’, *oq’ru* ‘skull’
- sonorant plus sonorant
tormuži ‘green alga’, *aʁ’armu/aʁ’irmu* ‘untilled soil’, *t’emra* ‘stone column’, *derni* ‘noise’, *boyla* ‘thumb’, *lilyo* ‘puddle’, *šeg^we-šewre* ‘mare’

2.4. Morphophonology

2.4.1. Syllable repair mechanisms

2.4.1.1. Epenthetic vowels

In order to break up consonant clusters that would occur in the case formation of nouns, an epenthetic /e/ or /i/ is inserted in two contexts: (i) after nouns with consonant-final stems if they are followed by a case marker consisting only of a single consonant (40) and (ii) after the spatial case suffixes *-ʔ* CONT-Essive and *-ʁ* SUB-Essive, which consist of a single consonant if they are followed by a direction marker (41). In the latter instance only /e/ can occur. In the first instance /e/ is preferred with most nouns, but some speakers allow for both /e/ and /i/ with some nouns (see Section 3.2 on the oblique stem formation of nouns for details). An alternative analysis could treat the inserted vowels in the first context not as epenthetic but just as oblique stem markers. But then such an analysis fails to explain why /e/ and /i/ occur only before case markers consisting of a single consonant, and not before those case markers that have a *CV* structure.

- (40) Nouns with consonant-final stems
- | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>čeq-e-s/čeq-i-š</i> | ‘forest-EP-GEN1’ | <i>čeq-zo</i> | ‘forest-GEN2’ |
| <i>halmaɣ-e-z</i> | ‘friend-EP-DAT’ | <i>halmaɣ-qo</i> | ‘friend-AT’ |
| <i>maduhal-e-z/</i> | ‘neighbor-EP-DAT’ | <i>maduhal-qo</i> | ‘neighbor-AT’ |
| <i>maduhal-i-ž</i> | | | |
- (41) Spatial case formation (Part 1)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|
| <i>armi-ʔ-e-s</i> | ‘army-CONT-EP-ABL1’ | <i>armi-ʔ</i> | ‘army-CONT’ |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------|

k^wezera-λ-e-r ‘hand.OBL-SUB-EP-LAT’ *k^wezera-λ* ‘hand.OBL-SUB’
iž-λ-e-s ‘eye.OBL-SUB-EP-ABL1’ *iž-e-λ* ‘eye.OBL-EP-SUB’

In the second context (i.e. spatial case formation with the suffixes CONT and SUB) the epenthetic vowel is, synchronically speaking, not always needed. Two direction markers have a *CV* structure, the Second Ablative (-*zo*) and the Directional (-*do*). If they are added to the CONT or SUB location markers which have already been attached to oblique stems that end with a vowel, there is no need for syllable repair. Nevertheless, the epenthetic vowel /e/ is inserted after the location marker as can be seen in (42). There might be several explanations for this. One is analogy: since the epenthetic vowel occurs after CONT and SUB when the Lative or the First Ablative follow, by analogy the occurrence of the epenthetic vowel has been generalized in order to cover the whole paradigm of CONT and SUB. Another explanation might be that the location markers have synchronically been added to consonants, in which case the epenthetic vowel is needed. This is still the case sometimes, e.g. *iž-λ-e-s* (eye.OBL-SUB-EP-ABL1). Or Hinuq has a general preference for open syllables over closed syllables, such that *ra.ład.li.łe.do* is preferred over **ra.ład.lił.do* because it contains more open syllables.

(42) Spatial case formation (Part 2)

raładli-ł-e-do ‘sea.OBL-CONT-EP-DIR’ *raładli-ł* ‘sea.OBL-CONT’
uži-ł-e-zo ‘boy-CONT-EP-ABL2’ *uži-ł* ‘boy-CONT’
zoro-λ-e-zo ‘barn-SUB-EP-ABL2’ *zoro-λ* ‘barn-SUB’

Epenthetic vowels are also found with the derivational suffixes -*ł* for the Potential (43) and -*r* for the Causative verb form (44). After verbs that have a stem-final consonant, an epenthetic /e/ is inserted before both suffixes. For the formation of potential verbs, the insertion of the epenthetic vowel is obligatory, independently of the shape of the following suffix:

(43) Potential verbs

cax-e-ł-me, but not **cax-ł-me* ‘write-POT-NEG’
ese-r-e-ł-me, but not **ese-r-ł-me* ‘say-CAUS-POT-NEG’
cax-e-ł-a, but not **cax-ł-a* ‘write-POT-INF’
ese-r-e-ł-a, but not **ese-r-ł-a* ‘say-CAUS-POT-INF’

In contrast, in the formation of the simple causative, the derivational suffix can also be added directly to the stem without any intervening vowel if the syllable structure constraints are not violated. This is the case with all following suffixes that begin with a vowel (e.g. Infinitive, Simple Past, or Purposive converb).

2.4.2. Glide insertion

Glide insertion represents a regular form of allomorphy. It is found only with verbs. Suffixes beginning with a vowel require the insertion of a glide if they are attached to verbs that have vowel-final stems. Just one verb requires the insertion of *w* for the formation of the Imperative, the Infinitive, and the Purposive converb, but this seems to be phonologically conditioned because the root consists only of *-u:-* ‘do, make’.⁵ In contrast, the insertion of *y* is very common with various classes of verbs for a number of verbal forms. Most typical are allomorphs of suffixes for the Conditional converb (*-o*), the Past participle (*-oru*), and the Local participle (*-a*), but also some Present tense forms and the Infinitive of the verb *li:-* ‘wear’ requires the insertion of *y*.⁶ In (47) an illustrative list of verb forms is given. The first column shows a verb form that does not require glide insertion, but adds the consonant-initial suffix directly to the verbal stem, and the third column exemplifies glide insertion before a vowel.

(47)	<i>b-u:-ho</i>	‘III-do-PRS’	<i>b-u-wo!</i>	‘III-do-IMP’
	<i>eʎi-š</i>	‘say-PST’	<i>eʎi-yo</i>	‘say-COND’
	<i>b-ike-n</i>	‘III-see-UWPST’	<i>b-ike-ya</i>	‘III-see-PTCP.LOC’
	<i>y-edo:-z</i>	‘II-work-PURP’	<i>y-edo:-yoru</i>	‘II-work-PTCP.PST’
	<i>y-ayi-ʎ’o</i>	‘IV-open-SIM’	<i>y-ayi-yo</i>	‘IV-open-PRS’
	<i>li:-ho</i>	‘dress-PRS’	<i>li-ya</i>	‘dress-INF’

Whether vowel deletion or glide insertion applies in order to avoid subsequent vowels depends on the word itself as well as on the added suffix. However, it is not their phonological features that determine the applied rule, but rather a lexical property. For example, the Simple Present suffix *-o* becomes *-yo* with verbs that have a stem-final *-i*, which means that glide insertion applies. In contrast, in verbs with stem-final *-e* this vowel is deleted before adding *-o*.

2.4.3. Sequences of identical vowels

Long vowels can be the result of a sequence of two identical vowels or of a vowel plus a semivowel. This happens when (i) the Ergative suffix or (ii) the IN location suffix is added to nouns.

The Ergative suffix is *-i*. If it is attached to a noun that ends in a vowel or takes an oblique suffix ending in a vowel, the suffix is *-y*. In the case of the vowels /a/, /e/, /o/, and /u/ this leads to diphthongs as in (24). In the case of a final /i/ the

⁵ Alternatively one could say that the stem of the verb ‘do, make’ is *-uw-*, not *-u:-*.

⁶ An alternative analysis could claim that the stem of the verb ‘wear’ is *liy-*, not *li:-*.

result is a long stressed *-i:*, i.e. /i/+j/ → /i:/ Minimal pairs like the following ones occur:

(48)	<i>úži</i>	‘boy’	<i>uži:</i>	‘boy.ERG’
	<i>měši</i>	‘calf’	<i>meši:</i>	‘calf.ERG’
	<i>ʔáli</i>	‘Ali’	<i>ʔáli:</i>	‘Ali.ERG’

The same lengthening happens when not the noun stem itself, but the oblique stem ends in *-i*, as demonstrated in (49). In the second example also sonorant deletion applies (2.4.4).

(49)	<i>Allah-li-y</i> → <i>Allahlí:</i>	‘Allah-OBL-ERG’
	<i>humer-li-y</i> → <i>humelí:</i>	‘face-OBL-ERG’

The inverse sequence /ji/ leads to diphthongs including the preceding vowels. This means that *hayi* ‘there’ is pronounced [hai]. It becomes *hayi-š* when the First Ablative suffix is added, pronounced [haiʃ], not *[hajiʃ]. Similarly, the First Genitive of *y^we* ‘dog’ is *y^we-yi-š*, pronounced [ɸ^wɛiʃ], not *[ɸ^wɛjiʃ]. In other words, /j/ is not pronounced.

Nouns like *xan* ‘khan’ or *čanaqan* ‘hunter’, whose oblique stem is identical to the base stem, end, in principle, with a short *-i* in the Ergative case because there is no preceding identical vowel; but since this vowel is stressed, and stressed vowels, especially in final position, tend to be longer than unstressed vowels, the last vowel of the nouns presented in (50) has about the same length as the last vowel of the nouns in (49). The vowels in (50) are clearly longer than an unstressed vowel such as in *úži* ‘boy’, but nevertheless shorter than stressed vowels such as in *uži:* (48).

(50)	<i>xan-i</i> → <i>xaní</i>	‘khan-ERG’
	<i>čanaqan-i</i> → <i>čanaqaní</i>	‘hunter-ERG’

In this grammar, cases like (48) and (49) are marked with a long vowel in the glosses to indicate that the forms are morphologically complex (e.g. *uži:* ‘boy.ERG’ in contrast to the Absolutive form *uži*). But in cases like (50), neither length nor stress is indicated because the morphological complexity is obvious, and stress is generally not marked in this grammar.⁷

The form of the IN location marker is lexically determined. It can be either *-ma* or a copy of the immediately preceding vowel (*-a*, *-e*, or *-i*), regardless of whether the preceding vowel belongs to the basic noun stem or to the oblique

⁷ The reason for not indicating stress is that stress is not a very prominent category in Hinuq. Its influence on the grammar is very limited (Section 2.5).

marker. It is always stressed, independently of its form. The rule for copy vowels is /V/+/V/ → /V̇:/. But note that in the glosses of this grammar stress is not indicated, and length (apart from the length of root morphemes and suffixes containing long vowels) is only indicated if it expresses morphological complexity, e.g. *iškola*: ‘school-IN’ vs. *iškola* ‘school’.

- | | | |
|------|--|------------------|
| (51) | <i>iškola</i> + <i>-a</i> → <i>iškola:</i> | ‘school-IN’ |
| | <i>áλ</i> + <i>-a-a</i> → <i>aλá:</i> | ‘village-OBL-IN’ |
| | <i>múži</i> + <i>-i</i> → <i>muži:</i> | ‘bed-IN’ |
| | <i>búce</i> + <i>-e</i> → <i>bucé:</i> | ‘month-IN’ |

All nouns that form the IN-Essive with a copy-vowel form minimal pairs between the First Ablative form, in which the vowel is long, and the First Genitive form, where the vowel is slightly shorter (52).

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|----------------|
| (52) | <i>pardala-a-s</i> | ‘veranda-IN-ABL1’ | <i>pardala-s</i> | ‘veranda-GEN1’ |
| | <i>muži-i-š</i> | ‘bed-IN-ABL1’ | <i>muži-š</i> | ‘bed-GEN1’ |
| | <i>beλe-e-s</i> | ‘house-IN-ABL1’ | <i>beλe-s</i> | ‘house-GEN1’ |

However, the difference in vowel length between the IN-Ablative and the First Genitive is not as big as the difference between, for instance, the Absolute forms of the same nouns (e.g. *iškola*, *muži*) and their IN-Essive forms (e.g. *iškola:*, *muži:*). The reason might be that vowels in closed syllables are generally shorter than vowels in open syllables at the end of words. Hinuq speakers even judge the IN-Ablative and the First Genitive forms in (52) to be identical.

2.4.4. Sonorant deletion

In Hinuq there are four processes of optional sonorant deletion that vary with the informants and the rate of speech. In careful speech sonorant deletion does not occur. The first occurs before the oblique suffix *-mo* and before the fused oblique plus IN-Essive marker *-ma* (53). Two more processes of sonorant deletion are found before the suffix *-no* (Unwitnessed Past) as well as the enclitic =*no* ‘and’ and before the derivational suffix *-nak’u* (54), (55). Finally, sonorant deletion occurs quite regularly with a group of nouns ending with *-r* and having *-li* as the oblique stem marker (56). In the first three contexts the consonant that does not undergo the deletion may be realized somewhat longer, such that the morphophonological process could possibly be better described as a combination of progressive assimilation and an optional shortening of the geminate.

- | | |
|------|---|
| (53) | /n/ → /m/-Ø/ _m |
| | <i>magazin-ma-s</i> → <i>magazimmas</i> → <i>magazimas</i> ‘shop-IN-ABL1’ |

- rayon-mo-s* → *rayommos* → *rayomos* ‘district-OBL-GEN1’
diwan-mo-λ → *diwammoλ* → *diwamoλ* ‘couch-OBL-SUB’
- (54) /l/ → /n/-Ø/_n
ʔazal=no → *ʔazanno* → *ʔazano* ‘thousand=and’
hil-no → *hinno* → *hino* ‘bite-UWPST’
- (55) /r/ → Ø/_n
kur-no → *kunno* → *kuno* ‘throw-UWPST’
eser-nak’u → *esenak’u* ‘beggar’
- (56) /r/ → Ø/_l
bazar-li-λ’o-r → *bazaliλ’or* ‘market-OBL-SPR-LAT’
šahar-li-do → *šahalido* ‘town-OBL-DIR’
mexxer-li-š → *mexxeliš* ‘silver-OBL-GEN1’

2.4.5. Palatalization

An instance of (almost) obligatory progressive assimilation is the palatalization of the dental fricatives /s/ and /z/ after the high front vowels /i/ and /ü/. The palatalization affects all suffixes beginning with /s/ (i.e. First Genitive, First Ablative, Simple past, Resultative participle) or /z/ (oblique plural suffix for nouns, Dative, Second Genitive, Second Ablative, Purposive converb, oblique Resultative participle).

- (57) /s/, /z/ → [ʃ], [ʒ]/i_
**ax-i-s* → *ax-i-š* ‘cheese-OBL-GEN1’
**diz* → *diž* ‘I.DAT’
**esni-za-y* → *esni-ža-y* ‘sibling.PL-OBL.PL-ERG’
**y-iλ’i-s* → *y-iλ’i-š* ‘II-go-PST’
**y-ihī:-z* → *y-ihī:-ž* ‘II-fight-PURP’
**cax-li:-za-y* → *cax-li:-ža-y* ‘write-ANTIP-OBL.RES-ERG’

Interestingly, there are occasional counterexamples to the palatalization rule that regard the oblique plural form of nouns that already have a palatalized fricative in the root. In these cases the oblique plural suffix is *-za*, not *-ža*, as would be expected. Note that the exceptions are only the oblique plural forms of these nouns, i.e. oblique singular forms with suffixed case markers undergo palatalization (e.g. the Second Genitive is *uži-žo*, *muži-žo*, *roži-žo*).

- (58) ABS SG GEN1 SG GEN1 PL Translation
uži *uži-š* *uži-za-s* ‘boy’

<i>muži</i>	<i>muži-š</i>	<i>muži-za-s</i>	‘bed’
<i>roži</i>	<i>roži-š</i>	<i>roži-za-s</i>	‘word’

2.4.6. Ablaut

Ablaut is found with three words only. The first vowel /u/ of the base stem turns into /e/ for the oblique stem (59). But nowadays there is a growing tendency to use the base stem for oblique case forms.

(59)	<i>buže</i>	‘house’	<i>beže-s/buže-s</i>	‘house.OBL-GEN1’
	<i>buce</i>	‘month’,	<i>bece-s/buce-s</i>	‘month.OBL-GEN1’,
		‘moon’		‘moon.OBL-GEN1’
	<i>buq</i>	‘sun’	<i>beqe-s/beqa-s/buqe-s</i>	‘sun.OBL-GEN1’

2.4.7. Integration of loan words

Hinuq has plenty of loan words, mainly from Avar and Russian (see Section 1.2.4 for examples). In order to integrate these words into the Hinuq lexicon, some phonemes not found in Hinuq have been replaced, and some vowels have been inserted.

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ does not occur in native Hinuq words. Where /f/ occurs in Russian words it is nowadays always pronounced as /f/, e.g. *front* ‘front’. In older loans from Arabic /f/ became /p/: *sapar* (‘journey’, from Arab. *saḡar*) and *Pat’imat* (‘Fatimah’, from Arab. *Faṭīma*).

Another phoneme that does not exist in Hinuq, but in Avar, a language with a large influence on Hinuq, is the voiceless velar fricative [x], written as *x̄*. Hinuq has numerous loan words from Avar, and in these words *x̄* is usually replaced by *k*, as shown in the following examples:

(60)	Avar	Hinuq	Translation
	<i>baybiḡi</i>	<i>baybiki</i>	‘beginning’
	<i>t’eḡ</i>	<i>t’ek</i>	‘book’
	<i>ħalḡi</i>	<i>ħalki</i>	‘relax’
	<i>biḡina-</i>	<i>bikinaw</i>	‘male’
	<i>ḡiḡize</i>	<i>kikzi -u:-</i>	‘maintain, feed’ (animals)

The phonotactic restrictions of Hinuq require, in principle, to eliminate every syllable-initial or syllable-final consonant cluster.⁸ Thus, in Hinuq-variants of

⁸ Exceptional borrowings from Avar where consonant clusters are preserved are cited in Section 2.3.3.

Russian words, vowels are inserted before, between, or after a consonant cluster (61). But nowadays most Hinuq speakers have a fairly good command of Russian. As a result, the words given below are often uttered by simply using the Russian pronunciation without any inserted vowels.

(61)	<i>škola</i> → <i>iškola</i>	‘school’
	<i>stol</i> → <i>istoli</i>	‘table’
	<i>krowat</i> ’ → <i>karawat</i>	‘bed’
	<i>vlijanie</i> → <i>wiliyani</i>	‘influence’
	<i>šljapa</i> → <i>šilyapa</i>	‘hat’
	<i>metr</i> → <i>metro</i>	‘meter’

In my material there is one example of metathesis: the Russian word *truba* ‘pipe’ has become *turba* in Hinuq.

Another phonological process that loans underwent is ejectives. Ejectives may occur in different positions. In borrowings from Russian only /k/ is ejectives (probably due to Georgian being the intermediate language, see Comrie & Khalilov 2009b). In Arabic loan words, the emphatic dental stop /t^ʕ/ has been replaced by an ejectives dental stop /tʼ/, and the uvular stop /q/ has become /qʼ/. But this had already happened in Avar, the language through which most or probably all Arabic loan words entered Russian.

(62)	Russ. <i>jaščik</i> → <i>yašik</i> ’	‘box’
	Russ. <i>čajnik</i> → <i>čajnik</i> ’	‘tea pot’
	Russ. <i>marka</i> → <i>mark’a</i>	‘stamp’
	Arab. <i>šaiṭa:n</i> → <i>šayt’an</i>	‘devil’
	Arab. <i>waṭan</i> → <i>wat’an</i>	‘homeland’
	Arab. <i>qalam</i> → <i>q’alam</i>	‘pencil’
	Arab. <i>qura:n</i> → <i>q’urʔan</i>	‘Koran’
	Arab. <i>qa:ʕida</i> → <i>q’aʕida</i>	‘method, rule’

2.4.8. Reduplication

Hinuq has various processes of full and partial reduplication. The reduplication is always initial, that is, from the beginning of a word. The copy usually precedes the base, although there are some examples where the copy follows the base (for instance in some of the examples where the onset of the first syllable is replaced by /m/). Full reduplication is only attested with adverbs. Partial reduplication is always to the left and can be of several different types: (i) *CV*-base with numbers, (ii) *CVC(V)* with nouns, adverbs, or adjectives, (iii) *CVC(V)* plus replacement

of the initial segment by /m/, and (iv) words with identical rhyme but differing initial segments. Type (iii) and type (iv) can be called “echo-word reduplication”. In this section all types are described in more detail.

Adverbs can be completely reduplicated. The meaning of the reduplicated form is sometimes simply more emphatic, and sometimes it includes a kind of distributivity or repetition (63). Note that the first adverb does not have a bare form, and the first three adverbs are loan words from Avar.

(63) Full reduplication

Reduplicated form	Translation	Bare form	Translation
<i>žiw-žiw</i>	‘each’	-	
<i>dah-dah</i>	‘little by little’	<i>dah</i>	‘few, little’
<i>bat’a-bat’a</i>	‘separately’	<i>bat’a</i>	‘separately’
<i>hozu-hozu</i>	‘separately’	<i>hozu</i>	‘separately’
<i>sot’i-sot’i</i>	‘around’ (repetition)	<i>sot’i</i>	‘around’ (once)
<i>bexa-bexa</i>	‘often’	<i>bexa</i>	‘often’
<i>san-san</i>	‘sometimes’	<i>san</i>	‘once’

There are different forms of partial reduplication. First of all, adjectives that are loans from Avar can have reduplicated emphatic forms where the first two syllables *CVCV* are repeated. At least some of the examples given below are also attested in Avar, e.g. *bat’i-bat’iyaw*, *daha-dahaw*.

(64) Partial reduplication of adjectives

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
<i>bat’i-bat’iyaw</i>	<i>bat’iyaw</i>	‘different, various’
<i>c’ik’a-c’ik’araw</i>	<i>c’ik’araw</i>	‘old, big’
<i>daha-dahaw</i>	<i>dahaw</i>	‘few, little’
<i>xiri-xiriyaw</i>	<i>xiriyaw</i>	‘dear, expensive’

Reduplicated forms of adverbs take initial *CVC* and add the complete base. There does not seem to be a difference in meaning besides perhaps more emphasis associated with the reduplicated form.

(65) Partial reduplication of adverbs

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
<i>hez-hezzo</i>	<i>hezzo</i>	‘then, after’
<i>q’uy-q’uya</i>	<i>q’uya</i>	‘other’
<i>hoz-hozu</i>	<i>hozu</i>	‘separately’
<i>al-aldoyo</i> ⁹	<i>aldoyo</i>	‘ahead’

Occasionally there are some reduplicated inflected nouns used as temporal and spatial adjuncts where a copy of initial *CVC(V)* precedes the base. The reduplicated forms express iterativity or plurality, and they have become lexicalized, fulfilling an adverbial function. Note that the base form of the nouns (i.e. *zaman* ‘time’, *moči* ‘place’) cannot be reduplicated.

(66) Partial reduplication of nouns

Reduplicated form	Translation	Bare form	Translation
<i>zama-zamanał</i>	‘from time to time’	<i>zamanał</i>	‘once’
<i>moč-moča:</i>	‘here and there’	<i>moča:</i>	‘in one place’

Partial reduplication of verbs (*CVC* plus base) typically leads to an iterative meaning (67). However, there are two examples of verbs, namely *xet'-xet'-a* and *boł-boło b-et'-a*, where the base alone does not have any meaning, and thus the reduplicated form does not express iterativity. It is not the stem alone that is reduplicated because if there is a preceding agreement prefix, then this prefix is also reduplicated. But not all partially reduplicated verbs have agreement prefixes. For the purpose of clarity, the verbs in (67) are given with the *b-* agreement prefix and the Infinitive suffix *-a*.

(67) Partial reduplication of verbs

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
<i>b-iγ-b-iγ-a</i>	<i>b-iγ-a</i>	‘take’
<i>b-oł-b-ołex-a</i>	<i>b-ołex-a</i>	‘appear’
<i>xet'-xet'-a</i>	-	‘tickle’
<i>boł-boło b-et'-a</i>	-	‘split, crack’

With the numerals 1-10, reduplication is used to derive distributive numerals, as in some other Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 34), Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 235)). Distributive numerals formed by reduplication consist of the copy *CV* followed by the numeral. But there is an alternative way of forming distributive numerals by adding the spatial case suffix *-ho* ‘ILOC-Essive’ (Section 12.8). In addition, both operations (i.e. reduplication and spatial case suffixiation) can be combined:

(68) Partial reduplication of numerals

Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
<i>q'o-q'ono / q'o-q'onoho</i>	<i>q'ono</i>	‘two each, in a twosome’
<i>łe-łeno / łe-łenoho</i>	<i>łeno</i>	‘five each, in a fivesome’

⁹ The copy and the base are both preceded by a glottal stop.

Another kind of reduplication for various parts of speech (adverbs, adjectives, nouns) comprises *CVC(V)* plus the base where the onset of the first syllable is replaced by /m/ (or in the last examples by /t'/). The reduplicated words are more emphatic or more extreme in their semantics, e.g. *koʎe* means 'fast, soon', and *koʎe-moʎe* 'faster, sooner'.

(69)	Reduplicated form	Bare form	Translation
	<i>koʎe-moʎe</i>	<i>koʎe</i>	'fast, soon'
	<i>cada-madaq</i>	<i>cadaq</i>	'together'
	<i>ħali-malica</i>	<i>ħali</i>	'hardly, at last'
	<i>k'ot-mottu</i>	<i>kottu</i>	'short, low'
	<i>ħuč-muč</i>	<i>ħuč</i>	'roast meat'
	<i>roq'e-t'oq'e</i>	<i>roq'e</i>	'dishes'

Finally there are two examples of reduplication where none of the parts represents a word of its own (70). The rhyme of these words is identical, only the initial segments of the two parts differ. Due to the low number of examples, it is impossible to tell what the relation between the initial elements of the compounds might be.

(70)	Reduplicated form	Translation
	<i>t'eʎ-neʎ</i>	'through (and through)'
	<i>ceq-beq-ʎ'o</i> ¹⁰	'everywhere'

2.5. Word stress

2.5.1. Stress in roots

Stress is not a very prominent category in Hinuq. The stress properties of Hinuq words are very hard to determine. The stress is quite weak such that even native speakers have difficulties or are even unable to figure out the stress in elicitation. Some words seem to have variable stress, e.g. *-égi/-egí:* 'good' or *-²éži/-²eží:* 'big, old'.

However, one feature of stress assignment in Hinuq seems to hold for most of the words in my material: heavy syllables of the type *CVC* or *CV:* usually attract stress, e.g. *dán.di* 'against', *i.žéy* 'eye', *o.čór.di.yu* 'old'.¹¹ Nevertheless, there are a few words that behave differently such as for instance *zok.'dá* 'bunker'.

In the following sections stress assignment to nouns, pronouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs will be looked at in more detail. The various parts of speech

¹⁰ Diachronically, the suffix of this word *-ʎ'o* is probably the SPR-Essive case.

¹¹ Superheavy syllables of type *CV:C* do not occur in native roots.

are divided into groups according to the number of their syllables. Heavy syllables are underlined to facilitate reading. Due to the general difficulties in determining the stress assignment in Hinuq, the stress properties of enclitics and suffixes are not treated in this grammar and remain open for future research.

2.5.2. Stress in major parts of speech

Simple nouns, pronouns, numerals, and postpositions/adverbs can consist of up to four syllables. Dissyllabic nouns, pronouns, and postpositions/adverbs are mostly stressed on the first syllable.

(71)	<i>p'ó.su</i>	‘livestock’	<i>kí.či</i>	‘ring’
	<i>ó.bu</i>	‘father’	<i>é.li</i>	‘we’
	<i>łé.mo</i>	‘stairs, bridge’	<i>mé.se</i>	‘sand’
	<i>xú.xu</i>	‘thunder’	<i>qé.qe</i>	‘cooked cereals’
	<i>dán.di</i>	‘against’	<i>hád.be</i>	‘they’

It is possible though not easy to find examples with the stress on the second (i.e. final) syllable.

(72)	<i>bi.šón</i>	‘hundred’	<i>zok.'dá</i>	‘bunker’
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Words that end with *-ey*, *-ay*, or *-oy* bear stress on this final syllable because this syllable contains a diphthong that is always stressed.

(73)	<i>k^we.zéy</i>	‘hand’	<i>če.čéy</i>	‘oil, butter’
	<i>ho.bóy</i>	‘then, now’	<i>k'o.bóy</i>	‘shirt’
	<i>be.łáy</i>	‘dagger’	<i>c'i.káy</i>	‘mirror’

Trisyllabic nouns can bear the main stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the last syllable:

(74)	<i>łó.ko.ná</i>	‘glove, mitten’	<i>búm.bu.lí</i>	‘feather’
	<i>bí.ko.ré</i>	‘snake’	<i>šó.šo.lá</i>	‘rags’

Another possibility for trisyllabic nouns (and adjectives) is to bear stress on the second syllable:

(75)	<i>ba.łá.xu</i>	‘excrement’	<i>i.zí.ro</i>	‘not castrated’
	<i>ne.x^wík'.ra</i>	‘oak’	<i>a.qí.li</i>	‘woman’

The third possibility is to stress the final syllable. Note that there is also one demonstrative pronoun in the list in (76).

- (76) *xa.li.cén* ‘scythe’ *i.na.xú* ‘intestine’
 ma.ga.lú ‘bread’ *i.za.hág* ‘those’

Nouns with four syllables are quite exceptional. Hinuq has a small number of them, and they all have the main stress on the first syllable and a secondary stress on the third syllable.

- (77) *mí.χ'o.qó.yu* ‘rein’ *ʔó.mo.kí.lu* ‘camel’
 k'é.k'e.bí.ku ‘bird cherry (tree)’

A number of demonstrative pronouns and adverbs derived from them are always stressed on the second syllable, independently of whether the word has two, three, or four syllables:

- (78) *hi.bád* ‘this’ *i.záw* ‘that’
 hi.báy ‘such’ *hi.báy.ru* ‘such’
 hi.bá.di ‘such, that’ *i.zá.ha.go* ‘that’

Verbs can be divided into four conjugation classes according to their stem-final segment: (i) consonant-final verbs, (ii) verbs with stem-final /i/, (iii) verbs with stem-final /e/, and (iv) verbs with stem-final long vowels (7.2.2). The citation form of verbs in the dictionary by (Khalilov & Isakov 2005) is the Infinitive (plus the agreement prefix *b-* for those verbs that show agreement), but the suffix of the Infinitive attracts the stress, so this form cannot be taken into consideration when studying the stress in the verbal root. However, all verbs can form the General tense, a verb form that is identical to the verbal stem (7.4.3). Therefore, I will describe the stress in verbal roots (i.e. without any derivational suffixes) as it can be found in the General tense. Almost all underived consonant-final verbs have a monosyllabic stem, therefore their stress properties cannot be determined. The majority of verbs belonging to the other three classes are disyllabic. Disyllabic verbs with stem-final /i/ assign stress to the first syllable. In contrast, disyllabic verbs with stem-final /e/ assign stress to the second syllable. The stress of disyllabic verbs with stem-final long vowels (e.g. *ʔeža:-* ‘laugh’, *-edo:-* ‘work’) is unclear, i.e. both the first syllable as well as the second long syllable are equally stressed. A few examples are given in (79).

- (79) *cá.χi* ‘throw’ *-a.q'é* ‘come’
 -á.ši ‘find’ *e.sé* ‘tell’
 é.χi ‘say’ *qa.χé* ‘call’
 ʔe.ža: ‘laugh’ *-e.do:* ‘work’

2.5.3. Stress in adjectives

Simple, underived adjectives that are disyllabic bear stress on the first syllable.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|--------|----------------|---------|
| (80) | <i>ó.ssu</i> | ‘high’ | <i>c’ú.ddu</i> | ‘red’ |
| | <i>-é.čču</i> | ‘fat’ | <i>ké.kku</i> | ‘light’ |

In normal trisyllabic adjectives, stress falls on the second syllable:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------------|------------------------------|----------------|
| (81) | <i>a.dá.ru</i> | ‘naked’ | <i>bo.bó.ru</i> | ‘hot’ |
| | <i>λo.λó.lu</i> | ‘flaccid, faded’ | <i>-e.g^wén.nu</i> | ‘young, small’ |
| | <i>me.qá.yu</i> | ‘bitter’ | <i>ča.yá.yu</i> | ‘salty’ |

Color and similar terms are also typically trisyllabic with the suffix *-diyu*. They bear stress on the first syllable, i.e. on the root morpheme.

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------|------------------------------|-----------|
| (82) | <i>ál.di.yu</i> | ‘white’ | <i>y^wáč.di.yu</i> | ‘spotted’ |
| | <i>zér.di.yu</i> | ‘grey’ | <i>íč’.di.yu</i> | ‘yellow’ |

Other adjectives that have the same suffix *-diyu* consist of four syllables and are stressed on the second syllable, i.e. on the syllable that immediately precedes the suffix, just like with the trisyllabic color terms. And just like with the color terms, the suffix *-diyu* can be replaced by another adjective suffix *-duk’a*, but the stress does not change.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|------------|----------------------|------------|
| (83) | <i>o.čór.di.yu</i> | ‘old’ | <i>o.čór.du.k’a</i> | ‘old’ |
| | <i>ec’.én.di.yu</i> | ‘new’ | <i>ec’.én.du.k’a</i> | ‘new’ |
| | <i>gi.hón.di.yu</i> | ‘stubborn’ | <i>gi.hón.du.k’a</i> | ‘stubborn’ |

There are a handful of adjectives that have suffixes other than the ones so far described. The first group consists of three adjectives that have a final /i:/ (when stressed). These three adjectives have no fixed stress position. Either the first syllable can be stressed, as is most typical for words consisting of two syllables, or the second, in which case the final vowel is long:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|--------|---|------------|
| (84) | <i>-é.gi/-e.gíy</i> | ‘good’ | <i>-[?]é.ží/-[?]e.žíy</i> | ‘big, old’ |
| | <i>gá.qi/ga.qíy</i> | ‘bad’ | | |

There is one adjective that ends with *-ey*, a suffix that attracts stress, as was already shown in (73). Consequently, this adjective *-eg^wéy* ‘young, small’ is stressed on this suffix.

There are many adjectives that have the suffix *-Camu*. They are often derived from nouns or verbs. These adjectives are stressed on the syllable immediately preceding *-mu*.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------------|---------------------|-----------|
| (85) | <i>ger.dá.mu</i> | ‘grumbling’ | <i>mez.lá.mu</i> | ‘lazy’ |
| | <i>šo.šo.lá.mu</i> | ‘ragged’ | <i>ša.kar.yá.mu</i> | ‘jealous’ |

2.5.4. Stress in loan words

Many loans are stressed on the final syllable.

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------|----------------|------------------|-------------|
| (86) | <i>ba.zár</i> | ‘market’ | <i>hal.máy</i> | ‘friend’ |
| | <i>hu.nár</i> | ‘ability’ | <i>du.ni.yál</i> | ‘world’ |
| | <i>sa.řát</i> | ‘hour’ | <i>su.rát</i> | ‘picture’ |
| | <i>a.xi.rát</i> | ‘kingdom come’ | <i>wa.si.yát</i> | ‘testament’ |

But there are also some loans that are stressed on the first syllable.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|
| (87) | <i>dár.si</i> | ‘lesson’ | <i>ám.ru</i> | ‘command’ |
| | <i>řil.mu</i> | ‘science’ | <i>řúm.ru</i> | ‘life’ |

Loans from Avar that are native Avar words are mostly stressed in the same way as they are in Avar. Thus, they can bear stress on the first syllable.

- | | | | | |
|------|----------------|----------|------------------|-------------|
| (88) | <i>bó.ži</i> | ‘belief’ | <i>hál.ki</i> | ‘repose’ |
| | <i>hál.t’i</i> | ‘work’ | <i>bér.ten</i> | ‘wedding’ |
| | <i>č’ú.hi</i> | ‘pride’ | <i>báy.bi.ki</i> | ‘beginning’ |

Stress on the second syllable seems to be less common, but it is nevertheless attested.

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|
| (89) | <i>ga.máč</i> | ‘stone’ | <i>ba.žá.ri</i> | ‘knowledge’ |
| | <i>hu.dúl</i> | ‘friend’ | | |

Note that in all those words given in (86) to (89), which contain a heavy syllable, the heavy syllable is stressed, i.e. stress is predictable. For those words that do not contain heavy syllables or more than one heavy syllable, stress falls mostly on the first syllable. Loans from Russian are nowadays stressed in the same way as in Russian.

Chapter 3

Nouns

3.1. Introduction

The nominal morphology of Hinuq is suffixing and overwhelmingly agglutinating. Nouns are inflected for number (singular, plural), grammatical case (Absolute, Ergative, First Genitive, Second Genitive, Dative, Instrumental), and spatial cases. The spatial cases are combinations of the seven location markers (CONT, IN, SUB, SPR, AT, ALOC, ILOC) with five orientation markers (Essive, Lative, First Ablative, Second Ablative, Directional). All cases other than the Absolute are based on a special oblique stem which is idiosyncratic for many nouns. To describe Hinuq nouns we need to distinguish four different stems, although these stems are not always formally distinct: the Base stem (Absolute Singular stem), the Oblique Singular stem, the Absolute Plural stem, and the Oblique Plural stem. Case suffixes follow the oblique stems. For an overview of stem formation in all Tsezic languages see Forker (2010b).

In this chapter the Oblique Singular stem formation is described first (3.2), followed by the Absolute Plural formation (3.3), the Oblique Plural formation (3.4), and the cases with their functions (3.5). Finally, nominal word formation is treated, consisting of derivation (3.6) and compounding (3.7).

3.2. Oblique Singular stem formation

The formation of the Oblique Singular stem shows the widest range of variation among the different stem formation processes. The nominal root is identical to the Absolute Singular form of the nouns (i.e. citation form). Other oblique forms of nouns in the singular are formed by applying at least one of the following operations:

1. Base stem formation
 - (a) no change (e.g. *obu* ‘father’, Table 4)
2. Oblique stem formation
 - (a) oblique suffix (e.g. *ahlu* ‘folk’, Table 5)
 - (b) epenthetic vowel (e.g. *iš* ‘bull’, Table 7)

- (c) deletion of the stem-final consonant, vowel, or glide (cf. *k'eču* 'tooth', Table 6)
- (d) stress shift (e.g. *uži* 'boy, son', Table 9)
- (e) ablaut (e.g. *buq* 'sun')

Some of the mechanisms are the result of phonotactic restrictions or general morphophonological rules of the language, e.g. epenthetic vowels or sonorant deletion. But the major part is lexicalized, i.e. speakers have to memorize what to do with a noun before using it in an utterance. Combinations of two mechanisms are quite frequent, but not every mechanism can be combined with every other mechanism. No mechanism can be combined with itself, and no mechanism can be combined with (1) and (2d). Attested combinations are (2a)+(2c), e.g. *k'eču* 'tooth', *aqili* 'woman', *humer* 'face', *k^wezey* 'hand' (all Table 6); (2b)+(2c), e.g. *k'et'u* 'cat', *boc'e* 'wolf', and *šeg^we* 'mare' (all Table 8), and (2b)+(2e), *buq* 'sun', *buce* 'moon, month', and *buže* 'house'.

In contrast, the formation of the Absolutive Plural stem and the Oblique Plural stem is nearly uniform for all nouns (3.3).

3.2.1. Base stem pattern

Nouns following the Base stem pattern (or "one-stem pattern", adopting the common terminology used by Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990) and others) have an Oblique Singular stem that is identical to the Absolutive Singular stem. If the Base stem of these nouns ends with a vowel, the case suffixes are directly added to the Base stem. There is a subclass of nouns for which the stem-final vowel is deleted before case suffixes of the form *CV*, e.g. *bikore* 'snake', but the criteria for determining this class are not fully clear. Table 4 shows part of the case paradigm of four such nouns that do not undergo any formal change before taking case suffixes. More nouns belonging to this quite numerous group are for instance *iyo* 'mother', *q'imu* 'head', *gulu* 'horse', *essu* 'sibling', and *ɣ^wero* 'cow'. The labels used in this and the following tables are ABS (Absolutive), ERG (Ergative), GEN1 (First Genitive), GEN2 (Second Genitive), CONT (CONT-Essive), and AT (AT-Essive).

3.2.2. Oblique stem formation

Nouns following the Oblique stem pattern (also called "two-stem pattern") have an Oblique Singular stem that is formally distinct from the Absolutive Singular stem. The majority of nouns following the Oblique-stem pattern form the

Table 4. Case formation of nouns with vowel-final stems

	‘father’	‘back’	‘street’	‘snake’
ABS	<i>obu</i>	<i>moqoli</i>	<i>maħla</i>	<i>bikore</i>
ERG	<i>obu-y</i>	<i>moqoli-i</i>	<i>maħla-y</i>	<i>bikore-y</i>
GEN1	<i>obu-s</i>	<i>moqoli-š</i>	<i>maħla-s</i>	<i>bikore-s</i>
GEN2	<i>obu-zo</i>	<i>moqoli-ž</i>	<i>maħla-zo</i>	<i>bikor-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>obu-ł</i>	<i>moqoli-ł</i>	<i>maħla-ł</i>	<i>bikore-ł</i>
AT-Essive	<i>obu-qo</i>	<i>moqoli-qo</i>	<i>maħla-qo</i>	<i>bikor(e)-qo</i>

Oblique Singular stem by adding a special oblique suffix to the base stem. In contrast to the epenthetic vowels used for oblique stem formation (see Table 7 below), the oblique suffixes occur regularly before case suffixes of the form *CV*. Hinuq has 17 different oblique suffixes, but only one of them is productive (*-mo*). The distribution of these suffixes is almost entirely lexically determined. But for the application of some suffixes, phonological or maybe even semantic criteria seem to play a role (see the list of oblique suffixes below). A number of nouns allow for more than one oblique suffix (Section 3.2.3). Table 5 illustrates the use of oblique stem suffixes for five nouns.

Table 5. Oblique stem inflection by means of oblique suffixes

	‘folk’	‘village’	‘witch’	‘sheaf’	‘fire’
ABS	<i>ahlu</i>	<i>aħ</i>	<i>qartay</i>	<i>k^wet’</i>	<i>č’e</i>
ERG	<i>ahlu-mo-y</i>	<i>aħ-a-y</i>	<i>qartay-i-y</i> ¹²	<i>k^wet’-ru-y</i>	<i>č’e-do-y</i>
GEN1	<i>ahlu-mo-s</i>	<i>aħ-a-s</i>	<i>qartay-i-š</i>	<i>k^wet’-ru-s</i>	<i>č’e-do-s</i>
GEN2	<i>ahlu-mo-zo</i>	<i>aħ-a-zo</i>	<i>qartay-i-žo</i>	<i>k^wet’-ru-zo</i>	<i>č’e-do-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>ahlu-mo-ł</i>	<i>aħ-a-ł</i>	<i>qartay-i-ł</i>	<i>k^wet’-ru-ł</i>	<i>č’e-do-ł</i>
AT-Essive	<i>ahlu-mo-qo</i>	<i>aħ-a-qo</i>	<i>qartay-i-qo</i>	<i>k^wet’-ru-qo</i>	<i>č’e-do-qo</i>

The following oblique suffixes occur (for the suffixes *-li*, *-yi*, *-ra*, *-ru*, *-ro*, *-do*, *-u*, *-na*, and *-nu*, the list of the given nouns is exhaustive):¹³

¹² Note that the sequences *-yi* / *-iy* as well as sequences of identical vowels such as *-ii* are pronounced as one long vowel [i:]. This means that *qartay-i-y* is actually pronounced as [qarta:r]. However, in order to facilitate understanding of the morphological structure, in this and the following tables all morphemes are given. For more information on the phonological issue see Section 2.4.3. Furthermore, this noun has an alternative stem-formation pattern that is more common than the one presented in the table: ERG *qartay-i*, GEN1 *qartay-e-s*, DAT *qartay-e-z*, AT-Essive *qartay-qo*, etc.

¹³ Exemplifying nouns are given in the Absolutive and in the First Genitive. Alternative

-mo

This is the most frequent and the only productive suffix, used with some native Hinuq words as well as with many loans. It is a kind of default oblique suffix that may be used as an alternative to other suffixes (Table 10).

duniyal ‘world’ → *duniyal-mo-s*, *rayon* ‘region’ → *rayon-mo-s*, *raγ* ‘war’ → *raγ-mo-s*, *uniwersitet* ‘university’ → *uniwersitet-mo-s*, *kumak* ‘help’ → *kumak-mo-s*, *ahlu* ‘folk’ → *ahlu-mo-s*, *unti* ‘disease’ → *unti-mo-s*, *ax* ‘cheese’ → *ax-mo-s*, *χ’eq* ‘w’*ali* ‘saddle’ → *χ’eq* ‘w’*ali-mo-s*, *ac* ‘door’ → *ac-mo-s*, *mus* ‘hair’ → *mus-mo-s*, etc.

-a

This suffix is often found with nouns having a stem-final vowel, which is regularly deleted when the oblique suffix is added. But it also occurs after nouns with stem-final semivowels or consonants.

aqili ‘woman’ → *aqil-a-s*, *haqu* ‘mouth’ → *haq-a-s*, *heγu* ‘barn’ → *heγ-a-s*, *lidu* ‘paw’ → *lid-a-s*, *yoχu* ‘ashes’ → *yoχ-a-s*/*yoχu-s*, *aχ* ‘village’ → *aχ-a-s*, *hal* ‘condition’ → *hal-a-s*, *sud* ‘grave’ → *sud-a-s*, *zaman* ‘time’ → *zaman-a-s*, *qiy* ‘hare’ → *qiy-a-s*/*qi:-š*, *iy* ‘blood’ → *iy-a-s*/*i:-š*, *kiy* ‘blueberry’ → *kiy-a-s*, etc.

-la

This suffix is mainly used with nouns that end with the Abstract suffix *-ti*, though these nouns can also add case suffixes without any oblique marker.

bercinti ‘beauty’ → *bercinti-la-s*, *maduhalti* ‘neighborhood’ → *maduhalti-la-s*, *sihirti* ‘slyness’ → *sihirti-la-s*, *xerti* ‘old.age’ → *xerti-la-s*, *ʔagarti* ‘relatives’ → *ʔagarti-la-s*, *xalq* ‘i’ ‘folk’ → *xalq* ‘i’*-la-s*/*xalq* ‘i’*-mo-s*, *ʔelmu* ‘science’ → *ʔelmu-la-s*/*ʔelmu-s*, *ʔumru* ‘life’ → *ʔumru-la-s*/*ʔumru-s*, etc.

-i

Many nouns that can have *-i* as an oblique suffix may also be used without an oblique suffix (but with epenthetic vowels if necessary) or they can have an alternative oblique suffix. Therefore it is difficult to establish which nouns belong to this group. However, many of the nouns with the oblique suffix *-i* end with the semivowel *Y*. To this group belong all loans in gender II that end with the Avar agreement suffix for female nouns *-y*.

First Genitive forms are also given. Note that with all oblique markers that end in *-o*, this vowel changes to *-a* when the IN-Essive, etc. are expressed, see Section 3.5.12.

laga ‘body’ → *lag-i-š*, *xan* ‘khan’ → *xan-i-š/xan-e-s*, *godek’an* ‘place’ → *godek’an-i-š*, *ax* ‘belly’ → *ax-i-š/ax-e-s*, *berten* ‘wedding’ → *berten-i-š/berten-mo-s*, *šayt’an* ‘devil’ → *šayt’an-i-š/šayt’an-e-s*, *coy* ‘eagle’ → *coy-i-š*, *baħaray* ‘bride’ → *baħaray-i-š*, *ʔurusay* ‘Russian’, (fem.) → *ʔurusay-i-š*, *qartay* → *qartay-i-š*, etc.

-ya

All nouns that take *-ya* as an oblique suffix have a stem-final vowel *-i*, though sometimes the oblique suffix is left out.¹⁴

buxari ‘flue’ → *buxari-ya-s*, *omoq’i* ‘donkey’ → *omoq’i-ya-s*, *kočori* ‘hair’ → *kočori-ya-s*, *guluči* ‘rooster’ → *guluči-ya-s*, *abazi* ‘coin’ → *abazi-ya-s*, etc.

-o

bex ‘grass’ → *bex-o-s*, *moc’* ‘neck’ → *moc’-o-s*, *k’et’un* ‘chest’ → *k’et’un-o-s*, *q’il* ‘board’ → *q’il-o-s*, *k’widi* ‘grapes’ → *k’wid-o-s*, *ʔek’muš* ‘blackberry’ → *ʔek’muš-o-s*, *ʔus* ‘wool’ → *ʔus-o-s*, *ʔ’id* ‘wooden spoon’ → *ʔ’id-o-s*, *ħalt’i* ‘work’ → *ħalt’-o-s*, *nuce* ‘honey’ → *nuc-o-s*, *moči* ‘place, field’ → *moč-o-s*, *qeqe* ‘porridge’ → *qe-q-o-s/qe-qe-s*, etc.

-li

With nouns that end in *-r* and take *-li* as the oblique suffix, the stem-final *-r* is optionally deleted before adding the oblique suffix (see Section 2.4.4 for sonorant deletion).

mesed ‘gold’ → *mesed-li-š*¹⁵, *raʔad* ‘sea’ → *raʔad-li-š*, *Allah* ‘Allah’ → *Allah-li-š*, *badayuda* ‘confusion’ → *badayuda-li-š*, *bazar* ‘market’ → *baza-li-š*, *mecxer* ‘money’ → *mecxe-li-š*, *humer* ‘face’ → *hume-li-š*, *šahar* ‘town’ → *šaha-li-š/šahar-mo-s*

-yi

This suffix is only found with five nouns that have a stem-final *-e*.

¹⁴ This suffix could, in principle, be analyzed as an allomorph of *-a*, with epenthetic glide insertion between the stem-final vowel of the nouns and the oblique suffix (Martin Haspelmath, p.c.). However, its occurrence is not fully predictable since the noun *aqili*, which takes the oblique suffix *-a*, deletes the final vowel instead of inserting a glide.

¹⁵ Occasionally, stem final *-d* is deleted before the oblique suffix yielding the form *meseliš*.

ʎe ‘water’ → ʎe-yi-š, ɣ^we ‘dog’ → ɣ^we-yi-š, ze ‘fox’ → ze-yi-š, aq^we ‘mouse’ → aq^we-yi-š/aq^we-s, aže ‘tree’ → aže-yi-š¹⁶

-ra

Only three nouns denoting body parts take the oblique suffix *-ra* after having undergone deletion of the final glide (if there is one). In addition, all native numerals from three up and one interrogative pro-form contain *-ra* in their oblique form.

k^wezeɣ ‘hand’ → k^weze-ra-s, ižeɣ ‘eye’ → iže-ra-s/iže-s, mec ‘tongue’ → mec-ra-s / mec-ro-s, ʎono ‘three’ → ʎo-ra-s, uq^wino ‘four’ → uq^wi-ra-s, somo ‘how many’ → somo-ra-s

-ro

šeλ'u ‘clothes’ → šeλ'u-ro-s, zok'i ‘jug’ → zok'i-ro-s, ce ‘name’ → ce-ro-s, muq ‘line, stripe’ → muq-ro-s, posu ‘cattle’ → posu-ro-s, c'aλu ‘crack, split’ → c'aλu-ro-s, c'u ‘nut shell, peritoneum’ → c'u-ro-s, biλ ‘abomasum, rennet bag’ → biλ-ro-s, iλ' ‘handle, grip’ → iλ'-ro-s, λe ‘malt’ → λe-ro-s

-ru

Among the nouns with *-ru* as oblique suffix are many utensils.

og ‘ax’ → og-ru-s, λ'u ‘earth.roof’ → λ'u-ru-s/λ'u-s, t'oq ‘knife’ → t'oq-ru-s, wed ‘matter’ → wed-ru-s, ʎeʎ ‘flax’ → ʎeʎ-ru-s, aq^we ‘urine’ → aq^we-ru-s, xu ‘meat’ → xu-ru-s, bezo ‘pick’ → bezo-ru-s, ɣomo ‘pitchfork’ → ɣomo-ru-s, mos ‘broom’ → mos-ru-s, moc (name of a dish) → moc-ru-s, šog ‘pot’ → šog-ru-s/šog-ro-s

-do

Only a few nouns that have a stem-final *-e* take the oblique suffix *-do*. Arguably, also the adverb *sebedoɣo* ‘in autumn’ contains the oblique marker *-do* because there is a base noun *sebe* ‘autumn’ and *-ɣo* is a spatial case suffix.

č'e ‘fire’ → č'e-do-s, he ‘wax’ → he-do-s, č'ek^wč'e ‘fire’ → č'ek^wč'e-do-s, xe ‘felt cloak, felt, carpet’ → xe-do-s, če ‘hogweed’ → če-do-s, luɣu ‘trace’ → luɣu-do-s/luɣu-mo-s

¹⁶ This word has an alternative Absolutive Singular stem, *ažeɣ*, but the oblique form is always *ažeɣi-*.

-u

ker ‘iron’ → *ker-u-s*

-na

łaci ‘wind’ → *łaci-na-s/łaci-š*, *laq* ‘wound’ → *laq-na-s*, *čodi* ‘ground’ → *čodi-na-s*, *t'en* ‘breast’ → *t'en-na-s*, *g^wan* ‘rheumatism’
g^wan-na-s/g^wan-i-š, *can* ‘goat’ (fem.) → *can-na-s/can-es/-can-i-š*

-nu

biša ‘food’ → *biša-nu-s*

In some cases the Base stem is modified before the oblique suffix is added (Table 6). Ways of stem modification are (i) deletion of the stem-final vowel (ii) deletion of a stem-final sonorant (*-r* before the oblique suffix *-li*, *-n* before the oblique suffix *-mo*, e.g. *čuryan* ‘headscarf’, GEN1 *čuryamos*), and (iii) deletion of a stem-final glide. The first and the second operation are caused by phonotactic restrictions of the language. Deletion of stem-final vowels occurs before suffixes consisting of a single vowel (*-a*, *-i*, and *-o*). This means that it is a method of avoiding two subsequent vowels (2.4.1.3). Sonorant deletion also occurs in other contexts (2.4.4). The noun *žo* ‘thing’ undergoes a more idiosyncratic process before the oblique suffix is added, namely insertion of a glide (Table 6).

Table 6. Oblique stem formation with oblique suffixes and modified stems

	‘tooth’	‘woman’	‘face’	‘hand’	‘thing’
ABS	<i>k'eču</i>	<i>aqili</i>	<i>humer</i>	<i>k^wezey</i>	<i>žo</i>
ERG	<i>k'eč-a-y</i>	<i>aqil-a-y</i>	<i>hume-li-i</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-y</i>	<i>žo-y-la-y</i>
GEN1	<i>k'eč-a-s</i>	<i>aqil-a-s</i>	<i>hume-li-š</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-s</i>	<i>žo-y-la-s</i>
GEN2	<i>k'eč-a-zo</i>	<i>aqil-a-zo</i>	<i>hume-li-žo</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-zo</i>	<i>žo-y-la-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>k'eč-a-ł</i>	<i>aqil-a-ł</i>	<i>hume-li-ł</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-ł</i>	<i>žo-y-la-ł</i>
AT-Essive	<i>k'eč-a-qo</i>	<i>aqil-a-qo</i>	<i>hume-li-qo</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-qo</i>	<i>žo-y-la-qo</i>

If the Base stem ends with a semivowel or a consonant, then an epenthetic vowel *-e* or *-i* is inserted before case suffixes that consist of a single consonant in order to obey the syllable structure constraint (2.4.1.1). Often both vowels are allowed, but one of them is preferred. It seems that the choice of the preferred epenthetic vowel is lexically determined. Table 7 illustrates partial paradigms of

Table 7. Case formation of nouns with consonant-final stems

	‘bull’	‘drummer’	‘forest’
ABS	<i>iš</i>	<i>q’iliqan</i>	<i>čeq</i>
ERG	<i>iš-i</i>	<i>q’iliqan-i</i>	<i>čeq-i</i>
GEN1	<i>iš-e-s</i>	<i>q’iliqan-e-s/-i-š</i>	<i>čeq-i-š/-e-s</i>
GEN2	<i>iš-zo</i>	<i>q’iliqan-zo/-i-žo</i>	<i>čeq-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>iš-e-†</i>	<i>q’iliqan-e-†</i>	<i>čeq-e-†</i>
AT-Essive	<i>iš-qo</i>	<i>q’iliqan-qo</i>	<i>čeq-qo</i>

three nouns belonging to this type. Other nouns of this type are *ked* ‘girl’, *gamuš* ‘buffalo’, *c’ohor* ‘thief’, *čanaqan* ‘hunter’, and *halmay* ‘friend’.

With a number of nouns the stem-final vowel is deleted in order to form the Oblique Singular stem, and epenthetic vowels may be used, e.g. *k’et’u* ‘cat’ (Table 8). If the stem-final vowel of such a noun is *-e* (e.g. *boc’e* ‘wolf’) then the paradigm looks very much like the paradigm of a vowel-final noun that follows the Base stem formation paradigm, but undergoes occasional deletion of the final vowel. One example of such a noun that was presented in Section 3.2.1 is *bikore* ‘snake’ (Table 4). Nevertheless, the two types of nouns can clearly be differentiated because in the noun *boc’e* the stem-final vowel is always deleted, including before the insertion of the Ergative and all case suffixes with a *CV* structure. In contrast, with the noun *bikore*, the stem-final vowel is optionally deleted before case suffixes with a *CV* form, but never before the Ergative, which must be *bikore-y*.

There are two nouns which lose labialialization of the last consonant when forming the oblique stem, *šeg^we* ‘mare’ and *rek^we* ‘man’ (Table 8). Both nouns undergo a vowel change triggered by the loss of the labialialization in all or some oblique forms (see Section 2.2.3 for more information about labialialization and the loss of the labialialization).

Table 8. Other types of oblique stem formation

	‘cat’	‘wolf’	‘mare’	‘man’
ABS	<i>k’et’u</i>	<i>boc’e</i>	<i>šeg^we</i>	<i>rek^we</i>
ERG	<i>k’et’-i</i>	<i>boc’-i</i>	<i>šog-i</i>	<i>rek’u-y</i>
GEN1	<i>k’et’-e-s</i>	<i>boc’-e-s</i>	<i>šog-e-s</i>	<i>rek’u-s</i>
GEN2	<i>k’et’-zo</i>	<i>boc’-zo</i>	<i>šog-zo</i>	<i>rek’u-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>k’et’-e-†</i>	<i>boc’-e-†</i>	<i>šeg^we-†/šog-e-†</i>	<i>rek’u-†</i>
AT-Essive	<i>k’et’-qo</i>	<i>boc’-qo</i>	<i>šeg^we-qo/šog-qo</i>	<i>rek’u-qo</i>

One means of deriving a distinct Oblique Singular stem that is, however, found only with a handful of nouns with stem final /i/ is word stress (Table 9). The stress in the Absolutive Singular stem is on the first syllable. It changes to the second syllable in the Oblique stem. This is especially clear when comparing the Absolutive case and the Ergative case (Section 2.4.3). In the remaining oblique case forms, the stress shift is not very prominent. If the stress in the oblique case forms remains the same as in the Absolutive case, the nouns behave exactly like nouns with a stem-final vowel that follow the Base-stem pattern (Table 4).

Table 9. Oblique stem formation by means of stress

	‘boy, son’	‘calf’	‘stock bull’
ABS	<i>úži</i>	<i>meši</i>	<i>gani</i>
ERG	<i>uží:</i> ¹⁷	<i>meši:</i>	<i>gani:</i>
GEN1	<i>uži-š</i>	<i>meši-š</i>	<i>gani-š</i>
GEN2	<i>uži-žo</i>	<i>meši-žo</i>	<i>gani-žo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>uži-ł</i>	<i>meši-ł</i>	<i>gani-ł</i>
AT-Essive	<i>uži-qo</i>	<i>meši-qo</i>	<i>gani-qo</i>

Three nouns undergo ablaut: *bułe* ‘house’, *buce* ‘moon, month’, and *buq* ‘sun’ (Section 2.4.6). Their respective First Genitive forms are *bełe-s*, *bece-s*, and *beq-e-s*. However, ablaut is not obligatory. Especially younger speakers do not use it, such that *bułe-s*, *buce-s*, and *buq-e-s* are also grammatical GEN1 forms (whereby in the case of *buq*, epenthetic vowels are always needed before case suffixes consisting of a single consonant).

3.2.3. Alternative stem forms and exceptions

Many nouns can be inflected in more than one way. Often one paradigm represents a Base stem formation pattern, and the other contains an oblique suffix. If both patterns involve oblique suffixes, then one paradigm is built with the productive suffix *-mo*, whereas the other paradigm involves a less frequent suffix. The following Table 10 gives alternative paradigms of two nouns.

Homophonous nouns with differing meanings mostly follow one and the same inflectional pattern, e.g. *mołtu* ‘finger nail’, ‘fishing rod’; *bex* ‘grass’, ‘gun powder’.

In addition to the mechanisms listed at the beginning of Section 3.2, there are three nouns that form oblique stems in idiosyncratic ways. With one noun

¹⁷ Morphologically the Ergative of the noun ‘boy’ is *uži-y*, but phonetically *užiy* is identical with *uží:*. The same considerations apply to all other nouns of this group.

Table 10. Alternative stem forms

	‘nose’		‘folk, people’	
ABS	<i>malu</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>xalq’i</i>	<i>xalq’i</i>
ERG	<i>malu-y</i>	<i>mal-i-y</i>	<i>xalq’i-la-y</i>	<i>xalq’i-mo-y</i>
GEN1	<i>malu-s</i>	<i>mal-i-š</i>	<i>xalq’i-la-s</i>	<i>xalq’i-mo-s</i>
GEN2	<i>malu-zo</i>	<i>mal-i-žo</i>	<i>xalq’i-la-zo</i>	<i>xalq’i-mo-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>malu-ł</i>	<i>mal-i-ł</i>	<i>xalq’i-la-ł</i>	<i>xalq’i-mo-ł</i>
AT-Essive	<i>malu-qo</i>	<i>mal-i-qo</i>	<i>xalq’i-la-qo</i>	<i>xalq’i-mo-qo</i>

žo ‘thing’ a glide is inserted before the oblique stem suffix, e.g. GEN1 *žo-y-la-s* (Table 6). In two nouns, stem-final labialized consonants are obligatorily transformed into plain consonants for the formation of the oblique stem. The transformation influences either the preceding or the following vowel: *rek’^we*¹⁸ becomes *rek’u-s* ‘man.GEN1’, *šeg’^we* becomes *šoge-s* ‘mare.GEN1’ (see Table 8 for the paradigms and Section 2.2.3 on labialization).

A number of nouns use an Oblique Singular stem, which is different from the Absolutive Singular stem, exclusively or predominantly for the formation of grammatical cases. With these nouns spatial case suffixes are usually directly added to the Absolutive Singular stem (e.g. *šeg’^we* ‘mare’, Table 8; *bercinŕi* ‘beauty’, First Genitive *bercinŕi-la-s*, but SPR-Essive *bercinŕi-ł’o*, *kočori* ‘hair’, First Genitive *kočori-ya-s*, SPR-Essive *kočori-ł’o/kočori-ya-ł’o*).

3.3. Plural

The Absolutive Plural stem is generally formed with the suffix *-be* added to the Base stem (90). The final vowel of a Base stem may be deleted before adding the plural suffix, but only with those nouns that undergo vowel deletion in the course of the Oblique Singular stem formation (3.2). With some nouns the deletion of the final vowel is optional so that two plural forms are possible. Some examples are listed in (90).

(90)	SG	PL	translation
	<i>obu</i>	<i>obu-be</i>	‘fathers’
	<i>moqoli</i>	<i>moqoli-be</i>	‘backs’
	<i>qartay</i>	<i>qartay-be</i>	‘witches’
	<i>čeq</i>	<i>čeq-be</i>	‘forests’
	<i>k’et’u</i>	<i>k’et’-be/k’et’u-be</i>	‘cats’

¹⁸ Alternatively *rek’u* can be used as the base stem.

<i>malu</i>	<i>malu-be</i>	‘noses’
<i>boc’e</i>	<i>boc’-be</i>	‘wolves’
<i>bikore</i>	<i>bikore-be/bikor-be</i>	‘snakes’
<i>uži</i>	<i>uži-be</i>	‘boys, sons’
<i>aλ</i>	<i>aλ-be</i>	‘villages’
<i>zok’i</i>	<i>zok’i-be</i>	‘cups’
<i>č’e</i>	<i>č’e-be</i>	‘fire’
<i>k’eču</i>	<i>k’eču-be</i>	‘teeth’
<i>humer</i>	<i>humer-be</i>	‘faces’
<i>k^wezey</i>	<i>k^wezey-be</i>	‘hands’
<i>žo</i>	<i>žo-be</i>	‘things’

In principle it is possible to have plural forms of names, e.g. *Aminat-be*, *Pat’imat-be*, *Muḥamad-be*, or *ʔali-be*.

I have found three nouns that add the Absolutive plural suffix *-be* to the Oblique Singular stem in order to form the Absolutive Plural stem. In addition, two of these nouns have two other alternative Absolutive plural forms (91).

(91)	SG	PL	translation
	<i>šeg^we</i> ¹⁹	<i>šog-be</i>	‘mares’
	<i>t’eka</i>	<i>t’ek-be/t’eki-be/t’eka-be</i>	‘goats’ (masc.)
	<i>tama</i>	<i>tam-be/tami-be/tama-be</i>	‘horns’

With two of these nouns the stem-final vowel *-a* may optionally be replaced by *-i* for the plural formation. These two nouns, *t’eka* ‘goat’ and *tama* ‘horn’, have three possible plural forms (91). First, the plural suffix can be directly added to the Absolutive Singular form. The other two forms correspond to the Oblique Singular stems of these nouns. Both nouns belong to the class of nouns given in Table 8, which for the formation of oblique singular forms undergo deletion of the stem-final vowel and insertion of an epenthetic vowel if needed for phonotactic reasons. The *CV* shape of the plural suffix does not require that an epenthetic vowel be inserted. However, in some contexts epenthetic vowels are inserted even if they are not necessary for the maintenance of the syllable structure, which can explain the last forms with the epenthetic /i/.²⁰

A handful of nouns denoting animate entities have idiosyncratic plural forms:

(92)	SG	PL	translation
	<i>ked</i>	<i>ked-bi</i>	‘girls, daughters’

¹⁹ The oblique form of this noun is *šog-*, see Table 8 for a partial paradigm.

²⁰ The First Genitive form of *t’eka* is *t’ek-a-s*, *t’ek-e-s*, or *t’ek-i-š*. The First Genitive form of *tama* is *tama-s*, *tam-e-s*, or *tam-i-š*.

<i>essu</i>	<i>es-ni/essu-be/es-ni-be</i>	‘siblings’
<i>iš</i>	<i>iše/iš-be</i>	‘bulls’
<i>ɣ^wero/ɣore</i>	<i>ɣ^weriš/ɣoriš/ɣ^weriš-be/ɣoriš-be</i>	‘cows’
<i>can</i>	<i>can-i/can-i-be/can-be</i>	‘goats’ (fem.)
<i>beλq’u</i>	<i>beλ</i>	‘sheeps, cattle’

Some of the examples cited in the literature (Lomtadze 1963: 93, Vakilov 1998: 8–9) could not be confirmed.²¹ In my material, only the six nouns given in (92) occur. Some of them have an additional regular plural. The nouns *es-ni-be*, *ɣ^weriš-be/ɣoriš-be*, and *canibe* even show double plural marking. For the noun *can*, the regular plural form *can-be* denotes only a small quantity, e.g. two or three goats. When referring to a flock of goats *cani* is used.²² Note that the plural form of the last noun *beλ* expresses not only the plural of the singular form, but also has a kind of collective meaning.

One noun has a suppletive plural form: *rek’^we* ‘man, person’ is replaced by *ʒoloqbe*, *xalq’i* or *ahlu* ‘folk’ in the plural; **rek’^we-be* is ungrammatical. Furthermore, there are two nouns that denote both singular and plural entities. The first noun *aqili* can form a regular plural (93). The second noun *xexbe*, though containing the plural suffix *-be*, has singular as well as plural meaning. Agreement prefixes and the context help to disambiguate these nouns (94a–94d).

(93)	<i>aqili</i>	‘woman’	<i>aqili/aqil(i)be</i>	‘women’
	<i>xexbe</i>	‘child’	<i>xexbe</i>	‘children’

- (94) a. *xexbe* Ø-*aq’e-s*
 child I-come-PST
 ‘A child (male) came.’
- b. *xexbe* y-*aq’e-s*
 child II-come-PST
 ‘A child (female) came.’
- c. *xexbe* b-*aq’e-s*
 child.PL HPL-come-PST
 ‘Children (only male or male and female) came.’
- d. *xexbe* r-*aq’e-s*
 child.PL HPL-come-PST
 ‘Children (female) came.’

²¹ Lomtadze mentions *im-me* ‘column-PL’, Vakilov gives *haqu-bo* ‘mouth-PL’, *λel-ba* ‘lamb-PL’, and *xod-li* ‘husband-PL’.

²² This phenomenon is more widespread in other Tsezic languages like Bezhta (Khalilov 1995: 396) and Khwarshi (Zaira Khalilova, p.c.), where it is called ‘restrictive plural’.

Russian nouns that have been borrowed into Hinuq take the Hinuq plural (even if the Russian loan was already marked for plural), e.g. *ačka-be* ‘glasses’ (from Russian *očko*), *naski-be* ‘stockings’ (from Russian *noski*).

In adjectives borrowed from Avar, the plural suffix follows the final segment *-w*. If they have a short form that lacks the Avar adjective suffix *-aw*, then this form is preferred for the formation of the plural (95).

(95)	<i>ʔurusaw</i>	<i>ʔurusaw-be/ʔurus-be</i>	‘Russians’
	<i>ʔoloqanaw</i>	<i>ʔoloqanaw-be/ʔoloqan-be</i>	‘youngsters’
	<i>miskinaw</i>	<i>miskinaw-be/miskin-be</i>	‘poor’
	<i>bečedaw</i>	<i>bečedaw-be</i>	‘rich’
	<i>bercinaw</i>	<i>bercinaw-be</i>	‘beautiful’

Many mass nouns do not form a plural, e.g. *ɣiy* ‘milk’, *qeqe* ‘porridge’, *nuce* ‘honey’, *čakar* ‘sugar’, *yoʁu* ‘ashes’, *at* ‘flour’, *ɬeɬ* ‘flax’, *kartuška* ‘potato’, *qaca* ‘wood’, *č’ot’i* ‘bean’, and *ki* ‘blueberry’.

Finally, many nouns derived with the Abstract suffix *-ɬi* do not form a plural, e.g. *bercinɬi* ‘beauty’, *hudulɬi* ‘friendship’, *raq’dalɬi* ‘dryness’, or *ʔagarɬi* ‘relatives’. But this is not a general rule. Other nouns suffixed with *-ɬi* can form a plural, e.g. *bagoɬi-be* ‘secrets’ or *talawurčiɬi-be* ‘plunderings’.

3.4. Oblique Plural stem formation

The Oblique stem for nouns in the plural is formed with the help of the suffix *-za* (*-ža* if the suffix follows *-i*). The Oblique Plural suffix is added directly to the Base stem, or with nouns that undergo deletion of the stem-final vowel in the Absolutive Plural stem or before Oblique Singular suffixes it is added after the deletion of that vowel. Case suffixes are then attached to the Oblique Plural stem. The plural paradigms for some nouns are shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Oblique forms

	‘bull’	‘cat’	‘forest’	‘face’
ABS	<i>gani-be</i>	<i>k’et’(u)-be</i>	<i>čeq-be</i>	<i>humer-be</i>
ERG	<i>gani-ža-y</i>	<i>k’et’-za-y</i>	<i>čeq-za-y</i>	<i>humer-za-y / hume-li-ža-y</i>
GEN1	<i>gani-ža-s</i>	<i>k’et’-za-s</i>	<i>čeq-za-s</i>	<i>humer-za-s / hume-li-ža-s</i>
GEN2	<i>gani-ža-zo</i>	<i>k’et’-za-zo</i>	<i>čeq-za-zo</i>	<i>humer-za-zo / hume-li-ža-zo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>gani-ža-ɬ</i>	<i>k’et’-za-ɬ</i>	<i>čeq-za-ɬ</i>	<i>humer-za-ɬ / hume-li-ža-ɬ</i>
AT-Essive	<i>gani-ža-qo</i>	<i>k’et’-za-qo</i>	<i>čeq-za-qo</i>	<i>humer-za-qo / hume-li-ža-qo</i>

Nouns that undergo some transformation before the plural suffix for the Absolutive Plural stem or an oblique suffix for the Oblique Singular stem is added usually undergo a similar transformation before attaching the Oblique Plural suffix. This can be seen by comparing the Absolutive singular and plural and the First Genitive singular and plural forms given in (96).

(96)	ABS SG	ABS PL	GEN1 SG	GEN1 PL	Translation
	<i>k'et'u</i>	<i>k'et'(u)-be</i>	<i>k'et'-e-s</i>	<i>k'et'-za-s</i>	'cat'
	<i>boc'e</i>	<i>boc'-be</i>	<i>boc'-e-s</i>	<i>boc'-za-s</i>	'wolf'
	<i>k'eču</i>	<i>k'eču-be</i>	<i>k'eč-a-s</i>	<i>k'eč-a-za-s</i>	'tooth'
				<i>k'eču-za-s</i>	
	<i>k^wezey</i>	<i>k^wezey-be</i>	<i>k^weze-ra-s</i>	<i>k^wezey-ra-za-s</i>	'hand'
	<i>buλe</i>	<i>buλe-be</i>	<i>beλe-s/buλe-s</i>	<i>beλe-za-s</i>	'house'
				<i>buλe-za-s</i>	
	<i>buce</i>	<i>buce-be</i>	<i>bece-s/buce-s</i>	<i>bece-za-s</i>	'moon,
				<i>buce-za-s</i>	month'

Oblique forms of nouns with exceptional plural forms are as follows (note that again *ked-bi-ža-s* and *es-ni-ža-s* have double plural marking):

(97)	ABS SG	ABS PL	GEN1 SG	GEN1 PL	Translation
	<i>ked</i>	<i>ked-bi</i>	<i>ked-e-s</i>	<i>ked-bi-ža-s/</i> <i>ked-za-s</i>	'girl, daughter'
	<i>essu</i>	<i>es-ni/essu-be/</i> <i>es-ni-be</i>	<i>essu-s</i>	<i>essu-za-s/</i> <i>es-ni-ža-s</i>	'sibling'
	<i>iš</i>	<i>iše/iš-be</i>	<i>iš-e-s</i>	<i>iš-a-s/iš-za-s</i>	'bull'
	<i>ɣ^wero/</i>	<i>ɣ^weriš /</i> <i>ɣ^weriš-be</i>	<i>ɣ^wero-s/</i>	<i>ɣ^weriš-a-s/</i> <i>ɣ^wero-za-s</i>	'cow'
	<i>ɣore</i>	<i>ɣoriš/ɣoriš-be</i>	<i>ɣore-s</i>	<i>ɣoriš-a-s</i>	
	<i>beλ'q'u</i>	<i>beλ'</i>	<i>beλ'q'u-s</i>	<i>beλ'-e-s</i>	'sheep'
	<i>can</i>	<i>can-i/can-i-be/</i> <i>can-be</i>	<i>can-e-s/</i> <i>can-i-š</i>	<i>can-i-ža-s</i>	'goat' (fem.)

Finally, the Oblique Plural suffix may co-occur with Oblique Singular suffixes. The Oblique Singular suffixes used in the following examples are the same that are used for the Oblique Singular stems alone. Such nouns always have plural meaning. However, the Oblique Singular suffixes do not co-occur with the Absolutive plural marker as is possible in the neighboring language Tsez (e.g. **berten-mo-be*) except for the three nouns given in (91).

(98)	<i>berten-mo-za-ʔ</i>	wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT	'at the weddings'
	<i>aλ-a-za-ʔ</i>	village-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT	'in the villages'

<i>laq-na-za-λ'o</i>	wound-OBL-OBL.PL-SPR	'on the wound'
<i>iže-ra-za-ł</i>	eye-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT	'into the eyes'

3.5. Case

3.5.1. Introduction

There are 41 cases in Hinuq: six non-spatial cases (Absolutive, Ergative, First Genitive, Second Genitive, Dative, Instrumental) and 35 spatial cases. The spatial case system consists of two separately coded categories, location (CONT, IN, SUB, SPR, AT, ALOC, and ILOC) and orientation (Essive, Lative, First Ablative, Second Ablative, and Directional), which can be combined to form complex categories. Each location suffix can be combined with each orientation suffix, which gives a total of 35 spatial cases. This exuberant system of spatial cases is typical for Daghestanian languages (Comrie & Polinsky 1998, Comrie 1999). In addition, there is a suffix *-γo* whose inclusion in the paradigm as a further location suffix can be argued for (3.5.30). Hinuq also has a spatial adverb which is currently developing into an orientation suffix (3.5.31).

The main difficulty in Hinuq nominal morphology is the formation of the oblique stem from the base stem (Sections 3.2 and 3.4). Otherwise case inflection is straightforward and regular. The Absolutive case is identical to the base stem. All other cases are formed from the oblique stem by adding suffixes. The suffixes and their allomorphs are given in Table 12.

Table 12. Grammatical cases

Case	Suffix
Absolutive	no suffix
Ergative	<i>-i</i> (<i>-y</i>)
First Genitive	<i>-s</i> (<i>-š</i>)
Second Genitive	<i>-zo</i> (<i>-žo</i>)
Dative	<i>-z</i> (<i>-ž</i>)
Instrumental	<i>-d</i>

The suffixes of the location category are CONT (“contact”) *-ł*, IN (“in(side)”) *V/-ma*, SUB (“under”) *-λ*, SPR (“on”) *-λ'o*, AT (“at, by”) *-qo*, ALOC (“animate location”) *-de*, and ILOC (“inanimate location”) *-ho*. The suffixes of the orientation category are: Essive *-Ø*, Lative *-r*, First Ablative *-s*, Second Ablative *-zo*, and Directional *-do*. They and their respective combinations are given in Table 13 in Section 3.5.7.

3.5.2. Absolutive

The Absolutive has a zero ending and is the lexical citation form for nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals. The Absolutive noun phrase is the single argument of an intransitive verb S (99a, 99b), the patient/theme argument of a transitive or extended transitive verb (99c), as well as the stimulus of an experiencer verb (99d).

- (99) a. *had essni sasaqo b-iλ'i-yo hayli-do*
 these brother.PL in.the.morning HPL-go-PRS there-DIR
 'These brothers are going there in the morning.' (N)
- b. *uži ked-λ'o-r Ø-eze-s*
 boy(I) girl-SPR-LAT I-look-PST
 'The boy looked at the girl.'
- c. *haytu-y b-ux-no k'et'u*
 she.OBL-ERG III-buy-UWPST cat(III)
 'She bought a cat.' (N)
- d. *haw haze-z y-uhe-s y-aši-š goł*
 she they.OBL-DAT II-die-RES II-find-RES be
 'They found her dead.' (N)

Some verbs require their instrumental arguments to be marked by the Absolutive because these arguments are treated as patients (see Chapter 16 for valence patterns of verbs).

- (100) *uži: zon-zo essu-z beši b-ik'-iš*
 boy.ERG REFL.SG.OBL-GEN2 brother-DAT fist(III) III-beat-PST
 'The boy beat his brother with his fist.'

The Absolutive also marks noun phrases in the predicate nominal function (101a), including existential sentences (101b). In appositive constructions one noun must be in the Absolutive, independent of the case marking on the other noun. The noun in the Absolutive is usually the first noun (101c) (see Section 26.4 for appositive constructions).

- (101) a. *čanaqan=no zoq'we-s goł hago*
 hunter=and be-RES be he
 'And he was a hunter.' (N)
- b. *zoq'we-n=eλ, zoq'we-n gom=eλ hes miskinaw Ø-[?]eži*
 be-UWPST=NARR be-UWPST be.NEG=NARR one poor 1-old
očordiyu rek'we
 old man(I)

‘(Once upon a time) there was one poor old, old man.’ (N)

- c. *uži zon-zo ʔali obu-de nox-iš*
 boy REFL.SG.OBL-GEN2 Ali father-ALOC2 come-PST
 ‘The boy came with his father Ali.’

3.5.3. Ergative

The Ergative marker is *-i* (*-y* after vowels). It is identical to the IN-Essive marker for those nouns that have *-i* as the IN-Essive ending (3.5.12). The Ergative marks the agentive argument of transitive verbs (A). It can be used with animate (102a, 102b) as well as with inanimate As (102c).

- (102) a. *haʔo čanaqan-i kekir-no haw coy hawa-ʔ'o-do*
 that.OBL hunter-ERG let-UWPST that eagle air-SPR-DIR
 ‘The hunter let the eagle (fly) into the air.’ (N)
- b. *bikore-y hadu y-iži-yo seda oqra-do*
 snake-ERG she II-take-PRS one.OBL whole.IN-DIR
 ‘The snake takes her into a hole.’ (N)
- c. *ked-qo-r Ø-ez-aʔi haʔo-qo-s šapka=n*
 girl-SPR-LAT I-look-SIM he.OBL-AT-ABL1 hat(III)=and
b-iʔ'i-r-ho ʔaci-na-y
 III-fall-CAUS-PRS wind-OBL-ERG
 ‘Looking at the girl, the wind causes his hat to fall.’ (S)

3.5.4. Genitive

Like other Tsezic languages, Hinuq has two Genitive cases, a First (direct) and a Second (oblique) Genitive, reflecting a corresponding case contrast of the governing noun: If the head noun has the Absolutive case, the attributive noun must take the First Genitive case with the marker *-s* (*-š* after *-i*) (103a). If, however, the head noun is in one of the oblique cases, the attributive noun must take the Second Genitive case with the marker *-zo* (*-žo* after *-i*) (103b). Although the case marker of the head noun is not literally repeated on the attributive noun, this distinction between direct and oblique Genitive has been analyzed as a form of “Suffixaufnahme” (Kibrik 1995, Boguslavskaja 1995).

- (103) a. *obu-s buʕe*
 father-GEN1 house
 ‘father’s house’

- b. *obu-zo beʎe:*
 father-GEN2 house.IN
 ‘in father’s house’

Hinuq has a type of genitive-ablative syncretism where both Genitive suffixes are identical with the respective Ablative suffixes (see 3.5.7 for the Ablative case). This type of case syncretism is not very widespread typologically (Noonan & Mihas unpublished), but occurs in Indo-European languages such as French, Catalan and German (Heine & Kuteva 2002: 34–35) and in the neighboring East-Tsezic languages Bezhta (Kibrik & Testelec 2004) and Hunzib (van den Berg 1995). Instead, in terms of syncretism it is also possible to analyze the *-s* suffix as one single case marker with two main functions, possessive marking with nominals (“genitive-like function”) and source marking with spatial expressions (“ablative-like function”). With such an approach there would be no need to assign additional uses (e.g. marking of temporal adverbs) that belong neither to the typical Genitive functions nor to the typical ablative functions to one or the other case. Such an analysis seems preferable on analytical grounds, but it will not be adopted here in order to avoid misunderstanding. Consequently, the suffixes *-s* and *-zo* are glossed as GEN1 and GEN2 respectively if they are used in the contexts described in this chapter. Otherwise they fulfill the functions described in Section 3.5.7 to 3.5.29 and are glossed as ABL1 and ABL2.

The main function of the two Genitive cases is the expression of inalienable (104a) and alienable possession (104b). They occur in an attributive function (104b), and also in a predicative function if the possession is permanent (104a). In contrast, temporary possession is indicated by using the AT location marker (3.5.20).

- (104) a. *debe xexbe goʎ=e?*
 you.SG.GEN1 children be=Q
 ‘Do you have children?’ (S)
- b. *sira me Ø-iʎ'i-yo gom obu-zo sud-a-ʎ'o-r?*
 why you.SG I-go-ICVB be.NEG father-GEN2 grave-OBL-SPR-LAT
 ‘Why are you (masc.) not going to father’s grave?’ (N)

The Genitive cases can also be used non-referentially to express a wide range of modifying constructions. These can be attributive nouns expressing part-whole relationships (105a), quality/property (105b, 105c), material (105d), and other abstract relationships (105e).

- (105) a. *axxa-s raʎal*
 ear-GEN1 lobe
 ‘earlobe’

- b. *haṭu šayt'an-i-žo aqila-y eḫi-yo ...*
 this.OBL devel-OBL-GEN2 woman.OBL-ERG say-PRS
 'this devil woman says ...' (N)
- c. *qema-s y^wede goḷ*
 rain-GEN1 day be
 'It is a rainy day.'
- d. *mesed-li-š ḫ'oq'on*
 gold-OBL-GEN1 hat
 'a golden crown' (N)
- e. *miskinaw ḫal-a-s xalq'i*
 poor condition-OBL-GEN1 people
 'people in bad conditions' (N)

Genitive nouns can be used to express all kinds of relations that in other languages are expressed by adjectives or compound nouns (106a, 106b, 106c).

- (106) a. *hes qazaq-za-s uži*
 one Georgian-OBL.PL-GEN1 boy
 'one Georgian boy' (N)
- b. *nesa:-s zaman*
 in.the.evening-GEN1 time
 'evening time'
- c. *geni-š ažey*
 pear-GEN1 tree
 'pear tree'

The Genitives are regularly used in the formation of attributes from nouns and adverbs (Sections 6.5.1 and 6.5.2). This so-called "linking" function of the two Genitive cases has been noted for other Tsezic languages such as Bezhta (Kibrik 1995) and Tsez (Kibrik 1995, Comrie et al. Undated). In their linking function the Genitive suffixes are added to various modifiers. If the nouns modified by the Genitive are in the Absolutive, then the attributes take the first Genitive suffix. Otherwise the second Genitive suffix is added. Since nouns which are already case-marked can function as modifiers for other nouns, this leads to double case marking on the modifier (107a).

In Hinuq there are a number of examples where modifiers are marked by either the first Genitive suffix if the modified noun is in the Absolutive (107a), or by the second Genitive if the noun is has an oblique case marking (107b). Example (107c) is especially interesting because here the Genitive is added to

the Past participle. In principle, the Past participle does not need any further case suffix to function as an attribute (107d), but in (107c) it is additionally marked with the second Genitive because its head noun is in the Ergative. This marking is optional and normally left out.

- (107) a. *ħaž-λ'o-do-s* *ħune*
 Hajj-SPR-DIR-GEN1 way
 'the way of the Hajj'
- b. *ħaž-λ'o-do-zo* *ħun-i* *diž* *mecxer* *b-aši-š*
 Hajj-SPR-DIR-GEN2 way.OBL-IN I.DAT money(III) III-find-PST
 'On the way to/of the Hajj I found money.'
- c. [*gulu-zo* [*kutakalda b-oλo b-iλ'i-yoru-zo*]
 horse(III)-GEN2 strongly III-fast III-go-PTCP.PST-GEN2
kutak-mo-y *r-ixer-ho* *goła*] *łaci* *dulan=tow*
 force-OBL-ERG V-lift.up-PRS be.PTCP wind(V).ERG earth=EMPH
kabadek'-iš
 paint.black-PST
 'The wind, which had been lifted up by the force of the very fast going horse, painted the earth black.' (N)
- d. *iše* *y-aq'e-yoru* *zaman-a-ł*
 snow(IV) IV-come-PTCP.PST time-OBL-CONT
 'at the time when it snowed' (N)

The Genitive is also used in partitive phrases as illustrated in the following examples:

- (108) a. *łeł-ru-s* *saħ*
 flax-OBL-GEN1 2,5kg
 'five pounds of flax' (N)
- b. *Šamil-i* *q'ono zok'i* *ħaraq'a-s* *ga:s*
 Šamil-ERG two cup vodka.OBL-GEN1 drink-PST
 'Shamil drank two cups of vodka.'

The Genitive is used with the verb *-ič'* 'fill, load' to refer to the object that is loaded.²³

²³ Since the distinction between Genitive and Ablative is purely practical and not a question of analysis, it makes no sense to argue whether particular examples (109a-109b) are Genitive or Ablative.

- (109) a. *[Malla Rasadan-i omoq'i qaca-s b-ič'-no]*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG donkey(III) wood-GEN1 III-fill-CVB
[mali-ho šid Ø-ix-o goła] omoq'i-ya-y
 hill-ILOC upwards I-get.up-ICVB be.PTCP donkey-OBL-ERG
qaλu san qaλe-s
 scream once call-PST
 'Mullah Nasredin loaded the donkey with wood, and when he was going up the hill, the donkey screamed once.' (N)
- b. *hag heyu y-oλλoku bex-o-s y-ič'-iš zoq'we-n*
 that hayloft(IV) IV-half gras-OBL-GEN1 IV-fill-RES be-UWPST
 'Half of that hayloft was filled with grass.' (N)

If the theme of a conversation is expressed as a complement clause headed by a Masdar, then the Masdar must take the first Genitive suffix (110). Note that mere noun phrases expressing conversational themes cannot be marked with the first Genitive (see below).

- (110) *de hayto-go xabar b-uher-iš [idu-do]*
 I.ERG he.OBL-AT story(III) III-break-PST home-DIR
Ø-aq'-anu-s]
 I-come-MSD-GEN1
 'I (masc.) talked to him about coming home.'

The Second Genitive has unique functions that it does not share with the First Genitive. It occurs together with the Abstract suffix to mark an noun phrase as the theme of a conversation (111a), or the X in the construction 'X becomes Y'. The last function seems to have a semantic relationship with the "through"-meaning of the Second Ablative (3.5.7), which becomes clearer when rephrasing (111b) as 'through your daughter a devil was born'.

- (111) a. *q'iligan-i ese-s=eλ [feno yuruš sababλun]*
 drummer-ERG tell-PST=NARR five ruble because.of
b-iqqo goła] da?ba.roži-ŋi-žo
 III-happen.ICVB be.PTCP controversy-ABST-GEN2
 'The drummer told about the controversy, which happened because of five rubles.' (N)
- b. *"ilbis b-iq-iš goł dewzo*
 devil(III) III-become-RES be you.SG.GEN2
ked-ŋi-žo"=λen eλi-n
 daughter(II)-ABST-GEN2=QUOT say-UWPST
 "'Your daughter has turned into a devil," he said.' (N)

3.5.5. Dative

Hinuq is the only Tsezic language that has a Dative which does not serve any spatial functions. It marks recipients, experiencers, and beneficiaries. The suffix is *-z* (*-ž* after *-i*).

Recipient-like arguments in Hinuq ditransitive constructions with verbs such as *neλ-* ‘give’, *-iker-* ‘show’, *-iq'e-* ‘bring’, or *kekir-* ‘send’ are mostly marked with the Dative. Ditransitive constructions are treated in more detail in Section 16.6.1.

- (112) a. *lataxu goł, neλ-an devez*
lataxa be give-INTFUT you.SG.DAT
 ‘There is lataxa, (I) will give it to you.’ (N)
- b. *hay heresuqan, de r-iker-an devez [r-u:-λ'os]*
hey liar I.ERG V-show-INTFUT you.SG.DAT V-do-HAB
žo
thing(V)
 ‘Hey, liar, I will show you what I do.’ (N)

Hinuq has about a dozen experiencer verbs, e.g. *-eti-* ‘want’, *-aši-* ‘find, get’, *-eq'i-* ‘know’, or *-ike-* ‘see’, which mark the experiencer with the Dative (Section 16.4).

- (113) a. *k'onc'u-be at'ek'-a r-eti-yo gom diž*
leg-PL wet-INF NHPL-want-ICVB be.NEG I.DAT
 ‘I do not want wet legs.’ (N)
- b. *se r-aši-i obu-zo sud-a-λ'o devez?*
what V-find-Q father-GEN2 grave-OBL-SPR you.SG.DAT
 ‘What did you find at father’s grave?’ (N)

The Dative also marks affected participants in benefactive or malefactive constructions. The participants can be animate or inanimate. These constructions are especially frequent with verbs such as *kumak b-u:-* ‘help’, *-iq-* ‘happen, be, become’, but also with many other verbs. Similarly, if the Dative is added to the interrogative pronoun ‘what’, the resulting question word *linez* means ‘for what’ or ‘why’ (Section 5.5.2). The verbs *-ik'-* ‘beat’ and *całi-* ‘throw at, shot’ mark the adversely affected participant or object who is beaten or shot at with the Dative (114c).

- (114) a. [*hoboy haytu-z=no xižina b-u:-n] haw=no*
 then she.OBL-DAT=and hut(III) III-make-CVB she=and
xece-n hibayru=tow
 let-UWPST like.that=EMPH
 ‘Then (they) made her also a hut and left her in the same way.’ (N)
- b. “*se haŕu-z r-iq-iš haŕu tupi-ž*”=*λen*
 what this.OBL-DAT V-happen-PST this.OBL gun-DAT=QUOT
 “‘What happened to it, to this gun?’” (he) said.’ (N)
- c. [*r-ux-no haŕo-y tupi] caŕi-yo haŕu boŕi-ž*
 V-take-CVB he.OBL-ERG gun(V) shoot-PRS this.OBL deer-DAT
 ‘He takes the gun and shoots at the deer.’ (N)

The Purposive converb suffix either consists of the Dative marker alone or it can be morphologically complex (*-ayaz*) with the final segment corresponding to the Dative marker (Section 7.7.2.12). This situation is not uncommon crosslinguistically: the connection between datives, purposives, and infinitives is widely attested in the languages of the world (Haspelmath 1989).

- (115) *had essni [gulu-za-λ'o=n λ'erek-no] b-iλ'i-yo*
 these brother.PL horse-OBL.PL-SPR=and sit.on-CVB HPL-go-PRS
b-ih-i-ž
 HPL-fight-PURP
 ‘The brothers sit on (their) horses and go away in order to fight.’ (N)

Finally, the Dative is used for marking adjuncts of the verbs *-²eži-* ‘win’ and *-eg^we-* ‘lose’ that indicate the subject or discipline in which someone wins or loses (116). More examples can be found in Section 16.3.4.

- (116) *Ø-²eži-n hayti=teŕ hado, q'urʔan-mo-z=no*
 I-win-UWPST there=inside he Koran-OBL-DAT=and
ʔelmu-z=no t'ot'r-ayaz=no, haŕo-y
 science-DAT=and read-PURP=and he.OBL-ERG
b-eder-no gom hadbe
 HPL-work.CAUS-UWPST be.NEG they
 ‘He won there, (knowing) the Koran, the science, reading, they could not compete with him.’ (N)

3.5.6. Instrumental

The Instrumental suffix is *-d*. This case is used for the expression of all kinds of instruments, e.g. tools or other objects used as tools (117a), body parts (117b), animals used at work (117c), but never humans.

- (117) a. *haytu xan-i-žo ked-i [zonzonzo*
 that.OBL khan-OBL-GEN2 daughter-ERG REF.SG.GEN2
q'imu-λ'o-s r-iy-no] čurγan-mo-d
 head-SPR-ABL1 V-take-CVB headscarf(V)-OBL-INS
y-ec-o hačo uži-š mecu
 IV-tie.round-PRS this.OBL boy-GEN1 forearm(IV)
 'The daughter of the khan takes the headscarf from her head and ties it around the boy's forearm.' (N)
- b. *sadaq k^weze-ra-d lagi-d moqoli-d žo r-uw-a*
 all hand-OBL-INS body-INS back-INS thing(V) V-do-INF
r-aq'-o zoq'e-s
 V-must-ICVB be-PST
 'Everything had to be done by hand, with the body, with the back.' (N)
- c. *essu-y haču gulu-d b-eλe-s moči*
 brother-ERG this.OBL horse-INS III-plough-PST field(III)
 'The brother ploughed the field with this horse.'

3.5.7. Overview of the spatial cases

Hinuq has seven location markers and five orientation markers, which are used to form spatial case suffixes (Table 13). The functions of all spatial case markers will be described in more detail in the following Sections (3.5.8 - 3.5.29). The descriptions begin with the Essive cases and continue to the Directional of each location marker. The form and the function of the adverb *bito*, which is on its way from an adverbial to an orientation marker, is treated in Section 3.5.31.

Morphologically and with regard to their spatial semantics, the spatial case combinations are quite transparent. The suffixes of the location markers can be seen in the first column of Table 13 under the heading "Essive". The suffixes of the orientation markers are: Essive *-Ø*, Lative *-r*, First Ablative *-s*, Second Ablative *-zo*, and Directional *-do*. The orientation markers are directly added to spatial and temporal adverbs or to the location markers, which in turn are added to the oblique stems of nouns, adjectives, etc. The two location markers CONT and SUB, which consist of a single consonant, require an epenthetic vowel *-e*

Table 13. Spatial cases

Location	Essive	Lative	Direction		
			Ablative1	Ablative2	Directional
CONT	- <i>t</i>	- <i>t-e-r</i>	- <i>t-e-s</i>	- <i>t-e-zo</i>	- <i>t-e-do</i>
IN	- <i>V/-ma</i>	- <i>V-r/-ma-r</i>	- <i>V-s/-ma-s</i>	- <i>V-zo/-ma-zo</i>	- <i>V-do/-ma-do</i>
SUB	- <i>λ</i>	- <i>λ-e-r</i>	- <i>λ-e-s</i>	- <i>λ-e-zo</i>	- <i>λ-e-do</i>
SPR	- <i>λ'o</i>	- <i>λ'o-r</i>	- <i>λ'o-s</i>	- <i>λ'o-zo</i>	- <i>λ'o-do</i>
AT	- <i>qo</i>	- <i>qo-r</i>	- <i>qo-s</i>	- <i>qo-zo</i>	- <i>qo-do</i>
ALOC	- <i>de</i>	- <i>de-r</i>	- <i>de-s</i>	- <i>de-zo</i>	- <i>de-do</i>
ILOC	- <i>ho</i>	- <i>ho-r</i>	- <i>ho-s</i>	- <i>ho-zo</i>	- <i>ho-do</i>

to be inserted before orientation markers can be added (see Section 2.4.1 for syllable repair mechanisms).

The main function of the spatial cases is the expression of location and direction. When teasing apart the contributions of both location markers and orientation markers to the meaning of a spatial case, it becomes clear that the location marker on its own (\emptyset -marked Essive) is not specified for motion. However, in combination with verbs of motion, it indicates orientation to a goal. Nevertheless it is only the predicate to which the location marker belongs that entails whether the absence of motion or some motion to a goal is meant.

On the other hand, if some orientation marker combines with the location marker, then it is the meaning of the orientation marker which determines the kind of motion that the complex suffix conveys. That is, if the Lative is added to any of the location markers, then only motion to a goal can be expressed because this is the meaning contribution of the Lative. If the Ablative is added, then only motion from a source is expressed because of the meaning of the Ablative. The Directional also expresses motion to a goal.

Not only the location markers but also the orientation markers can be used on their own without any preceding location marker if they are added to spatial, temporal, or interrogative adverbs/postpositions, or if they are added to the Local participle, to place names, or to numerals (cf. Table 14).

The meanings of the Lative and the Directional are quite similar. Their semantic difference has been traditionally described as an opposition between a motion to a goal (Lative) and towards a goal (Directional). However, this does not seem to be exact. My informants rejected translations of examples with the Directional that contained paraphrases such as ‘in the direction of’. Instead, the Directional has the more general meaning ‘to X’, whereas the Lative indicates motion exactly ‘to (the border) of X’. A similar difference can be observed with

Table 14. Directional markers used with adverbs/postpositions, the Local participle, and numerals

	Adverbs/postpositions	Local participle	Numerals
Essive	$\lambda'ere$ 'on, above'	$-i\lambda'i-ya$ 'go'	$\text{\textcircled{1}}ono$ 'three'
LAT	$\lambda'ere-r$ 'up, onto'	$\emptyset-i\lambda'i-ya-r$ 'to where he goes'	$\text{\textcircled{1}}ora-r$
ABL1	$\lambda'ere-s$ 'from above'	$\emptyset-i\lambda'i-ya-s$ 'from where he goes'	$\text{\textcircled{1}}ora-s$
DIR	$\lambda'ere-do$ 'up'	$\emptyset-i\lambda'i-ya-do$ 'to where he goes'	$\text{\textcircled{1}}ora-do$

temporal expression, e.g. *nesahodo* 'till evening' vs. *nesahor* 'exactly till the beginning of the evening'.

- (118) a. *de ixu-ho-r* $\emptyset-aq'e-s$
 I river-ILOC-LAT I-come-PST
 'I (masc.) reached the river. I went exactly till (the bank of) the river.'
- b. *de ixu-ho-do* $\emptyset-i\lambda'i-\check{s}$
 I river-ILOC-DIR I-go-PST
 'I (masc.) went to the river.'

The motion verb *-aq'e-* 'come' is almost exclusively used with the Lative case, whereas *-i\lambda'i-* 'go' occurs with both cases. Although in many contexts Lative and Directional are interchangeable without a big difference in meaning, there are other contexts where only one of them is allowed. For instance, (119a) is possible, but it has a very specific meaning, whereas (119b) just means 'visit'. Similarly, only the Directive can be used when marking the goal of the motion in (119c); the Lative would be completely ungrammatical.

- (119) a. *hay\textcircled{1}o* $\lambda'erba-de-r$ $\emptyset-i\lambda'i-n$ *hado*
 that.OBL guest-ALOC-LAT I-go-UWPST he
 'He went until he reached the guest.'
- b. *hay\textcircled{1}o* $\lambda'erba-de-do$ $\emptyset-i\lambda'i-n$ *hado*
 that.OBL guest-ALOC-DIR I-go-UWPST he
 'He went to visit him.' (N)
- c. *hay\textcircled{1}o-s* *go\textcircled{1}i\check{s}* *\check{s}inaw mecxer* $\{zon-qo-do$ /
 he.OBL-GEN1 be.PTPCP every money(III) REFL.SG.OBL-AT-DIR /
 * $\{zon-qo-r\}$ *b-utir-no*
 REFL.SG.OBL-AT-LAT III-gather-UWPST
 '(She) took all his money for herself.' (N)

Lative and First Ablative are often used in temporal expressions, e.g. *eλna:s* ‘from the winter’ or *sasaqo-r* ‘until morning’ (morning-LAT). The Second Ablative can have an emphatic function when added to the interrogative word *deru* ‘how’ (120), but this function is rather marginal.

- (120) *deru-zo=gozon devez r-eq'i-yo gom me*
 how-GEN2=TOP you.SG.DAT V-know-ICVB be.NEG you.SG.ERG
ni žumru b-u:-λ'os-ti?
 where life(III) III-do-HAB-ABST
 ‘How you do not know where you live?’ (S)

The Second Ablative, whether used in combination with preceding location markers or on its own, sometimes functions as a translative with the meaning ‘through’ (121a). The First Ablative never has this meaning, but the adverb *bito* can also be used with the meaning ‘through’, similar to the Second Ablative (121b).

- (121) a. *toqgo devez raλ'-mo-λ'o-zo žine-s=no*
 hear.PRS you.SG.DAT earth-OBL-SPR-GEN2 what.OBL-GEN1=and
ruk?
 sound
 ‘Do you hear any sound through the earth?’ (N)
- b. *de diž {c'ikay-a-zo / c'ikay-a=bito} Ø-ik-o*
 I I.DAT mirror-IN-ABL2 / mirror-IN=TRANS I-see-PRS
 ‘I (masc.) see myself in/through a mirror.’

Spatial cases frequently occur with postpositions, which sometimes leads to a change in meaning of the whole phrase (cf. Section 11.2 on spatial postpositions). Generally, the use of postpositions results in a more specific meaning (see example (134a) in Section 3.5.16 for illustration). There is no one-to-one relation between spatial cases and postpositions, but every spatial case is combinable with a number of postpositions, and vice versa, every postposition governs a number of spatial cases.

Outside the spatial domain the spatial case suffixes indicate temporal and metaphorical location and orientation. Their grammatical uses include the marking of verbal arguments, of non-finite verb forms in adverbial clauses, and the expression of possession or purpose. A brief analysis of the non-spatial functions is given in Section 3.5.32.

A detailed description of the forms and functions of the spatial case suffixes in Hinuq in comparison to the neighboring Tsezic language Bezhta can be found

in Forker (2012c). For their reconstruction, see Alekseev (2003) and Cysouw & Forker (2009).

Before all suffixes are presented in detail, a short note on the traditional semantic analysis is useful. The majority of authors, beginning from Bokarev's work in the late 1950's up to the more recent grammar sketch by Xalilov and Isakov claim that the SPR-location marker *-x'o* denotes location on a horizontal surface, as opposed to *-go*, which is claimed to denote location on a vertical surface (cf. Bokarev (1959: 120–121), Lomtadze (1963: 111–115), Vakilov (1998: 13), Khalilov & Isakov (2005: 575)). However, these claims are not verified, as the analysis in Sections 3.5.16–3.5.20 shows. Similarly, the suffixes *-de* and *-ho* have been analyzed as denoting the position immediately at a location (*-de*) as opposed to the position near a location (*-ho*) (cf. Vakilov (1998: 13), Khalilov & Isakov (2005: 575)). Although sometimes the latter suffix *-ho* is indeed translatable as 'near X', this is however not its predominant distinction from *-de*. The two suffixes can be better distinguished by the animacy of the marked noun: *-de* denotes "animate location" (i.e. the location of an item near or at an animate reference point), whereas *-ho* expresses "inanimate location" (i.e. the location of an item near or at an inanimate reference point).

3.5.8. CONT-Essive

The CONT-Essive (*-t*) expresses inclusion in an amorphous mass (e.g. water, flour, ashes), (122a), or in things that could be conceptualized as a kind of mass (e.g. avalanche, forest, leaves, army), (122b), and location/movement in(to) a state or province (e.g. Georgia, Daghestan), (122c). It frequently occurs with the postpositions/adverbs *te-t* 'inside' as in example (122c), *pure-t(bito)* 'near', and *hezzo* 'after'. Constructions with *hezzo* not only mean 'after something / somebody' but also express meanings like 'go for X' (122d).

- (122) a. *hayti kekiš-a-t bito Ø-oχex-no k'oχe-n hago*
 there flour-OBL-CONT there I-appear-CVB run-UWPST that
rek'we
 man(I)
 'The man appeared there in the flour and ran away.' (N)
- b. *sadaq iżho-t=no b-aq'e-n b-uhe-s go-t*
 all avalanche-CONT=and HPL-come-CVB HPL-die-RES be
q'ono qu rek'u-t-es
 two twenty man.OBL-CONT-ABL I
 'All of the forty men went into the avalanche and died.' (N)

- c. *ħaži-ž=no ʔarabustan-eʔ teʔ hibayru istoriya*
 Gadzhi-DAT=and Arabia-CONT inside so story(III)
b-iq-iš goʔ
 III-happen-RES be
 ‘Such a story happened with Gadzhi in Arabia.’ (N)
- d. *de c’udaki-ya-ʔ hezzo Ø-iʔ’i-š*
 I raspberry-OBL-CONT after I-go-PST
 ‘I (masc.) went for raspberries.’

Non-spatial meanings expressed by the CONT-Essive can be metaphorical locations as ‘in the sleep’ (123a) or ‘in the life’ or they can be temporal, e.g. ‘at that time, on the seventh day’ or ‘in the year X’ (123b).

- (123) a. *ħaʔo-z moʔa-ʔ b-ik-o boʔi*
 he.OBL-DAT sleep.OBL-CONT III-see-PRS deer(III)
 ‘He dreams of a deer.’ (lit. In the sleep he sees a deer.) (N)
- b. *q’ono quno uq’ira eʔa ʔeba-ʔ eli guči.b.u:-s*
 two twenty four.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT we resettle.HPL-PST
Čačan-ʔ’o-do
 Chechnya-SPR-DIR
 ‘In the year (19)44 we were resettled to Chechnya.’ (N)

3.5.9. CONT-Lative

The meaning of the CONT-Lative case (*-ʔer*) is similar to that of the CONT-Essive case, but it can only express movement. The movement can be directed into amorphous masses and similar things (124a). In addition, metaphorical (124b) and temporal direction can be expressed (124c).

- (124) a. *Malla Rasadan-i exo xemza-qo=n*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG herdsman(I) stone.PL.OBL-AT=and
Ø-ece-n raʔad-li-ʔ-er kur-ho
 I-tie-CVB sea-OBL-CONT-LAT throw-PRS
 ‘Mullah Nasredin ties the herdsman to the stones and throws him into the sea.’ (N)
- b. *me rok’e-ʔ-er y-iʔ’i-š beq-es nur y-iʔi*
 you.SG heart-CONT-LAT II-go-PST sun.OBL-GEN1 light II-similar
 ‘You (fem.) went into my heart like the sunlight.’ (N)

- c. *Ø-otto hado uži buqliča-ǵ-er*
 I-lay.PRS this boy(I) evening-CONT-LAT
 ‘The boy sleeps till sunset.’ (N)

3.5.10. CONT-Ablative

The meaning of the CONT-Ablative (*-ǵes*) corresponds to the meaning of the other forms built up from the CONT location marker. Its basic function is to express movement out of a mass (125a, 125b). The second CONT-Ablative is mainly used with the meaning ‘(be/chase) after X’ in sentences as ‘follow somebody’ or ‘look for somebody’ or in a more metaphorical sense as in ‘pursue something’ (125c).

- (125) a. *hibayǵu zaman-a-ǵ [maqǵu Ø-iǵi*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT lightning I-similar
bex-o-ǵ-es maqo-r=no k’oǵe-n] q’iliqan
 grass-OBL-CONT-ABL I outside-LAT=and jump-CVB drummer
haze-de aldoǵo Ø-iǵi-š=eǵ
 they.OBL-ALOC in.front I-stand-PST=NARR
 ‘At that time the drummer jumped like a lightning out of the grass
 and stood in front of them.’ (N)
- b. *nartaw-za-ǵ-es sedi eǵi-š=eǵ*
 giant-OBL.PL-CONT-ABL I one.ERG say-PST=NARR
yoǵu.koka-qo-r ...
 cinderello-AT-LAT
 ‘One of the giants said to cinderello ...’ (N)
- c. *y^wadi b-iǵ’i-n hayǵo-ǵ-ezo, aldoǵo hago,*
 crow(III) III-go-UWPST he.OBL-CONT-ABL2 in.front he
hezzo=bito haw
 after=TRANS it
 ‘The crow followed him, he was in front, it was behind.’ (N)

3.5.11. CONT-Directional

The meaning of the CONT-Directional (*-ǵedo*) is almost identical to the meaning of the CONT-Lative. The movement expressed by this case can be orientated into an amorphous mass (126a) and similar things (126b). Again, there are several metaphorical and temporal uses (126c).

- (126) a. *haze-y hukmu b-u:-n [hago*
 they.OBL-ERG decision(III) III-make-UWPST he
gamač'-mo-za-qo=n Ø-ece-n] [raɣad-li-ɬ-edo
 stone-OBL-OBL.PL-AT=and I-tie-CVB sea-OBL-CONT-DIR
kur-a]
 throw-INF
 'They decided to tie him to stones and throw him into the sea.' (N)
- b. *hibay [armi-ɬ-edo Ø-iɣ'i-ya] [raɣ-mo-ɬ-edo*
 so army-CONT-DIR I-go-PTCP.LOC war-OBL-CONT-DIR
Ø-iɣ'i-ya] Ø-uhe-s goɬ hago
 I-go-PTCP.LOC I-die-RES be he
 'So after going to the army, going to the war, he died.' (N)
- c. *[somodi ɣ^wede=n qešir-no] marč'ik'u-ɬedo*
 several day=and make.bright-CVB evening-CONT.DIR
q'ilijan Ø-aq'e-s=eɣ [neteqen aldoɣo zo
 drummer(I) I-come-PST=NARR never formerly REFL.SG
Ø-aq'e-s-me] seda aɣ-a-r
 I-come-RES-NEG one.OBL village-IN-DIR
 'Several days from morning till evening the drummer went until he
 came into a village where he had never been before.' (N)

3.5.12. IN-Essive

The suffix of the IN-Essive case is either a copy vowel of the preceding vowel (127), or expressed through vowel change in the oblique marker (128). All allomorphs of the IN-Essive suffix are stressed, and their vowels are long. Copy-vowel suffixes occur only if the last vowel of the oblique stem is *-a*, *-i*, or *-e*.

The distribution of the allomorphs of the IN-Essive must be phonologically and lexically explained. Many native nouns not taking an oblique suffix for the formation of oblique cases and having *-a*, *-e*, or *-i* as their stem final segment in the Absolute singular have a copy vowel for the IN-Essive. But other such nouns take *-ma*. Nouns that take an oblique suffix which ends in *-a* or *-i* always add a copy vowel in the IN-Essive. Consequently, all nouns in the plural take the copy vowel /a/ for the IN-Essive, because the oblique plural marker is *-za*.

(127)	ABS SG	GEN1	IN
	<i>iškola</i> 'school'	<i>iškola-s</i>	<i>iškola-a</i>
	<i>aɣ</i> 'village'	<i>aɣ-a-s</i>	<i>aɣ-a</i>
	<i>ɣebu</i> 'year'	<i>ɣeb-a-s</i>	<i>ɣeb-a</i>

<i>muži</i> ‘bed’	<i>muži-š</i>	<i>muži</i>
<i>humer</i> ‘face’	<i>hume-li-š</i>	<i>hume-li-i</i>
<i>čeq</i> ‘forest’	<i>čeq-e-s/čeq-i-š</i>	<i>čeq-i</i>
<i>y^wede</i> ‘day’	<i>y^wede-s</i>	<i>y^wede-e</i>
<i>buħe</i> ‘house’	<i>beħe-s</i>	<i>beħe-e</i>
<i>zok'da</i> ‘bunker’	<i>zok'da-s</i>	<i>zok'da-a/zok'da-ma</i>

Vowel change occurs only with nouns that have *-mo*, *-ro*, *-do*, or *-o* as oblique suffixes (see below). With these nouns the final *-o* of the suffix changes to *-a*. Since *-mo* is the most productive oblique stem suffix *-ma* is the most frequently used allomorph of the IN-Essive. It occurs with almost all loans, especially with recent loans from Russian, and it occurs with pronouns (that do not form their oblique stem with *-mo*).

(128) ABS SG	GEN I	IN
<i>moči</i> ‘place’	<i>moč-o-s</i>	<i>moč-a</i>
<i>k'et'un</i> ‘chest’	<i>k'et'un-o-s</i>	<i>k'et'un-a</i>
<i>šog</i> ‘pot’	<i>šog-ro-s/šog-ru-s</i>	<i>šog-ra</i>
<i>zok'i</i> ‘jug’	<i>zok'i-ro-s</i>	<i>zok'i-ra</i>
<i>č'e</i> ‘fire’	<i>č'e-do-s</i>	<i>č'e-da</i>
<i>xe</i> ‘felt cloak’	<i>xe-do-s</i>	<i>xe-da</i>
<i>rayon</i> ‘district’	<i>rayon-mo-s</i>	<i>rayon-ma</i>
<i>anλ'i</i> ‘week’	<i>anλ'i-mo-s</i>	<i>anλ'(i)-ma</i>
<i>λ'eq^wali</i> ‘saddle’	<i>λ'eq^wali-š/-mo-s</i>	<i>λ'eq^wali-ma</i>
<i>gadi</i> ‘barrel’	<i>gadi-š/gadi-mo-s</i>	<i>gadi-ma</i>
<i>buxari</i> ‘flue’	<i>buxari-š/buxari-mo-s</i>	<i>buxari-ma</i>
<i>sumka</i> ‘bag’	<i>sumka-s/sumka-mo-s</i>	<i>sumka-ma</i>
<i>haw/hag</i> ‘that’	<i>haytu-s</i>	<i>haytu-ma</i>

The meaning of the IN-Essive case and all other combinations built up from it resembles the CONT-Essive case and its combinations. It can be described as location in or movement into a kind of container such as a box, a building, or a belly (129a). However, most of the examples have a general spatial ‘in’ or ‘on’ meaning (129b, 129c). There are no examples with a clear metaphorical interpretation.

- (129) a. *b-²ežiy-a saž-ma b-eša-ho zoq^we-s=eλ magalu*
 III-big-OBL pan-IN III-bake-ICVB be-PST=NARR bread(III)
 ‘A loaf of bread was baking in a big pan.’ (N)
- b. *tupi caλ-an as-a mihna-λ'o-r*
 gun throw-INTFUT sky-IN bird-SPR-LAT

‘We will shoot at a bird in the sky.’ (N)

- c. [haw yaray=no b-ux-no] me x'erek di-žo
 that weapon(III)=and III-take-CVB you.SG sit.on I.OBL-GEN I
 x'eq'w ali-ma!
 saddle-IN

‘Take the weapon and sit on my saddle!’ (N)

The IN-Essive case occurs also with units of length (130a), and it can be used for temporal location in roughly the same way as the CONT-Essive case (130b). None of the adverbials/postpositions co-occur particularly often with this case, though there are some examples with *teł* ‘inside’.

- (130) a. *iħra metra: aldoyo b-ik-o boħi*
 six.OBL meter.IN in.front III-see-PRS deer(III)
 ‘Six meters further (he) sees a deer.’ (N)
- b. *obu-de-r q'wena ħeba: Ø-²eži zoq'we-n hado*
 father-ALOC-LAT two.OBL year.IN I-big be-UWPST he
 ‘He was two years older than my father.’ (N)

3.5.13. IN-Lative, IN-Ablative, and IN-Directional

Because the functions of these markers differ only in the directional feature from the IN-Essive, as can be expected from their morphology, they are treated here together in one section. The meanings of the IN-Lative (131a), IN-Ablative (131b), and IN-Directional (131c) are again similar to those of their respective CONT-counterparts, but the locational feature is more general, and there are no metaphorical or temporal interpretations.

- (131) a. *hoboži [xižina-ma-r=no kur-no] hay haw=no xece-n*
 now hut-IN-LAT=and throw-CVB there she=and let-UWPST
 ‘Then (they) threw her into the hut and left her there.’ (N)
- b. *eli ħalica čeq-i-š b-iq'e-s hadu nuqo*
 we.ERG hardly forest-IN-ABL I III-bring-PST this log(III)
 ‘We hardly brought this log out of the forest.’ (N)
- c. *hoboži hezzo q'ono=n aħ-a-do nox-no*
 then then two=and village-IN-DIR come-UWPST
 ‘And then the two came into the village.’ (N)

3.5.14. SUB-Essive

The function of the SUB-Essive is quite straightforward. It indicates location or movement under any kind of object (132a). Occasionally it can mean ‘behind, in’, or ‘at’ (132b). The SUB-Essive can express metaphorical location or direction in phrases such as ‘be/become anxious’ or ‘be/get under the influence of somebody/something’ (132c). In addition, this case marks the object of exchange in constructions like ‘sell/get for money’ (132d). The SUB-Essive can co-occur with the postpositions/adverbs *geλ/geł* ‘under’ and *hezzo* ‘behind’.

- (132) a. *meži sabawłun de og-ru-λ q`imu gor-me*
 you.PL because.of I.ERG ax-OBL-SUB head put-NEG
 ‘Because of you I do not put my head under the ax.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži hadu y-iλ`i-n zoro-λ hayłu y^wero-de-r*
 now she II-go-UWPST barn-SUB that.OBL cow-ALOC-LAT
 ‘Now she went into the barn to the cow.’ (N)
- c. *sira me hače uryel-i-λ goł?*
 why you.SG how.much anxiety-OBL-SUB be
 ‘Why are you so anxious?’ (N)
- d. *[očordeł-oλ`o] hayło-z b-eti-n [haw*
 grow.old-SIM he.OBL-DAT III-want-UWPST that
bazali-r=no b-iži-n] [mecxeli-λ toλ-a]
 market.IN-LAT=and III-take-CVB money.OBL-SUB sell-INF
 ‘Because (the donkey) had grown old, he wanted to take it to the market and sell it for money.’ (N)

3.5.15. SUB-Lative, SUB-Ablative, and SUB-Directional

These cases are also treated together because the semantic differences between them are completely predictable. They express the movement to under (SUB-Lative, SUB-Directional) and from under (SUB-Ablative) any kind of object. As described above for the SUB-Essive, some metaphorical uses occur, but only with the SUB-Lative (133a).

- (133) a. *hadbe [c`aq`=tow ħinq`ezi b-iq-no]*
 they very=EMPH be.frightened HPL-happen-CVB
uryel-i-λ-er b-iλ`i-yo
 anxiety-OBL-SUB-LAT HPL-fall-PRS
 ‘They are very frightened and are becoming anxious.’ (N)

- b. *iž-λ-es* *b-ik'eł-o* *gulu=n* *hago uži=n*
 eye.OBL-SUB-ABL1 HPL-disappear-PRS horse=and that boy=and
 'The horse and the boy disappear out of sight. (lit. 'from under the eye') (N)
- c. [*baru-y* *biša-nu-s* *xulu tax-mo-λ-edo=n*
 wife-ERG food-OBL-GEN1 basin bed-OBL-SUB-DIR=and
kur-no] [...] *kekir-no* *idu-r* *Malla Rasadan*
 throw-CVB let-UWPST home-LAT Mullah Nasredin
 'The wife threw the basin with the food under the bed [...] and let Mullah Nasredin in.' (N)

3.5.16. SPR-Essive

This case expresses location and movement over or on(to) flat surfaces (e.g. bed, table, square), on(to) the top of vertical objects (e.g. mountain, tree, staircase, column (134a)), and on/in vehicles (e.g. car, bike, horse, ship). It is used with names of places and states (e.g. Chechnya, Makhachkala (134b)). With some nouns the SPR-Essive has a more general locative meaning, e.g. with *yeme* 'mill', *aki* 'window' (134c). This case can also be used for temporal location with time points (134d).

The SPR-Essive can co-occur with the postpositions/adverbs *λ'ere* 'on' and *req'un* 'according to'. The addition of *λ'ere* can specify the meaning of the noun marked with the SPR-Essive case, e.g. if this postposition/adverb is inserted immediately after the noun *x^win* in example (134a), then the translation would be 'on the top of the mountain'.

- (134) a. *hayłi x^win-λ'o* *goł hes aže*
 there mountain-SPR be one tree
 'On the mountain there is one tree.' (N)
- b. [*ołno klas* *łaq'e-yλ'or*] *Čaćan-λ'o* *zoq'e-s*
 seven class finish-POST Chechnya-SPR be-PST
 'Until I finished the seventh class I was in Chechnya.' (N)
- c. *aki-λ'o* *b-iči-n* *mačexa=n* *hayłu-s*
 window-SPR HPL-sit-UWPST stepmother=and she.OBL-GEN1
ked=no
 daughter=and
 'The stepmother and her daughter sat at the window.' (N)
- d. *de hasaqo* *iłra-λ'o* *y-ix-λ'os* *goł*
 I in.the.morning six.OBL-SPR II-get.up-HAB be

‘I (fem.) get up at six o’clock in the morning.’ (N)

The SPR-Essive is also extensively used in the abstract domain. It can express several kinds of metaphorical locations and movements in a large number of constructions, e.g. in the phrase ‘X’s name is’ (135a), when talking about prices (135b), and in other constructions (135c).

- (135) a. *di-λ’o ce goł ʔali*
 I.OBL-SPR name be Ali
 ‘My name is Ali.’ (N)
- b. *deče-ya-λ’o me hadu iši toλλo? q’^wena*
 how.much-OBL-SPR you.SG.ERG this apple give.PRS two.OBL
qura yuruš-o-λ’o
 twenty.OBL rouble-OBL-SPR
 ‘For how much do you sell the apples? For forty roubles.’
- c. *hibaylu bołi-žo surat-mo-λ’o dew-de aldoxo*
 that.OBL deer-GEN2 image-OBL-SPR you.SG.OBL-ALOC in.front
zoq’^we-s de
 be-PST I
 ‘I was in front of you in the form of this deer.’ (N)

Other non-spatial functions of this case involve psychological and perception constructions. Concepts like REMEMBER (136a), BELIEVE (136b), BE HAPPY, BE SURPRISED, etc. ABOUT X can be conveyed with the help of the SPR-Essive case. In all these constructions this case plays various roles. Sometimes it marks arguments that could be direct objects in other languages (136b). Sometimes the marked arguments are part of a periphrastic construction (136a). All these metaphorical uses of the SPR-Essive seem to be quite naturally related to its original spatial use. Similar analogies can be found in psychological or emotional constructions in Indo-European languages such as English or German, e.g. see the above English examples BE HAPPY/SURPRISED, etc. ABOUT X. The tendency to use the SPR-Essive with psychological and emotional constructions extends even to verbs that have a different case frame when used literally. For instance, the verb *kezi -iq-* ‘meet’ belongs to the experiencer verbs and assigns Dative case to the experiencer and Absolutive to the stimulus. But if an expression like *q’o* ‘trouble’ or *q’^waridłi* ‘sadness’ is used as the stimulus, then the experiencer takes the SPR-Essive case.

- (136) a. *hes roži=n rok’-λ’o r-iči-yo gom*
 one word(V)=and heart.OBL-SPR V-be-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘He did not remember one word.’ (N)

- b. *de dew-λ'o boži Ø-iq-me*
 I you.SG.OBL-SPR belief I-happen-NEG
 'I (masc.) do not believe you.' (N)

Finally, the SPR-Essive can convey purposes or goals (137).

- (137) *Maħama-y q'or boc'-λ'o gor-iš*
 Mahama-ERG trap wolf.OBL-SPR put-PST
 'Mahama laid a trap for the wolf.'

3.5.17. SPR-Lative

This case expresses a movement onto flat surfaces (138a), and onto vertical objects, and other places (138b). In the temporal domain the SPR-Lative indicates limited time spans (138c). Probably due to its temporal meaning, the suffix of the SPR-Lative is also used for the formation of the Posterior converb, which is used for reference to events that took place before the action of the main clause (Section 7.7.2.1). Clauses with the Posterior converb can be translated into English with the help of conjunctions such as 'before' or 'until' (138d).

- (138) a. *b-iλ'i-yo hibaytu=tow maydan-i-λ'o-r*
 HPL-go-PRS that.OBL=EMPH square-OBL-SPR-LAT
 'They are going to that square.' (N)
- b. *beλno rek'^we ħaž-λ'o-r Ø-iλ'i-š*
 eight person Hajj-SPR-LAT I-go-PST
 'Eight men did the Hajj.' (N)
- c. *haytoy=no r-uw-a goł axranġi q'ar-λ'o-s*
 he.ERG=and V-do-INF be watch(V) early-SPR-ABL I
q'ar-λ'o-r
 early-SPR-LAT
 'He will watch the grave from (one) morning till (the next) morning.'
 (N)
- d. *[ħagbe b-aq'e-yλ'or] haġu-y biša ħadur*
 they HPL-come-POST she.OBL-ERG food(V) prepared
r-ui-ho zoq'^we-n
 V-make-PRS be-UWPST
 'Until/before they came, she prepared food.' (N)

Parallel to the SPR-Essive, the SPR-Lative also has many non-spatial meanings. With the verb *-eze-* 'look' it marks objects of perception (139a) and more

generally everything that is shouted at or pointed at. Emotions and psychological states are often expressed with the SPR-Lative (139b, 139c). In addition, sometimes beneficiaries/recipients can be marked with this case (139d).

- (139) a. *haze-λ'o-r=no* *Ø-eze-n* *Ø-ič-iš* *hago*
 they.OBL-SPR-LAT=and I-look-CVB I-stand-PST he
Ø-oqondeł-no
 I-wonder-CVB
 'He stood looking at them and wondering.' (S)
- b. *eli [aq'lu-λ'o-r* *b-aq'e-yλ'o-r]* *ize-λ-es*
 we consciousness-SPR-LAT HPL-come-POST eye.OBL-SUB-ABL I
b-ik'eł-o
 HPL-disappear-PRS
 'Until we became conscious they disappear from the eye.' (N)
- c. *hago di-λ'o-r* *bixaraw goł*
 he I.OBL-SPR-LAT angry be
 'He is angry with me.'
- d. *hayto-y* *de-λ'o-r* *kayat cax*
 he.OBL-ERG I.OBL-SPR-LAT letter write
 'He will write me a letter.'

3.5.18. SPR-Ablative

This case expresses a movement from flat surfaces, from vertical objects, and from other places (140a, 140b). Its temporal meaning 'from X on' was already illustrated in the above example (138c). The SPR-Ablative is also found with some psychological constructions (140c).

- (140) a. *y-iλ'i-yo* *hayto-zo* *q'imu-λ'o-s* *šapka q'idi-r*
 IV-fall-PRS he.OBL-GEN2 head-SPR-ABL I hat(IV) down-LAT
 'His hat falls down from his head.' (S)
- b. *b-iλ'i-yo* *duniyal-mo-zo* *raʔal-λ'o-s* *raʔal-λ'o-r*
 III-go-PRS world-OBL-GEN2 edge-SPR-ABL I edge-SPR-LAT
 '(The horse) is going from one edge of the world to the other edge.'
 (N)
- c. *sadaq rok'-λ'o-s* *te* *y-iłi* *y-eq'i-yo*
 all heart.OBL-SPR-ABL I water(IV) IV-similar IV-know-PRS
zoq'^we-s hayto-z
 be-PST he.OBL-DAT

‘He knew everything by heart.’ (N)

The Second SPR-Ablative, as other Second Ablatives, not only functions as a modifier of nouns with oblique case marking (140a, 141a). It also has a spatial and temporal meaning of its own that can be translated with ‘through, after’. This meaning of the Second SPR-Ablative is illustrated in the examples (141b, 141c).

- (141) a. [*ked bečedaw rek’u-s gołiš-łi*]
 daughter rich man.OBL-GEN1 be.CVB-ABST
łagi-ł’o-zo šeł’u-ro-y=tow=no es-o
 body.OBL-SPR-GEN2 clothes-OBL-ERG=EMPH=and tell-ICVB
zoq’^we-s=eł
 be-PST=NARR
 ‘The clothes on her body told that she was the daughter of a rich man.’ (N)
- b. *hado Ø-eze-n aki-ł’o-zo*
 he I-look-UWPST window-SPR-ABL2
 ‘He looked through the window.’ (N)
- c. *łora bece-ł’o-zo*
 three.OBL month.OBL-SPR-ABL2
 ‘after three months’

3.5.19. SPR-Directional

The use of the SPR-Directional resembles that of the SPR-Lative, but it is almost completely restricted to the spatial domain. There is one fixed nonspatial expression with the SPR-Directional, *axir-ł’o-do* (lit. kingdom.come-SPR-DIR) means ‘finally’.

- (142) a. *san=gon Ø-ix-iš hago ažey-ł’o-do*
 once=TOP I-climb-PST he tree-SPR-DIR
 ‘He once again climbed up the tree.’ (S)
- b. *kekir-o de hawa-ł’o-do!*
 let-IMP I air-SPR-DIR
 ‘Let me in the air!’ (N)

3.5.20. AT-Essive

This case has the widest range of meanings due to its large range of non-spatial functions. The spatial meaning of the AT-Essive is not very specific (143a, 143b).

It expresses general location and direction ('at, on, to, in'). Often contact plays a role, i.e. the located/directed object must be in direct contact with the location (143c), and the location so that the located object falls down if there is no contact anymore.²⁴ Consequently, the goal-like arguments of a verb such as *ati-* 'touch' or *c'aq'i-* 'imping on' are marked with the AT-Essive.

- (143) a. *čeq-za-qo=tow* *čeq-za-qo* *rede inaħzek'u-be*
 forest-OBL.PL-AT=EMPH forest-OBL.PL-AT wood mushroom-PL
r-ut'-o
 NPL-collect-PRS
 '(She) collects wood and mushrooms in the forests.' (N)
- b. *turecki granica-qo zoq'w'e-s goł*
 Turkish border-AT be-RES be
 '(He/it) was at the Turkish border.' (N)
- c. *ašune-qo hadu=n b-ece-s nartaw-i*
 belt-AT it=and III-tie-PST giant-ERG
 'The giant tied it (i.e. the fox) to the belt.' (N)

From a diachronic point of view, the last segment *-q* in some place names such as *Hinu-q* or *Anzu-q* was originally an AT-Essive case suffix (Chapter 14). This is not surprising because *-qo* can be added to *aλ* 'village' yielding the meaning 'in the village'.

Temporal meanings are rare with this case, but there are a few examples, as for instance *qahġi-qo* (dawn-AT) 'at dawn', *sasaqo* (dark.AT) 'in the morning'. The uses of the AT-Essive case in the abstract domain are far more interesting because of their wide range. This case is part of the valency frame of many underived verbs. The AT-Essive marks (i) the addressee with verbs of speech (144a), (ii) the object of perception (144b), (iii) the stimulus-like argument or the experiencer with some affective verbs (144c) and (iv) the recipient of ditransitive verbs (144d). However, some verbs allow for more than only one case marking. For instance, the experiencer argument of *-aši-* 'find, get' can be marked either with the Dative (113b) or with the AT-Essive. A more detailed analysis of the valency frames of many verbs where all case alternations and their meanings are described is given in Chapter 16.

²⁴ A minimal pair to illustrate this point are the phrases *surat qešu-qo* 'picture on the wall' and *aže x^win-λ'o* 'tree on the mountain', where in the second phrase the SPR-Essive must be used.

- (144) a. *sadaq xabar=no ese-n haze ołra=n essu-qa*
 all story=and tell-UWPST these.OBL seven.OBL=and brother-AT
hału-y
 she.OBL-ERG
 ‘She told the seven brothers everything.’ (N)
- b. *de dew-qa enekezi Ø-iq-iš qa*
 I you.SG.OBL-AT listen I-become-RES be
 ‘I listened to you.’
- c. *haddo łi-mo-qa=n Ø-uł’-ł’os tayıpa zoq’^we-s-me*
 he whose-OBL-AT=and I-be.afraid-HAB kind be-PST-NEG
 ‘He did not fear anybody.’ (N)
- d. *uži: ked-qa k’oħlo tołło*
 boy.ERG girl-AT ball give.PRS
 ‘The boy is giving a ball to the girl (for some time).’

Another function of the AT-Essive is the expression of temporary possession in predicative clauses (145a), including expressions like ‘I am X years old’ (145b). This is quite natural because the transfer indicated with the verb *toł-* ‘give’ in example (144d) is also only temporary. The recipient of a permanent transfer is marked with the Dative (3.5.5, see also Section 16.6.1 for ditransitive verbs in Hinuq). In contrast, permanent possession is expressed with the Genitive (3.5.4).

- (145) a. *hayto-s tarix=no gom elu-qa*
 he.OBL-GEN1 history=and be.NEG we.OBL-AT
 ‘And we do not have his history.’ (N)
- b. *dew-qa somo łebu?*
 you.SG.OBL-AT how.many year
 ‘How old are you?’

Other important contexts where the AT-Essive is used are non-canonical agent constructions. In Hinuq non-canonical agent constructions containing for instance causative or potential verb forms can be derived from almost every verb. The causee of causative verbs derived from transitive verbs is marked with the AT-Essive (example (146a), see Section 17.7 for the causative construction). In clauses with the potential form of a transitive verb, the AT-Essive marking is added to the (potential) agent (146b). Potential forms of intransitive verbs retain a single argument in the Absolutive (see 17.2 for the potential construction). This function coincides with the valency patterns of the verbs *k’^wezi -iq-* and *koł’e-*

‘can, be able’. The most prominent arguments of both verbs can be marked with the AT-Essive (146c).²⁵

- (146) a. *de hayto-go buxe b-u:r-a goŋ*
 I.ERG he.OBL-AT house(III) III-make-CAUS-INF be
 ‘I will make him build a house.’
- b. *lagi-go b-uxeŋ-iš-me unti kekir-om-ŋo*
 body.OBL-AT III-keep.POT-RES-NEG disease(III) send-PROH-OPT
 ‘May (Allah) not send you a disease that your body cannot with-stand.’ (N)
- c. *ɣ^wad-za-qo yah b-uw-ayaz k^wezi*
 crow.OBL-OBL.PL-AT patience(III) III-do-PURP be.able
b-iq-iš-me
 III-happen-PST-NEG
 ‘The crows could not be patient.’ (N)

Exterior forces or involuntary agents used with intransitive verbs take the AT-Essive suffix (example (147a), see Section 17.4 for more information on the exterior force and Section 17.3 for the involuntary agent construction). These uses of the AT-Essive parallels the marking of causees in causative constructions (example (146a) above). Similarly, the AT-Essive can be added to the Past participle in adverbial clauses expressing causes (147b).

- (147) a. *de=tow=no hayti gegru-qo untezi Ø-iq-iš*
 I=EMPH=and there measles-AT fall.ill I-become-PST
 ‘There I (masc.) also became ill because of the measles.’ (N)
- b. *yeŋa-r aq^we kek-a r-ix^wi-iš=eŋ,*
 trousers.IN-LAT urine(V) break.free-INF V-come-PST=NARR
b-uŋ'-oru-qo [eŋ-a žo r-eq'i-mez]
 HPL-fear-PTCP.PST-AT say-INF thing(V) V-know-NEG.PURP
 ‘Their urine went into their trousers and because of the fear they did not know what to say.’ (N)

Finally, Hinuq has one adjective *Ø-iŋi* ‘similar to’ that takes arguments in the AT-Essive (see Section 26.1.5 for an example).

²⁵ Note, however, that the most prominent argument of *k^wezi -iq-* must be marked with the AT-Essive, whereas the most prominent argument of *koŋ'e-* is normally marked with the Dative, but allows also for AT-Essive marking.

3.5.21. AT-Lative

The functional range of the AT-Lative forms an approximate subset of the functional range of the AT-Essive. It is hard to find spatial meanings for this case (148a, 148b). It occurs in temporal adverbs, e.g. *sasaqor* ‘till morning’.

- (148) a. *Ø-aq'-o hado hibaytu čeq-zo raʒal-ti-qo-r*
 I-come-PRS he that.OBL forest-GEN2 edge-ABST-AT-LAT
 ‘He comes to the edge of the forest.’ (N)
- b. *hadbe [sedi.sed-qo-r moqoli-be=n kur-no]*
 they each.other-AT-LAT back-PL=and throw-CVB
idu-za-do b-iλ'i-yo
 home-OBL.PL-DIR HPL-go-PRS
 ‘They turn their backs to each other and go home.’ (N)

Arguments of about the same types of verbs as were described above for the AT-Essive can also be marked with the AT-Lative. Thus, some verbs of speech allow or even require their arguments to be marked with the AT-Lative (149a, 149b). The object of perception with the verb *-eze-* ‘look’ and the experiencer subject of the verb *-aši-* ‘find, get’ can also take the AT-Lative case. Recipients in ditransitive constructions can be marked with this case (149c). Again, the transfer in this case is temporary.

- (149) a. *haze-qo-r amru b-u:ho*
 they.OBL-AT-LAT command(III) III-do-PRS
 ‘(He) gives them the command.’ (N)
- b. *hezzo moλa-t haytu-qo-r y^{were} b-aλ'i-n*
 then sleep.OBL-CONT she.OBL-AT-LAT cow(III) III-talk-UWPST
 ‘Then during the sleep the cow talked to her.’ (N)
- c. *hatu-qo-r toλ-no šošolamu šeλ'u*
 she.OBL-AT-LAT give-UWPST ragged clothes
 ‘(She) gave ragged clothes to her.’ (N)

3.5.22. AT-Ablative

Again there are only a few examples where the AT-Ablative has only spatial meaning (150a). The described movement is often metaphorical like in phrases as ‘beware of X’ or ‘escape from X’ where X does not denote a location (150b, 150c).

- (150) a. *K'axati-qo-s b-aq'er-ho zoq'^we-s haze-y*
 Kakhetia-AT-ABL I III-bring-ICVB be-PST they.OBL-ERG
 'They brought (it) from Kakhetia.' (N)
- b. *tameh-mo-qo-s meži b-ik'eł-a gome*
 punishment-OBL-AT-ABL I you.PL HPL-disappear-INF be.NEG
 'You will not escape punishment.' (N)
- c. *[hibału unti-mo-qo-s hezzo-r Ø-uti-yo-me]*
 this.OBL disease-OBL-AT-ABL I back-LAT I-turn-COND-NEG
di mežu-qo amanat
 I.GEN I you.PL.OBL-AT order
 'If I do not come back from this disease, then here is my order for you.' (N)

But the majority of uses of the AT-Ablative could be roughly characterized as “take away” constructions. These constructions include verbs of transfer, e.g. ‘take from, tear from’, or ‘hide from’ (151a, 151b), but also experiencer verbs as ‘want from’ or ‘get from’ (151c) and verbs of speech, e.g. ‘ask from’. Note that the meaning of *eser-* ‘ask’ differs according to the case marking of its addressee. If the addressee is marked with the AT-Essive, then the meaning is typically ‘ask a question’. However, if the addressee is marked with the AT-Ablative, then the thing asked for is usually an object, e.g. ‘ask somebody for money’. Finally, two or three temporal adjectives can be formed with the help of the AT-Ablative, e.g. *qahłi-qo-s zaman* (lit. dawn-AT-ABL I time) has the meaning ‘morning time’.

- (151) a. *dew-qo-s de hadu b-iy-a goł*
 you.SG.OBL-AT-ABL I I.ERG this III-take.away-INF be
 ‘I will take it from you.’
- b. *y^weriš-qo-s yiy t'otto*
 cow.PL-AT-ABL I milk milk.PRS
 ‘(You) milk milk from the cows.’ (N)
- c. *se r-eti-n hayło xan-i-ž di-qo-s?*
 what V-want-UWPST that.OBL khan-OBL-DAT I.OBL-AT-ABL I
 ‘What does the king want from me?’ (N)

3.5.23. AT-Directional

This case expresses a general movement to some place. It is used very rarely, usually with names of places and states.

- (152) a. *me=n y-iž-a goł čeq-qo-do*
 you.SG=and II-take-INF be forest-AT-DIR
 ‘And (we) will take you (fem.) to the forest.’ (N)
- b. *obu zoq’^we-s trutowoy front-eł Grozni-qo-do Ø-iyi-š*
 father be-PST labor front-CONT Grozny-AT-DIR I-take-RES
 ‘Father was at the labor front, he had been taken to Grozny.’ (N)

3.5.24. ALOC-Essive

The ALOC-Essive (“animate location”) is almost exclusively used to mark animate nouns (153a, 153b). In my corpus I found only a handful of exceptions (153c, 153d), but according to my informants inanimate locations are also allowed to occur with this suffix. It expresses general location and direction (‘at, to’) in phrases such as ‘at somebody’s (place)’ (153a). This case frequently occurs in combination with postpositions/adverbials that further specify its meaning, e.g. *aldoyo* ‘in front, before’, *λ’oq’ar* ‘in front of’, *-oλo* ‘in the middle’, *igo* ‘near’, *purho* ‘near’, and *dandir* ‘against, towards’ (153c). Used on its own or in combination with the postpositions/adverbials *q’^wec’e/q’oc’e* ‘together’, *cadaq* ‘with’, and *sadaq* ‘together’ the ALOC-Essive marker has comitative meaning (153d, 153b).

- (153) a. *me elu-de y-ič-a goł*
 you.SG we.OBL-ALOC II-be-INF be
 ‘You (fem.) will live with us.’ (N)
- b. *hado Ø-eg^wennu essu hagze-de q’^wec’e Ø-iλ’i-yo*
 this I-small brother(I) they.OBL-ALOC together I-go-ICVB
gom
 be.NEG
 ‘The youngest brother does not go with them.’ (N)
- c. *hało čanaqan-i hibaytu zonzo beλe-de*
 this.OBL hunter-ERG that.OBL REFL.SG.GEN2 house.OBL-ALOC
purho y-aγi-yo hag yašik’
 near IV-open-PRS that box(IV)
 ‘The hunter opens the box near his house.’ (N)
- d. [*me Ø-iči-yo-me k’oši-li:λ’os k’ohlo-de*]
 you.SG I-stop-COND-NEG play-ANTIP-HAB ball(III)-ALOC
dew-qo-s de b-iγ-a goł
 you.SG.OBL-AT-ABL I I.ERG III-take-INF be

‘If you (masc.) do not stop playing with the ball, I will take it away from you.’

3.5.25. ALOC-Lative

This case is again predominantly used with animate nouns and indicates a movement to the referents of such nouns (154a). The few exceptions with inanimate nouns usually denote an approach to a location (154b). The ALOC-Lative suffix is also used to mark X in the construction ‘divide into X’ (154c).

- (154) a. *hayto-de-r* *λ'oq'ar kezi.y.iqgo ked k'onk'a-λ'o*
 he.OBL-ALOC-LAT towards meet.II.PRS girl(II) bike-SPR
noxxo
 come.ICVB
 ‘A girl on a bike is coming towards him.’ (S)
- b. *zeru ažey-de-r* *igoł-iš*
 fox tree-ALOC-LAT approach-PST
 ‘The fox approached the tree.’ (N)
- c. *xu q'wena-de-r* *biλ'izi y-iq-a-r*
 river(IV) two.OBL-ALOC-LAT divide IV-happen-PTCP.LOC
Ø-aq'e-s de
 I-come-PST I
 ‘I (masc.) went there where the river divides into two parts.’

The ALOC-Lative has another important function: it marks the standard of comparison in comparative constructions, not only when comparing properties of animate or inanimate nouns, but also with actions, etc. (Section 26.1.1).

- (155) a. *hago de-de-r* *łora* *λeb-a* *Ø-[?]eži goł*
 he I.OBL-ALOC-LAT three.OBL year.OBL-IN I-big be
 ‘He is three years older than me.’
- b. *haze-s* *bišora-de-r=gozon* *[?]aši beλ' goł*
 they.OBL-GEN I 100.OBL-ALOC-LAT=TOP much sheep be
 ‘They have more than 100 sheep.’

3.5.26. ALOC-Ablative and ALOC-Directional

Both cases occur only infrequently. The ALOC-Ablative denotes spatial and metaphorical motion from mostly animate locations (156a), or it functions as a translative with the meaning ‘through’ (156b); the ALOC-Directional denotes motion to the same kinds of location (156c).

- (156) a. *gulu k'oλe-n b-iλ'i-yo aldoyo-s hało*
 horse(III) jump-CVB III-go-PRS in.front-ABL1 this.OBL
uži-de-s
 boy-ALOC-ABL1
 'The horse is jumping and running away from the boy.' (N)
- b. *haytu-de-zo Ø-iλ'i-š de*
 she.OBL-ALOC-ABL2 I-go-PST I
 'I (masc.) went through her (i.e. place, way, yard).'
- c. *hayto λerba-de-do Ø-iλ'i-n hado*
 that.OBL guest-ALOC-DIR I-go-UWPST he
 'He went to the guest.' (N)

3.5.27. ILOC-Essive

The ILOC suffix (“inanimate location”) is the counterpart of the animate location suffix presented in the last two sections. It is almost exclusively used with inanimate nouns (157a, 157b), only very occasionally also with animate nouns. One such exception is the construction MARRY A MAN. The suffix also indicates general location and direction (‘at, on, to’). Often the location or direction is rather near to the reference point than exactly at the reference point. This suffix can be accompanied by various postpositions/adverbials in order to specify the meaning, e.g. *tohobito* ‘on the other side’, *igo* ‘near, next to’, *geł* ‘under’, *hezzobito* ‘after, behind’ and *teł* ‘inside’ (157b). Sometimes the location or direction has an element of purpose (157c). In this case the marked noun can also be animate. Occasionally, the ILOC-Essive occurs in temporal adverbials, e.g. *sasaho* ‘in the morning’ (from *sassu* ‘dark’).

- (157) a. *hado Ø-iλ'i-n hune-ho seda aλ-a-do*
 he I-go-UWPST way-ILOC one.OBL village-IN-DIR
 'He went on the way to one village.' (N)
- b. *yeme-ra-ho igo baydan-li-λ'o*
 mill-OBL-ILOC next.to square-OBL-SPR
 'on the square next to the mill' (N)
- c. *t'ok'aw de yoriš-a-ho y-iλ'i-λ'os gom*
 anymore I cow.PL-OBL-ILOC II-go-HAB be.NEG
 'I (fem.) will not go for/after the cows anymore.' (N)

This case has two more important functions. With numerals and some adverbials it expresses distributive-like meanings in phrases such as ‘one by one, three

times' or 'three each' (158a, 158b). Finally, the concept MARRY A MAN (lit. 'at a man') is expressed by various verbs, e.g. with *nox-* 'come', *-iλ'i-* 'go', *toλ-* 'give', *-iči-* 'be', *kekir-* 'let', and *kezi -iq-* 'meet'. The future husband is always marked with the ILOC-Essive (158c).

- (158) a. *seda xozyaystwo-ŋ zoq''w e-s b-iči-yo qono uq'ino-ho*
 one.OBL household-CONT be-PST HPL-be-PRS three four-ILOC
xozyaystwo
 household
 'In one household lived three or four households.' (N)
- b. *uq'ino-ho*
 four-ILOC
 'in a group of four, four times'
- c. *ked bikor-ho y-iλ'i-yo*
 girl snake.OBL-ILOC II-go-PRS
 'The girl marries the snake.' (N)

3.5.28. ILOC-Lative

In the spatial domain this case expresses a movement to or near a location (159a). It is frequently used to mark the goal of the verb *igok'*- 'approach'. The ILOC-Lative can also have temporal meanings, e.g. *nesa-ho-r* (evening-ILOC-LAT) with the translation 'to the evening'. In addition, this case is used in expressions like 'in (language) X', illustrated in example (159b).

- (159) a. *Ø-aq'e-n Malla Rasadan λerba-zo*
 I-come-UWPST Mullah Nasredin guest-GEN2
beλe-ho-r
 house.OBL-ILOC-LAT
 'Mullah Nasredin went to the house of the guest.' (N)
- b. *maʔarul-ho-r r-iči, ʔurus-ho-r r-iči, ʔezaʔan*
 Avar-ILOC-LAT NPL-be Russian-ILOC-LAT NPL-be much
t'ek-be goŋ
 book-PL be
 'Be it in Avar, be it in Russian, there are many books.' (N)

The ILOC-Lative has one further use. It expresses similarity of actions. For this purpose an adverbial clause is formed where the verb is in the form of the Past participle and the ILOC-Lative is added to it (160a). But the case suffix can even be added to an expression which represents the adverbial clause (160b). In

order to form a genuine adverbial clause from this example the pronoun would have to be marked with the Ergative case, and the Past participle form of the verb ‘do’ with the ILOC-Lative suffix *r-u:yoru-ho-r* (V-do-PTCP.PST-ILOC-LAT) would have to follow it. More examples of such AS-adverbial clauses are given in Section 7.7.3.3.

- (160) a. *debez r-eq'i-yoru-ho-r r-uw-o!*
 you.SG.DAT V-know-PTCP.PST-ILOC-LAT V-do-IMP
 ‘Do (it) as you can!’
- b. *hay hibayto-ho-r=tow [č'e=n gor-no] buxari-ya-ho*
 there he.OBL-ILOC-LAT=EMPH fire=and put-CVB flue-OBL-ILOC
Ø-iči-n
 I-sit-UWPST
 ‘There, as the other one (did before him), he made a fire and sat down near the flue.’ (N)

3.5.29. ILOC-Ablative and ILOC-Directional

These cases occur infrequently. The ILOC-Ablative denotes spatial and metaphorical motion from an inanimate location (161a, 161b). The ILOC-Directional denotes motion to the locations of the same kind (161c). Both cases lack temporal uses.

- (161) a. *r-ux-o di-žo x'eq'w'ali-mo-ho-s šeχ'u=n*
 NPL-take-IMP I.OBL-GEN2 saddle-OBL-ILOC-ABL1 clothes=and
yaray=no!
 weapon=and
 ‘Take from my saddle clothes and the weapon!’ (N)
- b. *sasaqo q'arχ'o=tow [Ø-iχ'i-n] obu*
 in.the.morning early=EMPH I-go-CVB father
moła-ho-s Ø-ix-r-o!
 sleep.OBL-ILOC-ABL1 I-get.up-CAUS-IMP
 ‘Early in the morning go to my father and wake him up from the sleep!’ (N)
- c. *?oloqbe q'iliquan-zo beχe-ho-do b-uti-yo*
 youth.PL drummer-GEN2 house.OBL-ILOC-DIR HPL-turn-PRS
 ‘The youth goes to the drummer’s house.’ (N)

3.5.30. The suffix *-yo*

In addition to the spatial cases described in the previous sections, Lomtadze (1963: 115) mentions the suffix *-yo*. He analyzes it as a local case suffix which however, is not productively used anymore. It is found in a few expressions only: (i) in three adverbs, namely *aldoyo* ‘formerly, before, in front’ (125a), (156a), *sebedoyo* ‘in autumn’ (from *sebe* ‘autumn’), and *č’ek’k’uzayo* ‘everywhere’ (from *č’ek’k’u* ‘all’ plus OBL.PL *-za* and *-yo*), and (ii) affixed to numbers it can form locations, e.g. *seda-yo* ‘in one place’, where *seda* is glossed as ‘one.OBL’ (162a, 162b). In both contexts further orientation suffixes can be added.

Due to the scarcity of examples, the exact meaning of this suffix remains unclear. But it seems to be comparable to the animate location suffix because example (162b) has about the same meaning as example (154c) where the *-yo* has been replaced by the ALOC ending *-de*. Furthermore, two other Tsezic languages, Khwarshi and Bezhta, have local case suffixes that are cognates and could also be related to the Hinuq *-yo*. In Khwarshi this suffix is *-yo* and it expresses location near some reference point (Khalilova 2009: 82). In Bezhta the suffix is *-ya* and means ‘next to and touching’ (Kibrik & Testelec 2004: 236).

- (162) a. *“de hawsaʔat seda-yo-r Ø-iλ’i-n nox-an”=λen*
 I now one.OBL-LOC-LAT I-go-CVB come-INTFUT=QUOT
 “‘I will now go somewhere and come back,’” (he said).’ (N)
- b. *hune q’wena-yo-do biλ’izi r-iq-a-r*
 way(V) two.OBL-LOC-DIR divide V-happen-PTCP.LOC-LAT
Ø-aq’e-s de
 I-come-PST I
 ‘I (masc.) went there where the way divides into two parts.’

3.5.31. *bito*

The adverb *bito* ‘there’ seems to be on its way to becoming an orientation marker. It is used as an adverb with the meaning ‘there, away’ and occurs also in three complex adverbs (Section 10.2.1.7). In its adverbial use *bito* is phonologically unbound, as Hinuq adverbs typically are. It is possible to derive two verbs from *bito*, the intransitive verb *bitoł-* ‘move aside’ and the transitive verb *bitok’-* ‘move aside’, which is also typical for spatial adverbs. But *bito* does not take the full range of spatial case suffixes. There is only the lexicalized variant *bitoho* ‘there, away’. The adverb has a few properties that make it more spatial-case like. Despite its ability to occur on its own when it expresses the meaning ‘there’, in

most contexts *bito* means ‘through, after’ and it does not form a phonological word on its own but is added to the preceding word, which can be a noun, pronoun, or a spatial or temporal adverb. The nouns and pronouns to which *bito* is added must already have a spatial case suffix, more precisely a location marker. *Bito* is used with spatial (163a), temporal (163b), and even metaphorical (163b) meaning. It shares all these latter properties with other spatial cases, in particular with the orientation markers Essive, Ablative, Lative, and Directional. In fact, the grammar by Khalilov & Isakov (2005: 575), following Vakilov (1998), lists *bito* as belonging to the orientation markers.

- (163) a. *seda q'wena ɣwed-λ'o=bito Ø-iλ'i-n hado*
 one.OBL two.OBL day.OBL-SPR=TRANS I-go-UWPST this
xoddo močo-λ'o Ø-ez-a
 husband(1) field.OBL-SPR I-look-INF
 ‘After one, two days the husband went in order to look at the field.’
 (N)
- b. *pureɬ=bito Ø-iλ'i-š uži k'onk'a-λ'o*
 near=TRANS I-go-PST boy bike-SPR
 ‘A boy on a bike went by.’ (S)
- c. *hibayɬu-go=bito untezi Ø-iq-no*
 that.OBL-AT=TRANS be.ill I-happen-UWPST
 ‘Because of that (he) got ill.’ (N)

3.5.32. Non-spatial functions of the spatial cases

The non-local uses are not equally distributed among the local cases. The AT suffix used without any additional orientation marker is clearly the suffix which has the most non-local uses. It is used in order to mark arguments of various kinds of verbs (communication, perception, experiencer and ditransitive verbs, causative and potential verb forms) and possessors in predicative possession clauses. Hence, a connection between the grammatical roles of experiencer, addressee, recipient, possessor, and spatial meanings seems to exist. This connection is natural from a conceptual point of view (recipients possess the object they receive, addressees of verbs of speech receive information) and has been shown in typological studies (cf. Haspelmath (1999a), Ganenkov (2006), Rice & Kabata (2007)). The extended range of grammatical functions of AT correlates with the fact that this suffix rarely indicates spatial location and movement.

Another location marker recurrently employed with non-spatial functions is SPR. Both SPR and AT are quite appropriate for non-spatial functions because

they express the location of an object on or at another object. This can easily be extended not only to possessors and the like (for AT), but also to objects of perceptions (SPR). In the latter case it is the gaze itself that lies on an object. A similar kind of metaphorical location lies at the heart of the psychological constructions, which are expressed with the SPR marker. The use of a spatial expression for the expression of emotions and thoughts, which are metaphorically located in the heart or head or other body parts and organs, is of course widespread among the languages of the world.

Among the three orientation markers, only the Lative and the Ablative are used with non-spatial meanings. This is not at all surprising since only these two cases have well established links to “dative and genitive functions” (cf. Heine & Kuteva (2002), Rice & Kabata (2007)). For a more detailed account of the non-spatial functions of the spatial cases in the Tsezic languages see Cysouw & Forker (2009) and Forker (2010a).

3.6. Nominal derivation

Hinuq has several nominal derivation patterns which are more or less extensively used. There are eight suffixes showing a higher productivity, two of which are of foreign origin, and a few more suffixes whose occurrence is heavily restricted. The following suffixes are the most productive ones:

(164)	<i>-ti</i> (from Avar)	abstract nouns (from nouns, adverbs, adjectives)
	<i>-be</i>	names of groups of people (from place names)
	<i>-nak'u</i>	agentive nouns, activities, and tools (from verbs)
	<i>-qan</i> (from Avar)	professions (from nouns)
	<i>-qu</i>	professions and tools (from nouns)
	<i>-r(y)o</i>	agentive nouns (from nouns)
	<i>-demu</i>	event nouns (from nouns, adverbs, verbs)
	<i>-ni</i>	sounds (from onomatopoeia)

3.6.1. Abstract nouns with *-ti*

The suffix *-ti* is by far the most productive means for the derivation of nouns.²⁶ It is found with many loan words which are ultimately borrowed from Avar. The derived nouns belong to gender III or V. In the majority of examples both the original words (nouns and adverbs) as well as the derived abstract nouns have been borrowed, but sometimes only the derived nouns have found their way into Hinuq.

²⁶ In Avar, the same suffix is used to form abstract nouns from nouns and adverbs.

(165)	<i>maduhal</i>	‘neighbor’	<i>maduhal-ti</i>	‘neighborhood’
	<i>hudul</i>	‘friend’	<i>hudul-ti</i>	‘friendship’
	<i>raʔal</i>	‘edge’	<i>raʔal-ti</i>	‘edge’
	<i>bacʔad</i>	‘cleanly’	<i>bacʔad-ti</i>	‘cleanness’
	<i>ʔadam</i>	‘person’	<i>ʔadam-ti</i>	‘humanity’
	(Avar <i>kan</i> ‘splinter for lightning’)		<i>kan-ti</i>	‘light’
	(Avar <i>xex</i> ‘fast’)		<i>xex-ti</i>	‘speed’
	(Avar <i>qaḥ</i> ‘white’)		<i>qaḥ-ti</i>	‘dawn’
	(Avar <i>ʔagar</i> ‘near’)		<i>ʔagar-ti</i>	‘relatives’

This suffix does not only occur with Avar loans, but *-ti* can also be added to loan words from Russian. Again, in one case the original word is not found in Hinuq.

(166)	<i>sekretar</i>	‘secretary’	<i>sekretar-ti</i>	‘duty of a secretary’
	<i>zamag</i>	‘shop assistant’	<i>zamag-ti</i>	‘duty of a shop assistant’
	<i>poʔet</i>	‘poet’	<i>poʔet-ti</i>	‘duty of a poet’
	(Russ. <i>oxrana</i> ‘guarding’)		<i>axran-ti</i>	‘guarding’

Although *-ti* is predominantly found with words of foreign origin, it is possible to derive abstract nouns from Hinuq nouns or verbs marked with the Resultative participle. However, both processes are not very productive and it is hard to find examples in spontaneous speech.

(167)	<i>xoddobaru</i> ²⁷	‘married couple’	<i>xoddobaru-ti</i>	‘marriage’
	<i>daʔba-roži</i> ²⁸	‘controversy’	<i>daʔba-roži-ti</i>	‘controversy’
	<i>iyo</i>	‘mother’	<i>iyo-ti</i>	‘motherhood’
	<i>tʔotʔer-</i>	‘learn’	<i>tʔotʔer-iš-ti</i>	‘learning’
	<i>-edo:-</i>	‘work’	<i>-edo:-s-ti</i>	‘working’

3.6.2. Names of groups of people with *-be*

The Plural suffix *-be*²⁹ is used for the expression of names of people based on their geographical origin. This suffix is extremely productive. It is added to place names or spatial adverbs (see also Chapter 14 on names for groups of people).

²⁷ This noun itself is a compound from the nouns *xoddo* (‘husband’) and *baru* (‘wife’). There is an additional short form *xodbaruṭi*, but no form **xodbaru*.

²⁸ This compound noun consists of *daʔba* (‘dispute, controversy’) and *roži* (‘word’). It is a calque from Avar, whereby the first word itself is an Avar loan.

²⁹ This is the plural suffix for nouns and adjectives (Section 3.3), so this could be analyzed as a case of conversion plus the plural suffix.

(168)	<i>maʒarul</i>	‘mountainous’	<i>maʒarul-be</i>	‘Avars’
	<i>Kidili</i>	‘Kidiro.OBL’	<i>kidili-be</i>	‘Kidiro people’
	<i>Kebura</i>	‘Bezhta’	<i>kebura-be</i>	‘Bezhta people’
	<i>qazaq</i>	‘Georgian’	<i>qazaq-be</i>	‘Georgians’

3.6.3. Agentive nouns, activities, and tools with *-(na)k’u*

The suffix *-(na)k’u* is quite productive. It derives nouns referring to A or S arguments or names for tools and activities from verbs. The suffix is almost always *-nak’u* and it is added to the stem or to the Infinitive of the verbs. The derived nouns belong either to the human genders I and II, or to gender V. Note that this rule includes even nouns that contain a frozen agreement prefix *b-* (*buqit-nak’u*, *bašir-nak’u*).

(169)	<i>k’oʒe-</i>	‘jump’	<i>k’oʒe-nak’u</i>	‘jump rope, jumper’
	<i>-uqit-</i>	‘hide’ (intr.)	<i>b-uqit-nak’u</i>	‘hide-and-seek’
			<i>-uqit-nak’u</i>	‘one who is hiding’
	<i>eser-</i>	‘ask, beg’	<i>ese-nak’u</i> ³⁰	‘beggar’
	<i>q’ecena:-</i>	‘wrangle’	<i>q’ecena-k’u</i>	‘wrangler’
	<i>ʒaxʒ-a</i>	‘rake.up-INF’	<i>ʒaxʒa-k’u</i>	‘rake’
	<i>-aʒ’-a</i>	‘talk-INF’	<i>-aʒ’a-nak’u</i>	‘chatterer’ (male)
	<i>-ox-a</i>	‘leave, escape’	<i>-oxa-nak’u</i>	‘escapee’ (male)
	<i>ʒeš-a</i>	‘tear’	<i>ʒeša-nak’u</i>	‘bundle of wood’

3.6.4. Professions with *-qan*

Another suffix used for the derivation of agentive nouns denoting professions and the like is *-qan*. Like *-fi* it is an Avar suffix and is predominantly used with Avar words, but there are also some examples with Hinuq base words. Again, many of these words are, strictly speaking, not examples of word formation in Hinuq because both the base words and the derived nouns have been borrowed into Hinuq. The base words are always nouns. Note that in the last example the suffix is added to the oblique stem of the base noun. All derived nouns belong to gender I and II.

(170)	<i>čan</i>	‘hunt, prey’ (Avar)	<i>čanaqan</i>	‘hunter’
	<i>q’ili</i>	‘drum’ (Avar)	<i>q’iliqan</i>	‘drummer’

³⁰ Due to sonorant deletion the stem-final *-r* of the verb has been lost in the derived noun.

<i>heresi</i>	‘lie’ (Avar)	<i>heresuqan</i>	‘lier’
<i>qešu</i>	‘wall’	<i>qešuqan</i>	‘bricklayer’
<i>qoca</i>	‘dance’	<i>qocaqan</i>	‘dancer’
<i>nuce</i>	‘honey’	<i>nucoqan</i>	‘beekeeper’

3.6.5. Professions and tools with *-qu*

The suffix *-qu* is reasonably productive. It is added to the oblique singular or plural form of nouns, and if the nouns do not have an extra oblique singular form then it is added directly to the Absolutive singular. The derived nouns denote either people associated with the thing denoted by the base word (mostly professions), or it denotes things and tools associated with that word. The words referring to humans belong to gender I and II, the other words to gender V.

(171)	<i>čaqar</i>	‘sugar’	<i>čaqar-mo-qu</i>	‘sugar bowl’
	<i>kak</i>	‘prayer’	<i>kak-mo-qu</i>	‘prayer mat’
	<i>at’</i>	‘flour’	<i>at’-mo-qu</i>	‘box for keeping flour’
	Russ. <i>bočka</i>	‘barrel’	<i>bočka-za-qu</i>	‘cooper’
	<i>yoXu</i>	‘ashes’	<i>yoX-a-qu</i>	‘Cinderella’
	<i>yeme</i>	‘mill’	<i>yeme-za-qu</i>	‘miller’
	<i>X’aX’a</i>	‘thievery’	<i>X’aX’a-qu</i>	‘thief’
	<i>oʔocu</i>	‘chicken’	<i>oʔocu-za-qu</i>	‘one who likes chickens’
	<i>meši</i>	‘calf’	<i>meši-za-qu</i>	‘one who likes calves’

3.6.6. Agentive nouns with *-r(y)o*

From nouns denoting body parts and other nouns, it is possible to form animate nouns having characteristics related to the base noun. The derivational suffix is usually added to the Absolutive singular form of the noun. But in the last example the noun functioning as the base for derivation has a local case suffix. Word formation with *-r(y)o* is not very productive. The first two nouns belong to gender III because they refer to animals. All other nouns have gender I and II.

(172)	<i>mihi</i>	‘tail’	<i>mihi-ryo</i>	‘one with a big tail’
	<i>meši</i>	‘calf’	<i>meši-ro</i> ³¹	‘one-year-old calf’
	<i>haqu</i>	‘mouth’	<i>haqu-ryo</i>	‘chatterer’
	<i>hut</i>	‘mouth’	<i>hute-ryo</i>	‘chatterer’

<i>q'wat'</i>	‘street’	<i>q'wat'-a-q-ro</i> ³²	‘vagrant, somebody who lives on the street’
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3.6.7. Event nouns with *-demu*

With the suffix *-demu* it is possible to derive nouns from nouns, adverbs, and verbs. This derivational process seems to be quite productive. However, nouns derived from adverbs with the help of *-demu* usually serve as the input for another derivational process which changes them into adjectives by means of adding *-ni* (Sections 6.7.1.5 and 13.2.2).

(173)	<i>-oλλο</i>	‘in the middle’	<i>-oλλο-demu</i>	‘the middle one’
	<i>maʒaruq</i> ³³	‘in the mountains’	<i>maʒaruq-demu</i>	‘mountainous’
	<i>meqi</i>	‘far’	<i>meqi-demu</i>	‘the far one’
	<i>aldoyo</i>	‘formerly’	<i>aldoyo-demu</i>	‘the former one’
	<i>huł</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>huł-demu</i>	‘the yesterday’s one’
	<i>žiqu</i>	‘today’	<i>žiqu-demu</i>	‘the today’s one’

Nouns containing *-demu* which are derived from verbs and case-marked nouns occur only in comparative constructions serving as the standard of comparison (Section 26.1.1).

3.6.8. Sounds with *-ni*

The suffix *-ni* is used for the derivation of nouns denoting sounds. They can be sounds of animals, in which case there are associated verbs denoting the production of these sounds. The cognate verbs have either a stem ending with *-λe*, or they end with *-a:*, whereby almost all verbs have both forms (Section 9.1.3). In (174) only the form with stem final *-a:* is given. Other nouns formed with *-ni* just imitate the source of the sound they are describing, and they are derived from onomatopoeia. All these nouns belong to gender V. Derivation with *-ni* is very productive.

(174)	<i>ħapya:-</i>	‘bark’	<i>ħap-ni</i>	‘barking’
	<i>babaya:-</i>	‘bleat’	<i>baba-ni</i>	‘bleating’
	<i>dodoya:-</i>	‘shake’	<i>dodo-ni</i>	‘shaking’

³¹ The semantics of this examples is idiosyncratic.

³² *q'wat'-a-q* (‘on the street’) is the AT-Essive case form.

³³ This adverb has already the frozen spatial case marker *-q*. More details on spatial case markers in adverbs and geographic expressions are given in Chapter 14.

<i>bera:-</i>	‘bleat’	<i>bera-ni</i>	‘bleating’
<i>q^wašya:-</i>	‘crunch’	<i>q^waš-ni</i>	‘crunching’
<i>hek’ya:-</i>	‘hiccup’	<i>hek’-ni</i>	‘hiccup’
<i>bubuya:-</i>	‘bellow’ (bull)	<i>bubu-ni</i>	‘bellowing’
<i>p’ap’aya:-</i>	‘chatter’	<i>p’ap’a-ni</i>	‘chattering’

3.6.9. Less productive derivational suffixes

The suffix *-či*, which is used to derive professions and other nouns characterizing humans, is a Turkic loan also found in other Daghestanian languages like Avar and Lezgian. In contrast to these languages, in Hinuq the suffix is not productive anymore. The derived nouns sound old-fashioned and are practically not used. The base words to which *-či* is added are always loan words (nouns and occasionally adverbs), from Avar or Russian. As for the Avar loan words, again both the base for the derivation as well as the derived word itself have been borrowed.

(175) <i>pitna</i>	‘intrigue’	<i>pitna-či</i>	‘intriguer’
<i>rišwat</i>	‘bribery’	<i>rišwat-či</i>	‘bribe taker’
<i>bikin</i>	‘male’	<i>bikin-či</i>	‘man, great guy’
<i>isklad</i>	‘depot’	<i>isklad-či</i>	‘depot assistant’
<i>kuparat</i>	‘shop’	<i>kuparat-či</i>	‘shop assistant’

Some verbs with the stem ending in *-λe* have a nominal counterpart where the stem final vowel /e/ is replaced by /u/. The direction of the derivation is unclear (i.e. whether it goes from nouns to verbs or vice versa). The nouns denote the object produced through the activity denoted by the verb. With the exception of the last example below, which contains a frozen gender prefix of gender III (which is also the gender of this noun), all derived nouns belong to gender V. For more examples see Section 9.1.4.

(176) <i>qaλe-</i>	‘scream, call’	<i>qaλu</i>	‘scream, call’
<i>c’aλe-</i>	‘crack’	<i>c’aλu</i>	‘crack, split’
<i>šaλe-</i>	‘whistle’	<i>šaλu</i>	‘whistle’
<i>maq’λe-</i>	‘flash’	<i>maq’λu</i>	‘lighting’
<i>-eλe-</i>	‘plough’	<i>beλu</i>	‘ploughing’

With the suffix *-λu* it is possible to derive nouns of gender V from other nouns or verbs.

(177) <i>aq^we</i>	‘urine’	<i>aq^we-ru-λu</i>	‘urinary bladder’
<i>łež’a:-</i>	‘laugh’	<i>łež-λu</i>	‘laughter’

<i>čok</i>	‘stream, waterfall’	<i>čok-χu</i>	‘water with food remains that is fed to animals’
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The suffix *-(na)χu* is mainly used to derive adjectives (Section 6.7.1.3). However, there are two nouns which have been formed with the help of this suffix. They denote people associated with the base word and belong thus all to gender I and II. The suffix is added to the verb stem or to the oblique form of the nominal stem.

(178)	<i>-eq’i-</i>	‘know’	<i>r-eq’i-naxu</i>	‘foreboder’
	<i>aq^we</i>	‘urine’	<i>aq^we-ru-χu</i>	‘wet from urine, bed-wetter’

Another rare suffix is *-ku*. It is added to adverbs.

(179)	<i>χ’ere</i>	‘up(wards), on’	<i>χ’ere-ku</i>	‘big headscarf’
	<i>-oχχo</i>	‘in the middle’	<i>-oχχo-ku</i>	‘half’

The suffix *-χa* is only used to derive the word *q’u-χa/q^we-χa* ‘twins’ from the numeral *q’ono* ‘two’.

3.7. Nominal compounding

Hinuq has several strategies for nominal compounding, but endocentric compounds with a clearly identifiable head are rather seldom. Compounds consist of two nouns. The majority of the compounds occurring in Hinuq are copulative compounds (so-called *dvandva* compounds) where each element could be head, and the relation between the members is like one of coordination. There are three ways in which the meanings of both words can contribute to the meaning of a copulative compound.

(i) One of the words means about the same or almost the same as the whole compound, whereas the meaning of the second word is typically related to it. The compounds trigger either non-human plural agreement, or, if both nouns belong to the same gender (this is almost always gender III), the compound noun takes over this gender.

(180)	<i>daʔba</i> (III)	‘dispute’	<i>roži</i> (V)	‘word’	<i>daʔba-roži</i> (NHPL)	‘dispute’
	<i>hiχu</i> (IV)	‘horseshoe’	<i>ak^we</i> (III)	‘nail’	<i>hiχu-ak^we</i> (NHPL)	‘horseshoe’
	<i>hut</i> (V)	‘throat’	<i>malu</i> (III)	‘nose’	<i>hut’-malu</i> (NHPL)	‘muzzle’

q'ay (III) 'inventory, utensils' *q'ono* 'two' *q'ay-q'ono* (III) 'house utensils'

(ii) The two components have roughly identical meaning:

- (181) *qaλu* (V) 'scream' *quy* (III) 'noise' *qaλu-quy* (NHPL) 'scream-noise'
hilla (III) 'trick' *rek* (III) 'meanness' *hilla-rek* (III) 'trick'
adab (III) 'courtesy' *ħurmat* (III) 'respect' *adab-ħurmat* (III) 'respect'
tuxum (HPL) 'clan' *λ'ibil* (HPL) 'clan' *tuxum-λ'ibil* (HPL) 'clan'
ħalt'i (III) 'work' *piša* (III) 'craft' *ħalt'i-piša* (III) 'work-craft'

(iii) In other copulative compounds the compound denotes the pair constituted by both words. Both words may belong closely together as in the first two examples, or they may represent particularly salient members of a larger class as in the other examples.

- (182) *iyobu* 'parents' (HPL) *iyobu* 'mother' (II)
obu 'father' (I)
xoddo-baru 'married couple' (HPL) *xoddo* 'husband' (I)
baru 'wife' (II)
xexbe-haq'u 'family' (HPL) *xexbe* 'child(ren)' (I, II)
haq'u 'family' (HPL)
aku-bezo 'building tools' (NHPL) *aku* 'spade' (IV)
bezo 'pick' (III)
hawa-buq 'weather' (NHPL) *hawa* 'air, sky' (V)
buq 'sun' (III)
muži-q'ure 'furniture' (NHPL) *muži* 'mattress' (III)
q'ure 'chair, stool' (V)
kuc-muq 'appearance' (III) *kuc* 'form, face' (III)
muq 'line' (III)
ukru-mesed 'treasuries' (III) *ukru* 'silver' (III)
mesed 'gold' (III)
k'oboy-yeλu 'clothes' (NHPL) *k'oboy* 'shirt' (IV)
yeλu 'trousers' (IV)
haqu-malu 'face' (NHPL) *haqu* 'mouth' (IV)
malu 'nose' (III)

Hinuq also has determinative compounds where the meaning of the head is restricted by the meaning of the other constituent. The restricting constituent

precedes the head, and it may, but does not have to be, a noun on its own in Hinuq. The head determines the gender of the compound. In all of the examples below the modifier is a loan from Avar, and the head is a native Hinuq noun.

(183)	<i>q'orol-aqili</i>	'widow' (II)	Avar <i>q'orolay</i>	'widow' (II)
			<i>aqili</i>	'woman' (II)
	<i>yorya-gulu</i>	'ambler' (III)	Avar <i>yurɣa</i>	'amble'
			<i>gulu</i>	'horse' (III)
	<i>tarbiya-rek'</i> ^w <i>e</i>	'educator' (I)	Avar <i>tarbiya</i>	'education' (III)
			<i>rek'</i> ^w <i>e</i>	'man' (I)

With respect to the gender assignment to compound nouns consisting of two nouns, there are two possibilities. Occasionally the compound noun has the same gender as one or even both its parts. However, the majority of compound nouns are treated like two juxtaposed conjuncts and trigger plural agreement. Some of these nouns have animate referents, so they call for human plural agreement, but the greater part are inanimate nouns.

Another rare type of compounding is noun-verb compounding formed by the verb and its P argument. The verb can have the Infinitive or the Resultative participle suffix.

(184)	<i>yoɣu-koka</i>	'cinderello' (I)	<i>yoɣu</i>	'ashes' (IV)
			<i>kok-a</i>	'stir-INF'
	<i>axi-rekiš</i>	'pluck' (V)	<i>ax-i</i>	'belly.ERG'
			<i>r-eki-š</i>	'V-rip-RES'

Finally, there are compounds where only one or even none of the words has a meaning of its own. These words may share the rhyme.

(185)	<i>roq'e</i>	'dishes' (V)	<i>roq'e-t'oq'e</i>	'dishes' (V)
	<i>ixu</i>	'river' (IV)	<i>ixu-loxu</i>	'stream' (IV)
			<i>xuri-xara</i>	'splotch' (V)

If needed, compounds can be formed *ad hoc* by speakers. The compounds in the following examples are not mentioned in the dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005).

(186)	a.	<i>[b-aši-yo goɫa]</i>	<i>mexer</i>	<i>hudul-za-y</i>	
			III-get-ICVB be.PTCP	money(III)	friend-OBL.PL-ERG
		<i>[kapek-mo-s</i>	<i>hilla-rek'</i>	<i>b-u:-mez]</i>	<i>biχ'izi</i>
			kopek-OBL-GENI	trick-meanness(III)	III-make-PURP.NEG
		<i>b-u:-ho</i>	<i>zoq'</i> ^w <i>e-n</i>		divide
			III-make-ICVB be-UWPST		

‘The friends divided the money they got without perfidy.’ (N)

- b. *mesed-mecxer teġ goġa torpa q’iliqan-qo-r toλλo*
gold-silver inside be.PTCP bag drummer-AT-LAT give.PRS

‘She gives the bag filled with treasures to the drummer.’ (N)

Conversion from adjectives is very productive. In general, adjectives do not have to be substantivized before they can be used as nouns. A few adjectives have oblique forms if they are used as attributes to oblique nouns or if they are used as nouns with a case suffix other than Absolute.

Chapter 4

Gender

4.1. Introduction

Gender is a covert category in Hinuq, although a few nouns arguably have petrified gender markers (mainly, but not exclusively loans from Avar), and some other nouns contain synchronic gender affixes. Gender is shown by agreement prefixes on most vowel-initial verbs, some adjectives and adverbs/postpositions as well as by the form of demonstrative pronouns. Agreement prefixes and some pronouns are given in Table 15. Agreement is treated in Chapter 15, which gives examples for agreement with all parts of speech. The glosses for the prefixes are small Roman numerals for the genders in the singular (i.e. I-V), HPL (‘human plural’) for the plural of nouns belonging to genders I and II, and NHPL (‘non-human plural’) otherwise.

Table 15. Agreement prefixes and some demonstrative pronouns

	I	II	III	IV	V
Singular	Ø-	y-	b-	y-	r-
Plural	b-	b-/r-	r-	r-	r-
Absolutive singular	<i>hado</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>had</i>
Oblique singular	<i>hało</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>
Absolutive plural	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>
Oblique plural	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>

From the presentation of only the agreement prefixes in Table 15, it follows that Hinuq has a five-gender system, or according to the traditional terminology, five noun classes. Corbett (1991), who extensively analyzes Nakh-Daghestanian languages, proposes a slightly different analysis. He differentiates between “controller gender”, into which nouns are divided in order to generate the correct number of agreement patters, and “target genders”, which are marked on verbs, adjectives, etc. (Corbett 1991: 150–160). Following his analysis, Hinuq has five controller genders as indicated in Table 15 by the Roman numbers. Then there are four target genders in the singular (marked with the prefixes Ø-, y-, b-, and r-) and two in the plural (indicated by the prefixes b- and r-).

When looking only at demonstrative pronouns, the number of genders decreases. Three controller genders (gender I, gender II/III and gender IV/V), three

target genders in the absolutive singular, two target genders in the oblique singular, and only one target gender in the plural can be identified.

4.2. Semantic basis for gender assignment

Gender is partially assigned on a semantic basis. In this section a few gender-assignment rules are formulated. Furthermore, nouns with varying genders, homonyms, and compound nouns will be examined.

For gender I and gender II, the semantic basis for gender assignment is clear-cut and no further formal clues are needed, i.e. all male rationals belong to gender I and all female rationals belong to gender II. For the remaining three genders semantic subgroups may be established, but almost all subgroups seem to lack a semantic relationship to one another. The only further rule that can be established is that all animals belong to gender III. An additional analysis based on formal characteristics proves not to be very helpful (4.3).

Counting in my dictionary the 800 nouns for which the gender is known gives the results displayed in Table 16. As can be seen in this table, the gender with the most nouns is gender III.

Table 16. Nouns according to their genders

Gender	I/II	III	IV	V
number of nouns	73	422	93	212

In the following example nouns from all genders are given. According to their semantics they have been arranged into small groups.

Gender I

- all and only nouns referring to male rationals, including some supernatural beings
rek 'man', *obu* 'father', *uži* 'boy, son', *xoddo* 'husband', *dursa* 'son-in-law, brother-in-law', *Allah* 'Allah', *bahadur* 'knight, hero', *dibir* 'mullah', *xan* 'khan, king', *bet'erhan* 'husband, Lord', *malayk* 'angel'

Gender II

- all and only nouns referring to female rationals, including some mythical and supernatural beings

aqili ‘woman’, *baru* ‘wife’, *ked* ‘girl, daughter’, *iyo* ‘mother’, *dada* ‘aunt, sister’, *baharay* ‘bride’, *hurulʔen* ‘hourī

Gender III

- all animals, including mythical beings
aq^w*e* ‘mouse’, *aždah* ‘dragon’, *barti* ‘stallion’, *beλ*^q*’u* ‘sheep’, *besuro* ‘fish’, *boc*^e ‘wolf’, *ca* ‘goat’, *coy* ‘eagle’, *gulu* ‘horse’, *ɣ*^w*e* ‘dog’, *haywan* ‘animal’, *ilbis* ‘devil’, *k’et*^u ‘cat’, *mihna* ‘bird’, *noce* ‘louse’, *šayt’an* ‘devil’, *zeru* ‘fox’
- body parts, organs, and similar items
beši ‘fist’, *bula* ‘hoof, leg’, *bumbuli* ‘feather’, *hobo* ‘leg’, *humer* ‘face’, *iy* ‘blood’, *kočori* ‘hair’, *ʔiλ*ⁱ ‘finger’, *moc*[’] ‘neck’, *moqoli* ‘back’, *q’oλu* ‘skin’, *t’um* ‘breast’
- various foods and beverages
geni ‘pear’, *gude* ‘porridge’, *iši* ‘apple’, *kartuška* ‘potato’, *magalu* ‘bread’, *muh* ‘grain’, *tort* ‘cake’, *xok*^{’o} ‘khinkal’, *čakar* ‘sugar’, *čay* ‘tea’, *cenno* ‘brynza’
- places and buildings
aλ ‘village’, *buλe* ‘house’, *duniyal* ‘world’, *moči* ‘field, place’, *raλ*[’] ‘earth’, *qala* ‘fortress’
- utensils (including units of measurement, inventory, tools)
čaynik ‘tea pot’, *goži* ‘jug’, *k’ot*^{’o} ‘plate’, *kowzi* ‘spoon’, *k^wid* ‘basket’, *λ’id* ‘wooden spoon’, *maq^ware* ‘needle’, *mos* ‘broom’, *q’ay-q’ono* ‘inventory’, *q’ili* ‘barrel’, *saž* ‘pan’, *šaħ* ‘2.5 kg’ (i.e. a unit of measurement), *xalicen* ‘scythe’, *xulu* ‘basin’
- some parts of the house and inventory
muži ‘mattress’, *im* ‘column’, *muq*[’] ‘pole’, (e.g. in a haystack), *λ’u* ‘earth roof’
- some clothes and related objects
λ’oq’on ‘hat’, *kiči* ‘ring’, *muxo* ‘necklace’, *xe* ‘fur-coat, felt’, *ašune* ‘belt’, *cet’a* ‘button’
- some plants
nihī ‘oak’, *mi:/mihi* ‘birch’, *rede* ‘wood’
- heavenly bodies
buq ‘sun’, *buce* ‘moon’, *ca* ‘star’

- some time-referring expressions
zaman ‘time’, *eʕni* ‘winter’, *saʕat* ‘hour’, *mix* ‘hour, time’, *at’oni* ‘summer’
- some expressions referring to language and language use
keč ‘song’, *xabar* ‘story, news’, *mec* ‘language’, *pikru* ‘thought’, *q’ut’i* ‘agreement’, *wasi(yat)* ‘testament’, *suʕal* ‘question’, *ʒawab* ‘answer’, *ce* ‘name’ *aq’uba* ‘command’, *amru* ‘order’
- terms for psychological states
asar ‘feeling, impression, work of art’, *balah* ‘misery’, *č’uhi* ‘pride’, *cim* ‘anger’, *hurmat* ‘respect’, *nič* ‘shame’, *roʕi* ‘love’, *roxel* ‘joy’, *taliḥ* ‘happiness’, *urʕel* ‘anxiety’, *harakat* ‘suffering’
- expressions related to religion
duʕa ‘prayer’, *haʒ* ‘Hajj’, *islam* ‘Islam’, *ziyarat* ‘pilgrimage’, *ʕadat* ‘tradition’
- various abstract terms
čara ‘means’, *dawla* ‘wealth’, *din* ‘belief’, *hal* ‘condition, force’, *halki* ‘relaxation’, *hukmu* ‘decision’, *interes* ‘interest’, *ixtilat-kep* ‘merriment’, *maxšel* ‘mastery’, *payda* ‘benefit’, *q’ismat* ‘destiny’, *res* ‘possibility, condition’, *kumak* ‘help’, *ʕumru* ‘life’, *norma* ‘norm’

In addition, there are numerous words in this gender that are difficult to classify, e.g. *baʕaxu* ‘excrement’, *arxi* ‘ditch’, *k’oḥlo* ‘ball’, *mexcer* ‘money’, *t’eq* ‘knock’, or *xal* ‘gaze’.

Gender IV

- body parts
k’onc’u ‘leg’, *haqu* ‘mouth’, *mecu* ‘forearm’, *q’ilu* ‘shoulder’, *k’eču* ‘tooth’, *bečnu* ‘knee’, *č’ič’inu* ‘chin, jaw’, *horu* ‘elbow’, *gaʒu* ‘molar’, *ata* ‘brain’, *oy* ‘thigh’
- some plants and their parts
ač’it ‘pine’, *ažey* ‘tree’, *ki* ‘blueberry’, *ʕebu* ‘leaf’, *simildi/simindi* ‘corn’, *gagali* ‘flower’, *ace* ‘mountain ash’
- some liquids and similar things
čorpa ‘soup’, *ʕiy* ‘milk’, *ixu* ‘river’, *či* ‘colostrum’

- some clothes
kunta ‘dress’, *k’oboy* ‘shirt’, *k’alk’ač* ‘fur coat’, *paltu* ‘coat’, *šlyapa* ‘hat’,
ħaq’a ‘traditional headwear for men’, *yeħu* ‘pants’, *xalʔat* ‘gown’, *kastum*
‘jacket’
- expressions for openings
aki ‘window’, *kawu* ‘gate’, *ac* ‘door’, *oqru* ‘hole’
- some utensils
aku ‘spade’, *q’il* ‘board’, *q’or* ‘trap’, *t’akani* ‘glass’, *imu* ‘awl’, *meq’u*
‘thread’
- names of paper and paper objects
t’ek ‘book’, *č’egen* ‘Koran’, *q’urʔan* ‘Koran’, *kaɣat* ‘paper, letter’, *gazeta*
‘newspaper’, *žurnal* ‘magazine’

Again, there are a number of words in this gender that are difficult to fit into the above classification, e.g. *x^win* ‘mountain’, *yoħu* ‘ashes’, *moħu* ‘sleep’, *ħebu* ‘year’, *maʔa* ‘threshold, yard’, *iše* ‘snow’. Nouns with an abstract meaning usually do not belong to gender IV, but to gender III or V.

Gender V

- body parts
ax ‘stomach’, *ižey* ‘eye’, *k^wezey* ‘hand’, *ħili* ‘belly’, *q’imu* ‘head’, *qot*
‘paw, hand’, *rok^we* ‘heart’, *axxa* ‘ear’, *ħoq^wo* ‘forehead’, *c’ec* ‘eye-
brow’, *šek* ‘wineskin’
- some clothes and similar items
čurya ‘headscarf’, *palatence* ‘towel’, *šeħu* ‘clothes’, *rorqos* ‘shoe’, *c’inda*
‘knitted sock’
- some food items
at’ ‘wheat, flour’, *ax* ‘cheese’, *biša* ‘food’, *čečey* ‘oil, butter’, *č’ot’i* ‘bean’,
qeqe ‘porridge’, *kekiš* ‘a certain amount of flour’, *inaħzek’u* ‘mushroom’,
ħe ‘water’, *warenya* ‘jam’, *xu* ‘meat’
- meteorological and astronomical phenomena
as ‘sky’, *ɣ^wede* ‘day, weather’, *hawa* ‘air, sky’, *hawa-baq’* ‘weather’, *ħaci*
‘wind’, *qema* ‘rain’

- utensils and tools (long sharp objects and containers)
beṭay ‘dagger’, *gadi* ‘barrel’, *mač’a* ‘sword’, *og* ‘ax’, *oḫok* ‘leather bag’,
xuk ‘dipper’, *zok’i* ‘cup’, *t’oq* ‘knife’
- some names for buildings and their parts and other geographical expressions
yeme ‘mill’, *hune* ‘way’, *iškola* ‘school’, *maždik* ‘mosque’, *madrasa* ‘madrasah’,
uniwersitet ‘university’, *magazin* ‘shop’, *zoro* ‘stable’, *pardala* ‘veranda’,
qešu ‘wall’, *kolxoz* ‘kolkhoz’, *saq’dari* ‘church’, *sud* ‘grave yard’,
č’odi ‘ground’
- abstract nouns with the suffix *-ti*
bat’ati ‘difference’, *bercinti* ‘beauty’, *berhenti* ‘victory’, *halimti* ‘mildness’,
sihirti ‘slyness’, *sayti* ‘health’

Once more, several unclassified words in this gender remain, e.g. *c’oh* ‘theft’, *ħažat* ‘need’, *ṭeṭ* ‘flax’, *posu-kisa* ‘cattle’, *qaḫu* ‘scream’, *qiči* ‘harvest’, *roži* ‘word’, *sadaq’a* ‘alms’ and *žo* ‘thing’.

Furthermore, there are a number of nouns denoting groups. Although they are not formally marked for plural, they trigger only human plural agreement. Examples of these nouns are *armi* ‘army’, *ḫ’ibil* ‘kin’, *taypa* ‘clan, family’, *tuxum* ‘kin’, *haq’u* ‘family’, *iž* ‘army, flock’, *ʔagarḫi* ‘relatives’, and *žamaʔat* ‘society’.

In addition to the nouns belonging to exactly one gender, Hinuq has what seems to be double-gender nouns, that is, nouns following agreement patterns of two genders. There are nouns that belong either to gender I (male rationals) or to gender II (female rationals), depending on their reference. Examples are: *essu* ‘sibling’, *halmay* ‘friend’, *ʔadam* ‘person’, *heresuqan* ‘liar’, *q’iliqan* ‘drummer’, *c’ohor* ‘thief’, *maduhal* ‘neighbor’, and *ħerba* ‘guest’.³⁴

All nouns belonging to gender II may take the prefix *b-* or *r-* in the plural. This could also be described by saying that nouns of gender II may follow the agreement pattern of gender IV. In fact, earlier works on Hinuq mention only four genders because female rationals are claimed to always follow the agreement pattern of gender IV (cf. Bokarev (1959: 113), Kibrik & Kodzasov (1990: 272–273)). If this were correct, then the number of controller genders would decrease to four, whereas the number of target genders would still be four in the singular and two in the plural. However, Lomtadze (1963: 92) had already pointed out that nouns denoting female rationals may occasionally give rise to an agreement

³⁴ Martin Haspelmath (p.c.) points out that these nouns could also be analyzed as representing two different nouns that are related by gender conversion.

pattern like that of nouns of gender IV, but usually they are used with the agreement prefix *y-* in the singular and with *b-* in the plural, thus forming their own gender. This is also the case with my consultants; *b-* is preferred with female rationals in the plural (187a), but *r-* is possible, too (187b).

- (187) a. *hag aqili b-aλ'i-yo zoq'e-n Hinuq*
 those woman.PL HPL-talk-ICVB be-UWPST Hinuq
aλ-a-zo mec-ro-λ'o, Hinuza-zo
 village-OBL-GEN2 language-OBL-SPR Hinuq.OBL.PL-GEN2
mec-ro-λ'o
 language-OBL-SPR
 'Those women talked in the language of the village of Hinuq, in the Hinuq language.' (N)
- b. *aqili r-aq'e-s*
 woman.PL NHPL-come-PST
 'Women came.'

Comrie & Polinsky (1999b), who analyzed gender assignment in the closely related language Tsez, conclude that the situation in modern Tsez with four genders is the result of a collapse of precisely the two genders that correspond to Hinuq genders II and IV. Thus, in Hinuq this collapse is probably still in progress.

Another type of noun with more than one gender is borrowings. They are treated in Section 4.4. Interestingly, in the case of homonymy, more often than not both nouns belong to the same gender (188). However, I have found three exceptions to this rule (189). The word form *k'al* with both meanings listed below is an Avar borrowing.³⁵ In the last example where the homonymous nouns differ in gender, the second of the given words is a borrowing. Consequently, mere phonological shape does not seem to condition gender assignment. An explanation for the assignment of the Russian loan *sud* to gender III could be its semantic classification as denoting a group of people.

(188)	Form	Gender	First meaning	Second meaning
	<i>iš</i>	III	'bull'	'affair, work' ³⁶
	<i>y^wero</i>	III	'cow'	'wild strawberry'
	<i>malu</i>	III	'nose'	'pleats, folds, slope'
	<i>muži</i>	III	'bed'	'millstone'
	<i>λebu</i>	IV	'leaf'	'year'
	<i>hiλu</i>	IV	'comb'	'horseshoe'

³⁵ Avar has only three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, i.e. gender assignment is purely semantic. *k'al* has several meanings in Avar and belongs to the neuter gender.

<i>y^wede</i>	V	‘day’	‘trouble, sorrow’
<i>ax</i>	V	‘stomach’	‘cheese’
<i>mołu</i>	V	‘fingernail’	‘fishing rod, (fishing) hook’
<i>bex</i>	V	‘grass’	‘(gun)powder’
<i>hilu</i>	IV	‘plumb-line’	‘bean, patron’

(189)	Form	Gender	First meaning	Gender	Second meaning
	<i>qoq</i>	III	‘swan’	V	‘precipice, rock’
	<i>k'al</i>	III	‘canyon’ (from Avar)	IV	‘fasting’ (from Avar)
	<i>sud</i>	V	‘grave’	III	‘court’ (from Russian)

For gender assignment to compound nouns there are two strategies. Some compounds consist of nouns belonging to the same gender III. The compound nouns also belong to gender III. That means, all (simple and compound) nouns given in (190) belong to gender III. Many, but not all of these nouns are abstract terms that exist also as compounds in Avar from which they have probably been borrowed.

(190)	<i>?adlu</i> ‘discipline’	<i>nizam</i> ‘discipline’	<i>?adlu-nizam</i> ‘discipline’
	<i>adab</i> ‘courtesy’	<i>qatir</i> ‘courtesy’	<i>adab-qatir</i> ‘courtesy’
	<i>awal</i> ‘beginning’	<i>axir</i> ‘end’	<i>awal-axir</i> ‘beginning-end’
	<i>q'uti</i> ‘agreement’	<i>q'ay</i> ‘thing’	<i>q'uti-q'ay</i> ‘agreement’
	<i>ukru</i> ‘silver’	<i>mesed</i> ‘gold’	<i>ukru-mesed</i> ‘treasures’

However, the majority of compound nouns are treated like two juxtaposed conjuncts and trigger plural agreement. Some of these nouns have human referents, so they call for human plural agreement, but the greater part are inanimate nouns (191). For more information on compounding and more examples see Section 3.7, and on agreement resolution see Section 15.2.6.

(191)	<i>iyo-obu</i>	‘parents’ (HPL)	<i>iyo</i>	‘mother’ (II)
			<i>obu</i>	‘father’ (I)
	<i>zahru-zaq'um</i>	‘poison’ (NHPL)	<i>zahru</i>	‘poison’ (III)
			<i>zaq'um</i>	‘poison’ (III)
	<i>hilu-bex</i>	‘gunpowder’ (NHPL)	<i>hilu</i>	‘patron’ (IV)
			<i>bex</i>	‘powder’ (V)

³⁶ The word *iš* ‘affair, work’ is probably a Turkic loan.

4.3. Formal criteria for gender assignment

Phonological and semantic features that may be used for gender assignment are word-initial segments and derivational suffixes. The most important devices for nominal derivation are the suffixes *-ti*, *-be*, *-nak'u*, *-qan*, *-qu*, *-r(y)o*, and *-ni* (see Section 3.6 for nominal derivation). The gender assignment to derived nouns is almost completely regular and transparent. All derived nouns denoting human beings belong to genders I and II (e.g. by using *-be*, *-nak'u*, *-qan*, or *-qu*). All derived nouns that refer to animals belong to gender III (e.g. by using *-r(y)o*). All other derived nouns belong almost exclusively to gender V (e.g. by using *-ti*, *-nak'u*, and *-ni*). The only exception are a number of abstract nouns formed by adding *-ti*. The vast majority of nouns containing this suffix belong to gender V, e.g. *axranti* 'watch duty', *zaʒipʒi* 'weakness', *bečeti* 'wealth', *hudulʒi* 'friendship', and *raq'dalʒi* 'dryness'. Nevertheless, there are a number of nouns ending in *-ti* that belong to gender III, e.g. *xinti* 'heat', *ʒaq'lumati* 'lecture, lesson', *čink'ilʒi* 'island', *kanti* 'light', *xexʒi* 'speed', and *maduhaliʒi* 'neighborhood'.

A strong correlation between the initial segment of a noun and the appropriate agreement prefix has already been proposed for several other Nakh-Daghestanian languages (e.g. see Kibrik (1977: 64–66) for Archi, Nichols (1989) for Nakh and Comrie & Polinsky (1999b) for Tsez and Hunzib). Comrie and Polinsky extend this proposal also to stem final segments. In order to establish such correlations an analysis of the nominal lexicon is first necessary. Both directions of the correlation, from classes to initial/final segments and vice versa have been examined. After counting all 800 nouns in my material the results are given in Tables 17–20. In these tables the abbreviation *seg.* refers to the segments and *occ.* ('occurrence') to the number of nouns beginning with that segment.

Looking only at words beginning or ending with one of the three agreement prefixes allows us to see that at least for gender III the percentage of words beginning or ending with *b* is higher than among the other genders. Looking only at the initial segments makes evident that this trend can be found throughout all three genders: for every gender the percentage of nouns beginning with the segment identical to the respective agreement prefix is higher than among the other genders (Table 21).

Table 17. The most frequent initial segments

Gender	seg.	occ.	seg.	occ.	seg.	occ.
III	<i>m-</i>	51	<i>b-</i>	37	<i>k-</i>	27
IV	<i>a-</i>	9	<i>k'-</i>	8	<i>k-, m-</i>	7
V	<i>r-</i>	20	<i>k-</i>	19	<i>b-</i>	11

Table 18. The most frequent final segments

Gender	seg.	occ.	seg.	occ.	seg.	occ.
III	-i	67	-a	61	-u	45
IV	-u	32	-a, -i	12	-n	7
V	-i	58	-a	31	-u	21

Table 19. Distribution of initial segments in the genders III-V

Gender	b-	p-	p'-	m-	i-	u-	y-	w-	r-
III	38	14	1	51	15	7	3	8	21
IV	1	2	0	7	2	0	4	0	0
V	11	8	1	8	5	1	0	2	20

Table 20. Distribution of final segments in the genders III-V

Gender	-b	-p	-p'	-m	-i	-u	-y	-w	-r
III	3	1	1	4	67	45	7	0	15
IV	0	0	0	2	12	32	3	0	2
V	0	0	0	0	58	21	8	0	2

Similarly, the most frequent initial segments of nouns belonging to gender III are the bilabials *m-* and *b-*, and the most frequent initial segment of nouns in gender V is *r-* (Table 17). However, all these results may also be due to the nouns in my material, which do not include all Hinuq nouns, and not even all Hinuq nouns that can be found in the dictionary. Furthermore, the final segments do not seem to play any role since they are similar for all three gender III-V: vowels, especially *-i*, *-a*, and *-u* are for all nouns the most frequent final segments (Table 18). This is due to the syllable structure of Hinuq. The language clearly prefers open syllables over closed ones.

Including other bilabials apart from *b* and other final high vowels and the corresponding glides changes the picture a little bit (Table 22). Now it seems that a final *-y*, *-w*, *-i*, or *-u* might influence the assignment to gender IV.

However, there are other ways to look at the numbers given in Tables 17–20 following a method proposed by Comrie & Polinsky (1999b) for Tsez. They carried out a test with 500 nonce words whereby they show that initial or final *i* and *y* is a very strong predictor of gender II membership in Tsez because 92% of

Table 21. Initial and final *b*, *y*, and *r*

# of nouns	Initial			Final		
	<i>b-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>-b</i>	<i>-y</i>	<i>-r</i>
III (422)	38 (9%)	3 (0.1%)	21 (5%)	3 (0.1%)	7 (1.5%)	15 (3.5%)
IV (93)	1 (1%)	4 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (3%)	2 (2%)
V (212)	11 (5%)	0 (0%)	20 (9%)	0 (0%)	8 (4%)	2 (1%)

Table 22. Initial and final bilabials and high vowels plus glides

# of nouns	Initial			Final	
	<i>b-, p-, p', m-</i>	<i>y-, w-, i-, u-</i>	<i>-b, -p, -p', -m</i>	<i>-y, -w, -i, -u</i>	
Gender III (422)	104 (25%)	33 (9%)	9 (2%)	119 (28%)	
Gender IV (93)	10 (11%)	6 (6%)	2 (2%)	47 (50%)	
Gender V (212)	28 (13%)	8 (4%)	0 (0%)	87 (41%)	

the nonce words beginning with *i-* and *y-* and 78.5% of the nonce words ending with *-i* and *-y* were assigned to gender II.³⁷ However, when counting the Hinuq nouns in my material following the same counting principles, but looking only at gender IV since the principle for assignment to gender II is clearly only semantic, the results do not indicate a phonological basis for gender assignment. Out of the 32 nouns beginning with *i-* and *y-* only 6 nouns (i.e. about 19%) belong to gender IV, and out of the 193 nouns ending with *-i* and *-y*, only 21 nouns (i.e. about 11%) belong to the same gender. These numbers roughly correspond to the percentage of gender IV nouns among all nouns, i.e. out of the 800 nouns that served as the basis for all counts, 93 (i.e. 12%) belong to gender IV (Table 16).

To sum up, there is if at all only a weak indication for a phonological basis for gender assignment of nouns belonging to gender III-V, but it must be left open to future research whether this is due to chance or not.

There are a few borrowed nouns and two derived native nouns that contain overt gender affixes and can change their gender by changing the agreement affix. The borrowed nouns denote all human beings, so they belong either to gender I or gender II. They are from Avar and have the Avar agreement affixes of the appropriate gender, e.g. *qarta-y* 'widow' vs. *qarta-w* 'widower', *w-acʒal* 'male cousin' vs. *y-acʒal* 'female cousin', and *baħara-w* 'bridegroom' vs. *baħara-y*

³⁷ Gender II in Tsez is the result of a collapse of two genders, formerly gender II and formerly gender IV, in other words, it is the only gender in Tsez that triggers the agreement prefix *y-*.

‘bride’. The native nouns containing gender prefixes are derived with the Abstract suffix *-ti*: *-iṭiṣṭi* ‘similarity’, and *-oḷoyuṭi* ‘hardening, solidity’. These two nouns can take all agreement prefixes and have then the appropriate gender (e.g. *Ø-iṭiṣṭi* belongs to gender I, *y-iṭiṣṭi* to gender II/IV, etc.):

- (192) a. *debez Ø-ik-oho hago aši Ø-iṭi-ṣ-ṭi?*
 you.SG.DAT I-see-PRS he much I-similar-RES-ABST
 ‘Do you see that he is very similar?’
- b. *meži sedi.sed-qo b-iṭi-ṣ-ṭi diž žiqu*
 you.PL REC.OBL-AT HPL-similar-RES-ABST I.DAT today
b-eq’i-ṣ
 HPL-know-PST
 ‘Today I got to know that you are very similar to each other.’

Interestingly, I also found two nouns where the origin of the initial segment from an agreement prefix is very clear, but neither of the nouns belong to the expected gender. At least for the gender of the second noun there is an explanation at hand: complement clauses of the verb *-eq’i-* must be marked with the Abstract suffix and trigger gender V agreement in the matrix verb (in the case of local agreement, see Section 22.3).

- (193) *biša* ‘food’, V from the Infinitive of *-iṣi-* ‘eat’ (intr.)
req’inaxu ‘foreboder’, I/II from *-eq’i-* ‘know’

A further step might be testing how speakers assign gender to nonce words as has been done for Tsez by Comrie & Polinsky (1999b) and Gagliardi (2009).

4.4. Gender assignment to loan words

A short look at loan words is necessary because Hinuq contains a lot of borrowings from Persian, Arabic, Turkic, Avar, Russian, and Georgian (Section 1.2.4). However, at least Persian, Turkic, and Arabic borrowings have entered the language usually through Avar as the intermediate language. Loans may go into any of the five genders. Gender I and II contain all loans referring to rational beings. Examples for gender I are given below. All of them can also be used with the gender II prefix when referring to females (the only exceptions are the Avar loans *wacʔal* and *yacʔal*, which already contain an agreement prefix).

Loans belonging to gender I and II:

- from Persian: *halmay* ‘friend’, *wazir* ‘vizier’
- from Arabic: *šayix* ‘saint’, *muʔalim* ‘teacher’

- from Avar: *hudul* ‘friend’, *wacʔal* ‘male cousin’, *yacʔal* ‘female cousin’
- from Russian: *zamac* ‘shop assistant’, *kupec* ‘merchant’

There are also some loans that trigger human plural agreement because they refer to groups of people, e.g.

- from Arabic: *askar* ‘army’, *žamaʔat* ‘society’
- from Russian: *armi* ‘army’
- from Avar: *ʔagarʔi* ‘relatives’

Gender III includes many Arabic, Persian, and Avar loans, but also newly acquired Russian loans.

- from Georgian: *hilu* ‘bullet’
- from Persian: *dardi* ‘sorrow, apathy’, *hunar* ‘ability’
- from Arabic: *murad* ‘aim, wish’, *surat* ‘picture’, *q’alam* ‘pen’, *t’alab* ‘demand’, *amru*, ‘order’, and many religious terms
- from Avar: *čan* ‘hunt’, *ruq’a-raq’i* ‘being’, *xisi* ‘change’
- from Russian: *tok* ‘electricity’, *mašina* ‘car’, *traktur* ‘tractor’, *lak* ‘paint’

Gender IV contains also some loans.

- from Arabic: *q’urʔan* ‘Koran’, *ʔelmu* ‘science’
- from Avar: *kunta* ‘dress’, *kawu* ‘gate’, *gamač* ‘stone’, *t’ek* ‘book’
- from Russian: *paltu* ‘coat’, *gazeta* ‘newspaper’, *yašik* ‘box’

Gender V includes some loans as well:

- from Georgian: *tupi* ‘gun’
- from Arabic: *ħažat* ‘need’, *sadaq’a* ‘alms’, *hawa* ‘air’, and names for buildings
- from Avar: *as* ‘sky’, *bercinʔi* ‘beauty’, *bat’aʔi* ‘difference’
- from Russian: *istoli* ‘table’, *kino* ‘film’, *kabel* ‘wire’, *radiyo* ‘radio’, and names for buildings, e.g. *iškola* ‘school’

Corbett (1991: 75–77) gives an explanation for gender assignment to loan words in some cases, namely semantic analogy. Newly acquired words take on the gender of nouns with the same or a similar meaning that are already part of the lexicon:

(194)	Borrowing	Native noun	Gender
	from Persian: <i>diwan</i> ‘couch’	<i>muži</i> ‘bed’	III
	from Russian: <i>tort</i> ‘cake’	<i>magalu</i> ‘bread’	III
	from Avar: <i>gamač</i> ‘stone’	<i>xemu</i> ‘stone’	IV
	from Avar: <i>kawu</i> ‘gate’	<i>ac</i> ‘door’	IV
	from Avar: <i>k’al</i> ‘canyon’	<i>koro</i> ‘canyon’	III

The same can often be observed in code-switching to Russian. Russian words receive the same gender as synonymous Hinuq words:

(195)	Russian loan	Hinuq	Translation	Gender
	<i>gruša</i>	<i>geni</i>	‘pear’	III
	<i>obšestvo</i>	<i>žamaʔat</i>	‘society’	III
	<i>kaša</i>	<i>qeqe</i>	‘porridge’	V
	<i>burtina</i>	<i>xe</i>	‘fur coat’	III

However, with some loans the process of gender assignment is not yet completed; that is, they are used with two different genders by my consultants, sometimes by one and the same speaker. These nouns are *berten* (‘wedding’, gender III/V), *nahši* (‘debt’, gender III/V) and *maydan* (‘square’, gender III/IV) and some more. The following example sentences constitute the end of a story. With the first sentence where *berten* is assigned gender III the speaker wanted to finish the story (196a). But then after a short pause of a few seconds she added the final sentence and changed the gender of *berten* to V.

- (196) a. *hayši teʔ berten b-u:-n hayšu-s*
 there inside wedding III-make-UWPST she.OBL-GEN I
hayšo-ho
 he.OBL-ILOC
 ‘There inside (they) made her wedding with him.’ (N)
- b. *hayšu-z oʔra=n essu-y sayyat=no*
 she.OBL-DAT seven.OBL=and brother-ERG present=and
b-u:-n r-ežiy berten=no r-u:-n hayšu-z
 III-make-CVB V-big wedding=and V-make-UWPST she.OBL-DAT
 ‘And the seven brothers made her a present, and they made a big wedding for her.’ (N)

With recent Russian loans (or instances of code switching), a similar phenomenon can be observed. Like the other borrowings they mostly vary between genders III and V.

(197)	Russian loan	Gender	Hinuq	Gender	Translation
	<i>šapka</i>	III/IV	<i>ʔ'oq'on</i>	III	‘hat’
	<i>karzina</i>	III/V	<i>kʷid</i>	III	‘basket’
	<i>pagoda</i>	III/V	<i>hawa-buq</i>	V	‘weather’
	<i>wedra</i>	III/V			‘bucket’

Despite the examples of semantic analogy with Russian loans/code switching, there are also two apparent counterexamples.

(198)	Russian loan	Gender	Translation
	<i>balkon</i>	III	'balcony'
	<i>zdani</i>	V	'building'

	Hinuq	Gender	Translation
	<i>pardala</i>	V	'veranda'
	<i>buʁe</i>	III	'house'

But for the words given, an alternative explanation can be found. In the case of *balkon* it could be the initial /b/ that led to the assignment of gender III. The assignment of gender V to *zdani* can be explained by the fact that this gender contains many borrowed words for buildings, e.g. *bibliyateka* 'library', *institut* 'institute', and *uniwersitet* 'university'.

Chapter 5

Pronouns

5.1. Personal pronouns

The personal pronouns for speech act participants are given in Table 23 below. For the third person demonstrative pronouns are used (see Section 5.2). The personal pronouns distinguish number (singular vs. plural) and can be inflected for case. But for semantic reasons they do not take the Instrumental case (see Section 3.5.6 for the use of the Instrumental). The case formation is straightforward; therefore, Table 23 gives only partial paradigms.

Table 23. Personal pronouns

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'
Absolutive	<i>de</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>meži</i>
Ergative	<i>de</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>eli</i>	<i>meži</i>
First Genitive	<i>di</i>	<i>debe</i>	<i>eli / elu-s</i>	<i>meži / mežu-s</i>
Second Genitive	<i>di-žo</i>	<i>dew-zo</i>	<i>elo / elu-zo</i>	<i>mezo / mežu-zo</i>
Dative	<i>di-ž</i>	<i>debe-z</i>	<i>elu-z</i>	<i>mežu-z</i>
SPR-Essive	<i>di-λ'o</i>	<i>dew-λ'o</i>	<i>elu-λ'o</i>	<i>mežu-λ'o</i>
SUB-Essive	<i>di-λ</i>	<i>debe-λ</i>	<i>elu-λ</i>	<i>mežu-λ</i>
AT-Ablative1	<i>di-qos</i>	<i>dew-qos</i>	<i>elu-qos</i>	<i>mežu-qos</i>
ALOC-Lative	<i>di-der</i>	<i>dew-der</i>	<i>elu-der</i>	<i>mežu-der</i>

All four personal pronouns show the Absolutive-Ergative syncretism that also occurs in the East Tsezic languages Bezhta and Hunzib.³⁸ For the plural pronouns the syncretism even includes the First Genitive. For all other case forms these pronouns have irregular oblique stems.

The first and second person plural pronouns have two variants for the First and Second Genitive, a morphologically regular form (*elus*, *eluzo*, *mežu-s*, *mežu-zo*) and a more idiosyncratic form (*eli*, *elo*, *meži*, *mezo*) which is more frequent.

The first person singular pronoun and the first and second person plural pronouns have one oblique stem each that is used for all case forms except Absolutive and Ergative. These oblique stems are formed by changing the quality of the final vowel (/e/ → /i/ for 1SG and /i/ → /u/ for 1PL, 2PL).

³⁸ In contrast, the two West Tsezic languages Tsez and Khwarshi, which are more closely related to Hinuq than East Tsezic languages, distinguish Absolutive from Ergative: Khwarshi for all personal pronouns, and Tsez for plural pronouns.

The case inflection of the second person singular pronoun shows more irregularities. This pronoun distinguishes two suppletive oblique stems according to the form of the following case suffix. If the case suffix consist of a single consonant the stem is *debe-*, otherwise it is *dew-*. Many younger speakers pronounce this stem as *dow-* (see Section 2.2.3 for more information on vowel changes conditioned by labialization).

Hinuq has no specialized possessive pronouns. Instead, the genitive form is used as a noun dependent in the same way in which genitive noun phrases are formed. If there is no explicit nominal head then there are two strategies depending on the case marking on the grammatical role of the substantivized genitive pronoun. For the Absolutive case the pronoun in the First Genitive case must attach the suffix *-λa* that is normally used for the formation of indefinite pronouns plus the definiteness suffix *-ni* (see Section 13.1.3.2 for other examples of words formed with *-λani*). For all other case forms the appropriate case suffix simply follows the pronoun in the Second Genitive. Thus, compare the following minimal pair:

- (199) a. *diž debe-λa-ni neλ!*
 I.DAT you.SG.GEN1-MOD-ATT give.IMP
 ‘Give me yours!’
- b. *dewzo-z kampit-be toλ-o!*
 you.SG.GEN2-DAT chocolate-PL give-IMP
 ‘Give yours chocolates!’

Substantivized forms of genitive demonstrative and third person pronouns are formed in the same way.

The first and the second person plural pronouns have another distinctive form with a locative meaning: *ella* ‘in our house/place’ and *mezza* ‘in your house/place’ (200a, 200b). A similar meaning can also be conveyed by the more frequent ALOC-Essive forms *elu-de* and *mežu-de* (see Section 3.5.24 for the meaning of the ALOC-Essive). But the ALOC-Essive forms are used when referring not to one’s own house, but in a broader sense to things like the village, the town, etc. (200c). Both forms can take further spatial case suffixes, but no other case suffixes (Table 24).

- (200) a. *iyo, eli ked r-iλλo. eλ-o ella-do toxtur!*
 mother we.GEN1 daughter V-ache.PRS say-IMP with.us-DIR doctor
 ‘Mother, our daughter is ill. Call the doctor to our place!’ (N)

Table 24. Locative personal pronouns

	‘at our place’	‘at your place’
Essive	<i>ella</i>	<i>mezza</i>
First Ablative	<i>ella-s</i>	<i>mezza-s</i>
Second Ablative	<i>ella-zo</i>	<i>mezza-zo</i>
Lative	<i>ella-r</i>	<i>mezza-r</i>
Directional	<i>ella-do</i>	<i>mezza-do</i>

- b. “[*mezza goła*] *t’as=no hadu t’as=no hes*
 at.your.place be.PTCP bowl=and this bowl=and one
gom”=λen eλi-n
 be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘‘The bowl, which is in your home and this bowl are not the same.’’
 he said.’ (N)
- c. *q’ono qura ɫera eλa λeba-ɫ elu-de*
 two twenty.OBL five.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT we.OBL-ALOC
r-ayi-š zoq’w’e-s internat
 V-open-RES be-PST boarding.school(V)
 ‘In the year (19)45 a boarding school was opened in our (village).’
 (N)

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

There are three series of demonstrative pronouns; partial case paradigms of these pronouns are given in the tables of Sections 5.2.1, 5.2.2 and 5.2.3. Each series consists of two subseries denoting proximity (‘this, these’) and distality (‘that, those’). Demonstrative pronouns express gender, number, distality/proximity, givenness/aforementionedness and deixes, and they can be marked for case. All demonstrative pronouns distinguish a direct from an oblique stem. The oblique stem is used if the modified noun is not in the Absolutive case, and it is used as the base to which case suffixes are added. The case formation is completely regular for all of the pronouns; therefore, only the Ergative and the First Genitive are given.

In the Absolutive singular the demonstrative pronouns distinguish three different forms, one for gender I, a second for gender II and III, and a third for gender IV and V. For the Absolutive plural either the Absolutive singular pronouns of gender IV/V are used, or a plural pronoun is used that is formed by

adding the nominal plural suffix *-be* to the singular pronoun of gender IV/V. The short form is preferred when the pronoun modifies a noun, but the long form is also possible in this function. When the pronoun occurs alone as a third person personal pronoun, only the long form is grammatical.

The oblique stems of singular demonstrative pronouns have only two different forms, one for gender I, and another stem for all other genders. Oblique forms of singular demonstrative pronouns always contain the lateral fricative /ʃ/. Either /ʃ/ follows immediately the root (proximate pronouns) or the root extension /j/ (distal pronouns).

Oblique plural pronouns are formed by adding the suffix *-ze* to the extended root that contains the consonant indicating either proximity (/d/) or distality (/g/). The oblique stems of proximate plural forms can also be formed by adding *-ze* directly to the root.³⁹

All Absolutive proximate demonstrative pronouns have /d/ following the root. In contrast, all Absolutive singular forms of distal demonstrative pronouns from gender I, IV, and V and all Absolutive plural forms of the proximate demonstrative pronouns have /g/ following the root; only the forms for gender II and III singular are different. In the oblique singular forms only the distal pronouns contain the semivowel /j/ directly following the root.

Gender is expressed by the stem-final segment. Gender I is expressed by /o/. Gender II and III are expressed by stem-final /w/ in the Absolutive case or direct form and stem-final /u/ otherwise. Gender IV and V contain also /u/ in the oblique forms and lack a stem-final vowel in the Absolutive forms.

The second and the third subseries have short and long forms (containing *-ha*, inserted after the first syllable) with apparently no difference in meaning. Sometimes no segment is inserted, but the second vowel, which is always stressed, only undergoes lengthening. However, there are no examples of long demonstrative pronouns in my corpus and there is only one example of a long spatial adverb, derived from a long demonstrative pronoun. Therefore all other long forms in Tables 28 and 30 have been elicited.

The first series pronouns occur almost exclusively as third person personal pronouns or as definite articles, whereby the distal pronouns of this series function as default personal pronouns that are used when Russian sentences containing personal pronouns are translated. Pronouns of the second series need an aforementioned or in some way previously established object of reference. Pronouns of the third series are only used when the speaker is pointing at the object of reference.

³⁹ This suffix is probably cognate with the oblique plural suffix of nouns *-za*.

From pronouns of each series, spatial adverbs, temporal adverbs, manner adverbs and adjectives, and quantity / degree adverbs can be formed (see Section 5.2.4 for more details).

5.2.1. Pronouns with the roots *ha-* and *hay-*

Pronouns of the first series have the root *ha-* (Tables 25 and 26). These pronouns are predominantly used as third person personal pronouns, as anaphoric pronouns, and as definite articles in noun phrases. The latter function is preferred for the pronouns of this series expressing proximity, whereas the distal pronouns occur per default as personal pronouns. However, both proximate and distal pronouns fulfill both functions.

Clear examples of demonstrative usage are somewhat hard to find with pronouns of this series (203).

Table 25. Proximate pronouns with the root *ha-*

Gender	I	II	III	IV	V	Plural
Absolutive	<i>hado</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>had / had-be</i>
Oblique stem	<i>haʔo-</i>	<i>haʔu-</i>	<i>haʔu-</i>	<i>haʔu-</i>	<i>haʔu-</i>	<i>haze- / hadze-</i>
Ergative	<i>haʔo-y</i>	<i>haʔu-y</i>	<i>haʔu-y</i>	<i>haʔu-y</i>	<i>haʔu-y</i>	<i>haze-y / hadze-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>haʔo-s</i>	<i>haʔu-s</i>	<i>haʔu-s</i>	<i>haʔu-s</i>	<i>haʔu-s</i>	<i>haze-s / hadze-s</i>

Table 26. Distal pronouns with the root *hay-*

Gender	I	II	III	IV	V	Plural
Absolutive	<i>hago</i>	<i>haw</i>	<i>haw</i>	<i>hag</i>	<i>hag</i>	<i>hag / hag-be</i>
Oblique stem	<i>hayʔo-</i>	<i>hayʔu-</i>	<i>hayʔu-</i>	<i>hayʔu-</i>	<i>hayʔu-</i>	<i>hagze-</i>
Ergative	<i>hayʔo-y</i>	<i>hayʔu-y</i>	<i>hayʔu-y</i>	<i>hayʔu-y</i>	<i>hayʔu-y</i>	<i>hagze-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>hayʔo-s</i>	<i>hayʔu-s</i>	<i>hayʔu-s</i>	<i>hayʔu-s</i>	<i>hayʔu-s</i>	<i>hagze-s</i>

Proximity: Personal pronouns

- (201) a. [*q`idi=n b-iči-n*] *nartaw-be=n hado=n b-iš-a*
 down=and HPL-sit-CVB giant-PL=and he=and HPL-eat-INF
b-uʔi-š=eλ
 HPL-begin-PST=NARR
 ‘After sitting down, the giants and he began to eat.’ (N)

- b. *hagoλ'o-šid ni=qen haʔu-s taliħ*
 at.that.time-on where=at.least she.OBL-GEN1 happiness(III)
b-iqqo gom
 III-happen.ICVB be.NEG
 'From that time on, she is nowhere happy again.' (N)

Proximity: Definite articles

- (202) *hadu aqili [biša r-uw-a] y-uʔi-yo*
 this woman food(V) V-do-INF II-begin-PRS
 'The woman begins to prepare food.' (N)

Proximity: Demonstrative pronouns

- (203) [Talking during the Ramadan about traditions]
hadu buce goʔ elu-s bišun xiriyaw buce, Ramzan buce
 this month be we.OBL-GEN1 most dear month Ramadan month
 'This month is our most important month, the month of Ramadan.' (N)

Distality: Personal pronouns

- (204) a. *haw Žanat=ʔen eʔi-n haw=no y-eq'i-yo gom diž*
 she Zhanat=QUOT say-CVB she=and II-know-ICVB be.NEG I.DAT
 'Her name is Zhanat, I also do not know her.' (N)
 b. *[hagbe r-aq'e-yʔ'o] [Ø-uʔ'-oʔ'o] zok'da-ma-do*
 they NHPL-come-SIM I-be.afraid-SIM bunker-IN-DIR
Ø-uʔi-n
 I-enter-UWPST
 'When they came, (the man) got afraid and went into the bunker.'
 (N)

Distality: Definite articles/demonstrative pronouns

- (205) *hagze xexza-y [y-ašir-an y-ašir-no] toʔ-iš*
 those.OBL child.OBL.PL-ERG IV-catch-RED IV-catch-CVB give-PST
hayʔo-qo-r hag
 he.OBL-AT-LAT that
 'The children took it and gave it to him.' (S)

Often both proximate and distal pronouns of this series occur in one and the same clause:

- (206) a. *hadu gulu [hezzoq'imur b-uti-n] b-aq'-o hayto*
 this horse(III) back III-turn-CVB III-come-PRS that.OBL
obu-zo sud-a-χ'o-r
 father-GEN2 grave-OBL-SPR-LAT
 'The horse turns back to the father's grave.' (N)
- b. *[hagbe b-aq'e-yχ'or] haŋu-y biša hadur*
 they HPL-come-POST she.OBL-ERG food(V) prepared
r-u:-ho zoq'e-n
 V-do-ICVB be-UWPST
 'Until they came (home), she was preparing food.' (N)
- c. *hago exo=n hag beχ'=no haze-z*
 that herdsman=and those sheep=and they.OBL-DAT
r-aši-š-me
 NHPL-find-PST-NEG
 'They did not find the herdsman and the sheep.' (N)

5.2.2. Pronouns with the roots *hiba(ha)-* and *hiba(ha)y-*

Pronouns of the second series have the root *hiba(ha)-* (Tables 27 and 28). They have short and long forms, e.g. *hibadu* or *hibahadu* 'this' gender II and III. Lomtadze (1963: 107) gives yet another long form for these pronouns, namely *hahiba-*, but this form could not be verified.

Pronouns of this series occur only when the reference is immediately given. These are usually contexts where the object of reference is present and clearly identifiable because it is possible to point at it. This kind of pronoun usage is called "exophora" or "situational anaphora" (Kibrik 2011: 511). Another possibility of using these pronouns is when the object of reference has been directly aforementioned or is mentioned immediately later.

Proximity

Pronouns of the second series with proximative meaning are almost always modifiers of nouns. They are not used as personal pronouns in my corpus, but such a use can easily be elicited. The contexts in which these pronouns are used are clearly exophoric, i.e. the referents of the nouns to which the pronouns serve as modifiers are perceptually available for both the speaker and the addressee and already activated.

- (207) a. [A man standing in front of big sacks and explaining to another man, how he made his fortune]

Table 27. Proximate pronouns with the root *hiba(ha)-*

Gender	I	II, III	IV, V	Plural
ABS	<i>hiba(ha)do</i>	<i>hiba(ha)du</i>	<i>hiba(ha)d</i>	<i>hiba(ha)d / hiba(ha)dbe</i>
OBL	<i>hiba(ha)to-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ze- / hiba(ha)dze-</i>
ERG	<i>hiba(ha)to-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ze-y / hiba(ha)dze-y</i>
GEN1	<i>hiba(ha)to-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)tu-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ze-s / hiba(ha)dze-s</i>

 Table 28. Distal pronouns with the root *hiba(ha)y-*

Gender	I	II, III	IV, V	Plural
ABS	<i>hiba(ha)go</i>	<i>hiba(ha)w</i>	<i>hiba(ha)g</i>	<i>hiba(ha)g / hiba(ha)gbe</i>
OBL	<i>hiba(ha)yo-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-</i>	<i>hiba(ha)gze-</i>
ERG	<i>hiba(ha)yo-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-y</i>	<i>hiba(ha)gze-y</i>
GEN1	<i>hiba(ha)yo-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)ytu-s</i>	<i>hiba(ha)gze-s</i>

hale, hibad mušuk'i-be mecxer-o-s r-ič'-iš goł
 well this bag-PL money-OBL-GEN1 NHPL-fill-RES be

‘Well these sacks are filled with money.’ (N)

- b. *hoboži haytu Pat'imat-i=n ełi-yo*
 now that.OBL Patimat-ERG=and say-PRS
hiba-tu-go-r=eł lataxu ełi eli
 this.OBL-AT-LAT=NARR lataxa say we.ERG
 ‘Now (that) Patimat says, this we call lataxa.’ (N)

- c. [*diž hayi-r Ø-ił'-ayaz*] *hune es-o, de Ø-ił'i-yo. uži,*
 I.DAT there-LAT I-go-PURP way tell-IMP I I-go-PRS son(I)
[hibad hune=n r-ux-no] ...
 this way(V)=and V-take-CVB
 “‘Tell me the way to go there and I go.’ ‘Son, take this way and ...’”
 (N)

- d. [The stepmother shows a poisoned apple to the witch.]
“hibadu iši=n b-iž-o”=łen ełi-n
 this apple(III)=and III-take-IMP=QUOT say-UWPST
“haytu-z”
 she.OBL-DAT
 “‘And bring her this apple!’ (she) said.’ (N)

However, it is possible to employ them as demonstrative pronouns without a head (208).

- (208) *hiba(ha)dze-y rede b-u:-s*
 these.OBL-ERG wood(III) III-make-PST
 ‘These made wood.’

Distality

Pronouns of the second series indicating distality mostly occur as resumptive personal pronouns referring to immediately aforementioned persons and animals (209a), objects (209b), or other items (209c). Occasionally they are employed as demonstrative pronouns modifying nouns whose reference has been established in the immediately preceding context (209d).

- (209) a. *dew-de-r b-aq'er-a goł oc'eno q'ono gulu.*
 you.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT III-bring-INF be ten two horse(III)
hibagze-ł-es [debez y-eti-yo goła] ked-ł'o
 these.OBL-CONT-ABL I you.SG.DAT want-ICVB be.PTCP girl-SPR
k^wezey gor-o me!
 hand put-IMP you.SG.ERG
 ‘I will bring you 12 horses. Among them you put the hand on the girl you love!’ (N)
- b. *hay roł' zoq'w'e-ye di=łen? zoq'w'e-s, hibayłu-y=no*
 such love be-Q I.GEN I=QUOT be-PST that.OBL-ERG=and
b-²eži kumak b-u:-n b-ese behula diž
 III-big help(III) III-do-CVB III-be.probable possible I.DAT
 ‘Did I have such a love? I had. And probably this (love) helped me a lot.’ (N)
- c. *[hibago=n ełi-n] hadu ked idu-do y-ił'i-yo*
 that=and say-UWPST this girl home-DIR II-go-PRS
 ‘After saying that, the girl goes home.’ (N)
- d. [The father is telling the son about an old man.]
me Ø-ił'-a Ø-aq'-o hibayło [de ł'ere.rux-o
 you.SG I-go-INF I-must-PRS that.OBL I.ERG promise.V-ICVB
goła] rek'u-de-r
 be.PTCP man.OBL-ALOC-LAT
 ‘You must go to the man to whom I promised you.’ (N)

5.2.3. Pronouns with the roots *iza(ha)-* and *iza(ha)y-*

Pronouns of the third series have the root *iza(ha)-* (Tables 29 and 30). They can have short and long forms, e.g. *izago* or *izahago* ‘that’ gender I. These pronouns solely occur when directly pointing at some person or object, i.e. they serve only deictic functions. Thus, in narratives they occur only in direct speech contexts. In my corpus there are some examples of these pronouns in explanations of recipes and procedural texts when informants directly showed things to me.

Table 29. Proximate pronouns with the root *iza(ha)-*

Gender	I	II, III	IV, V	Plural
Absolutive	<i>iza(ha)do</i>	<i>iza(ha)du</i>	<i>iza(ha)d</i>	<i>iza(ha)d / iza(ha)d-be</i>
Oblique stem	<i>iza(ha)to-</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-</i>	<i>iza(ha)ze- / iza(ha)dze-</i>
Ergative	<i>iza(ha)to-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)ze-y / iza(ha)dze-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>iza(ha)to-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)tu-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)ze-s / iza(ha)dze-s</i>

Table 30. Distal pronouns with the root *iza(ha)y-*

Gender	I	II, III	IV, V	Plural
Absolutive	<i>iza(ha)go</i>	<i>iza(ha)w</i>	<i>iza(ha)g</i>	<i>iza(ha)g / iza(ha)g-be</i>
Oblique stem	<i>iza(ha)yto-</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-</i>	<i>iza(ha)gze-</i>
Ergative	<i>iza(ha)yto-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-y</i>	<i>iza(ha)gze-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>iza(ha)yto-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)ytu-s</i>	<i>iza(ha)gze-s</i>

Proximity

- (210) a. *obu, [eli x^wasar.b.u:-ho goła] uži hayi izado goł*
 father we resue.HPL-ICVB be.PTCP boy here this be
 ‘Father, here is the boy who saved us.’ (N)
- b. *hayi izad čur’an eser-ho dew-go de*
 here this headscarf ask-PRS you.SG.OBL-AT I.ERG
 ‘Here is the headscarf that I ask you for.’ (N)
- c. [Explaining how to make sweets and what to use]
izału-qo-r eži rocimu
 this.OBL-AT-LAT say sieve
 ‘This we call “sieve”.’ (N)

Distality

- (211) a. [The king gives the hero a new task.]
me b-eλ-a goł izaw moči
 you.SG.ERG III-plough-INF be that field(III)
 ‘You will plough that field.’ (N)
- b. [Pointing at somebody]
izayło-y aže y-oc’-iš
 that.OBL-ERG tree(IV) IV-cut-PST
 ‘He cut the tree.’

5.2.4. Derived adverbs and adjectives

Table 31 presents all adverbs and adjectives that can be derived from the demonstrative pronouns. For spatial adverbs both the proximate and the distal root can serve as the base, the derivational suffixes employed are *-di*, *-ti*, *-i*, and *-teł*.

Temporal adverbs are only derived from gender I pronouns with distal meaning by means of adding the SPR-Essive suffix, which regularly occurs in expressions denoting time points. There is no temporal adverb derived from the third series of demonstrative pronouns because it is not possible to point at some point in time (in the literal sense).

Manner adverbs with the meaning ‘so, like this/that, in this/that manner’ can be derived from both proximate and distal roots by adding the suffix *-ru*. In addition, the spatial pronouns derived with the suffixes *-di* and *-i* are also employed as manner adverbs/adjectives with the meaning ‘such’. Sometimes they have an additional suffix *-(y)u* that does not appear when they are used as spatial adverbs. Pronouns with distal meaning occur by far more frequently as manner adverbs/adjectives than pronouns with proximate meaning. The most common manner adverbs/adjectives are *hayi/hayu* and *hibayi/hibayu*.

Quantity adverbs are formed by adding the Equative enclitic *=če* to the proximate root (see Section 13.1.2.2). For examples illustrating the use of the adverbs see Chapter 10.

By adding the Emphatic enclitic *=tow* to the demonstrative pronouns or to the adverbs derived from them, the concept ‘the same’ is expressed. This use predominantly occurs with pronouns or adverbs/adjectives from the second series. For more details on the functions of the enclitic *=tow* see Section 13.1.1.2.

- (212) a. *de=n Ø-iλ’-an hibaw=tow ked-de-r*
 I=and I-go-INTFUT that=EMPH girl-ALOC-LAT
 ‘And I will go to the same girl.’ (N)

Table 31. Adverbs and adjectives derived from the roots of demonstrative pronouns

	First series <i>ha-/hay-</i>	Second series <i>hiba(ha)- / hiba(ha)y-</i>	Third series <i>iza(ha)- / iza(ha)y-</i>
Spatial adverbs	‘here’		
	<i>hadi, hateŧ, haŧi(teŧ)</i>	<i>hiba(ha)di, hiba(ha)teŧ, hiba(ha)ŧi(teŧ)</i>	<i>iza(ha)di, iza(ha)teŧ, iza(ha)ŧi(teŧ)</i>
	‘there’		
	<i>hayi, hayteŧ, hayŧi(teŧ)</i>	<i>hiba(ha)yi, hiba(ha)yteŧ, hiba(ha)yŧi(teŧ)</i>	<i>iza(ha)yi, iza(ha)yteŧ, iza(ha)yŧi(teŧ)</i>
Temporal adverbs	<i>hagoλ’o</i>	<i>hibagoλ’o</i>	#
Manner adverbs / adjectives	‘like this’		
	<i>hadiru</i>	<i>hiba(ha)diru</i>	<i>iza(ha)diru</i>
	‘like that’		
	<i>hayru</i>	<i>hiba(ha)yru</i>	<i>iza(ha)yru</i>
	‘such’		
	<i>hadi / hadiyu</i>	<i>hiba(ha)di / hiba(ha)diyu</i>	<i>iza(ha)di / iza(ha)diyu</i>
	‘such’		
	<i>hayi / hayu</i>	<i>hiba(ha)y / hiba(ha)yu</i>	<i>iza(ha)y / iza(ha)yu</i>
Quantity adverbs	<i>hače</i>	<i>hiba(ha)če</i>	<i>iza(ha)če</i>

- b. *somoraxdi hibay=tow moλa-y=no Ø-uxxo zoq’we-s*
 often there=EMPH sleep.OBL-ERG=and I-take.ICVB be-PST
de
 I

‘Often I (masc.) was taken away from the sleep there in that same place.’ (N)

- c. *hoboži haze-y eλi-n “hibayru=tow q’ono yašik’*
 now they.OBL-ERG say-UWPST like.that=EMPH two box(IV)
y-aq’e”=λen eλi-n
 IV-come=QUOT say-CVB

‘Now they said (to her), “In the same manner two boxes will come.”’
 (N)

5.3. Reflexive pronouns

In Hinuq, specialized reflexive pronouns only exist for third person singular and plural. Their use is obligatory when coreference with a controller is intended. For first and second person pronouns that are coreferential with the controller, ordinary personal pronouns are used, e.g.

- (213) *de diž y-ik-o c'ikay-ma*
 I I.DAT II-see-PRS mirror-IN
 'I (fem.) see myself in the mirror.'

Hinuq has simple (Table 32) and reduplicated (Table 33) reflexive pronouns. The simple reflexive pronouns and the reduplicated reflexive pronouns differ in their anaphoric properties. The syntax of reflexive constructions is analyzed in Section 24.1.

The Emphatic enclitic =*tow* often occurs on simple and reduplicated reflexive pronouns as well as on demonstrative and personal pronouns when they are used in reflexive constructions (214), (216a). Occasionally it influences the syntax of reflexive constructions, but mostly it has only an emphatic function (e.g. in (214) *zoditow* can be replaced by *zodi* without changing the grammaticality of the sentence).

- (214) *nartaw-za-y zodi=tow xuk'=no*
 giant-OBL.PL-ERG REFL.PL.GEN1=EMPH dipper(V)=and
r-ič'-iš=eλ
 V-fill-PST=NARR
 'The giants also filled their own dipper.' (N)

5.3.1. Simple reflexive pronouns

These pronouns distinguish singular and plural, but not gender. They have an oblique stem to which case suffixes are added. The oblique stem of the singular reflexive pronoun is *zon*, and for the plural reflexive pronoun it is *zodu*. The reflexive plural pronoun has only one form for the Absolutive, the Ergative, and the First Genitive. The same syncretism and the same change of the stem-final vowel from /i/ in the Absolutive, Ergative, and First Genitive to /u/ in all other cases occurs with the first and second person plural pronouns (Section 5.1). In addition, the reflexive pronoun has two forms for the Second Genitive; one is based on the Absolutive, Ergative, and the First Genitive, the other on the oblique stem.

Table 32. Simple reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	<i>zo</i>	<i>zodi</i>
Ergative	<i>zon-i</i>	<i>zodi</i>
First Genitive	<i>zon-es</i>	<i>zodi</i>
Second Genitive	<i>zon-zo</i>	<i>zodi-žo, zodu-zo</i>
Dative	<i>zon-ez</i>	<i>zodu-z</i>
AT-Essive	<i>zon-qo</i>	<i>zodu-qo</i>
ALOC-Essive	<i>zon-de</i>	<i>zodu-de</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>zon-eł</i>	<i>zodu-ł</i>

- (215) a. *sasaqo-r zo q'idi y-ot'-no. hagbe*
 in.the.morning-LAT REFL.SG down II-lay-UWPST they
zon-zo tax-mo-ł'o b-ot'-er-no
 REFL.SG.OBL-GEN2 bed-OBL-SPR HPL-lay-CAUS-UWPST
 'Until the morning she slept on the ground, while (she) made them
 sleep in her bed.' (N)
- b. *hezzo hału-z bič'i r-iqqo [zo*
 then she.OBL-DAT understanding V-happen.PRS REFL.SG
qorol-a-y y-ał'ir-iš-ti] [zon-de-r
 widow-OBL-ERG II-betray-RES-ABST REFL.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT
xodo t'ok'aw Ø-aq'e-me-ł'os-ti]
 husband(I) anymore I-come-NEG-HAB-ABST
 'Then she understands that the widow had betrayed her and that her
 husband would not come back to her anymore.' (N)
- c. *gulu-be=n r-uti-yo zodi-žo*
 horse-PL=and NHPL-turn-PRS REFL.PL-GEN2
surat-mo-ł'o-r
 image-OBL-SPR-LAT
 'And the horses turn back in their image (as horses).' (N)
- d. *[hagbe zodu-zo wat'an-mo-ł'o-do=n*
 they REFL.PL.OBL-GEN2 homeland-OBL-SPR-DIR=and
kekir-no] eli nox-a b-aq'e-s č'untaraw elo
 bring-CVB we come-INF HPL-must-PST destroyed we.GEN2
ałaza-r
 village.PL.IN-LAT

‘They were sent to their homeland, and we had to go back to our destroyed villages.’ (N)

5.3.2. Reduplicated reflexive pronouns

These pronouns are formed by repeating or reduplicating the simple reflexive pronouns. The copy precedes the base. The copy is often, but not always, marked with the Ergative case (Table 33). The case suffix of the copy is often determined by the case of the controller, which is frequently the Ergative (see Section 24.1.2.4 for more information). The base that takes the case form appropriate to the function of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun. A similar pattern occurs with reciprocal pronouns (5.4).

Table 33. Reduplicated reflexive pronouns

	Singular	Plural
Absolutive	<i>zoni-zo</i>	<i>zodi-zodi</i>
Ergative	#	#
First Genitive	<i>zoni-zon-es</i>	<i>zodi-zodi</i>
Second Genitive	<i>zoni-zon-zo</i>	<i>zodi-zodi-žo, zodu-zodu-zo</i>
Dative	<i>zoni-zon-ez</i>	<i>zodi-zodu-z</i>
AT-Essive	<i>zoni-zon-qo</i>	<i>zodi-zodu-qo</i>
ALOC-Essive	<i>zoni-zon-de</i>	<i>zodi-zodu-de</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>zoni-zon-eł</i>	<i>zodi-zodu-ł</i>

- (216) a. [*zo=tow* *Ø-uhe-ył'or hayłoy*] *zoni.zones*
 REFL.SG=EMPH I-die-POST he.ERG RED.REFL.SG.GEN1
sud=no *r-ič'i-n* ...
 grave(V)=and V-dig-CVB
 ‘Before he died he dug his own grave, ...’ (N)
- b. *hoboži hagbe čeq-i* *b-iči-yo* *zoq'e-n* *xižina=n*
 now they forest-IN HPL-be-ICVB be-UWPST hut(V)=and
r-u:n *zodi.zodu-z=če]*
 V-make-CVB RED.REFL.PL.OBL-DAT=EQ
 ‘They were living in the forest, having made a hut for themselves.’
 (N)

- c. *hezzo žiw.žiw xozyaystwo-y baybiki b-u:s* [[*moči-be=n*
then every household-ERG start(III) III-make-PST place-PL=and
r-ux-no] *zodi.zodi buλe-be r-uw-ayaz]*
NHPL-take-CVB RED.REFL.PL.GEN I house-PL NHPL-make-PURP
‘Then every household began to occupy a space in order to build
their houses.’ (N)

If the verb in a reflexive construction belongs to the class of experiencer verbs, another kind of reduplication is possible whereby the first pronoun takes the Dative case and the second pronoun the Absolutive, e.g.

- (217) *Madina-z zone-z zo y-ike-s c’ikay-ma*
Madina-DAT REFL.SG.OBL-DAT REFL.SG II-see-PST mirror-IN
‘Madina saw herself in the mirror.’

5.4. Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns are formed from the numeral ‘one’ by means of reduplication, i.e. they are composed of two words: the numeral ‘one’ taking the case suffix of the controller (mostly Ergative because often the controller is in the Ergative) plus the numeral ‘one’ in the appropriate case (cf. Table 34). However, the first numeral ‘one’ may also take other case suffixes (Section 24.2). They lack a form expressing the Ergative case.

Table 34. Reciprocal pronouns

	‘each other’
Absolutive	<i>sedi-hes</i>
Ergative	#
First Genitive	<i>sedi-sed-es</i>
Second Genitive	<i>sedi-sed-zo</i>
Dative	<i>sedi-sed-ez</i>
AT-Essive	<i>sedi-sed-qo</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>sedi-sed-eł</i>

- (218) a. *c’ox-o hagbe sedi.sed-qo*
enter-PRS they REC.OBL-AT
‘They bump into each other.’ (N)

- b. *hagoλ'o=n hibayru=tow sedi.sed-de-r ʔagarʔi*
 at.that.time=and like.that=EMPH REC.OBL-ALOC-LAT relatives
ʔagarʔi-de-r hudul halmayʔi-de-r
 relatives-ALOC-LAT friend friend-ABST-ALOC-LAT
b-iλ'an=no b-iλ'i-n ...
 HPL-go-RED=and HPL-go-CVB
 'And in that way at that time (we) go to each other, relatives go to
 relative, friends go to friends, ...' (N)

Reciprocal pronouns can be used without any overt coreferential antecedent. In this case they can be translated with 'mutual, reciprocal' (219). More information on the syntax of reciprocal constructions is given in Section 24.2.

- (219) *sedi.sed-es uwaʒenie*
 REC.OBL-GEN1 respect
 'mutual respect' (N)

5.5. Interrogative pronouns and pro-adverbs

5.5.1. Introduction

Hinuq has eleven interrogative pronouns and pro-adverbs of which eight are morphologically simple and three are complex:

- (220) *tu* 'who' *deče* 'how much' *dessu* 'which'
se 'what' *somo* 'how many' *deru* 'how'
ni 'where' *somorax* 'how many times' *sira* 'why'
nete 'when' *nišʕa* 'which'

Only four of the interrogative words can be substantivized with an essentially complete case paradigm. These pronouns are *tu* 'who', *se* 'what', *somo* 'how many', and *nišʕa* 'which'. The other pronouns either do not take case suffixes at all or take only a restricted number of case suffixes from the spatial paradigm.

Interrogative pronouns and pro-adverbs, are as a rule, used in interrogative clauses. However, occasionally they also occur in complement clauses (231b) or in concessive clauses where their meaning is more like that of free choice pronouns, e.g.

- (221) a. *haze-t-ezo* [...] *Ø-exna:-ho zoq'e-n* [*ni-r*
 they.OBL-CONT-ABL2 I-go-ICVB be-UWPST where-LAT
b-iλ'i-yon] [*se b-iλ'i-yon]*
 HPL-go-CONC what HPL-go-CONC

‘He went after them, wherever they went.’ (N)

- b. [*deče iyo gerda:-yono*] *yoXu.koka-y axxa-r*
 how.much mother scold-CONC cinderello-ERG ear.IN-LAT
r-iži-r-ho zoq^we-n gom
 V-take-CAUS-ICVB be-CVB be.NEG

‘How ever much the mother scolded, Cinderello did not listen.’ (N)

5.5.2. *tu* ‘who’ and *se* ‘what’

The interrogative pronoun *tu* ‘who’ refers to nouns of gender I and II in the singular and in the plural, that is broadly speaking, to humans (222a). The second interrogative pronoun *se* ‘what’, which has a suppletive oblique stem, refers to all other nouns (222b). For some of the core grammatical cases the pronouns have two different forms. The form given first is normally the more irregular but more frequent form.

Table 35. The interrogative pronouns *tu* ‘who’ and *se* ‘what’

	‘who’	‘what’
Absolutive	<i>tu</i>	<i>se</i>
Ergative	<i>tu-y</i>	<i>tin-i / ti-mo-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>ti / tu-s</i>	<i>tin-es / ti-mo-s</i>
Second Genitive	<i>ti-žo / tu-zo</i>	<i>tin-zo / ti-mo-zo</i>
Dative	<i>tu-z</i>	<i>tin-ez / ti-mo-z</i>
Instrumental	# ⁴⁰	<i>ti-mo-d</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>tu-t</i>	<i>ti-mo-t</i>
AT-Essive	<i>tu-qo</i>	<i>tin-qo / ti-mo-qo</i>

- (222) a. *Ahmad=no, haw hayto-de tu zoq^we-y=čo?*
 Akhmat=and that he.OBL-ALOC who be-Q=EMPH
 ‘Akhmat and who was that (fem.) with him?’ (N)
- b. [*tinqo-r meži lataxu eXi-X’os*] *diž=no*
 what.AT-LAT you.PL.ERG lataxa say-HAB I.DAT=and
r-eq^wi-yo gom
 V-know-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘I do not know what you call lataxa.’ (N)

⁴⁰ Nouns referring to humans cannot take the Instrumental case.

The pronoun *se* ‘what’ can also be used adjectivally with the meaning ‘which, what kind of’. In this function it is essentially synonymous with *dessu* (223a). Its Dative form *ținez / țimoz* ‘what for’ has approximately the same meaning as the interrogative pro-adverb *sira* ‘why’ (223b).

- (223) a. *obu-y devez {se / dessu} su?al neλ-i, uži es-o!*
 father-ERG you.SG.DAT what / which question give-Q boy tell-IMP
 ‘Boy, tell (me), which question did my father ask you?’ (N)
- b. *țin-ez eli hayło-zo sud-a-z axranți*
 what.OBL-DAT we.ERG he.OBL-GEN2 grave-OBL-DAT guard(V)
r-u:-ho?
 V-do-PRS
 ‘Why (lit. for what) do we guard at his grave?’ (N)

5.5.3. *ni* ‘where’

The interrogative pro-adverb *ni* ‘where’ takes orientational suffixes like other spatial adverbs, but takes no other case suffixes, i.e. ABL1 *ni-š*, ABL2 *ni-žo*, LAT *ni-r*, DIR *ni-do*. The meanings of the First and Second Ablative forms are similar though not identical. Both can be translated as ‘from where’, but the Second Ablative form carries an additional connotation because it requests including in the answer not only the starting place but also by which way, along which street, bridge, through which village, etc. the motion takes place (see Section 3.5.7 for the functions of the Second Ablative).

- (224) a. *haze-y ?aža?ibți r-u:-ho [ni-š hało-z*
 they.OBL-ERG wonder(V) V-do-PRS where-ABL1 he.OBL-DAT
hače beλ’ r-aši-š=λen]
 so.much sheep(V) V-get-PST=QUOT
 ‘They are wondering from where he got so many sheep.’ (N)
- b. *ni-do haw b-iλ ‘i:?*
 where-DIR that III-go.Q
 ‘Where did (the pears) go?’ (S)

5.5.4. *nete* ‘when’

The interrogative pro-adverb *nete* ‘when’ can take some orientational suffixes: ABL1 *nete-s*, ABL2 *nete-zo*, and LAT *nete-r*.

- (225) a. *debez* [de Ø-*uhe-λ*'os=no] Ø-*eq*'i=*λ*en *nete de Ø-uh-o*?
 you.SG.DAT I I-die-HAB=and I-know=QUOT when I I-die-PRS
 'Do you know about my death, when will I die?' (N)
- b. *nete-s kak r-u:ho me*?
 when-ABL1 prayer(V) V-do-PRS you.SG.ERG
 'Which prayer (lit. 'the prayer of which time') are you saying?'

5.5.5. *deče* 'how much'

The pro-form *deče* 'how much, how long' is never used with count nouns; it is only used with mass nouns or without nouns (226a). It occurs not only in interrogative clauses, but also in declarative clauses with the meaning 'so much, this much' (226b). This pro-form is morphologically complex consisting of the first part *de-*, of unknown origin, plus the Equative enclitic =*če*.⁴¹ In addition, it can be marked with the SPR-Essive case (*dečeyaλ'o*) or with the ILOC-Lative (*dečeyahor*), and then it means 'for how much', referring to prices.

- (226) a. *me deče zaman-a-ł t'ot'r-i ʔarab ʔelmu*?
 you.SG.ERG how.much time-OBL-CONT study-Q Arabic science
 'For how much time did you study the Islam religion?' (lit. 'Arabic science') (N)
- b. "*waħ me deče kekku rek'we zoq'we-n*"=*λ*en
 wow you.SG how.much light man be-UWPST=QUOT
 "'Wow, what a light person you were.'" he said. ' (N)

5.5.6. *somo* 'how many' and *somorax* 'how many times'

The interrogative pro-form *somo* 'how many' is used with countable nouns in the singular in the same way as cardinal numerals (227a). It behaves like an adjective: when the head noun is not in the Absolutive case then the oblique stem formed with the marker *-ra*, which is also used for the oblique stem of numerals, must be used (227b). It can also be substantivized and take further case suffixes that are added to the oblique stem (227c), e.g. ERG *somora-y*, GEN1 *somora-s*, GEN2 *somora-zo*, DAT *somora-z*, AT-Essive *somora-*qo**, etc. In addition, there is also an ordinal numeral form *somo eλa* (227d), formed with the particle *eλa* (lit.

⁴¹ There are three manner adverbs containing the same enclitic =*če*. These adverbs have the meaning 'so much, this much'. They cannot occur in interrogative clauses (see Table 31 above).

‘say.INF’). This particle is regularly used for the formation of ordinal numerals (Section 12.5).

- (227) a. *somo rek^we uher-i eli hayto xan-i?*
 how.many man kill-Q we.GEN1 that.OBL khan-ERG
 ‘How many of our people did the khan kill?’ (N)
- b. *somo-ra moča:r de Ø-aq’e-y?*
 how.many-OBL place.IN-LAT I I-come-Q
 ‘To how many places I (masc.) have gone?’
- c. *somo-ra-s razmer rorqozo-s?*
 how.much-OBL-GEN1 size shoe.OBL-GEN1
 ‘Of which size are the shoes?’
- d. *somo eħa t’ek me y-ux-i? oħno eħa*
 how.much ORD book(IV) you.SG.ERG IV-take-Q seven ORD
 ‘What number book did you take? The seventh.’

On the base of the above pro-adjective *somo*, another pro-form *somorax* ‘how many times’ can be derived by adding the multiplicative suffix *-x* to the oblique stem of *somo* (228).

- (228) *somorax devez iyo y-ike-y?*
 how.many.times you.SG.DAT mother(II) II-see-Q
 ‘How many times did you see mother?’

5.5.7. *nišħa* ‘which’

The pro-adjective *nišħa* ‘which’ can only be used when the referent of the noun phrase to which it refers is present in the speech context, e.g. in a dialog about the properties of the speech act participants (229a). If there is no overt noun phrase over which *nišħa* takes scope, then it refers to everyone present (229b). If a reference to the speech situation is implausible, then the use of *nišħa* is impossible (229c). It can be fully declined, e.g. ERG *nišħa-y*, GEN1 *nišħa-s*, GEN2 *nišħa-zo*, DAT *nišħa-z*, etc. In some contexts *nišħa* functions like the pro-form *dessu* ‘which’ and can be replaced by it (229a).

- (229) a. *debe ižey-be {nišħa / dessu} ħ’er-mo-s goł?*
 you.SG.GEN1 eye-PL which / which color-OBL-GEN1 be
 ‘Which color are your eyes?’

- b. *nišła-y t'ek t'ot'r-i?*
 which-ERG book read-Q
 'Who (of the present people) read the book?'
- c. **nišła-y cax-i "Vojna i mir"?*
 which-ERG write-Q War and peace
 (Who (of the present people) wrote "War and peace"?)

5.5.8. *dessu* 'which'

There is another interrogative pro-form with a similar meaning: *dessu* 'which, what kind of'. This word cannot be substantivized. It can be replaced by *nišła* whenever an interpretation with reference to the speech situation is possible (230a, but not otherwise (230b)).

- (230) a. *{dessu / nišła} hago Ø-²ežinnu rek'^we goł?*
 which / which that old man(1) be
 'Which old man?' (i.e. of the present old men)
- b. *hayło-s {dessu / *nišła} humer goł?*
 he.OBL-GEN1 which / *which face be
 'What is his face?' (i.e. What does his face look like?) (N)

5.5.9. *sira* 'why' and *deru* 'how'

Hinuq has two more pro-adverbs: *sira* 'why' (231a) and *deru* 'how' (231b). The first of them, *sira*, does not take case suffixes. The second one has a Second Genitive/Ablative form *deru-zo* with essentially the same meaning as *deru* (231c). The pro-adverb *deru* is morphologically complex: it consists of the first part *de-* that occurs also in the pro-form *deče* 'how much', described above, plus the suffix *-ru*. This suffix is also part of a number of manner adverbs formed from demonstrative pronouns (see Table 31 above).

- (231) a. *baru-go-r ełi-yo "me sira nox-i-me"=λen*
 wife-AT-LAT say-PRS you.SG why come-Q-NEG=QUOT
 '(He) says to (his) wife "Why did you not come?"' (N)
- b. *[deru haze kedbi-ža-z zo Ø-eti-λ'os-łi]*
 how these.OBL girl.PL-OBL.PL-DAT REFL.SG I-want-HAB-ABST
hayło-z r-eq'i-yo zoq'e-n gom
 he.OBL-DAT V-know-ICVB be-CVB be.NEG
 'He does not know how the daughters love him.' (N)

- c. “Ø-iλ'i [dewzo ked-λ'o-r Ø-ez-ayaz], Ø-iλ'i”=λen
 I-go you.SG.GEN2 girl-SPR-LAT I-look-PURP I-go=QUOT
 eλi-n “deruzo goł haw”=λen
 say-CVB how be she=QUOT
 “‘Go, look at your daughter, how she is’”, (she) said.’ (said to a man)
 (N)

5.6. Indefinite pronouns

5.6.1. Introduction

Hinuq has five series of indefinite pronouns: two series of ordinary indefinite pronouns and one series each of free-choice, specific, and negative indefinite pronouns. An overview of the pronouns from all five series in the Absolutive case is given in Table 36. As can be seen in this table, indefinite pronouns are based on interrogative pronouns; almost all interrogatives allow the formation of all indefinite pronouns. The only exception is *sira* ‘why’ that derives only both series of ordinary indefinite pro-forms.

The formation of all pronouns in Table 36 is straightforward by adding the appropriate enclitics or, in the case of the free-choice pronouns, a converb to the interrogative pronouns. Case suffixes are always directly added to the interrogative pronouns on which the indefinite pronouns are based; only then the various enclitics follow. Examples of partial paradigms are given in the following section (5.6.2) on ordinary indefinite pronouns. The case formation of all other pronouns functions alike and is not illustrated with separate tables.

Despite the transparent morphological make-up, the meaning of indefinite pronouns is not always completely predictable from the meaning of the interrogative pronoun and the attached enclitic. Therefore, the meanings of all pronouns are given separately in the following sections.

5.6.2. Ordinary indefinite pronouns

There are two series of indefinite pronouns that seem to be roughly synonymous. The first series is formed by adding the indefinite suffix *-λa* to the interrogative pronoun. The pronouns of this series and their respective meanings are:

⁴² The pronoun *se* has an alternative variant *so* which is used for the formatino of some indefinite pronouns, but not in questions as a plain interrogative pronoun.

⁴³ The form *siraqen* exists, but not with the meaning of a negative indefinite pronoun. It can be used in elliptical answers, e.g. *Sira?* ‘Why?’ - *Siraqen!* ‘Therefore!’

Table 36. Indefinite pronouns

Interrogative pronoun	Translation	Indefinite	Indefinite	Indefinite	Universal	Negative	Free choice
<i>tu</i>	'who'	<i>tu-λa</i>	<i>tu-di</i>	<i>tu-n</i>	<i>tu=qen</i>	<i>tu-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>se</i> ⁴²	'what'	<i>se-λa</i>	<i>se-di</i>	<i>so-n</i>	<i>se=qen</i>	<i>se/so-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>ni</i>	'where'	<i>ni-λa</i>	<i>ni-di</i>	<i>ni-n</i>	<i>ni=qen</i>	<i>ni-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>nete</i>	'when'	<i>nete-λa</i>	<i>nete-di</i>	<i>nete-n</i>	<i>nete=qen</i>	<i>nete-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>deče</i>	'how much'	<i>deče-λa</i>	<i>deče-di</i>	<i>deče-n</i>	<i>deče=qen</i>	<i>deče-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>somo</i>	'how many'	<i>somo-λa</i>	<i>somo-di</i>	<i>somo-n</i>	<i>somo=qen</i>	<i>somo-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>somorax</i>	'how many times'	<i>somorax-λa</i>	<i>somorax-di</i>	<i>somorax-no</i>	<i>somorax=qen</i>	<i>somorax-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>deru</i>	'how'	<i>deru-λa</i>	<i>deru-di</i>	<i>deru-n</i>	<i>deru=qen</i>	<i>deru-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>sira</i>	'why'	<i>sira-λa</i>	<i>sira-di</i>	#	# ⁴³	#	
<i>nišλa</i>	'which'	<i>nišλa-λa</i>	<i>nišλa-di</i>	<i>nišλa-n</i>	<i>nišλa=qen</i>	<i>nišλa-$iqon(o)$</i>	
<i>dessu</i>	'which'	<i>dessu-λa</i>	<i>dessu-di</i>	<i>dessu-n</i>	<i>dessu=qen</i>	<i>dessu-$iqon(o)$</i>	

- (232) *ɬu-ɬa* ‘somebody’ *somorax-ɬa* ‘often’
se-ɬa ‘something’ *deru-ɬa* ‘somehow’
ni-ɬa ‘somewhere’ *sira-ɬa* ‘for some reason’
nete-ɬa ‘some time’ *nišɬa-ɬa* ‘some sort’
deče-ɬa ‘some’ *dessu-ɬa* ‘some sort’
somo-ɬa ‘some’
- (233) a. *dessu-ɬa yašik'-be, deru-ɬa me eɬi-yo?*
 which-INDEF box-PL how-INDEF you.SG.ERG say-PRS
 ‘Some boxes, how do you say?’ (N)
- b. *ʔali eɬi-š “zek obu ni-do-ɬa Ø-iɬ 'i-ɬ 'os*
 Ali say-PST tomorrow father where-DIR-INDEF I-go-HAB
goɬ”=ɬen
 be=QUOT
 ‘Ali said that tomorrow father will go somewhere.’
- c. *nišɬa-s-ɬa axxa r-et'er-no*
 which-GEN1-INDEF ear(V) V-rip-UWPST
 ‘The ear of someone (e.g. cow, sheep) has been ripped.’

If the pronoun has oblique stem markers and/or case markers, then the enclitic follows these markers (233b, 233c). But not all pronouns can be substantivized and take case forms. Table 37 illustrates some paradigms of substantivized indefinite pronouns. Note that for the pronouns with the meaning ‘somebody’ and ‘something’ only those forms are given that are based on the more regular oblique stems of the interrogative pronouns although the other oblique stems can also function as the base (e.g. *ɬu-y-ɬa* vs. *ɬi-ɬa* ‘somebody.ERG’).

Table 37. Case paradigms of some indefinite pronouns

	‘somebody’	‘something’	‘somewhere’	‘somehow’	‘some (sort)’
ABS	<i>ɬu-ɬa</i>	<i>se-ɬa</i>	<i>ni-ɬa</i>	<i>deru-ɬa</i>	<i>nišɬa-ɬa</i>
ERG	<i>ɬu-y-ɬa</i>	<i>ɬin-i-ɬa</i>	#	#	<i>nišɬa-y-ɬa</i>
GEN1	<i>ɬu-s-ɬa</i>	<i>ɬin-es-ɬa</i>	<i>ni-š-ɬa</i>	#	<i>nišɬa-s-ɬa</i>
GEN2	<i>ɬu-zo-ɬa</i>	<i>ɬin-zo-ɬa</i>	<i>ni-žo-ɬa</i>	<i>deru-zo-ɬa</i>	<i>nišɬa-zo-ɬa</i>
DAT	<i>ɬu-z-ɬa</i>	<i>ɬin-ez-ɬa</i>	#	#	<i>nišɬa-z-ɬa</i>
AT/DIR	<i>ɬu-qo-ɬa</i>	<i>ɬin-qo-ɬa</i>	<i>ni-do-ɬa</i>	#	<i>nišɬa-qo-ɬa</i>

The indefinite suffix *-ɬa* can also be added to other parts of speech such as adverbs, personal pronouns, or nouns yielding always a kind of indefinite meaning. In addition, in combination with *-ni* it is used to form attributives (see Sec-

tion 13.1.3.2 for more details on the functions of *-λa*). There is also an adjective *hesλa* ‘other’ formed from the numeral ‘one’ *hes* and the indefinite suffix *-λa*.

Hinuq has a second series of indefinite pronouns formed by means of the suffix *-di*. This suffix is only used for the formation of indefinite pronouns. It does not serve any other function. According to my informants, there is no difference in meaning between pronouns of the *λa*-series and pronouns of the *di*-series, therefore the latter are not listed here separately. As usual, oblique and/or case markers added to these pronouns precede the indefinite marker *-di* (234b).

- (234) a. *ni-di* *ʒarabustan pačaliq-eł, hibay ni se moča:*
 where-INDEF Arabia state-CONT there where what place.IN
r-eq'i-yo gom
 V-know-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘Somewhere in the Arabic state, where, in which place, I don’t know.’
 (N)
- b. *somora-di* *λeba-λ'o-zo* *eli* *y-eg^wennu*
 some.OBL-INDEF year.OBL-SPR-ABL2 we.GEN1 II-small
ked y-ič-a goł bercinaw
 daughter(II) II-be-INF be beautiful
 ‘In some years our small daughter will be beautiful.’

One of the indefinite pronouns of the second series, *somo-ra-x-di* ‘often, some times’ (how.much-OBL-MULT-INDEF) that is formed with this suffix has been lexicalized into a temporal adverb (Section 10.3.8).

Both series of ordinary indefinite pronouns occur not only in declarative clauses, but also in conditional and interrogative clauses (235a, 235b).

- (235) a. *{tu-y-di / tu-y-λa}* *dew-qo* *eser-o*
 who-ERG-INDEF / who-ERG-INDEF you.SG.OBL-AT ask-COND
žawab toλ-o!
 answer give-IMP
 ‘If somebody asks you, answer!’
- b. *{tu-λa / tu-di}* *Ø-aq'e-ye?*
 who-INDEF / who-INDEF I-come-Q
 ‘Did somebody come?’

5.6.3. Negative indefinite pronouns

Negative indefinite pronouns are derived from the interrogative pronouns by means of the enclitic *=qen*. This enclitic does not have a negative meaning per

se. In affirmative clauses it means ‘at least’ or ‘even’ (see Section 13.1.3.1 for a detailed description of =*qen*). If =*qen* is used for the formation of negative indefinite pronouns, then the clauses containing these pronouns must be headed by a negated verb. The following negative indefinite pronouns occur:

(236)	<i>ɬu=qen</i>	‘nobody’	<i>somo=qen</i>	‘nothing’
	<i>so=qen</i>	‘nothing’	<i>somorax=qen</i>	‘no times’
	<i>ni=qen</i>	‘nowhere’	<i>deru=qen</i>	‘no manner’
	<i>nete=qen</i>	‘never’	<i>nišɬa=qen</i>	‘no, none’
	<i>deče=qen</i>	‘not at all’	<i>dessu=qen</i>	‘no, none’

- (237) “*Hinuq b-iɬi žamaʔat ni=qen gom*”=ɬen
 Hinuq HPL-similar society(HPL) where=at.least be.NEG=QUOT
eɬi-n
 say-CVB
 ‘‘Nowhere is a society like the one in Hinuq.’ they say.’ (N)

Oblique stem and/or case affixes are added to the interrogative pronouns before =*qen* is attached (238a-238c).

- (238) a. *ɬu-z=qen [Ø-eg^we-n Ø-ič-a] r-eti-yo*
 who-DAT=at.least I-lose-CVB I-be-INF V-want-ICVB
zoq^we-s-me=eɬ
 be-PST-NEG=NARR
 ‘Nobody wanted to lose.’ (N)
- b. “*[deče t’ot’er-on] diž q’urʔan ħadis-mo-s=no*
 how.much read-CONC I.DAT Koran Hadith-OBL-GEN1=and
ɬimo-s=qen hes roži r-eq’i-yo
 what.OBL-GEN1=at.least one word(V) V-know-ICVB
gom”=ɬen *eɬi-yo*
 be.NEG=QUOT say-PRS
 ‘‘How much I read, from the Koran, from the Hadith, I do not re-
 member anything, not even one word.’’ he says.’ (N)
- c. *hago ħimo-qo=qen Ø-uɬɬo gom*
 he what.OBL-AT=at.least I-fear.ICVB be.NEG
 ‘He does not fear anything.’

One clause may contain more than one negative indefinite pronoun.

- (239) *ɬu-y=qen hes=qen žo r-u:s-me*
 who-ERG=at.least one=at.least thing(V) V-do-PST-NEG
 ‘Nobody did anything.’

In addition to the negative indefinite pronouns listed in Table 36, Hinuq has two negative pro-forms that are built from the numeral ‘one’: *sanqen* ‘not even once’ is formed from the multiplicative numeral *san* ‘once’ (240a); and *hesqen* ‘no, no one’ is directly formed from *hes* ‘one’ (239), (240b). The latter pro-form *hesqen* can be used as a modifier for various nouns, e.g. *hesqen rek* ‘^we nobody’. In this function it occurs in its oblique form if the head noun is not in the Absolutive case (240d). It can also take case suffixes (240d) that are added to the oblique stem.

- (240) a. *oʔo, diž hago san=qen Ø-ike-s gom*
 no I.DAT he once=at.least I-see-RES be.NEG
 ‘No, I did not see him (even) once.’
- b. *kami b-iq-o hes=qen muh me*
 be.lacking III-happen-COND one=at.least grain(III) you.SG
Ø-uher-a goł de
 I-kill-INF be I.ERG
 ‘If even one grain is lacking, I will kill you (masc.).’ (N)
- c. *me seda=qen rek’u-z Ø-eq’-a gom*
 you.SG one.OBL=at.least man.OBL-DAT I-know-INF be.NEG
 ‘Nobody will recognize you (masc.).’ (N)
- d. *sed-qo=qen roži keki-yo gom*
 one.OBL-AT=at.least word let-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘Nobody can say a word.’ (N)

The enclitic *=qen* occurs not only on interrogative pronouns and numerals, but also very frequently on various other parts of speech like nouns (241a), adverbs (241b), or verbs (241c). Here again the words that take the enclitic must appear in a clause containing a negated verb in order to yield a negative meaning.

- (241) a. *baru-y roži=qen r-iy-no gom*
 wife-ERG word(V)=at.least V-bring.out-CVB be.NEG
 ‘The wife did not say a word.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži nagañ=qen t’ek λex^we-n y-ese-me*
 now rarely=at.least book(IV) remain-CVB IV-be.probable-NEG
de hay t’ot’er-iš-me
 I.ERG there read-RES-NEG
 ‘There remained barely one book that I did not read.’ (N)

- c. *haytu-go b-ac'er-a=qen b-ac'er-ho zoq'e-n gom*
 she.OBL-AT III-feed-INF=at.least III-feed-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
y^we-y
 dog-ERG
 'The dog did not feed her with (the apple).' (N)

The negation may be in a superordinate clause:

- (242) *diž [tu=qen Ø-aq'e-s-ti] Ø-eq'i-yo gom*
 I.DAT who=at.least I-come-RES-ABST I-know-ICVB be.NEG
 'I do not know who came.'

In elliptical answers, negative pro-forms may occur without an accompanying verbal negation.

- (243) *ni-do eli b-iλ'-a go! ni-do=qen*
 where-DIR we HPL-go-INF be where-DIR=at.least
 'Where will we go? Nowhere.'

Another way of expressing negative indefinite pronouns is by means of universal indefinite pronouns in clauses headed by negated verb forms. In contrast to other Tsezic languages such as Khwarshi and Hunzib, this way of forming negative indefinite pronouns is not very common in Hinuq.

- (244) a. *hoboži b-ac'-eł-o di-go hag [nete=n r-ac'-iš-me]*
 now III-eat-POT-PRS I.OBL-AT that when=and V-eat-RES-NEG
žo
 thing(V)
 'I am able to eat a thing that I never ate before.' (N)
- b. *deru=n Ø-eg^wennu-y=no Ø-oλλosdemu-y=no [hal*
 how=and I-small-ERG=and I-middle-ERG=and force(III)
b-aq'er-mez] b-iλ'i-š=eλ yeme-λ'o-do
 III-put-CVB.NEG HPL-go-PST=NARR mill-SPR-DIR
 'The smaller and the middle one did not yield at all and went to the mill.' (N)
- c. *ni-do=n Ø-iλ'i-yom!*
 where-DIR=and I-go-PROH
 'Do not go anywhere!' (said to a man)

In questions headed by negated verb forms, pronouns of the *qen*-series and the *n(o)*-series are regularly used as negative indefinite pronouns (245a). In contrast, in affirmative questions the pronouns of the two series function as free-choice pronouns (245b).

- (245) a. {*tu=qen* / *tu=n*} *Ø-aq'e-me?*
 who=at.least / who=and I-come-NEG
 'Did nobody come?'
 b. {*tu=qen* / *tu=n*} *Ø-aq'e-ye?*
 who=at.least / who=and I-come-Q
 'Did anybody come?'

5.6.4. Universal indefinite pronouns (universal quantifiers)

These pro-forms are derived from interrogative pronouns by adding the Coordinative enclitic =*n(o)*. With the universal meaning they occur only in affirmative clauses. If pro-forms with the Coordinative enclitic are used in negative clauses, then they function as negative indefinite pronouns (see end of Section 5.6.3 above for examples). Universal indefinite pronouns with the following approximate translations occur:

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| (246) | <i>tu=n</i> | 'everybody' | <i>somo=n</i> | 'some' |
| | <i>so=n</i> | 'everything' | <i>somorax=no</i> | 'some times' |
| | <i>ni=n</i> | 'everywhere' | <i>deru=n</i> | 'anyhow' |
| | <i>nete=n</i> | 'always' | <i>nišxa=n</i> | 'every, any' |
| | <i>deče=n</i> | 'however much' | <i>dessu=n</i> | 'any' |

- (247) a. "*debez hago neten bikore-s x^wiši=n gosme Ø-ič-a*
 you.SG.DAT he always snake-GEN1 skin=and without I-be-INF
Ø-eti-yo gom=e"=*χen*
 I-want-ICVB be.NEG=Q=QUOT
 "'Do you not want that he is always without the snake's skin?" she says.' (N)
- b. *somorax=no hay=tow χex^w-o zoq^we-s [at'*
 how.often=and there=EMPH remain-ICVB be-PST wheat(V)
r-aši-mez]
 V-get-NEG.PURP
 'Sometimes (they) stayed there without getting wheat.' (N)

- c. *“toqgo devez raλ'-mo-λ'o-zo ʔine-s=no*
 hear.PRS you.SG.DAT earth-OBL-SPR-ABL2 what.OBL-GEN1=and
ruk’?” haʔo-y eλi-yo
 sound he.OBL-ERG say.PRS
 ‘“Do you hear any sound from the earth?” he says.’ (N)
- d. *ni-š=no hezzo-r y-uti-n “hale y-aq’e-s”=λen*
 where-ABL1=and back-LAT II-turn-CVB well II-come-PST=QUOT
 ‘From everywhere turning back, (you said) “I (fem.) arrived well”.’
 (N)

Hinuq has three other adjectives with the meaning of universal quantifiers, *č’ek’k’u* ‘all’, *žiw-žiw* ‘every’, and *šinaw* ‘every’. They are described in Section 12.9.

5.6.5. Free choice pronouns

These pro-forms are the only ones derived with the help of a converb. The concessive converb of the verb *-iq-* ‘be, happen, become’ must follow the interrogative pronoun in order to form free choice pronouns. The pro-forms derived with this converb are given below. They can also be translated with the phrase ‘X-ever happens’ (249a).

(248)	<i>ʔu -iqon(o)</i>	‘anybody’	<i>somo -iqon(o)</i>	‘however many/much’
	<i>se/so -iqon(o)</i>	‘anything’		
	<i>ni -iqon(o)</i>	‘anywhere’	<i>somorax -iqon(o)</i>	‘sometimes’
	<i>nete -iqon(o)</i>	‘any time’	<i>deru -iqon(o)</i>	‘anyhow’
	<i>deče -iqon(o)</i>	‘however many/ much’	<i>nišλa -iqon(o)</i>	‘any’
			<i>dessu -iqon(o)</i>	‘any’

The gender prefix of the converb agrees with the Absolutive argument of the clause (249a, 249b). If there is no Absolutive argument, the agreement prefix is either \emptyset - if reference is made to humans (249c) or *r-* otherwise (249d). Free choice indefinite pronouns occur in concessive conditional clauses (e.g. (249a), (249c)), and as free choice indefinites (e.g. (249b), (249d)).

- (249) a. *haze-y hukmu b-u:-s=eλ [haʔo-y se*
 they.OBL-ERG decision(III) III-make-PST=NARR he.OBL-ERG what
b-iq-on balah elu-λ'o-r b-aq'er-a goʔ]
 III-happen-CONC misery(III) we.OBL-SPR-LAT HPL-bring-INF be
 ‘They decided that, whatever happened, he will bring us misery.’ (N)

- b. *ʃu-z b-iq-ono toʃ-o q'arpuz!*
 who-DAT III-happen-CONC give-IMP watermelon(III)
 'Give the watermelon to whomever!'
- c. [*bit'araw es-o goʃa*] *ʃu Ø-iq-on de zok'-a*
 right tell-ICVB be.PTCP who I-happen-CONC I.ERG beat-INF
goʃ
 be
 'Whoever tells the truth, I will beat him.'
- d. *deru r-iq-on b-ihiz-ž b-aq'e eli hayʃo*
 how V-happen-CONC HPL-fight-PURP HPL-must we that.OBL
xan-i-de dandi
 khan-OBL-ALOC against
 'In whatever manner we must fight against this khan.' (N)

Pro-forms of the *-iqon(o)* series are used in many different contexts, e.g. in imperatives (249b), in conditional clauses (250), and in non specific correlative clauses (249c). Free-choice pronouns are semantically similar to universal quantifiers and can be replaced by them in many environments (Haspelmath 1997: 48). For instance, in example (249d) *deru r-iq-on* can be replaced by the universal pronoun *deru=n=tow* (how=and=EMPH). Similarly, in example (249b) *ʃu-z b-iq-ono* can be substituted by *ʃu-z=no* (who-DAT=and) without a noticeable change in the truth conditions.

- (250) [*debez se r-iq-on r-ike-yo*] *eʃ-o di-qo-r!*
 you.SG.DAT what V-happen-CONC V-see-COND say-IMP I.OBL-AT-LAT
 'If you see anything, tell me!'

Although free-choice pronouns formed with the concessive converb mostly occur in substantive function, they can also be used in attributive function. For example, in (251a) *boʃaraw* can be replaced by *nišʃa biqon*. However, free-choice pronouns in attributive function are normally expressed with the Avar loans *boʃ'araw* 'any' and *boʃ'uq* 'at will'.

- (251) a. *boʃaraw xexbe b-išer-ho zoq'e-s hayʃuy*
 any.desired children HPL-feed-ICVB be-PST she.ERG
 'She fed any children.' (N)
- b. *hayi-š boʃaraw t'ek y-ux-ayaz di res*
 there-ABL1 any.desired book(IV) IV-take-PURP I.GEN1 possibility
zoq'^we-s
 be-PST

‘I had the possibility to take any book from there.’ (N)

c. *boχ'uq piq r-iči-yo zoq'we-s*

at.will fruit(V) V-be-ICVB be-PST

‘There were any fruits (you wanted).’ (N)

Chapter 6

Adjectives

6.1. Introduction

Adjectives form a distinct word class in Hinuq. They are clearly different from verbs or nouns, e.g. they are not lexically specified for gender, and they cannot take tense suffixes. They fill the two canonical roles that Dixon (Dixon 2004: 10) ascribes to adjectives: (i) copula complement in statements about properties, and (ii) modifiers within noun phrases. Hinuq has a relatively large number of native adjectives both simple and derived, and even more loan adjectives. In addition, Past participles and Narrative converbs can easily be used as adjectives. Adjectives can be derived from all other major parts of speech. Native Hinuq adjectives are distinguished from other parts of speech and loan adjectives by the ending since almost all of them end with the vowel *-u* and the root structure (see Section 6.2.2).

Adjectives can be used attributively, substantively, and predicatively. In copula constructions such as (252) it is impossible to say whether the sentence represents a predicative use or a substantivized use of the adjective *-²eži*: ‘big’ because the two uses are not formally distinguished. See Chapter 18 for more details on the syntax of copula constructions.

- (252) *buλe* *b-²ežiγ goł*
house(III) III-big be
‘The house is big.’ or ‘The house is a big one.’

A small number of adjectives distinguish a direct stem from an oblique stem when used attributively or substantively. The direct stem is the citation form listed in the dictionary. It is always used in the predicative function and, if the head noun stands in the Absolutive case, also in the attributive function. The oblique stem is optionally used when the head noun is marked with one of the oblique cases. When the adjective is nominalized, further case markers can be added to the oblique stem.

Gender and number is only expressed in a small number of adjectives that have agreement prefixes (Section 6.9), contrary to what has been claimed by some authors (cf. Bokarev 1959: 123, Khalilov and Isakov 2005: 577).

Adjectives occur in all semantic classes that have been individuated by Dixon (2004), but many of the adjectives given in (253) are loans. Especially the classes DIFFICULTY and QUALIFICATION seem to contain only loan adjectives (253).

(253)	DIMENSION	-eg ^w ey ‘small’, - ^ʔ ežiy ‘big’
	AGE	ec’endiyu ‘new’, ʔoloqanaw ‘young’
	VALUE	-egiy ‘good’, gaqiy ‘bad’
	COLOR	c’uddu ‘red’, zerdiyu ‘grey’, ič’diyu ‘yellow’
	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	qoqoru ‘hard’, at’t’u ‘wet’
	HUMAN PROPENSITY	bixaraw ‘angry’, hillayaw ‘sly’
	SPEED	xexaw ‘fast’
	DIFFICULTY	zahmataw ‘difficult’, bihayaw ‘easy’
	SIMILARITY	bat’i-bat’iyaw ‘different’, q’ ^w iya ‘other’
	QUALIFICATION	behulew ‘possible’, ʔadataw ‘normal’
	QUANTIFICATION	ček’k’u ‘all’, dahaw ‘few’
	POSITION	λ’eres ‘upper’, geles ‘lower’, hezzobitos ‘backmost’

There are no derivational means to form adjectives with negative meaning. Therefore negative forms of the verb ‘be’ and other verbs must be used.

- (254) *hag bit’araw gom*
 that right be.NEG
 ‘That is not right.’

6.2. Native adjectives

Hinuq has derived and underived native adjectives. They will be treated separately, beginning with the underived ones. There are two classes of underived adjectives of unequal size. One class consists of only four adjectives that have the ending *-y*. The other native adjectives with the ending *-u* form a class of medium size. They can be further subdivided into four minor subclasses.

6.2.1. Adjectives with the ending *-y*

The adjectives with the ending *-y* are among the most frequent members of their word class: *-egiy* ‘good’, *gaqiy* ‘bad’, *-eg^wey* ‘small, young’, and *-^ʔežiy* ‘old, big’. The last two are diachronically related to two verbs, namely *-eg^we-* ‘lose’ and *-^ʔeži-* ‘win’ (for examples of the verbs see Section 16.3.4). Both of the adjectives *-eg^wey* and *-^ʔežiy* have derived forms with the same meaning: *-eg^wennu* and *-^ʔežinnu* (Section 6.7.2.1).

All four adjectives distinguish a direct and an oblique stem (Table 38). For the oblique stem the suffix *-a* is added to the direct stem.

Table 38. Adjectives with the ending -y

	‘good’	‘bad’	‘small’	‘old, big’
Direct stem	-egiy	gaqiy	-eg ^w ey	- ² ežiy
Oblique stem	-egiy-a-	gaqiy-a-	-eg ^w ey-a-	- ² ežiy-a-

In predicative function only the direct stem is used (255a). The direct stem is also used in attributive function if the modified noun is in the Absolutive case (255b). For head nouns in oblique cases, the adjective may optionally have the oblique stem (255c), but the direct form is also possible and more frequent (255d).

- (255) a. *de b-eg^wey goł*
I III-small be
‘I am small.’ (said by a fox) (N)
- b. *di obu-s iyo c’aq’y-egiy aqili zoq’^we-s*
I.GEN1 father-GEN1 mother(II) very II-good woman(II) be-PST
‘My grandmother was a very good woman.’ (N)
- c. *b-²ežiy-a saž-ma b-eša:ho zoq’^we-s=eλ magalu*
III-big-OBL pan(III)-IN III-bake-ICVB be-PST=NARR bread(III)
‘In a big pan bread was baking.’ (N)
- d. *gaqiy rek’u-y elu-z žawab neλ-iš-me*
bad man.OBL-ERG we.OBL-DAT answer give-PST-NEG
‘The bad man did not give us an answer.’

When used substantively, the direct stem is used for the Absolutive case (256a). For all other forms case suffixes are added to the oblique stem (256b, 256c).

- (256) a. *zoq’^we-n=eλ zoq’^we-n gom=eλ q’ono ked,*
be-UWPST=NARR be-UWPST be.NEG=NARR two girl(II)
y-egiy=no gaqiy=no
II-good=and bad=and
‘(Once upon a time) there lived two girls, a good one and a bad one.’
- b. *y-eg^wey-a-s t’ek-be istoli-λ’o zoq’^we-n,*
II-small-OBL-GEN1 book-PL table-SPR be-UWPST
y-²ežiy-a-s t’ek-be mužī-λ’o zoq’^we-n
II-old-OBL-GEN1 book-PL mattress-SPR be-UWPST

‘The books of the small (girl) were on the table, the books of the old (girl) were on the bed.’

- c. \emptyset -*egiy-a-z* \emptyset -*aq'e-n* *gom*
 I-good-OBL-DAT I-come-UWPST be.NEG
 ‘You (masc.) did not come for a good purpose.’ (N)

Table 39 gives a partial paradigm of the four adjectives including all grammatical cases. Because case formation is straightforward, all remaining case forms not listed in Table 39 can be obtained by adding the appropriate case suffix to the oblique stem.

Table 39. Substantivized adjectives with the ending *-y*

	‘good’	‘bad’	‘small, young’	‘old, big’
Absolute	<i>-egiy</i>	<i>gaqiy</i>	<i>-eg^wey</i>	<i>-[?]ežiy</i>
Ergative	<i>-egiy-a-y</i>	<i>gaqiy-a-y</i>	<i>-eg^wey-a-y</i>	<i>-[?]ežiy-a-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>-egiy-a-s</i>	<i>gaqiy-a-s</i>	<i>-eg^wey-a-s</i>	<i>-[?]ežiy-a-s</i>
Second Genitive	<i>-egiy-a-zo</i>	<i>gaqiy-a-zo</i>	<i>-eg^wey-a-zo</i>	<i>-[?]ežiy-a-zo</i>
AT-Essive	<i>-egiy-a-qo</i>	<i>gaqiy-a-qo</i>	<i>-eg^wey-a-qo</i>	<i>-[?]ežiy-a-qo</i>

6.2.2. Adjectives with the ending *-u*

The vast majority of non-derived native Hinuq adjectives end in *-u* (where *-u* represents either a simple ending or is part of some complex ending). These adjectives can be further divided into four subclasses based on their morphological make-up.

1. Adjectives containing geminates

Slightly less than 20 adjectives are disyllabic and contain geminates right before the adjectival ending *-u*. Stress is on the penultimate syllable. Examples are *-oč'č'u* ‘cold’, *-oq'q'u* ‘hard, difficult, heavy’, *aššu* / [?]*aššu* ‘thick, fat’, and *kellu* ‘old’.

2. Adjectives ending in *-ru*

About a dozen and a half adjectives have the final segment *-ru*.⁴⁴ All are trisyllabic with stress on the penultimate syllable. The majority of these

⁴⁴ There is one adjective *λoλolu* ‘flaccid, faded’ that has the ending *-lu* but otherwise perfectly fits into this class. Note that *-ru* is also the suffix of the Past participle, see Section 7.7.4.3.

adjectives have a reduplicated stem of the form *CVCV* whereby the first consonant can be a weak glottal stop not indicated in the orthography, e.g. *tuturu* ‘dirty’, *y^way^waru* ‘liquid’, *boboru* ‘hot’. But three adjectives have only the *CVCV-ru* structure without reduplication, namely *adaru* ‘naked’, *-oxoru* ‘long’, and *iλaru* ‘kind’.

3. Adjectives ending in *-diyu/-duk’a*⁴⁵

Some color adjectives and some other adjectives of three or four syllables have the endings *-diyu/-duk’a*, whereby all roots that allow for *-diyu* also allow for *-duk’a* and vice versa, without any perceptible difference in meaning (Section 6.7.2.3). They are stressed on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix, which is always heavy. There are about 20 adjectives belonging to this class, and they never have agreement prefixes. Examples are *očordiyu/očorduk’a* ‘old’, *ec’endiyu/ec’enduk’a* ‘new’, *aldiyū/alduk’a* ‘white’, and *nikdiyū/nikduk’a* ‘blue’.

4. Adjectives ending with *-ayu*

The fourth class has only two members expressing flavors, *meqayu* ‘bitter’ and *čayayu* ‘salty’. Both adjectives are trisyllabic. Stress is on the penultimate/second syllable.

All the adjectives ending in *-u* have only one stem, which is the citation form. This stem is used in predicative (257a) and in attributive function (257b, 257c). If the adjectives are nominalized, then occasionally case markers are directly added to the stem (257d). Table 40 illustrates partial paradigms of three adjectives.

- (257) a. *huł* *ɬe* *r-oč’č’u zoq’e-s*
 yesterday water(V) V-cold be-PST
 ‘Yesterday the water was cold.’
- b. *boboru saž yoλu.koka-λ’o λ’ere c’ox-iš=eλ*
 hot pan cinderello-SPR on fall-PST=NARR
 ‘The hot pan fell on Cinderello.’ (N)
- c. *hago xan=no Ø-eg^we-r-iš hayi-r [Ø-aq’-o goła]*
 that khan(I)=and I-lose-CAUS-PST there-LAT I-come-PRS be.PTCP
aldiyū gulu-zo bet’erħan-i
 white horse-GEN2 husband(I)-ERG

⁴⁵ Although it is synchronically impossible to identify the bases for the derivation, these adjectives are diachronically clearly derived and thus treated together with other derived adjectives (see Section 6.7.2.3). It is possible that adjectives of the other three groups are also diachronically derived, but since they do not form the same kind of derivational paradigms as the *-diyu/-duk’a*-adjectives, they are treated as underived.

‘The lord that had come on the white horse also defeated the khan.’
(N)

- d. *tuturu-d b-ux-om!*
dirty-INS III-take-PROH
‘Do not take it with the dirty one!’

Table 40. Adjectives ending in *-u* and *-duk'a*

	‘black’	‘dirty’	‘new’	‘new’
Absolutive	<i>kabaddu</i>	<i>tuturu</i>	<i>ec'endiyu</i>	<i>ec'enduk'a</i>
Ergative	<i>kabaddu-y</i>	<i>tuturu-y</i>	<i>ec'endiyu-y</i>	<i>ec'enduk'a-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>kabaddu-s</i>	<i>tuturu-s</i>	<i>ec'endiyu-s</i>	<i>ec'enduk'a-s</i>
AT-Essive	<i>kabaddu-qo</i>	<i>tuturu-qo</i>	<i>ec'endiyu-qo</i>	<i>ec'enduk'a-qo</i>

However, examples such as (257d) are rather exceptional, and some speakers reject them completely. In general, if the adjectives are employed in attributive or substantive function, the underived forms are replaced by derived forms that contain the suffixes *-k'a* and often also *-ni* (see Sections 6.7.2.2 and 13.1.2.9 on these suffixes). Example (258a) is similar to example (257c) because both adjectives are from the same subclass and occur in attributive function, but the adjective is now marked with the derivational suffix *-k'a*. In examples (258b) and (258c) adjectives are marked with *-ni* and *-k'a* + *-ni* respectively. Case markers follow these suffixes if needed (258c). Note that in (258b) the adjective follows the noun it modifies, contrary to the more frequent word order, which is adjective before noun. Modifiers following their nouns often have a contrastive interpretation (see Section 27.2.4 for more examples).

- (258) a. *q'ono eħa b-ac'-no haħo-y c'uddu-k'a iħi*
two ORD III-eat-UWPST he.OBL-ERG red-ADJ apple(III)
‘He ate the second apple.’ (N)
- b. *hezzo haħo uħi: ħ'ere.ruxxo [toħ-ayaz] hayħo*
then this.OBL boy.ERG promise.V.PRS give-PURP that.OBL
rek'u-z oħorduk'a-ni [zonez r-eq'i-ħ-me]
man.OBL-DAT old-ATT REFL.SG.DAT V-know-RES-NEG
ħo
thing(V)
‘Then the boy promises to give the thing, which he did not know, to the man, the old one.’ (N)

- c. *de bex toλ-an ossu-k'a-ni-ž*
 I.ERG grass give-INTFUT high-ADJ-ATT-DAT
 'I will give the tall (horse) grass.'

6.2.3. The adjectives *q'wiyā* and *hesλa* 'other'

Hinuq has two adjectives that can be translated into English with 'other'. One of them, *hesλa*, is composed of the numeral *hes* 'one' and the suffix *-λa*, similar to one series of ordinary indefinite pronouns (Section 5.6.2). But in contrast to the pronouns, case suffixes of the substantivized adjective are added after the suffix (and not before it). The adjective occurs in the attributive (259a) and in the substantive function (259b).

- (259) a. *hesλa halmay q'ačazi Ø-iq-no*
 other friend prepare I-happen-UWPST
 'The other friend prepared himself.' (N)
- b. *hoboži hało hesλa-qo=n gexer-no hayło-s*
 now this.OBL other-AT=and dress-UWPST he.OBL-GEN I
armi-ł-es šeλ'u
 army-CONT-ABL I clothes
 'They dressed the other one with his army clothes.' (N)

The adjective *q'wiyā* and (its variants *q'uya*, *q'wi-q'wiyā*, and *q'uy-q'uya*) has the exceptional ending *-ya*. It distinguishes between a direct and an oblique stem (260b). The oblique stem is formed by replacing the final *-ya* with the oblique plural markers for nominals *-za/-ža*. Occasionally, for the oblique stem the suffix *-za* is added to the adjective as a whole, without deleting *-ya* (260d). However, the use of the oblique stem in attributive function is not obligatory; the direct stem may be used as well. The adjective can occur in copula clauses (260a), as an attribute of nouns (260b), and it can be nominalized (260c, 260d). Case suffixes are added to the oblique stem (260d).

- (260) a. *had t'ek q'wiyā goł*
 this book other be
 'This book is the other (one).'
- b. [*nagaħ qilo k^wezey q'wiža ked-λ'o me gor-o*]
 if false hand other.OBL girl-SPR you.SG.ERG put-COND
hibay=tow b-oc'-a goł debe moc'
 there=EMPH III-cut-INF be you.SG.GEN I neck

‘If you put erroneously the hand on the other girl, then (I) will cut your neck.’ (N)

- c. *hayti-r q'wiyā-be=n b-iλ'i-š=eλ čaxizi.b.iq-no*
 there-LAT other-PL=and HPL-go-PST=NARR run.HPL-CVB

‘The others run also there.’ (N)

- d. *q'uyā-za-z [deče t'ot'er-on] sadaq žo*
 other-OBL.PL-DAT how.much read-CONC all thing(V)
r-eq'i-yo
 V-know-PRS

‘How much the others read, they remember everything.’ (N)

6.3. Borrowed adjectives

Hinuq has many adjectives borrowed from Avar, e.g. *bac'adaw* ‘clean’, *bečedaw* ‘rich’, *kutakaw* ‘strong’, and many more. They constitute an open class in the sense that whenever a Hinuq speaker wants to use an adjective and does not find a Hinuq term, (s)he uses an Avar term. Almost two thirds of the approximately 170 adjectives in my material are Avar loans. Interestingly, I did not find any Russian borrowings.

In Avar, adjectives usually distinguish gender and number by means of a suffix. In Hinuq this distinction is not preserved, and all adjectives borrowed from Avar end in *-w*.⁴⁶ Only occasionally do speakers use Avar adjectives with the suffix *-b*⁴⁷ as illustrated in example (261a) with *boλarab* ‘any desired’, or the short form without the gender suffix, such as *miskin* ‘poor’ in (261b). However, the use of the short form is restricted to a few adjectives only (predominantly adjectives referring to ethnic groups). The majority of borrowed Avar adjectives must appear in the long form. Whenever Avar adjectives in their short form or with the gender suffix *-b* are employed, this seems to be free variation without any difference in meaning or gender.

- (261) a. *boλarab žo sadaq rok'λ'o-s q'urʔan hadis sadaq*
 any.desired thing all heart.SPR-ABL I Koran(IV) Hadith all
rok'λ'o-s ɬe y-iɬi y-eq'i-yo zoq'we-s
 heart.SPR-ABL I water IV-similar IV-know-ICVB be-PST
hayɬo-z
 he.OBL-DAT

⁴⁶ In Avar, *-w* is the suffix for nouns in the singular belonging to gender I (male humans).

⁴⁷ In Avar, *-b* is the suffix for singular non-human nouns (gender III).

‘Whatever you want, the Koran, the Hadiths, everything he knew by heart.’ (N)

- b. [hayłoy gex-o goła] šeł’u-ro-y es-o
 he.ERG dress-ICVB be.PTCP clothes-OBL-ERG tell-ICVB
 zoq’^we-s=eł [hago miskin rek’u-s uži gołiš-ti]
 be-PST=NARR he poor man.OBL-GEN1 son be.CVB-ABST
 ‘The clothes that he wore were telling that he was the son of a poor man.’ (N)

The short forms of the borrowed adjectives do not have the gender suffix. In my material they occur (almost) exclusively in predicative uses, but other functions are not excluded.⁴⁸

Just like native adjectives, the full forms of borrowed adjectives can occur in a predicative (262a), an attributive (261a), and a substantive function (262b), usually in their unmarked citation form. But when the head noun is not in the Absolutive or when the adjective is marked by a case other than the Absolutive, a derived form of the adjective is preferred (262c).

- (262) a. *hagbe=n bečedaw zoq’^we-s=eł*
 they=and rich be-PST=NARR
 ‘And they were rich.’ (N)
- b. *ʔoloqanaw šahali-do Ø-ił’i-š*
 young town.IN-DIR I-go-PST
 ‘The young (guy) went to the town.’
- c. *bercinaw-i /bercinaw-ni-y t’ek t’ot’er-ho*
 beautiful-ERG / beautiful-ATT-ERG book read-PRS
 ‘The beautiful one reads a book.’

Table 41 shows a partial paradigm of two borrowed adjectives. The first row illustrates the adjective *bercinaw* ‘beautiful’ with case suffixes added directly to the stem (and epenthetic vowels if needed). The second and the third column illustrate derived forms of borrowed adjectives.

One adjective, the universal quantifier *žiw-žiw*, ‘every, each’, borrowed from Avar, behaves exceptionally because it can take the suffix *-li* in order to form the oblique stem (263). This suffix is otherwise restricted to nouns. However, adding the case suffix directly to the stem is also possible (e.g. *žiw-žiw-ez*).

⁴⁸ In Avar, the short forms of adjectives are mainly used in poetry (Alekseev & Ataev 1998: 52).

Table 41. Borrowed adjectives

	‘beautiful’	‘beautiful’	‘first’
Absolutive	<i>bercinaw</i>	<i>bercinaw</i>	<i>t’occebesew</i>
Ergative	<i>bercinaw-i</i>	<i>bercinaw-ni-y</i>	<i>t’occebesew-ni-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>bercinaw-es</i>	<i>bercinaw-ni-š</i>	<i>t’occebesew-ni-š</i>
AT-Essive	<i>bercinaw-qo</i>	<i>bercinaw-ni-qo</i>	<i>t’occebesew-ni-qo</i>

- (263) *hało-y=gon* [b-ux-an b-ux-no] *žiw.žiw-li-ž*
 he.OBL-ERG=TOP III-take-RED III-take-CVB every-OBL-DAT
hesso-t’a geni toλ-no
 some-DIST pear give-UWPST
 ‘He took pears and gave one to everybody.’ (S)

6.4. Color adjectives

Hinuq has a number of basic color terms. Two of them are diachronically derived from the Genitive of nouns, namely *išyos* ‘green’ (from *iši* ‘the first green grass in spring’) and *asos* ‘sky blue’ (from *as* ‘sky’).⁴⁹ The adjective *žurčınaw* is an Avar loan. The origin of the other color adjectives is unknown.

Color adjectives behave just like other adjectives. They occur in predicative, attributive, and substantive function, and they can occur in comparative and superlative constructions.

- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|------------|
| (264) <i>kabaddu</i> | ‘black’ | <i>aldiyū/alduk’a</i> | ‘white’ |
| <i>ič’diyū/ič’duk’a</i> | ‘yellow’ | <i>cuddu</i> | ‘red’ |
| <i>nikdiyū/nikduk’a</i> | ‘blue’ | <i>č’ani</i> | ‘reddish’ |
| <i>išyos</i> | ‘green’ | <i>asos</i> | ‘sky blue’ |
| <i>beq^wiš</i> | ‘orange, brown’ | <i>žurčınaw</i> | ‘green’ |
| <i>zerdiyū/zerduk’a</i> | ‘grey’ | | |

6.5. Other words that can be used as adjectives

Some Resultative participles and case-marked forms of adverbs and nouns are used to express concepts that usually have adjectives as translational equivalents in European languages. The Resultative participle and case-marked adverbs and nouns do not acquire all adjectival functions.

⁴⁹ Note that, synchronically, the First Genitive form of *iši* is *išos*.

6.5.1. Adnominal adjectives

Adjectives denoting materials are formed by adding the Genitive suffix to the oblique noun stem, e.g.

(265)	<i>keru</i>	‘iron’	<i>keru-s</i>	‘iron’
	<i>mesed</i>	‘gold’	<i>mesed-li-š</i>	‘golden’
	<i>qaca</i>	‘wood’	<i>qaca-s</i>	‘wooden’

In addition to these adjectives denoting material properties, I found one temporal adjectival expressions which is also formed from a noun: *eλnos* ‘winter’ (from the noun *eλni* ‘winter’). This adjective occurs mainly as the modifier of *zaman* ‘time’.

The derived expressions can be used in copula clauses (266a), as attributes of nouns (266b, 266c), and substantively. In the attributive use the case marker varies according to the case of the head noun: the First Genitive *-s* occurs if the head noun is in the Absolutive case, and the Second Genitive *-zo* if the head noun is in one of the oblique cases (266c).

- (266) a. *hadu aka mecxer-li-š goł*
 this bracelet silver-OBL-GEN1 be
 ‘This bracelet is of silver.’
- b. *hayłoy boλ’araw ker-u-s žo r-u:-ho*
 he.ERG any.desired iron-OBL-GEN1 thing(V) V-do-PRS
 ‘He makes every desired iron thing.’ (N)
- c. *hibayłu zaman-a-ł Ø-oλex-o [mesed-li-žo*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT I-appear-PRS gold-OBL-GEN2
karet-a-λ’o=n λ’erek-no] kutakalda bečedaw kupec
 carriage-OBL-SPR=and sit.on-CVB very rich merchant
rek’we
 man(I)
 ‘At this time appears a very rich man sitting on a golden carriage.’
 (N)

When adnominal adjectives are substantivized and occur in the Absolutive case, additional derivational suffixes may, but do not have to be added (267a, 267b). When they appear in an oblique case, they take the oblique form (i.e. the second Genitive) plus the respective case suffix, thus leading to a sequence of two case markers (‘case stacking’), where the structural case is added to the inherent case (267c).

- (267) a. *di-go r-iker-o qaca-s=no xemu-s=no*
 I.OBL-AT NHPL-show-IMP wood-GEN1=and stone-GEN1=and
 ‘Show me wooden and stone ones!’
- b. *neλ di-go-r ker-u-s-λa-ni!*
 give I.OBL-AT-LAT iron-OBL-GEN1-MOD-ATT
 ‘Give me the iron one!’
- c. *obu-y ker-u-zo-d qaca r-occo goł*
 father-ERG iron-OBL-GEN2-INS wood(V) V-cut.ICVB be
 ‘The father is cutting wood with the iron one.’

6.5.2. Adverbial adjectives

Many temporal adverbs can be used adjectivally if marked with the Genitive suffix. In addition, there are also a number of adjectives denoting spatial relations derived from local adverbs/postpositions. Some of the adverbs/postpositions that serve as the base for adjectives are already marked with spatial cases. The temporal adjectives often modify nouns with a temporal meaning, e.g. *žiqus y^wede* ‘today’s day’, *sebedoyos mix* ‘autumnal time’.

(268) <i>žiqu</i>	‘today’	<i>žuqus/žiqus</i>	‘today’s’
<i>hasaqo/sasaqo</i>	‘morning’	<i>hasaqos/sasaqos</i> ⁵⁰	‘morning’
<i>sebedoyo</i>	‘in autumn’	<i>sebedoyos</i>	‘autumnal’
<i>alder</i>	‘formerly’	<i>alderes</i>	‘ancient’
<i>teł</i>	‘in(side)’	<i>tełes</i>	‘inner’
<i>λ’ere</i>	‘upwards, on’	<i>λ’eres</i>	‘upper’

In attributive use the First Genitive suffix on the adverb changes to the Second Genitive if the head noun takes a case suffix other than the Absolutive (269).

- (269) *de žumru b-u:-ho alder-zo beλe:*
 I.ERG life(III) III-make-PRS formerly-GEN2 house.IN
 ‘I live in an old house.’

However, since some of these adjective-like expressions are identical with spatial and temporal adverbs, the interpretation of them as adverbial or adjectival is occasionally ambiguous. For example, *λ’eres* in (270) can be interpreted as an adjective with the meaning ‘upper’ or as an adverb marked with the First Ablative and with the meaning ‘from above’.

⁵⁰ *hasaqos/sasaqos* can also occur as an adverb with the meaning ‘in the morning’.

- (270) *hag* λ'ere-s šeλ'u=n r-iγ-no ...
 that upwards-GEN1/ABL1 clothes(V)=and V-take-CVB
 'taking away the upper clothes ...' or 'taking away the clothes from above ...' (N)

6.5.3. Participles

Since all relative clauses in Hinuq are built with participles and can modify head nouns, or lack a head noun, the functions of participles and adjectives overlap (see Section 7.7.4 for more information on participles). In fact, there is a group of adjectives with the suffix *-ru*, a suffix that strongly resembles the suffix of the Past participle *-o-ru* (see Section 6.2.2). Predominantly the Resultative but also the Habitual and in principle all other participles occur in short relative clauses that often consist of one word only. Some examples of frequently occurring participles that often have adjectives as translational equivalents in other languages are given below (see Section 7.7.4.5 for more examples formed with the Resultative participle).

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| (271) | <i>nek^we-</i> | 'starve' | <i>nek^wes</i> (RES) | 'hungry' |
| | <i>-exλ'e-</i> | 'become warm' | <i>-exλ'es</i> (RES) | 'warm' |
| | <i>-uhe-</i> | 'die' | <i>-uhes</i> (RES) | 'dead' |
| | <i>-eti-</i> | 'want, like' | <i>-etiλ'os</i> (HAB) | 'beloved' |

Participles can be used in predicative, attributive, and substantive function. Resultative and Habitual participles used in predicative function together with a copula are essentially tense-aspect-mood forms of the verbal paradigm, with resultative (272a) or habitual meaning (see Section 7.5 for periphrastic tense-aspect-mood forms). Participles occurring in attributive function are short relative clauses with a nucleus (272b), and participles in substantive function are relative clauses without a nucleus.⁵¹ They can take case suffixes (272c). In example (272c) the case suffixes are either added to the oblique form of the Resultative participle (*γ-exλ'e-za-ɬ*) or to the Local participle (*γ-exλ'e-γa-ɬ*).

- (272) a. "diž biša r-eti-n, de nek^we-s goɬ"=λen eλi-n
 I.DAT food(V) V-want-UWPST I starve-RES be=QUOT say-CVB
 "I want food, I am hungry," (she) said.' (N)

⁵¹ I use the term 'nucleus' as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term 'head' to refer to the relativized argument.

- b. [aλ-a=bito toq-λ'os] ɣ^weyiža-zo hapni-mo-y
village-IN=TRANS hear-HAB dog.OBL.PL-GEN2 barking-OBL-ERG
moλu kekir-iš-me=eλ
sleep let-PST-NEG=NARR
'The barking of the dogs, audible through the whole village, pre-
vented sleep.' (N)
- c. elu-de q'ono ixu goł, y-exλ'e-s=no
we.OBL-ALOC two river(IV) be, IV-become.warm-RES=and
y-oč'č'u=n. {y-exλ'e-ya-ł /
IV-cold=and. IV-become.warm-PTCP.LOC-CONT /
y-exλ'e-za-ł} xexbe k'ilik'do:ho
IV-become.warm-RES.OBL-CONT children bathe-PRS
'We have two rivers, a warm (one) and a cold (one). In the warm
(one) the children bathe.'

6.6. Plural formation of adjectives

When used in predicative (273a) and attributive function (273b, 273c), adjectives do not distinguish singular from plural. This is true for all native and loan adjectives, as well as for all other expressions used in adjectival function. However, adjectives with an agreement prefix show plurality of head nouns through this prefix (see Section 6.9).

- (273) a. had buλe-be r-ežiy / bercinaw goł
these house-PL NHPL-big / beautiful be
'These houses are big / beautiful.'
- b. q'^wiža močaza: r-aši-yo gom
other.OBL place.PL.IN V-find-ICVB be.NEG
'They do not find it in other places.' (N)
- c. "di bałuyaw žo-be r-eq'i-r-iš"=λen
I.GEN1 secret thing-PL NHPL-know-CAUS-PST=QUOT
'“(The crow) got to know my secrets,” she said.' (N)

Nominalized adjectives take the same plural suffixes as all other nominals, i.e. *-be* for the Absolutive plural (see (260c) and (287a)) and *-za* (or *-ža*) for the oblique plural; case suffixes are attached to these (274), (287b). Adjectives with agreement prefixes also express plurality by means of the respective prefix (*b-* for humans, *r-* for all other referents).

- (274) *hagze-y b-egiy-a-za-z sayyat-be toλ-iš*
 they.OBL-ERG HPL-good-OBL-OBL.PL-DAT present-PL give-PST
 ‘They gave presents to the good ones.’

6.7. Derivation of adjectives

In this grammar only those adjectives have been analyzed as derived where it was possible to identify the base for the derivation. The mechanisms of derivation can be divided into two groups: (i) mechanisms that derive adjectives from adjectives (6.7.2), and (ii) mechanisms that derive adjectives from other parts of speech (6.7.1).

6.7.1. Derivation of adjectives from other parts of speech

Hinuq has several suffixes and a particle to derive adjectives from verbs, nouns, adverbs, postpositions, and onomatopoeic expressions. All suffixes and the particle have the final vowel /u/, the same vowel which the majority of Hinuq native underived adjectives also have as their stem-final vowel. In addition, the Genitive case is employed to form adjectives from nouns (Section 6.5.1) and from adverbs (Section 6.5.2) as described in two previous sections.

6.7.1.1. *-damu/-lamu/-ramu/-mu*

The group of suffixes ending all with *-mu* can be quite productively used for the derivation of new adjectives. A number of adjectives can be derived from onomatopoeic expressions by adding *-damu*.⁵² The suffix *-mu* must be added to the verbs with stem final /a:/. For nouns the situation is slightly more complicated because all four suffixes can be employed, depending on the lexeme. Except for *ca* ‘star’, where *-ramu* is added to the oblique stem of the noun, the respective suffix is attached to the Absolutive Singular stem.

(275) <i>p’ap’a</i>		<i>p’ap’a-damu</i>	‘chatty’
<i>č’ač’a</i>		<i>č’ač’a-damu</i>	‘squeaky’
<i>šošola</i>	‘rags’	<i>šošola-mu</i>	‘ragged’
<i>k’oši</i>	‘game’	<i>k’oši-damu</i>	‘playing’
<i>madi</i>	‘spot’	<i>madi-lamu</i>	‘spotty’
<i>ca</i>	‘star’	<i>ca-da-ramu</i>	‘starry’
<i>gerda:-</i>	‘scold, swear’	<i>gerda-mu</i>	‘grumbling’

⁵² From the same stems verbs denoting sounds can be derived, see Section 9.1.3.

<i>šuqarya:-</i>	‘limp’	<i>šuqarya-mu</i>	‘limping’
<i>šakarya:-</i>	‘doubt, be jealous’	<i>šakarya-mu</i>	‘jealous’

These adjectives occur in all three functions. Example (276a) shows the predicative function with a kind of subordinate predicate clause without a copula. Sentence (276b) illustrates the attributive function. For the nominal use the definiteness suffix *-ni* may optionally precede the case marker (276c).

- (276) a. *zo Ø-iṭi miskinaw ʔaša=ʔen ked=no y-iq'e-n*
 REFL.SG I-similar poor Asha=QUOT girl(II)=and II-bring-CVB
neʔ, haw=no šuqaryamu
 give she=and limping
 ‘(They) marry him to a poor girl named Aisha, similar to him, also limping.’ (N)
- b. *haṭu-ḡo-r toʔ-no šošolamu šeʔ'u*
 she.OBL-AT-LAT give-UWPST ragged clothes
 ‘(She) gave her ragged clothes.’ (N)
- c. *{p'ap'adamu-y / p'ap'adamu-ni-y} magalu b-iq'e-s*
 chatty-ERG / chatty-ATT-ERG bread(III) III-bring-PST
 ‘The chatter box brought bread.’

6.7.1.2. *-t'u*

The suffix *-t'u* is used with a handful of verbs. It is added to the Infinitive of those verbs that can take the Infinitive suffix. Otherwise *-t'u* is added to the verbal stem. However, there are two adjectives where it is impossible to identify an item which served as the base for the derivation. For one of these adjectives, *ɣuɣut'u* ‘muddy’, two cognate derived verbs exist: *ɣuɣut'eṭ-* ‘be/become muddy’ and *ɣuɣut'ek-* ‘make muddy’; but there is no verb **ɣuɣut-*. The origin of *čoxot'u* is unknown.

The adjectives describe properties of agents that habitually conduct the actions denoted by the verb.

(277) <i>-aʔ'a</i>	‘talk’	<i>-aʔ'at'u</i>	‘talkative’
<i>-uʔ'a</i>	‘be afraid’	<i>-uʔ'at'u</i>	‘timid, fearful’
<i>haʔa</i>	‘butt’	<i>haʔat'u</i>	‘apt to butt’
<i>-ihi:-</i>	‘fight’	<i>-ihi:-t'u</i>	‘pugnacious’
<i>-a:-</i>	‘cry, yell’	<i>-a:t'u</i>	‘crybaby’
<i>k'oʔa</i>	‘jump, run’	<i>k'oʔat'u</i>	‘apt to pelt, vicious’ (about dogs)

<i>hila</i>	‘bite’	<i>hilat’u</i>	‘vicious’
		<i>γuyut’u</i>	‘muddy’
		<i>čoxot’u</i>	‘rainy’

Adjectives derived with this suffix can be used predicatively, attributively (278), and substantively. If for the substantive use case suffixes are added, then the definite suffix *-ni* must be added before the case suffix.

- (278) *hago Ø-uλ’at’u rek’^we goł=λen*
 he I-fearful man(I) be=QUOT
 ‘He is a fearful man.’ (N)

6.7.1.3. *-xu*

The suffix *-xu* is quite productive. It is mostly added to nouns, either to the Oblique Singular (e.g. *yez-mo-xu*, *zemeza-xu*) or to the Oblique Plural stem (e.g. *mus-za-xu*). The nouns that serve as base often denote natural things. Rarely does the suffix occur on verbal stems which already have a suffix *-na*.

(279) <i>-iλ-</i>	‘ache’	<i>-iλ-na-xu</i>	‘aching, ill’
<i>yez</i>	‘dirt’	<i>yez-mo-xu</i>	‘dirty’
<i>ʔamal</i>	‘character, habit’	<i>ʔamal-za-xu</i>	‘capricious’
<i>zemeza</i>	‘callosity’	<i>zemeza-xu</i>	‘callous’
<i>imu</i>	‘spine’	<i>imu-za-xu</i>	‘spiny’
<i>ład</i>	‘rock’	<i>ład-xu</i>	‘rocky’
<i>mus</i>	‘hair’	<i>mus-za-xu</i>	‘hairy, hairily’
<i>cim</i>	‘anger’	<i>cim-mo-xu</i>	‘angry, fervant’

Adjectives derived with this suffix can be used predicatively, attributively (280), and substantively.

- (280) *req’inaxu aqila-y r-iq-λ’os žo es-o*
 fortuneteller woman.OBL-ERG V-become-HAB thing(V) tell-PRS
 ‘The female fortuneteller predicts what will happen.’

6.7.1.4. *-lu*

The suffix *-lu* occurs only with some nouns denoting working animals. It is added directly to the stem and denotes the sex of the respective animal. The adjectives can occur in all three functions: as predicates, attributes (282), and nominals.

- (281) *gani* ‘bull’ *gani-lu* ‘male (calf)’
y^wero ‘cow’ *y^wero-lu* ‘female (calf)’
iš ‘ox’ *iš-lu* ‘male (calf)’
k^wi: ‘sheep’ *k^wi:-lu* ‘male (lamb)’
šeg^we ‘mare’ *šeg^we-lu* ‘female (foal)’
can ‘she-goat’ *cani-lu* ‘female (goatling)’
- (282) *gani-lu meši: bex r-acco*
 bull-ADJ calf.ERG gras(V) V-eat.PRS
 ‘The bull calf eats grass.’

6.7.1.5. *demu*

With the particle *demu* it is possible to derive adjectives from adverbs. This derivational process seems to be quite productive. Adjectives derived with the help of *demu* can occur in an attributive (284a) and a substantive function (284b), often followed by the attributive suffix *-ni*, but never in a predicative function. The particle mostly is mostly phonologically unbound. When following the adverb/postposition *-oλλo* ‘in the middle’ it becomes phonologically bound, i.e. it has been lexicalized to the adjective *-oλλo(s)demu* ‘middle’. For more information on this particle see Section 13.2.2.

- (283) *-oλλo* ‘in the middle’ *-oλλo(s)demu* ‘middle’
maʒaruq ‘in the mountains’ *maʒaruq demu* ‘mountainous’
meqi ‘far’ *meqi demu* ‘far’
aldoyo ‘formerly’ *aldoyo demu* ‘former’
huł ‘yesterday’ *huł demu* ‘yesterday’s’
žiqu ‘today’ *žiqu demu* ‘today’s’
- (284) a. *meqi demu-ni xan-i [kekir-no keru-s λok’ona-be]*
 far PRT-ATT khan-ERG send-CVB iron-GEN1 glove-PL
r-aq’er-ho hało xan-i-de-r
 NHPL-put-PRS this.OBL khan-OBL-ALOC-LAT
 ‘The far away living khan sends the iron gloves to this khan (to declare the war).’ (N)
- b. *deru=n Ø-eg^wennu-y=no Ø-oλλo-s-demu-y=no*
 how=and I-small-ERG=and I-in.the.middle-GEN1-PRT-ERG=and
ħal b-aq’er-mez b-iλ’i-š=eλ yeme-λ’o-do
 condition(III) III-put-PURP.NEG HPL-go-PST=NARR mill-SPR-DIR
 ‘The small and the middle one (masc.) decided to go in any case to the mill.’ (N)

6.7.2. Derivation of adjectives from adjectives

Hinuq has three suffixes that are used for the derivation of adjectives from adjectives: *-nnu*, *-k'a* and *-ni*.

6.7.2.1. *-nnu*

The first suffix, *-nnu*, is quite restricted in its application. It occurs only with the four adjectives that have the ending *-y* (Section 6.2.1), whereby two of them additionally need the suffix *-k'a*. The derived adjectives have the same meaning as the original adjectives.

(285)	<i>-egiy</i>	<i>-eginnuk'a</i>	'good'
	<i>gaqiy</i>	<i>gaqinnuk'a</i>	'bad'
	<i>-eg^wey</i>	<i>-eg^wennu</i>	'small'
	<i>-[?]ežiy</i>	<i>-[?]ežinnu</i>	'old, big'

The derived forms can only be used in an attributive (286a) and in a substantive function (286b). Their use in predication constructions is ungrammatical. In the attributive function it seems that both short and derived adjectives occur about equally frequently. But in substantive function the derived forms are clearly preferred.⁵³

- (286) a. *y-aq'-o hayi-r haylo Ø-[?]ežinnu žina-za-zo*
 II-come-PRS there-LAT that.OBL I-old dzhin-OBL.PL-GEN2
xan-i-š ič'č'a y-eg^wennu bercinaw-ni ked
 khan-OBL-GEN1 most small beautiful-ATT daughter
 'The smallest, most beautiful daughter of the khan's old dzhin comes there.' (N)
- b. *Ø-eg^wennu-y=no Ø-oλλosdemu-y=no "b-iλ'-ayaz"=λen,*
 I-small-ERG=and I-middle-ERG=and HPL-go-PURP=QUOT
Ø-[?]ežinnu-y "ħažat gome"=λen eλi-š=eλ
 I-old-ERG need be.NEG=QUOT say-PST=NARR
 'The small and the middle (said that they wanted) to go, the old said that there is no need.' (N)

When used as nouns case markers, number markers, and oblique stem markers are added to the adjectives. For the singular, case markers are added directly

⁵³ In my corpus there are no clear examples with short adjectives used as nouns, but there are a handful of such examples with derived adjectives.

to the stem as was shown in example (286b). For the Absolutive plural the nominal plural marker *-be* is used (287a). For all other plural forms the oblique nominal plural marker *-za* must precede the case suffix (287b). Table 42 shows some relevant case-marked and numbered forms from which all other forms can regularly be obtained.

- (287) a. *hayłoy oc'eno łeno qu xexbe b-iči b-²ežinnu-be b-iči*
 he.ERG ten five twenty children HPL-be HPL-old-PL PL-be
hibayru moł-o zoq'^we-s goł
 so teach-ICVB be-RES be
 'He taught to 15, 20 children who were there, to the old people.' (N)
- b. "se.riqon hadi ħilla b-ese goł"=*λen ełi-yo*
 anything here trick III-be.probably be=QUOT say-PRS
b-²ežinnu-za-y
 HPL-old-OBL.PL-ERG
 "There is probably some trick," say the old people.' (N)

Table 42. Derived adjectives ending in *-nnu*

	'small'	'old, big'
Absolutive	<i>-eg^wennu</i>	<i>-²ežinnu</i>
Ergative	<i>-eg^wennu-y</i>	<i>-²ežinnu-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>-eg^wennu-s</i>	<i>-²ežinnu-s</i>
AT-Essive	<i>-eg^wennu-<i>qo</i></i>	<i>-²ežinnu-<i>qo</i></i>
Absolutive plural	<i>b-eg^wennu-be</i>	<i>b-²ežinnu-be</i>
Ergative plural	<i>b-eg^wennu-za-y</i>	<i>b-²ežinnu-za-y</i>

6.7.2.2. *-k'a*

This suffix is used for the derivation of adjectives from adjectives. Adjectives with this suffix are only attributively (288a) and substantively (288b) used. The major function of this suffix seems to be to derive substantivized adjectives from most native Hinuq adjectives. The only exception are the four adjectives with the ending *-y*, which first have to be marked by *-nnu* before *-k'a* can be attached (Section 6.7.2.1). Although all native adjectives can occur without any further modification as nominals, the speakers prefer to use adjectives to which *-k'a* (or *-k'a-ni*) are attached (288b). However, derived adjectives with *-k'a* also occur in attributive, but never in predicative function. The suffix is never used with borrowed adjectives.

- (288) a. [hay=gozo ɬe eser-λ'o] gaqinnu-k'a essu-y eɬi-yo ...
 there=TOP water ask-SIM bad-ADJ brother-ERG say-PRS
 'When he asked for water, the bad brother says ...' (N)
- b. elu-de goɬ q'ono ixu y-exλ'es=no y-oč'č'u=n.
 we.OBL-ALOC be two river(IV) IV-warm=and IV-cold=and.
 y-oč'č'u-k'a-ɬ besuro-be r-exna:ho
 IV-cold-ADJ-CONT fish-PL NPL-go-PRS
 'We have two rivers, a warm one and a cold one. In the cold one the fish swim.'

Table 43 shows some case and number-marked forms of four adjectives. However, adjectives with *-k'a* are generally very infrequent in my material. The majority of adjectives that end in *-k'a* belong to one of the subclasses of native adjectives that can have the endings *-diyu* or *-duk'a*. They are presented in Section 6.7.2.3.

Table 43. Derived adjectives ending with *-k'a*

	'cold'	'dirty'	'small'
Absolutive	-oč'č'uk'a	tuturuk'a	gaqinnuk'a
Ergative	-oč'č'uk'a-y	tuturuk'a-y	gaqinnuk'a-y
First Genitive	-oč'č'uk'a-s	tuturuk'a-s	gaqinnuk'a-s
AT-Essive	-oč'č'uk'a-go	tuturuk'a-go	gaqinnuk'a-go
Absolutive plural	b-/r-oč'č'uk'a-be	tuturuk'a-be	gaqinnuk'a-be
Ergative plural	b-/r-oč'č'uk'-za-y	tuturuk'a-za-y	gaqinnuk'a-za-y

6.7.2.3. *-diyu/-duk'a*

For all adjectives that have the suffix *-diyu* this suffix can be regularly replaced by *-duk'a* and vice versa without any change in meaning (290). Some examples are given in (289).

- (289) λ'oxondiyu λ'oxonduk'a 'enormous, huge'
 ič'diyu ič'duk'a 'yellow'
 očordiyu očorduk'a 'old'
 oqondiyu oqonduk'a 'dull, stupid'
- (290) debe haw buɬe=n di b-ič-a goɬ ec'enduk'a
 you.SG.GEN1 that house(III)=and I.GEN1 III-be-INF be new
 'Your new house will be mine.' (N)

These adjectives seem to be diachronically derived because not only pairs of adjectives but also pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs based on the same stems are available. For the adjectives with the suffixes *-diyu/-duk'a*, derivational patterns like the ones illustrated in (291) can be established.

(291)	<i>gemerdek'</i> -	tr. verb	'make round'
	<i>gemerdeɬ-</i>	intr. verb	'be/become round'
	<i>gemerdiyu</i>	adjective	'round'
	<i>gemerduk'a</i>	adjective	'round'
	<i>k'ot'ondek'</i> -	tr. verb	'shorten'
	<i>k'ot'ondeɬ-</i>	intr. verb	'be/become short(er)'
	<i>k'ot'ondiyu</i>	adjective	'short'
	<i>k'ot'onduk'a</i>	adjective	'short'
	<i>k'ot'onax'or</i>	adverb	'by the shortest route'

Regularly, an intransitive verb, a transitive verb, and two adjectives belong together (see Section 9.2 for the derivation of verbs by means of *-k'* and *-ɬ*). Sometimes additional expressions such as adverbs can be derived. Synchronically, these derivational processes are no longer applicable, and the items that served as the base for the derivation do not represent words in Hinuq. The case of *gemer-* is perhaps an exception since the nouns *yeme* 'mill' and/or *yemer* 'wheel, circle' may be identified as the possible base for the derivation.

6.8. Reduplication and compounding

Hinuq has only a few examples of compound and reduplicated adjectives; of these, the majority are borrowed from Avar (see also Section 2.4.8 on reduplication). For reduplication the copy precedes the base. Typically, the copy consists of the first two syllables of the base and has a *CVCV* structure. Some examples from my corpus are given below.

(292)	<i>bat'i-bat'iyaw</i>	'different, various'	<i>c'ik'a-c'ik'araw</i>	'old, big'
	<i>xiri-xiriyaw</i>	'dear, expensive'	<i>daha-maq'aw</i>	'few, less, little'

However, the adjectives are probably already borrowed in the reduplicated form. At least the first example and the last example are also attested with the same reduplication pattern in Avar.

Similarly, there are three examples of compounding involving Avar loans (293), whereby *ʔunt'araw* and *miq'inaw* do not represent actual words in Avar (and Hinuq). At least the last adjective occurs in Avar in exactly the same form.

(293)	<i>ʒaga-ʒunt'araw</i>	'relative'	<i>ʒagaraw</i>	'relative'
	<i>ʒisi-miq'inaw</i>	'fine, minor'	<i>ʒisinaw</i>	'fine, minor'
	<i>ʒaga-boʒaraw</i>	'relative'	<i>ʒagaraw</i>	'relative'
			<i>boʒaraw</i>	'faithful, confident'

One of the very few examples of reduplicated native Hinuq adjectives in my corpus is *q'w*i*-q'w*i*ya* 'other' (or *q'uy-q'uya*), which has the same meaning as its underived base *q'w*i*ya*. This example resembles the reduplicated adjectives from Avar loans because the copy precedes the base, but the copy consists of one syllable only. There is another example: *-eg^we-ceg^wey* 'very small, tiny'. Here the copy follows the base *-eg^wey* 'small' and the first segment has been changed from the agreement prefix to /c/ (**ceg^wey* does not occur as a word in Hinuq).

There are no examples of compound adjectives involving native adjectives in my corpus. However, the dictionary presents us with a few examples that I checked with speakers. Most of them are color adjectives containing as the first part *sassu* 'dark' or *yorali* (from *yorish* 'bright'):

(294)	<i>sassu išyos</i>	'dark green'	<i>yorali išyos</i>	'light green'
	<i>sassu nikdiyu</i>	'dark blue'	<i>yorali nikdiyu</i>	'light blue'
	<i>sassu c'uddu</i>	'dark red'	<i>yorali c'uddu</i>	'light red'

6.9. Agreement

In the attributive function native Hinuq adjectives with an agreement prefix agree with their head noun in gender and number independently of the case of the head noun (295).⁵⁴

(295)	<i>Ø-²ežiy</i>	'old boy'	<i>b-²ežiy-be</i>	'old boys'
	<i>y-²ežiy ked</i>	'old girl'	<i>b-²ežiy ked-bi/</i>	'old girls'
			<i>r-²ežiy ked-bi</i>	
	<i>b-²ežiy k'et'u</i>	'old cat'	<i>r-²ežiy k'et'-be</i>	'old cats'
	<i>y-²ežiy t'ek</i>	'old book'	<i>r-²ežiy t'ek-be</i>	'old books'
	<i>r-²ežiy t'oq</i>	'old knife'	<i>r-²ežiy t'oq-be</i>	'old knives'

Only a rather small part of those adjectives that begin with a vowel have agreement prefixes. The following list of underived adjectives is exhaustive:

(296)	<i>-egiy</i>	'good'	<i>-eg^wey</i>	'small'
	<i>-ečču</i>	'fat'	<i>-²ežiy</i>	'big, old'

⁵⁴ That means, they behave differently from verbs and adverbs, which agree only with nouns in the Absolutive case.

-oλλo ⁵⁵	‘middle’	-oššu	‘inclined, crooked’
-oλuyu	‘rough, hard’	-oxoru	‘long’
-oč’č’u	‘cold’		

In addition, all forms derived from the listed adjectives and many participles used in adjectival function show agreement (if the verb has an agreement prefix, see 6.5.3 above).

In predicative function these adjectives agree with the subject of the clause (252). When used nominally, adjectives with agreement prefixes express the gender and the number of their referents by the agreement prefixes (256b). For more details on agreement see Chapter 15. Borrowed adjectives never show agreement, e.g.

- (297) *bercinaw uži* ‘beautiful boy’ *bercinaw uži-be* ‘beautiful boys’
bercinaw ked ‘beautiful girl’ *bercinaw ked-bi* ‘beautiful girls’

6.10. Degrees

Hinuq has three types of comparative constructions expressing (i) equity or similarity, (ii) comparative, and (iii) superlative. For the expression of equity or similarity the verb *-iži* ‘be similar’ or the Equative enclitic =*če* can be employed as illustrated in (298) (see also Sections 26.1.4 and 26.1.5).

- (298) *b-aq’e-n* *k’oλ-o* *alduy iše* *b-iži* *gulu*
 III-come-CVB jump-PRS white snow III-be.similar horse(III)
 ‘The horse white like the snow is jumping.’ (N)

In comparative constructions the standard of comparison is marked with the ALOC-Lative suffix (see Section 26.1.1 for more information):

- (299) *obu-de-r* *q’ono λeb-a* *Ø-²ežiy zoq’^we-n hado*
 father-ALOC-LAT two year.OBL-IN I-big be-UWPST he
 ‘He was two years older than my father.’ (N)

For the expression of the superlative, a degree adverb must be placed before the adjective. There are two degree adverbs that occur in this function: *bišun* ‘most’ which has been borrowed from Avar (300a), and *ič’č’a* ‘very, most’ (300b).

⁵⁵ This is an adverb/postposition that can have adjectival function (see Section 10.2.2.11 for examples).

- (300) a. *hadu buce goł elu-s bišun xiriyaw buce, Ramzan*
 this month be we.OBL-GEN I most dear month Ramadan
buce
 month
 ‘This month is our holiest month, the month of Ramadan.’ (N)
- b. *debez ič’č’a=n b-eti-λ’os aλ se goł?*
 you.SG.DAT most=and III-want-HAB village(III) what be
 ‘And what is your most beloved village?’ (S)

In addition to *bišun* and *ič’č’a*, Hinuq has a few adverbs that express degree. They are all Avar loan words (301). For more details on degree adverbs see Section 10.4.4.

- (301) *dižo ?isa obu-s iyo c’aq’ y-egiy aqili zoq’w e-s*
 I.GEN2 Isa father-GEN I mother very II-good woman(II) be-PST
 ‘My father Isa’s mother was a very good woman.’ (N)

6.11. Word order

There are no restrictions on the internal order of adjectives, i.e. in a sequence of two or more adjectives the order is completely free (302). Adjectives usually precede their head, but the reverse order is also acceptable.

- (302) *r-[?]eži ma?arul xaliča / ma?arul r-[?]eži xaliča*
 v-big Avar carpet(V) / Avar v-big carpet(V)
 ‘a big Avar carpet’

The order of adverbs and adjectives is fixed: the adverb must precede the adjective (303a, 303b). A detailed analysis of the word order of nouns and their attributes is given in Section 27.2.

- (303) a. *bišun b-[?]eži buλe / ič’č’a b-[?]eži buλe*
 most III-big house(III) / most III-big house(III)
 ‘the biggest house’
- b. * *b-[?]eži bišun buλe / * b-[?]eži ič’č’a buλe*
 III-big most house(III) / III-big most house(III)
 (the biggest house)

Chapter 7

Verbal inflection

7.1. Introduction

Verbs consist of a root that can be preceded by an agreement prefix and followed by various suffixes. In the simplest case a verb can consist of the root only, e.g. *nox* ‘come.IMP’ / ‘come.GT’. Categories marked on the verb are: tense, aspect, mood, evidentiality, polarity, illocutionary force, gender, and number. The categories of gender and number are fused in agreement prefixes. Hinuq verbs do not show person agreement.

According to their morphological make-up, verbs belong to two inherent sets. First, they either have an agreement prefix or not (Section 7.2.1). Second, they belong to one of the four conjugation classes (Section 7.2.2).

This chapter is structured as follows: in Section 7.2 I give a general introduction to the morphology of verbs. Sections 7.3-7.6 present tense, mood, and take a partial look at the aspect of verb forms used in independent main clauses. Section 7.7 describes verb forms used in dependent clauses, and in Section 7.8 the inflection of the copula is treated. Important semantic categories of verbs (i.e. aspect, modality, and evidentiality) are separately described in Chapter 8. Word building of verbs (derivation and compounding) is treated in Chapter 9.

7.2. General remarks on the verbal morphology

7.2.1. Verbs with and without agreement prefixes

The root of Hinuq verbs can begin with a vowel or a consonant. Only verbs that have a root beginning with a vowel can attach agreement prefixes, but in fact not all vowel-initial verbs have them. The agreement prefixes (Table 7.2.1) jointly reflect gender and number of the Absolutive argument, which usually belongs to the same clause as the agreeing verb. Some simple examples of agreement between nouns and an intransitive (304a), a transitive (304b) and an experiencer verb (304c) are given below. See Chapter 15 for more details on agreement.⁵⁶

- (304) a. *uži Ø-aq'e-s*
boy(I) I-come-PST

⁵⁶ The only exception is long distance agreement where the Absolutive argument belongs to the subordinate clause and the agreeing matrix verb to the main clause (Section 22.3).

Table 44. Agreement prefixes

Gender / Number	I	II	III	IV	V
Singular	∅-	y-	b-	y-	r-
Plural	b-	b-/r-	r-	r-	r-

‘The boy came.’

- b. *ked-i ac y-γi-yo*
 girl-ERG door(IV) IV-open-PRS
 ‘The girl opens the door.’

- c. *ked-ez k’et’u b-ik-o*
 girl-DAT cat(III) III-see-PRS
 ‘The girl sees the cat.’

The majority of verbs begins with a consonant, e.g. *c’ox-* ‘enter’, ‘fall’, *gor-* ‘put’, and *qaλe-* ‘call, sing’. About one third of the simple verb stems, which make up around 270 items, have agreement prefixes. Verbs with agreement prefixes mostly belong to conjugation classes 1 (stem-final consonants), 2 (stem-final /i/), and 3 (stem-final /e/) (see Table 50 below). Most of the verbs belonging to conjugation class 4 (stem-final long vowel) lack an agreement prefix. In this grammar, agreement is marked by an initial hyphen, e.g. *-aq’e-* ‘come’ is an agreeing verb, but *akeł-* ‘get tired’ and *neλ-* ‘give’ do not agree.

Among the verbs beginning with a vowel, almost all of the synchronically non-derived verbs take agreement prefixes, for instance *-eze-* ‘look’, *-iλ’i-* ‘go’, and *-oc-* ‘cut’. However, a number of verbs have a root beginning with a vowel, but they cannot attach agreement prefixes.⁵⁷ Among the simple underived verb stems listed in the dictionary, there are only nine vowel-initial verbs lacking an agreement prefix. They begin either with /a/ or with /e/ and belong to all four conjugation classes:

- | | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| (305) <i>azera:-</i> | ‘become cold, freeze’ | <i>aqqa:-</i> | ‘thirst’ |
| <i>axxa:-</i> | ‘suffer from acrophobia’ | <i>ezi:-</i> | ‘sieve’ |
| <i>ak’-</i> | ‘whet (a scythe)’ | <i>eλi-</i> | ‘speak, say’ |

⁵⁷ Note that strictly speaking these vowel-initial verbs have a weak glottal stop as their first segment. This glottal stop is not phonemic, but occurs with all vowel-initial words (see Section 2.2.1 for more information on the glottal stop). However, since in the glottal stop is the only segment that occurs at the beginning of the words in (305) and its occurrence is fully predictable, the verbs are treated here under the heading ‘vowel-initial verbs’.

<i>ese-</i>	‘tell’	<i>eλi-</i>	‘play’
<i>ehe-</i>	‘heal’ (intr.)		

Most of other vowel-initial verbs that lack agreement are derived from adjectives or adverbs with the causative suffix *-k* and the potential suffix *-t* and come in pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs (see Section 9.2 for verbal derivation). The adjectives and adverbs that serve as the base for the derived verbs lack agreement prefixes themselves. This mechanism is productive and therefore it is impossible to give the precise number of these verbs.

(306)	<i>aket-</i>	‘get tired’	<i>akek’-</i>	‘make tired’
	<i>igoł-</i>	‘approach’ (intr.)	<i>igok’-</i>	‘approach’ (tr.)
	<i>očordeł-</i>	‘grow old’	<i>očordek’-</i>	‘make old’

Additionally, there are a few agreementless vowel-initial verbs that are also derived but by means of other mechanisms, e.g. *ep’eλ-* ‘prick’ (intr.), ‘burn oneself’ (e.g. at a hot oven), and *oħyaı-/oħdoı-* ‘cough’.⁵⁸

7.2.2. Conjugation classes of verbs

There are four morphological conjugation classes according to the final segment of the verbal stem. These classes take different allomorphic inflectional and derivational suffixes. In this grammar I have labeled them with numbers in order to identify them easily, but when referring to them I will always add a short description for every class. The first class consists of all verbs with stems ending in a consonant, including derived causative and potential verbs (Table 45). The second class consists of all verbs with stems ending in /i/ (Table 46). The third class consists of all verbs with stems ending with /e/ (Table 47). The fourth class consists of all verbs with stems ending with long vowels (Table 48). This class includes derived antipassive verbs.

Verbs belonging to class 1 (ending with a consonant) may have the following stem-final consonants: *k, q, x, y, s, š, ł, λ, z, r* (pulmonic) and *k’, t’, c’, č’, λ’* (ejective). These verbs have *-o* as the Simple Present tense and the Imperfective converb suffix. Before adding *-o* to the stem, the final consonant undergoes lengthening, and stem-final non-pulmonic consonants lose the ejection (307). The only exception are the verbs having *-r* as a stem-final consonant; these take *-ho* in for the Simple Present tense and the Imperfective converb (this includes both derived causative verbs ending with *-r* and all other underived verbs with *-r* as the stem final consonant).

⁵⁸ The first verb is derived from the interjection *ep’eı!* ‘Oh, hot!’. The second verb most probably originates from an onomatopoeic expression.

(307)	Verb	PRS/ICVB	Verb	PRS/ICVB
	<i>nox-</i> ‘come’	<i>noxxo</i>	<i>-os-</i> ‘fall’	<i>osso</i>
	<i>-ot’-</i> ‘lay down’	<i>-otto</i>	<i>-uλ’-</i> ‘fear’	<i>-uλλο</i>

Class 1 contains three verbs with an exceptional Simple Present/Imperfective converb suffix: *-az-ho* ‘bump-PRS, bounce-PRS’ (intr.), *hil-ho* ‘bite-PRS’, and also *-ixxo* ‘take away.PRS’ (verb stem *-iy-*).⁵⁹

The majority of verbs of class 4 (stem-final long vowel) have /a:/ as the stem-final long vowel. However, there are also a number of verbs with final /i:/ and /o:/, one verb ending with /e:/ (*xede:-* ‘spin’), and one with /u:/ (*-u:-* ‘do, make’). The majority of verbs in the conjugation class 4 lack an agreement prefix. Furthermore, (almost) all verbs of this class lack the normal Infinitive and use the Purposive converb instead.

In class 4, there are also two exceptional verbs: *-u:-* ‘do, make’ and *li:-* ‘wear’. Both verbs form the Imperative and the Infinitive (and all forms derived from it, e.g. the Purposive converb) by inserting a semivowel before the respective suffix, whereby the lengthening is lost (*-u:-* > *-uw-*, *li:-* > *liy-*), e.g.

(308)	Infinitive	<i>-uw-a</i>	<i>liy-a</i>
	Purposive converb	<i>-uw-ayaz</i>	<i>liyayaz</i>
	Imperative	<i>-uw-o!</i>	<i>liy-o!</i>

7.2.3. Morphological make-up of verbs

The morphological make-up of verbs can be fairly complex. Slots in the verb are displayed in Table 49 together with six examples. All slots other than the root and given in brackets are optional. The only prefixes on verbs are agreement prefixes. The suffixes most closely attached to the root are derivational suffixes for causative, inchoative/potential, and antipassive verbs (see Section 9.2 for verbal derivation). The next slot is occupied by tense-aspect-mood suffixes of verbs

⁵⁹ These phenomena taken together seem to show that the original form of the Simple Present/Imperfective converb suffix was *-ho*.

⁶⁰ The verb *-iči-* ‘be, stand’ has the exceptional Past participle form *-iči-ru*.

⁶¹ The verb *-iši-* ‘eat’ (intr.) has the exceptional causative form *-iše-r-*, that is, the stem-final /i/ is replaced by /e/.

⁶² The verb *-iši-* ‘eat’ (intr.) has the exceptional potential form *-iše-ł-*, that is, the stem-final /i/ is replaced by /e/.

⁶³ In fast speech *-yoru* can become *-ru*.

⁶⁴ In fast speech *-yoru* can become *-ru*.

Table 45. A partial paradigm of verbs with stem-final consonants (class 1)

Gloss	Suffix	'give'	'sleep'	'eat' (tr.)	'hear'	'be tired'	'ask'	'search'
Infinitive	-a	neλ-a	-ot'-a	-ac'-a	toq-a	akeɪ-a	eser-a	hacik'-a
Simple Present	-Co/-ho	neλho	-otto	-acco	toqo	akeɪo	eser-ho	hacikko
Simple Past	-iš	neλ-iš	-ot'-iš	-ac'-iš	toq-iš	akeɪ-iš	eser-iš	hacik'-iš
Unwitnessed Past	-no	neλ-no	-ot'-no	-ac'-no	toq-no	akeɪ-no	eser-no	hacik'-no
Negative General tense	-me	neλ-me	-ot'-me	-ac'-me	toq-me	akeɪ-me	eser-me	hacik'-me
Imperative	-o/∅	neλ!	-ot'!	-ac'-o!	#	#	eser-o!	hacik'-o!
Simultaneous converb	-oλ'o	neλ-oλ'o	-ot'-oλ'o	-ac'-oλ'o	toq-oλ'o	akeɪ-oλ'o	eser-oλ'o	hacik'-oλ'o
Conditional converb	-o	neλ-o	-ot'-o	-ac'-o	toq-o	akeɪ-o	eser-o	hacik'-o
Purposive converb	-ayaz	neλ-ayaz	-ot'-ayaz	-ac'-ayaz	toq-ayaz	akeɪ-ayaz	eser-ayaz	hacik'-ayaz
Habitual participle	-λ'os	neλ-λ'os	-ot'-λ'os	-ac'-λ'os	toq-λ'os	akeɪ-λ'os	eser-λ'os	hacik'-λ'os
Past participle	-oru	neλ-oru	-ot'-oru	-ac'-oru	toq-oru	akeɪ-oru	eser-oru	hacik'-oru
Causative	-er/-k'	neλ-er-	-ot'-er-	-ac'-er-	toq-er-	akeɪ-k'-	eser-er-	hacik'-er-
Potential	-et	neλ-et	-ot'-et	-ac'-et-	#	#	eser-et-	hacik'-et-

Table 46. A partial paradigm of verbs with stem-final /i/ (class 2)

Gloss	Suffix	'find, get'	'go down'	'open'
Infinitive	-a	-aš-a	-uł-a	-ay-a
Simple Present	-yo	-aši-yo	-uti-yo	-ayi-yo
Simple Past	-š	-aši-š	-uti-š	-ayi-š
Unwitnessed Past	-n	-aši-n	-uti-n	-ayi-n
Negative General tense	-me	-aši-me	-uti-me	-ayi-me
Imperative	-o/Ø	#	-uti!	-ay-o!
Simultaneous converb	-ł'o	-aši-ł'o	-uti-ł'o	-ayi-ł'o
Conditional converb	-yo	-aši-yo	-uti-yo	-ayi-yo
Purposive converb	-ayaz	-aš-ayaz	-uł-ayaz	-ay-ayaz
Habitual participle	-ł'os	-aši-ł'os	-uti-ł'os	-ayi-ł'os
Past participle	-yoru ⁶⁰	-aši-yoru	-uti-yoru	-ayi-yoru
Causative	-r ⁶¹	-aši-r-	-uti-r-	-ayi-r-
Potential	-ł ⁶²	#	-uti-ł-	-ayi-ł-

Table 47. A partial paradigm of verbs with stem-final /e/ (class 3)

Gloss	Suffix	'forget'	'hang'	'come'
Infinitive	-a	šuł'-a	-ex-a	-aq'-a
Simple Present	-o	šuł'-o	-ex-o	-aq'-o
Simple Past	-s	šuł'e-s	-exe-s	-aq'e-s
Unwitnessed Past	-n	šuł'e-n	-exe-n	-aq'e-n
Negative General tense	-me	šuł'e-me	-exe-me	-aq'e-me
Imperative	-o/Ø	#	-ex-o!	-aq'e!
Simultaneous converb	-ył'o	šuł'e-ył'o	-exe-ył'o	-aq'e-ył'o
Conditional converb	-yo	šuł'e-yo	-exe-yo	-aq'e-yo
Purposive converb	-ayaz	šuł'-ayaz	-ex-ayaz	-aq'-ayaz
Habitual participle	-ł'os	šuł'e-ł'os	-exe-ł'os	-aq'e-ł'os
Past participle	-yoru ⁶³	šuł'e-yoru	-exe-yoru	-aq'e-yoru
Causative	-r	šuł'e-r-	-exe-r-	-aq'e-r-
Potential	-ł	#	-exe-ł-	-aq'e-ł-

used in independent clauses, the Imperative, and converbal and participial suffixes. The first slot after the derivational suffixes, i.e. the slot into which tense-aspect-mood suffixes, participle or converb markers are inserted, contains some suffixes that are morphologically complex. For instance, the affirmative Intentional Future is \emptyset -aq'-an (I-come-INTFUT). If it this form is negated the result is \emptyset -aq'-a<mi>n (I-come-INTFUT<NEG>). Another example is the affirmative

Table 48. A partial paradigm of verbs with stem-final /V:/ (class 4)

Gloss	Suffix	'wash'	'work'	'fight'	'play'	'do'	'seem'
Infinitive	#	#	#	#	#	-uw-a	#
Simple Present	-ho	k'ilik 'do:-ho	-edo:-ho	-lhi:-ho	k'osili:-ho	-u:-ho	qebai:-ho
Simple Past	-s/-š	k'ilik 'do:-s	-edo:-s	-lhi:-š	k'osili:-š	-u:-s	qebai:-s
Unwitnessed Past	-n	k'ilik 'do:-n	-edo:-n	-lhi:-n	k'osili:-n	-u:-n	qebai:-n
Negative General tense	-me	k'ilik 'do:-me	-edo:-me	-lhi:-me	k'osili:-me	-u:-me	qebai:-me
Imperative	-Ø/(-o)	k'ilik 'do:-!	-edo:-!	-lhi:-!	k'osili:-!	-u:-wo!	#
Simultaneous converb	-yλ'o	k'ilik 'do:-yλ'o	-edo:-yλ'o	-lhi:-yλ'o	k'osili:-yλ'o	-u:-yλ'o	qebai:-yλ'o
Conditional converb	-yo	k'ilik 'do:-yo	-edo:-yo	-lhi:-yo	k'osili:-yo	-u:-yo	qebai:-yo
Purposive converb	-z/ž	k'ilik 'do:-z	-edo:-z	-lhi:-ž	k'osili:-ž	-u:-wayaz	qebai:-z
Habitual participle	-λ'os	k'ilik 'do:-λ'os	-edo:-λ'os	-lhi:-λ'os	k'osili:-λ'os	-u:-λ'os	qebai:-λ'os
Past participle	-yoru ⁶⁴	k'ilik 'do:-yoru	-edo:-yoru	-lhi:-yoru	k'osili:-yoru	-u:-yoru	qebai:-yoru
Causative	stem + tok'-	k'ilik 'do:-tok'-	-edo:-tok'-	-lhi:-tok'-	k'osili:-tok'-	#	#
Causative	-r	#	#	#	#	-u:-r-	#
Potential	-t	k'ilik 'do:-t	-edo:-t	-lhi:-t	k'osili:-t	-u:-t-	#

Past participle *Ø-u:-yuru* (I-do-PTCP.PST), which is itself already diachronically complex (*-yo-ru*, see Section 7.7.4.3). Its negative form is even more complex: *Ø-u:-yo<me>ru* (I-do-PTCP.PST<NEG>). The next slot is used for adding negative suffixes. The last slot contains suffixes for the Optative and for various converbs and participles. It can be followed by case suffixes (309b) or the complementizer *ʔi* (309e).

Despite the relatively high number of slots, the maximum number of prefixes is one, and the maximum number of suffixes in inflected verb forms actually occurring in my corpus is three (309a-309e). It is morphologically possible to have a prefix plus a maximum number of three derivational suffixes, one polarity suffix, and one suffix from slot 4 or 6 (309f). However, such verb forms must be elicited. As example (309f) shows, all slots can be occupied simultaneously, except for the suffixal slots 4 and 6, which are mutually exclusive.

Table 49. Morphological make-up of verbs

(Agree)	Root	(Derivation)			(Inflection)	(Negation)	(Inflection)	(Other)
-1		-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7
	<i>k'ilik'</i>	<i>-do:</i>	<i>-ʔ</i>			<i>-me</i>		
<i>b-</i>	<i>uti</i>	<i>-r</i>			<i>-anu</i>			<i>-ʔ</i>
<i>Ø-</i>	<i>uqi</i>		<i>-ʔ</i>		<i>-iš</i>			
	<i>keki</i>	<i>-r</i>				<i>-me</i>	<i>-z</i>	
<i>y-</i>	<i>aʔi</i>					<i>-me</i>	<i>-ʔ'os</i>	<i>-ʔi</i>
<i>b-</i>	<i>oč'i</i>	<i>-k'</i>	<i>-er</i>	<i>-er</i>	<i>-iš</i>	<i>-me</i>		

- (309) a. *k'ilik'-do:-ʔ-me*
wash-ANTIP-POT-NEG
‘not able to wash’ (negative General tense)
- b. *b-uti-r-anu-ʔ*
III-turn-CAUS-MSD-SUB
‘still not turned’ (Masdar) (N)
- c. *Ø-uqi-ʔ-iš*
I-hide-POT-PST
‘I (masc.) hide myself.’ (Simple Past)
- d. *keki-r-me-z*
let-CAUS-NEG-PURP
‘without letting’ or ‘not letting’ (negative Purposive converb) (N)

- e. *y-aŷi-me-λ'os-ŷi*
 IV-open-NEG-HAB-ABST
 'not open (the door)' (negative Habitual participle) (N)
- f. *b-oč'i-k'-er-er-iš-me*
 III-cold-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PST-NEG
 '(s)he made not somebody make it cold'

I use the verbal stem as the citation form, that is, the root plus derivational suffixes, if there are any. If a verb takes agreement prefixes, this is indicated by a hyphen before the root, e.g. *-edo:-* 'work'. In the dictionary (Khalilov & Isakov 2005) verbs are given in the Infinitive or as Purposive converbs (only verbs with a stem-final vowel). Verbs with agreement prefixes are given with the prefix *b-*.

7.2.4. Native underived verbs

The most frequent patterns of native underived verbal stems are (C)VCV(:)- and (C)VC-. The majority of verbs with agreement prefixes have these stem forms (see Table 50). Counting the simple stems of consonant-initial verbs, vowel-initial and verbs with agreement prefixes (among the consonant-initial and the vowel-initial simple verb stems) listed in the dictionary leads to the results displayed in Table 50. This table includes the vowel-initial verbs listed in (305).

Table 50. Stem structures of consonant-initial verbs, vowel-initial verbs, and verbs with agreement prefixes

Stem	Conjugation class	Number of verbs	Verbs with prefix
(C)V:-	4	5	2
(C)VC-	1	55	18
(C)V Ci-	2	66	39
(C)V Ce-	3	63	22
(C)V CV:-	4	26	8
CVCya:-	4	16	0
(C)V CCe-	3	11	1
(C)V CCa:-	4	9	1
CVCVC-	1	2	1
(C)V CV CV-	2, 3	2	1
CVCVya:-	4	14	0
CVCVCa:-	4	3	0
Total		272	93

Two verbal roots consist of a single long vowel only, namely *-a:-* ‘cry, yell’ and *-u:-* ‘do, make’. Since both have a slot for an agreement prefix they belong to the (C)V:- stem form. The long vowel in verbs with a (C)V:- stem is /a:/ (three verbs), /u:/ (*-u:-* ‘do’), or /i:/ (*li:-* ‘wear’).

Most of the verbs with a (C)VCV:- stem have as the stem-final long vowel /a:/, but there are also seven verbs with /i:/, one with /e:/, and one with final /o:/. A few of these verbs belong to the group of verbs expressing sounds. Examples are *-eta:-* ‘mature, ripe’, *łeža:-* ‘laugh’, *-edo:-* ‘work’, *-ihi:-* ‘fight’, *huli:-* ‘long for’, and *xede:-* ‘yarn’.

Verbs of the form CVCya:- sometimes sound like CVCiya:-, and in fact some of the verbs belonging to this group are listed in the dictionary as CVCiya:-. But all of them have derived nouns with the stem CVCni, and never with the stem CVCini. Examples are *nezya:-* ‘moan’, *ł’ač’ya:-* ‘splash, lap’, *c’ek’ya:-* ‘chirr, rattle’, and *k’^wač’ya:-* ‘whine, yip’.

Nearly all verbs of the form CVCCE- have /λe/ as the stem-final segments, e.g. *zepλe-* ‘blink’, *q’erλe-* ‘graft, work like a mule’, and *xosλe-* ‘scratch, scrape’. Only two verbs deviate from this rule: *-exλ’e-* ‘become warm’ and *ł’elq’^we-* ‘fade, wither’ (trans.). In addition to the underived verbs with this stem structure, there are also a number of derived verbs with a CVCλe- stem (Section 9.1.3).

One of the two verbs with a (C)VVCVCV- structure has /e/ as the stem-final vowel (class 3); the other verb has /i/ (class 2). The verbs are *-ocoxe-* ‘fall asleep’, and *lalaši-* ‘overflow’.

Verbs of the stem form CVCVya:- almost exclusively denote sounds. Their root is typically a reduplicated onomatopoeic expression of the form C_iV_jC_iV_j, e.g. *babaya:-* ‘bleat’, *guguya:-* ‘mumble’, and *šušuya:-* ‘whisper’ (Section 9.1.3).

There are more complex verb stems than the ones listed in Table 50, but these verbs are all derived. They have either a stem-final long vowel, e.g. *xomorya:-* ‘cough’ (from *xomore* ‘cough’), *q’ecenna:-* ‘dispute, quarrel’ (from *q’ecen* ‘dispute, quarrel’), or *šakarya:-* ‘doubt’ (from *šak* ‘doubt’). Or they have a stem-final consonant (class 1) because they are derived with causative or inchoative/potential suffixes, e.g. *ɣ^waɣ^warek’rer-* ‘make liquid, dilute’ (from *ɣ^waɣ^waru* ‘liquid, fluid’) and *dadareł-* ‘become thin’ (from *dadaru* ‘thin’). See Section 9.2 on verbal derivation for more information.

7.3. Lexical verbs in main clauses

In the indicative mood Hinuq has five simple tense forms (Table 51) and 14 periphrastic tense forms (Table 53). In these two tables all verb forms used in indicative main clauses are exemplified with the verb *-iλ’i-* ‘go’. The tables present all suffixes and auxiliaries. Some of the verbal suffixes have allomorphs whose

usage depends on the last segment of the stem. These allomorphs are also given. There are two verbal forms that are not really simple and not really periphrastic because they can be used with or without a copula. The Simple Unwitnessed Past is always periphrastic when negated, and simple when affirmative (Section 7.5.10). The ‘Still not’ Present can be used with or without a copula.⁶⁵

The tense formation is very regular. There are no irregular verbs apart from the copula (Section 7.8).

The negative suffix, *-me*, it occurs in all negative verb forms except for the Intentional future where it is *-mi*, and the Imperative and Optative where it is *-m*.

Table 51. Simple tense-aspect-mood forms

Label	Suffixes and allomorphs		-iḵ'i- ‘go’	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Indefinite Future	<i>-as</i>	#	<i>-iḵ'-as</i>	#
Intentional Future	<i>-n, -a-n</i>	<i>-mi-n, -a-mi-n</i>	<i>-iḵ'-an</i>	<i>-iḵ'-amin</i>
General tense	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>-me</i>	<i>-iḵi</i>	<i>-iḵ'i-me</i>
Simple Present	<i>-o, -yo, -ho</i>	#	<i>-iḵ'i-yo</i>	#
Simple Past	<i>-s, -š, -iš</i>	<i>-s-me, -š-me, -iš-me</i>	<i>-iḵ'i-š</i>	<i>-iḵ'i-šme</i>

Table 52 illustrates how periphrastic verb forms (including those with a special modality such as the Intentional and the ‘Still not’ forms) are formed.⁶⁶ Periphrastic verb forms are built by combining one of eight lexical verb forms together with a form of the copula (*goḷ/gom, zoq'wes/zoq'wesme* or *zoq'wen/zoq'wen gom*). Seven of the eight verb forms that the lexical verb can have (first column of Table 52) occur also without a copula in subordinate clauses. The only form used exclusively for the formation of periphrastic tenses is the one with the Intentional suffix *-ru*. The meaning of periphrastic tenses is composed of the meaning of the lexical verb plus the meaning of the copula. The lexical verb predominantly contributes to the aspectual meaning. The copula determines time reference, polarity, and evidentiality of the periphrastic tenses. For example, all periphrastic verb forms that are built by using the auxiliary *zoq'we-n* ‘be-UWPST’ or its negative variant *zoq'we-n gom* have the evidentiality meaning ‘unwitnessed by the speaker’ and are predominantly used when telling fairy tales or legends.

⁶⁵ Since it is not an indicative verb form, it is treated in Section 8.2.4.1 of the chapter on aspect, evidentiality, and mood.

⁶⁶ In addition, there is one periphrastic verb form, the Compound Resultative Past, that is a little more complex because it is built from the the Resultative participle plus the copula *zoq'wes goḷ/zoq'wes gom*.

Table 52. Formation of periphrastic verb forms in independent clauses

Lexical verb	Auxiliary Affirmative / Negative	Present <i>goł</i> / <i>gom</i>	Simple Past <i>zoq''wes</i> / <i>zoq''wesme</i>	Unwitnessed Past <i>zoq''wen</i> / <i>zoq''wen gom</i>
Imperfective converb (-o, -ho, -yo)		+	+	+
Narrative converb (-n, -no)		(+)	+	+
Resultative participle (-s, -š, -iš)		+	+	+
Habitual participle (-λ'os)		+	+	+
Infinitive (-a) /		+	+	+
Purposive converb (-z, -ž)				
Masdar (-nu, -anu)		(+)	+	+
Intentional (-ru, -aru)		+	+	+

The majority of the verb forms express absolute past, present, and future time reference, but there are also two verb forms that express absolute-relative past time reference (Pluperfect and Pluperfect Unwitnessed). The majority of the verb forms have past time reference.

Aspect is part of the tense system, e.g. the Habitual Unwitnessed Past combines habitual aspect with past time reference (and the evidentiality value unwitnessed). More information on the aspect system of Hinuq is given in Section 8.1.

Similarly, evidentiality is part of certain tense forms with past time reference. Hinuq distinguishes neutral (i.e. no specification for evidentiality) from unwitnessed past. In general, unwitnessed past tense forms cannot be used with a first person argument. The evidentiality system is described in more detail in Section 8.3.

There is no one-to-one match between verb suffixes/forms and clause types (e.g. independent vs. dependent), i.e. the majority of the verb forms occur in more than one clause type. This makes it difficult to apply traditional terms such as 'finite' and 'nonfinite' to the verb forms of Hinuq. As a consequence, I avoid these terms in this grammar. For a discussion of the notion of 'finiteness' in relation to the Hinuq verbal system see Forker (2011b).

Table 53. Periphrastic tenses

Label	Affirmative		Negative		-iλ 'i- 'go'
	Suffix	Auxiliary	Suffix	Auxiliary	
Compound Present	-o, -ho, -yo	goł	Present time reference		-iλ 'i-yo gom
Habitual Present	-λ 'os	goł	-o, -ho, -yo	gom	-iλ 'i-λ 'os gom
Resultative Present	-s, -š, -iš	goł	-λ 'os	gom	-iλ 'i-š gom
			-s, -š, -iš	gom	
Compound Past	-o, -ho, -yo	zoq 'wes	Past time reference		-iλ 'i-yo zoq 'wesme
Habitual Past	-λ 'os	zoq 'wes	-o, -ho, -yo	zoq 'wesme	-iλ 'i-λ 'os zoq 'wesme
Resultative Past	-s, -š, -iš	zoq 'wes	-λ 'os	zoq 'wesme	-iλ 'i-š zoq 'wesme
Pluperfect Past	-n, -no	zoq 'wes	-s, -š, -iš	zoq 'wesme	-iλ 'i-n zoq 'wesme
Compound Resultative Past	-o, -yo, -ho	zoq 'wes goł	-n, -no	zoq 'wesme	-iλ 'i-yo zoq 'wes goł
			-o, -yo, -ho	zoq 'wes gom	-iλ 'i-yo zoq 'wes gom
Simple Unwit. Past	-n, -no	#	Past time reference, not witnessed by speaker		-iλ 'i-n gom
Compound Unwit. Past	-o, -ho, -yo	zoq 'wen	-n, -no	gom	-iλ 'i-yo zoq 'wen gom
Habitual Unwit. Past	-λ 'os	zoq 'wen	-o, -ho, -yo	zoq 'wen gom	-iλ 'i-λ 'os zoq 'wen gom
Resultative Unwit. Past	-s, -š, -iš	zoq 'wen	-λ 'os	zoq 'wen gom	-iλ 'i-š zoq 'wen gom
Pluperfect Unwit. Past	-n, -no	zoq 'wen	-s, -š, -iš	zoq 'wen gom	-iλ 'i-n zoq 'wen gom
			-n, -no	zoq 'wen gom	
Compound Future	-a / -z, -ž	goł	Future time reference		-iλ 'a gom
			-a / -z, -ž	gom	

7.4. Simple tenses

7.4.1. Indefinite Future

The Indefinite Future is formed by adding *-as*. This tense occurs only with verbs that have the normal Infinitive, i.e. verbs with a stem-final long vowel (conjugation class 4) are excluded.⁶⁷ There are only two examples of the Indefinite Future in my corpus, both occurring in a similar context (impersonal constructions) (310a, 310b).

- (310) a. *hoboži “r-iq-iš r-iq-as”=χen eχi-n hibayi-š*
 now V-happen-PST V-happen-FUT=QUOT say-CVB there-ABL I
gor-iš gali gor-χ’os de hibayti-r=no hayi-š=no
 put-PST step put-HAB I.ERG there-LAT=and there-ABL I=and
Ø-ik’eŋ-iš de
 I-unlock.POT-PST I
 ‘‘Be it as it might be,’’ I said, and I made a step from there to there,
 and from there I was able to free myself.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži “ha r-ič-as”=χen eχi-n*
 now ha V-be-FUT=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘Now she said, ‘‘Ok, it will be (as you want it).’’’ (N)

According to my informants the Indefinite Future refers to situations and events that will probably, but not definitely, happen.

- (311) a. *de t’ek t’ot’er-as, devez se χex^we-n?*
 I.ERG book read-FUT, you.SG.DAT what remain-UWPST
 ‘I will read this book, why do you care?’
- b. *zek-es xece-n hago Ø-aq’-as*
 tomorrow-ABL I let-CVB he I-come-FUT
 ‘The day after tomorrow he will (probably) come.’

7.4.2. Intentional Future

The suffix of the Intentional Future tense is *-an* (*-n* for those verbs that lack the Infinitive).⁶⁸ Diachronically the suffix is complex consisting of the Infinitive

⁶⁷ The only two verbs of the conjugation class 4 from which the Indefinite future can be formed are the verbs *-u:-* ‘do’ and *li:-* ‘wear’ because from them the Infinitive can be formed. Therefore, it is plausible to analyze this suffix as complex, consisting of the suffix for the Infinitive *-a*, and *-s*.

⁶⁸ Note that Hinuq also has an Intentional modality, which does not express future time reference and is not formally related to the Intentional Future (Section 8.2.3).

suffix *-a* and the segment *-n*. In order to negate the Intentional Future, the suffix *-mi* is added before *-n*.

The Intentional Future refers to actions which the speaker intends to carry out, i.e. its basic function is the expression of speaker intention:

- (312) a. *deru de hag aže y-iq'-an heču.hes, hače y-²eži:*
 how I.ERG that tree(IV) IV-bring-INTFUT alone so.much IV-big
hag aže?
 that tree(IV)
 'How will I on my own bring such a big tree here?' (N)
- b. *eli hadbe b-uher-an haze-*qo-s**
 we.ERG they HPL-kill-INTFUT they.OBL-AT-ABL 1
*dawla=*n* b-iy-an*
 wealth(III)=and III-take-INTFUT
 'We will kill them and take their wealth.' (N)

The most prominent argument of a clause of which the verb carries the Intentional Future suffix must have agentive properties and the predicate must refer to actions that the speaker can control. This includes simple and extended intransitive predicates, transitive and ditransitive (i.e. extended transitive) predicates. It excludes experiencer verbs and other verbs with non-canonical agents such as potential verbs (313a, 313b).

- (313) a. **diž me y-et-an*
 I.DAT you.SG II-like-INTFUT
 (I will love you (fem.).)
- b. **di-*qo* hag xu r-ac'-eł-an*
 I.OBL-AT that meat(V) V-eat-POT-INTFUT
 (I will be able to eat that meat.)

Experiencer verbs must be transitivized before the Intentional Future suffix can be added (314a). For potential verbs and potential constructions it is nevertheless possible to form self-addressing questions marked by the enclitic *=m* that convey doubt. In such a clause type the Intentional Future is allowed (314b).

- (314) a. *de me y-eti-r-an*
 I.ERG you.SG II-like-CAUS-INTFUT
 'I will love you.'
- b. *di-*qo* hag xu r-ac'-eł-an=*e=m?**
 I.OBL-AT that meat(V) V-eat-POT-INTFUT=Q=DOUBT
 'Will I be able to eat that meat?'

Since the Intentional Future refers to the intention of the speaker, it occurs exclusively with first persons (312a, 312b); second and third persons are ungrammatical with this tense:

- (315) a. * *meži hago Ø-uher-an*
 you.PL.ERG he I-kill-INTFUT
 (You will kill him.)
- b. * *zek iyo=n obu=n šahali-do*
 tomorrow mother=and father=and town.IN-DIR
b-iλ'-amin
 HPL-go-INTFUT.NEG
 (Tomorrow father and mother will not go to town.)

Another function of the Intentional Future is the expression of wishes. In this function the Intentional Future is used with the irrealis conditional mood expressed by the particle *q'ede*. To this function the person restriction does not apply, i.e. second and third persons are allowed:

- (316) *me Ø-uh-an q'ede!*
 you.SG I-die-INTFUT IRR
 'If you (masc.) would only die!'

The Intentional Future has a third function that is closely related to the first one. It occurs in constructions expressing intended but not yet realized actions. These constructions usually correspond to purpose clauses or to English complement constructions with the matrix verb 'want'. As the English translations, the Hinuq constructions may contain some matrix complement-taking verb like *-uŋi-* 'begin' (317a) or *-eq'i-* 'know' (317b). However, they may also be syntactically monoclausal (317c, 317d). In these constructions there is no person restriction. The reason for this apparent violation of the conditions of use of the Intentional Future seems to be that these constructions formally resemble reported speech constructions. Thus, the verb in the Intentional Future is normally marked with the Quotative enclitic (317c, 317d), and the clause containing the verb represents a first person context. For more details on intentional constructions formed with the Quotative enclitic see Section 22.2.4.7.

- (317) a. *magalu b-uti-r-an=λen Ø-uŋi-ya boboru*
 bread(III) III-turn-CAUS-INTFUT=QUOT I-begin-PTCP.LOC hot
saž yoλu.koka-λ'o λ'ere c'ox-iš=eλ
 pan cinderello(I)-SPR on fall-PST=NARR
 'When Cinderello wanted to turn the bread, the hot pan fall on him.'
 (N)

- b. *Ø-iči-yo hado Ø-eze-n [[se r-uw-an]*
 I-stand-PRS he I-look-CVB what V-do-INTFUT
r-eq'i-mez]
 V-know-PURP.NEG
 'He stands looking without knowing what he should do.' (S)
- c. *[q'idir Ø-iči-n] san zoq'e-s hes=tow hes*
 down I-sit-CVB once be-PST one=EMPH one
b-ux-an=λen
 III-take-INTFUT=QUOT
 'First (he) sat down and wanted to take one (pear).' (S)
- d. *hało-y saqu r-eq'ir-an=λen zoq'e-n [łu-z*
 he.OBL-ERG once V-learn-INTFUT=QUOT be-UWPST who-DAT
deče ʔaši Ø-eti-yo zoq'e-n=λen]
 how.much much I-want-ICVB be-UWPST=QUOT
 'Once he wanted to know who (of his daughters) loved him how much.' (N)

In questions the Intentional Future is only used with first person, but not with second or third person (318a). Thus, questions stated in the Intentional Future occur only in monologues of speakers with themselves (312a), (318b). The only way to overcome this restriction is to add the enclitic =*m* to the verb (318c). This enclitic expresses strong doubts (see Section 13.1.1.6 for more examples).

- (318) a. * *{hayłoy / me / meži} darsi-be*
 he.ERG / you.SG.ERG / you.PL.ERG homework-PL
cax-an=e?
 write-INTFUT=Q
 (Will he / you write the homework?)
- b. *{de / eli} hago Ø-uher-an=e?*
 I.ERG / we.ERG he I-kill-INTFUT=Q
 'Shall I / we kill him?'
- c. *{hayłoy / me / meži} kaɣat*
 he.ERG / you.SG.ERG / you.PL.ERG letter
cax-an=e=m?
 write-INTFUT=Q=DOUBT
 'Will he / you really write the letter?'

7.4.3. General tense

The General tense is identical to the verbal stem (including derivational suffixes). For the negative form the suffix *-me* is added to the stem. In the glossing the General tense is not marked.

This tense form has two main functions: (i) it is used for expressing present rules and characterizing states, (ii) it expresses future time reference. Furthermore, the General tense occurs in the apodosis of conditional clauses.

The first function of the General tense is to convey mental and modal and other states of people, often with verbs like ‘know’, ‘believe’, ‘allow’, ‘must’ (319a, 319b). That is, the General tense describes states that are characteristic for people. In this function it combines perfectly with derived potential verb forms expressing abilities (319c).

- (319) a. *de xec-o, de dew-λ'o boži Ø-iq-me*
 I let-IMP I you.SG.OBL-SPR belief I-happen-NEG
 ‘Let me alone, I (masc.) do not believe you.’ (N)
- b. *me Ø-iλ'-a behezi.iq idu-do*
 you.SG I-go-INF allow.I home-DIR
 ‘You (masc.) are allowed to go home.’ (N)
- c. [*keč' cax-eł-mez*] *de Ø-iči-ł-me*
 song write-POT-PURP.NEG I I-be-POT-NEG
 ‘I (masc.) am not able not to write poems.’ (N)

The General tense is used when describing recipes and other procedural texts (320a). In this text genre Imperatives also occur (Section 7.6.2), but the General tense is preferred. Similarly, proverbs, sayings, and other rules are typically formulated in the General tense (320b, 320c).

- (320) a. *γiy=no y-exir č'e-λ'o. šogra: teł dahaw te=n*
 milk(IV)=and IV-cook fire-SPR pot.IN inside few water=and
got'. haytu ɫer=gon γiy=no got'
 pour that.OBL water.IN.LAT=TOP milk=and pour
 ‘You cook the milk in a pot on the fire, you pour a little water, into the water you pour also the milk.’ (N)
- b. *rek'u-zo k'et'-i eli aq'we b-ux-me*
 man.OBL-GEN2 cat.OBL-ERG we.GEN1 mice(III) III-take-NEG
 ‘A foreign cat does not take our mice.’ (N)
- c. *hayto po?et-es r-ič-a r-aq'e ižey-be*
 that.OBL poet-GEN1 NHPL-be-INF NHPL-must eye-PL
 ‘A poet must have eyes.’ (N)

The second function of the General tense is future time reference. That is, if a clause in the General tense refers to a single situation or event, and not to some kind of rule, then the situation/event referred to will occur in the future. In this function the General tense can be combined with temporal adverbials like *zek* ‘tomorrow’ (321b).

- (321) a. *hezzo haytu-s g^wan b-aq’e*
 then she.OBL-GEN I rheumatism(III) III-come
 ‘(After climbing too many mountains), she will get rheumatism.’ (N)
- b. “*zek de haze-z y-ike-me*”=*χen eχi-yo*
 tomorrow I they.OBL-DAT II-see-NEG=QUOT say-PRS
 “‘They will not see me tomorrow,’” (she) says.’ (N)

The General tense is frequently found in the second part of realis conditional clauses (322a) (and occasionally, concessive clauses (322b) or other converb clauses) provided that the second clause expresses some rule or refers to some future situation.

- (322) a. [*haze qazaq-za-z Ø-eq’i-yo*] [...] *de*
 these.OBL Georgian-OBL.PL-DAT I-know-COND I
haze-y Ø-uher, de haze-y xece-me
 they.OBL-ERG I-kill I they.OBL-ERG let-NEG
 ‘If the Georgians get to know about this, they will kill me (masc.), they will not let me.’ (N)
- b. “*hoboy [Ø-ez-a Ø-eti-yon] Ø-iq-me*”=*χen eχi-n*
 then I-look-INF I-want-CONC I-happen-NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘Although you (masc.) want to look, you must not, he said.’ (N)

7.4.4. Simple Present

The Simple Present has the suffix *-o*, with the allomorphs *-yo* (after stems ending with /i/, conjugation class 2) and *-ho* (after a stem-final long vowel, conjugation class 4, and after a stem final *-r*). Most of the verbs with a stem-final consonant (conjugation class 1) undergo lengthening of this consonant before the Simple Present suffix *-o* is attached (Section 7.2.2). The suffix of this tense is identical to the Imperfective converb suffix (Section 7.7.2.9). The Simple Present has no morphological negative form. Instead, the negative form of the Compound Present is used (Section 7.5.2). Thus, the negative form of the Compound Present covers the meanings of the Simple Present as well as the meanings of the Compound Present.

The Simple Present is one of the most frequent tenses and occurs in a wide range of contexts. Since it is also employed when referring to future situations it might be better labeled non-past, but I stick to the traditional terminology. The most typical function of the Simple Present is the reference to events or states that hold at the time of speaking, (323a). When working with Dahl's (1985) tense-aspect-mood questionnaire, the Simple Present was (together with the Compound Present) frequently employed by the speakers in typical present progressive contexts (323b).

- (323) a. *le, me se hayti r-u:-ho?*
 hey you.SG.ERG what there V-do-PRS
 'Hey, what are you doing there?' (N)
- b. [A: I just talked to my brother on the phone. B: What he DO right now? A answers:]
haŋo-y kayat caxxo
 he.OBL-ERG letter write.PRS
 'He is writing a letter.'

It can have future time reference, as for example in true predictions about upcoming events (324a), when forecasting a situation (324b), or when expressing conjectures, plans, or intentions (324c). The General tense is used in the same kind of future situations. But in contrast to the General tense, the Simple Present does not occur in the apodosis of conditional clauses that refer to the future (e.g. see example (322a) above).

- (324) a. *zek essu-y beŋe-qo kraska b-ixi-yo*
 tomorrow brother-ERG house.OBL-AT color(III) III-paint-PRS
 'Tomorrow the brother will paint the house.'
- b. [What happens if I eat this mushroom?]
me Ø-uh-o
 you.SG I-die-PRS
 'You (masc.) will die.'
- c. *hayŋoy eŋi-yo "de b-uxxo omoq'i"=ŋen*
 he.ERG say-PRS I.ERG III-buy-PRS donkey(III)=QUOT
 'He says, "I will buy the donkey."' (N)

The Simple Present is used in statements that do not specify the time reference. These statements can be performative speech acts like baptizing and promising (325a). They may also be generic statements expressing general truths (325b). But for proverbs the General tense is preferred (320b).

- (325) a. *de ce gor-ho hało uži-λ'o Mahama*
 I.ERG name put-PRS this.OBL boy-SPR Mahama
 'I give this boy the name Mahama.'
- b. [What kind of sound do cats make?]
hagbe nezya:-ho
 they meow-PRS
 'They meow.'

Occasionally the Simple Present occurs in narratives as 'historical present'. That is, past situations are described as if they were occurring at the moment of speech and the narration becomes more vivid. The following two sentences are the first sentences of a pear story told by a speaker after seeing the film:

- (326) a. *očordiyu rek'u-y geni b-utto agorod-ma-s*
 old man.OBL-ERG pear(III) III-gather.PRS garden-IN-ABL I
aže-y-λ'o-s
 tree-OBL-SPR-ABL I
 'An old man gathers pears from the garden, from a tree.' (S)
- b. *łono q'oc'e karzina b-ič'-er-ho*
 three together basket(III) III-fill-CAUS-PRS
 'He fills altogether three baskets.' (S)

7.4.5. Simple Past

The Simple Past is formed by adding *-s* (after all short and long vowels except for /i/) or one of its two allomorphs *-š* (after short and long /i/) and *-iš* (after consonants) to the verbal stem. The suffix of this tense is identical to the suffix of the Resultative participle (Section 7.7.4.5). For the negative form the negation suffix *-me* follows the Simple Past suffix (328a). In interrogative clauses the Simple Past suffix *-s* disappears and only the verbal stem followed by the Interrogative enclitic is used (see Section 7.6.7 for some examples). Interrogative clauses are treated in more detail in Chapter 28.

Broadly speaking, this tense refers to situations and events that happened in the past and were witnessed by the speaker. However, this does not necessarily mean that the speaker was a conscious eye-witness of the event in question (327a). Therefore, this verb form is analyzed as having the evidential meaning "neutral", not as "witnessed". For more information on the evidentiality meaning of this tense see Section 8.3.2.3. The Simple Past is used when the speaker talks about situations which (s)he attended, so in my corpus it predominantly occurs in autobiographical narrations (327a, 327b).

- (327) a. *de Ø-u:-s Hinuq aλa ʔazal=no ʔač'ino bišon=no q'ono*
 I I-do-PST Hinuq village.IN 1.000=and nine 100=and two
qu=no ʔono eλa λeba-t q'ono eλa yanwar-λ'o
 twenty=and three ORD year.OBL-CONT two ORD January-SPR
 'I (masc.) was born in the village of Hinuq in the year 1943, on
 January the 2nd.' (N)
- b. *ħalt'ezi Ø-iq-iš Kebura-t oc'e=če λebu*
 work I-happen-PST Bezhta-CONT ten=EQ year
 'I (masc.) worked in Bezhta for about ten years.' (N)

The Simple Past is not used in traditional fairy tales, legends, etc, except for reported speech contexts (328a). Some, but not all, speakers also used it for telling the pear story, which they had seen before on a video tape (328b).

- (328) a. [Were the police able to fulfill the khan's command?]
xan-i-š amru t'ubazi b-iq-iš-me
 khan-OBL-GEN1 command(III) be.fulfilled III-happen-PST-NEG
ħagze-qo miliciya-qo
 those.OBL-AT police-AT
 'The police were not able to fulfill the khan's command.' (N)
- b. *ħayto uži:=gon haze-qo-r hesso geni toλ-iš*
 that.OBL boy.ERG=TOP they.OBL-AT-LAT some pear give-PST
k^wa:
 in.the.hands
 'The boy gave them some pears in their hands.' (S)

7.5. Periphrastic tenses

7.5.1. Compound Future

This tense is formed by combining the lexical verb in the Infinitive with the Present tense copula *goł*. With verbs that lack the Infinitive (almost all verbs with a stem-final long vowel, i.e. conjugation class 4) the Purposive converb is used instead. For the negative form, *goł* is replaced by its negative counterpart *gom* (329b).

The Compound Future has only future time reference. In sentences with future time reference this tense is by far the most frequent one. The major function of the Compound Future is to express predictions or forecasts of situations and events (329a, 329b). Occasionally it conveys plans or intentions (329c), but in such contexts, the General tense or the Intentional Future is generally preferred.

- (329) a. *hayłoy hawsaʔat t'et'-a goł eli xalq'i*
 he.ERG now destroy-INF be we.GEN1 folk
 'Now he will destroy our folk.' (N)
- b. *me seda=qen rek'u-z Ø-eq'-a gom*
 you.SG one.OBL=at.least man.OBL-DAT I-know-INF be.NEG
 'Nobody will recognize you (masc.).' (N)
- c. *dew-qo-s hibaw baru y-iŷ-a goł diž*
 you.SG.OBL-AT-ABL1 that wife(II) II-take-INF be I.DAT
[me=n Ø-uher-no]
 you.SG=and I-kill-CVB
 'After killing you (masc.) I will take your wife for me.' (N)

The Compound Future frequently occurs in the apodosis of realis conditional sentences because the apodosis often refers to some future situation or event, conditioned by the situation or event described in the protasis.

- (330) *[łe r-uti-r-no] [łe kekir-o] ʔurab mumpaʔat*
 water(V) V-turn-CAUS-CVB water let-COND much benefit(III)
b-iq-a goł
 III-be-INF be
 'If you turn the water in the other direction, you get much benefit.' (N)

7.5.2. Compound Present

This tense is built up from the Imperfective converb (suffix *-o* or allomorphs *-yo* and *-ho*, see 7.7.2.9) plus the Present tense copula.

There are only a few examples of the Compound Present in my corpus, and almost all of these describe current occupations of people, in the sense of a profession or a university study or other activities that they are engaged in (331a, 331b). These activities extend over a longer time span with several interruptions.⁶⁹

- (331) a. *di ked Xadizhat t'ot'er-ho goł uniwersitet-ma [...]*
 I.GEN1 daughter Xadizhat learn-ICVB be university-IN
łono eła kurs-ma hawsaʔat
 three ORD course-IN now
 'My daughter Xadizhat studies at the university, she is now in the third course.' (N)

⁶⁹ But the examples do not refer to what the speakers were doing at the moment when they were uttering the respective sentences.

- b. *hibaytu-λ'o λ'ere halt'ezi Ø-iqqo goɫ hawsaʔat*
 that.OBL-SPR on work I-happen.ICVB be now
 ‘Currently I (masc.) am working on that.’ (N)
- c. *Hinuq aλ-a-zo ʔalim-za-y hawsaʔat ʔelmu*
 Hinuq village-OBL-GEN2 scholar-OBL.PL-ERG now science
moɫ-o goɫ bat'i-bat'iyaw močaza:
 teach-ICVB be RED-different place.PL.IN
 ‘The educated people from the village of Hinuq are now teaching in various places.’ (N)

Another very similar context for the use of the Compound Present is the description of the activity that the speaker or another person is occupied with at the very moment of speaking. Thus, this tense also occurs in complements of verbs of speech (332a). Another example of the Compound Present is (332b), a sentence from a pear story, which has been reported with present time reference.

- (332) a. “*raλ' b-ič'i-yo goɫ de*”=*λen eλi-š=eλ*
 earth(III) III-dig-ICVB be I.ERG=QUOT say-PST=NARR
yoλu.koka-y
 cinderello-ERG
 ‘“I am digging earth,” said Cinderello.’ (N)
- b. [*can=no b-ux-no*] *rek''w e Ø-iλ'i-yo goɫ, igo=bito*
 goat(III)=and III-keep-CVB man(I) I-go-ICVB be near=TRANS
 ‘(At the time when he is gathering pears) a man who is keeping a goat is passing by.’ (S)

In the answers given to Dahl’s (1985) questionnaire, there are also some occurrences of the Compound Present, namely in contexts in which the progressive aspect can be expected (333a, 333b). Note that the first example represents one of the very few examples of the biabsolutive construction that I found in my corpus (Section 17.10). The Compound Present is one of the few tense-aspect-mood forms that allow this construction.

- (333) a. [Q: What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?) A by someone who can see him]
hago kayat-be caxxo goɫ
 he letter-PL write.ICVB be
 ‘He is writing letters.’
- b. [Q: Has your brother finished the letter?]

hało-y caxxo goł žin
 he.OBL-ERG write.ICVB be still
 ‘He is still writing.’

Despite many similarities, the Compound Present differs from typical progressive verb forms in one important respect: it can easily be combined with stative verbs like ‘know’, ‘love’, etc.

- (334) a. *diž ma?arul mec b-eq'i-yo goł*
 I.DAT Avar language(III) III-know-ICVB be
 ‘I know Avar.’
- b. *Maħama-z Pat'imat y-eti-yo goł*
 Mahama-DAT Patimat(II) II-want-ICVB be
 ‘Mahama loves Patimat.’

It seems that there is no profound difference between the Simple Present and the Compound Present, but the Compound Present is more specific in its meaning.

In order to negate the Compound Present the auxiliary *goł* must be replaced by its negative counterpart *gom*. This verb form is also used for negative utterances in the Simple Present (Section 7.4.4), which means that the distinction between Simple and Compound Present is lost in negative clauses. Thus, verb forms containing the Imperfective converb plus *gom* occur in all contexts in which Simple or Compound Present occur, e.g. progressive contexts (335a), with future time reference (335b), in generic sentences (335c), as historical present in fairy tales (335d), and in other contexts (335e).

- (335) a. [Q: Is your brother writing a letter right now? (=Is that the activity he is engaged in?).]
hało-y kařat caxxo gom, hago Ø-ot'-iř goł
 he.OBL-ERG letter write.ICVB be.NEG he I-lay-RES be
 ‘He is not writing a letter, he is alsoeep.’
- b. *zek eli b-edo:-ho gom*
 tomorrow we HPL-work-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘Tomorrow we will not work.’
- c. [Q: Do cats bark?]
hagbe gura:-ho gom
 they howl-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘They do not bark.’ (lit. ‘howl’)

- d. *hagoλ'o-šid ni=qen haʔu-s taliħ*
 at.that.time-on where=at.least she.OBL-GEN1 happiness(III)
b-iqqo gom
 III-happen.ICVB be.NEG
 'From that time one she does not find happiness anywhere.' (N)
- e. *haw Žanat=χen eχi-n, haw=no y-eq'i-yo gom*
 she Zhanat(II)=QUOT say-CVB she=and II-know-ICVB be.NEG
 'Her name is Zhanat, I also do not know her.' (N)

7.5.3. Habitual Present

The Habitual Present is formed by attaching the Habitual participle suffix *-λ'os* to the verb stem plus the Present tense copula *goʔ*. In negative clauses *goʔ* is changed to *gom*.

The main function of the Habitual Present is to describe habitual or characteristic situation, traditions, habits, etc. of people. This can be special habits of individuals that are not shared by other people (336a, 336b). It can also be characteristic ways of behavior and traditions of groups of people (336c, 336d). These sentences are generic and lack a particular temporal reference.

- (336) a. *raʔad-li-š xan c'aq' razi.iq-λ'os goʔ [χerba*
 sea-OBL-GEN1 khan(I) very be.pleased.I-HAB be guest
Ø-aq'e-yλ'o] hayʔoy eser-ho goʔa žo=n toλ-λ'os goʔ
 I-come-SIM he.ERG ask-ICVB be.PTCP thing=and give-HAB be
 'When a guest comes the sea king is very pleased and he gives him everything that he asks for.' (N)
- b. *de bikore-s x^wiši sasaqo gor-λ'os goʔ,*
 I.ERG snake-GEN1 skin(III) in.the.morning put-HAB be
nesa: b-iγ-λ'os goʔ'=χen eχi-yo uži:
 in.the.evening III-take-HAB be=QUOT say-PRS boy.ERG
 "I put the snake skin on in the morning, and put it off in the evening,"
 says the boy.' (N)
- c. *zamaγ-za-y b-aλ'ir-λ'os goʔ*
 shop.assistant-OBL.PL-ERG HPL-betray-HAB be
 'Shop assistants betray.' (N)
- d. *hoboži [aλ-a rek'^we Ø-uhe-yλ'o] oχra y^wede-ʔ zikru*
 now village-IN man(I) I-die-SIM seven.OBL day-CONT dhikr
eχi-r-λ'os goʔ
 say-CAUS-HAB be

‘When somebody dies, we have to read the dhikr (prayer) for seven days.’ (N)

In this function, the Habitual Present is similar to the General tense. But in contrast to the latter, the Habitual Present is generally not used in statements expressing rules, recipes, or how-to-do instructions that describe events in a more impersonal manner, not directly related to activities of people. After looking very carefully through the corpus, I found the example given in (337), which has been taken from a description of the usual way in which *cen* ‘cottage cheese’ is made. However, these examples can also be interpreted as a typical kind of human activity, not a rule that exists independently of the behavior of people.

(337) [*dah yiy goła*] *r-eg^wennu rocimu r-ux-λ’os goł*
 few milk be.PTCP V-small sieve(V) V-take-HAB be

‘When there is little milk, (you usually) take a small sieve.’ (N)

Finally, the Habitual Present refers to predictive future situations for which one is sure that they will become true. This habitual/future polysemy is frequently observed in the languages of the world, whereby the future meaning has been developed from the habitual meaning (Haspelmath 1998). This is especially common in Daghestanian languages (Tatevosov 2005). However, the future reading is restricted to stage-level predicates, i.e. predicates that denote transitory and accidental properties (338a, 338b). It is excluded for individual-level predicates that refer to temporally stable and essential properties. Thus, in (338c, 338d) only the habitual, but not the future reading is available.

(338) a. “*t’ok’aw de yoriš-a-ho y-iλ’i-λ’os gom, obu*”=*λen*
 anymore I cow.PL-OBL-ILOC II-go-HAB be.NEG father=QUOT
de eλi-yo obu-ɔo-r
 I.ERG say-PRS father-AT-LAT
 “‘I (fem.) will not look for the cows anymore,’ I say to my father.’
 (N)

b. *Madina zek y-aq’e-λ’os goł*
 Madina(II) tomorrow II-come-HAB be
 ‘Madina will come tomorrow.’

c. “*diž b-eq’i-λ’os goł*”=*λen eλi-n*
 I.DAT III-know-HAB be=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘I know it,’ (he) said.’ (not: ‘I will know it.’) (N)

d. *diž hago Ø-eti-λ’os gom*
 I.DAT he I-love-HAB be.NEG
 ‘I do not love him.’ (not: ‘I will not love him.’)

7.5.4. Resultative Present

This tense is formed by combining the Resultative participle of the lexical verb (suffix *-s* or of the two allomorphs *-š* or *-iš*) with the Present tense copula *goł*. In negative clauses *goł* is replaced by its negative counterpart *gom*.

The Resultative Present describes a present situation or the present result of a past event that matters at the time of speaking. This tense predominantly occurs in the description of states that hold at the moment of speech. These states are the result of a preceding event or action, e.g. be dead/alive/hungry, etc. (339a, 339b, 339c).

- (339) a. *de nek^we-s goł=λen eλi-n*
 “I starve-RES be”=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘I am hungry,’ he said.’ (N)
- b. *hibay haw č’agu y-iq-iš goł haw ked*
 there she alive II-become-RES be that girl(II)
 ‘There she has become alive, this girl.’ (N)
- c. *hoboži obu-s=no hes de λex^we-s goł hes*
 now father-GEN I=and one I remain-RES be one
 ‘Of father’s (children) I am now the only one remaining.’ (N)

The Resultative Present can also refer to actions with results that are of importance at the moment of speech. For example, in (340a) the result of the event of bringing is important at the present moment because the girl is dead after having eaten the apple. Similarly, the talent given by Allah is important for the recipient in (340b) because it crucially influences his life. Finally, in example (340c) the fact that the agent does not gather anything anymore is very relevant for him and his family.

- (340) a. *łu-y hibadu iši b-aq’er-iš goł hibału ked-ez?*
 who-ERG this apple(III) III-bring-RES be this.OBL girl-DAT
 ‘Who has brought this apple for this girl?’ (N)
- b. *hibayu hunar=no toλ-iš goł Allahli: hayło-z*
 such ability=and give-RES be Allah.ERG he.OBL-DAT
 ‘And such a talent Allah has given to him.’ (N)
- c. *hagoλ’o=šid hayło-z [čan-mo-λ’o Ø-iλ’i-yon]*
 at.that.time=on he.OBL-DAT hunt-OBL-SPR I-go-CONC
čan=no b-aši-š gom
 hunt(III)=and III-get-RES be.NEG
 ‘From that time one, although he goes hunting, he does not hunt anything.’ (N)

The Resultative Present is impossible if the action expressed by the verb cannot have a clear result. This is not only the case for verbs like ‘cough’ or ‘laugh’ (341a), but also for derived antipassive verbs that express not single concrete actions, but iterativity and habituality (341b).

- (341) a. * *de ʎeža:-s goʔ*
 I laugh-RES be
 (I have laughed.)
- b. * *de kayat cax-li:-š goʔ*
 I letter write-ANTIP-RES be
 (I write letters repeatedly.)

7.5.5. Compound Past

The Compound Past is formed by taking the Imperfective converb of a lexical verb (suffix *-o* or allomorphs *-yo* and *-ho*, see Section 7.7.2.9) and combining it with the Simple Past form of the copula *zoq'wes*. In negative clauses the suffix *-me* is added to *zoq'wes* (342a, 342c).

The Compound Past is most frequently used when talking about past events that the speaker has witnessed himself or herself. This tense predominantly occurs in texts that describe the memories of events that happened in the life of the speaker (342a-342c). It has the aspectual value ‘imperfective’, e.g. referring to repeatedly occurring events (342a, 342b), although it can occur with stative verbs, (342d). The Compound Past is also frequently employed when speakers translate from Russian. The Compound Past and the Simple Past have very similar semantics and are used in (almost) the same contexts without any difference for the speakers of Hinuq. The only difference between the two tenses is probably that the Compound Past is so to say more ‘imperfective’.

- (342) a. *di rok'we=n q'wat'-a-qo r-iči-yo zoq'we-s. de*
 I.GEN1 heart(V)=and street-OBL-AT V-be-ICVB be-PST I
q'wat'-a-qos idu-do nesa: taraw Ø-uti-yo
 street-OBL-AT-ABL1 home-DIR in.the.evening besides I-turn-ICVB
zoq'we-s-me
 be-PST-NEG
 ‘My heart was on the street; I (went out) in the morning and was turning back only in the evening.’ (N)
- b. *gulu-za-λ'o q'ay-be r-iqqo zoq'e-s*
 horse-OBL.PL-SPR thing-PL NHPL-bring.ICVB be-PST
 ‘They brought the things on horses.’ (N)

- c. [sowet hukumat goła] č^way-qay=no toqo
 soviet government be.PTCP killing-thing=and hear.ICVB
 zoq^we-s-me
 be-PST-NEG
 ‘At the time of the Soviet government you did not hear about killing
 and similar things.’ (N)
- d. sadaq rayon-mo-z=tow Ø-eqⁱ-yo zoq^e-s hago
 all district-OBL-DAT=EMPH I-know-ICVB be-PST he
 ‘The whole district knew him.’ (N)

In legends, myths, or fairy tales this tense usually does not occur. The only exceptions are direct speech contexts:

- (343) “me diž całi-yo zoq^e-s”=χen, “de b-uher-ho zoq^e-s
 you.SG.ERG I.DAT shoot-ICVB be-PST=QUOT I III-kill-ICVB be-PST
 me huł”=χen ełi-yo
 you.SG.ERG yesterday=QUOT say-PRS
 ‘“You shut me, you (almost) killed me yesterday,” he says.’ (N)

7.5.6. Habitual Past

The Habitual Past is formed by attaching the Habitual participle suffix *-λ’os* to the verb stem plus the Simple Past form of the copula, *zoq^wes*. In negative clauses *-me* is added to *zoq^wes*.

This tense is used to express habitual or characteristic situations, traditions, etc. that have been witnessed by the speaker at some point in the past (344a). It also occasionally refers to situations that had to occur at some point in the past (344b) but are not habitual or characteristic. This meaning of the Habitual Past resembles the Intentional Future (i.e. reference to future situations that are intended by their agents, Section 7.4.2) and may be explained by the habitual-future relation that can also be found in the Habitual Present (Section 7.5.3).

- (344) a. *de iłra-λ’o sasaqo y-ix-λ’os zoq^we-s*
 I six.OBL-SPR in.the.morning II-get.up-HAB be-PST
 ‘I (fem.) used to get up at six o’clock in the morning.’
- b. *Maħama-z ec’endiyu-λ’o-s buχe b-uw-a b-aq^e-e-λ’os*
 Mahama-DAT new-SPR-ABL I house(III) III-do-INF III-must-HAB
zoq^we-s
 be-PST
 ‘Mahama had to build the house newly.’

7.5.7. Resultative Past

The Resultative Past is formed by combining the Resultative participle of the lexical verb (suffix *-s* or one of the two allomorphs *-š* and *-iš*) with the Simple Past form of the copula *zoq'wes*. In negative clauses the suffix *-me* is added to *zoq'wes*.

This tense is used for expressing results of actions that were relevant at a certain moment in the past. It is often employed for the descriptions of states holding in the past and resulting from previous actions and events (345a, 345b). Its evidentiality meaning is 'neutral' and it occurs predominantly in autobiographic narrations (345a-345c).

- (345) a. *q'ono qura ɣera eɣa ɣeb-a-t elu-de*
 two twenty.OBL five.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT we.OBL-ALOC
r-aɣi-š zoq'we-s internat
 V-open-RES be-PST boarding.school(V)
 'In the year (19)45 a boarding school was opened in our village.' (N)
- b. *elu-s buɣe-be sadaq r-ek'wer-iš zoq'we-s*
 we.OBL-GEN1 house-PL all NHPL-burn-RES be-PST
[hadi-š b-iži-ɣ'o]
 here-ABL1 HPL-take-SIM
 'When they took us away from here, our houses were all burned down.' (N)
- c. *san de [hibayru Ø-oxe-n] Čaran Abduraħman-zo*
 once I so I-leave-CVB Charan Abdurrahman-GEN2
beɣe: ɣ'ere Ø-uqi-t-iš zoq'we-s
 house.IN above I-hide-RES be-PST
 'Once leaving (school), I (masc.) had hidden myself in the house of Charan Abdurrahman.' (N)

Like all other tense-aspect-mood forms with the evidentiality meaning 'neutral' the Resultative past can occur in fairy tales or legends that were not witnessed by the speaker, but only in reported speech (346a). It cannot be used for referring to actions lacking results (346b).

- (346) a. *de Ø-ot'-iš zeq'we-s moɣa-ho-r*
 I I-lay-RES be-PST sleep.OBL-ILOC-LAT
 'I (masc.) have been sleeping.' (N)
- b. * *ked xomorya:-s zoq'we-s*
 girl cough-RES be-PST
 (The girl coughed.)

7.5.8. Pluperfect

This tense is composed of the lexical verb together with the Narrative converb suffix (*-n* or *-no*) plus the Simple Past form of the copula (*zoq'wes*). In negative clauses the suffix *-me* is added to *zoq'wes* (348b).

Traditionally the Pluperfect is defined as denoting events that took place before a definite point in the past (347).

- (347) *oλno λebu hibaytu surat-mo-λ'o uži=n haw ked=no*
 seven year that.OBL image-OBL-SPR boy=and that girl=and
λex^we-n zoq^we-s [obu-y ked-zo hadze-z
 remain-CVB be-PST father-ERG girl-GEN2 they.OBL-DAT
b-oc'er-ho goła zaman λaq'e-yλ'or]
 III-omit-ICVB be.PTCP time(III) end-POST
 'Until the time that the girl's father had given them ended, they had remained for seven years in that image.' (N)

Cross-linguistically, the Pluperfect tends to be used not only for absolute-relative past time reference but also for referring to situations and events that happened long ago (remote past, cf. Dahl 1985: 144). In fact, other corpus examples refer to remote events and situations (348a, 348c). This tense has the evidentiality meaning 'neutral' and occurs in autobiographic narrations (348a) or in direct speech contexts of fairy tales and legends (348b, 348c). The Pluperfect is used quite infrequently; all of my four corpus examples are presented in this section.

- (348) a. *[hagbe hayi-š gučin.b.u:n] haytu raλ'-ma kekir-no*
 they there-ABL I resettle.HPL-CVB that.OBL earth-IN bring-CVB
zoq^we-s eli
 be-PST we
 'They had resettled them from there and bought us to that place (i.e. Chechnya).' (N)
- b. *hače=tow bercinaw žied diž rek^we Ø-ike-n*
 how.much=EMPH beautiful yet I.DAT man(I) I-see-CVB
zeq^we-s-me
 be-PST-NEG
 'I had not yet seen such a handsome man.' (N)
- c. [After many events that happened because only the youngest son did what the father had written in the testament he explained to the other brothers:]

obu-y elu-qo-r wasi b-u:-n zeq'we-s
 father-ERG we.OBL-AT-LAT testament(III) III-do-CVB be-PST
 “*ɬora=n ɣ^wede-ɬ hayɬo-zo sud-a-ho*
 three.OBL=and day-CONT he.OBL-GEN2 grave-OBL-ILOC
axranɬi r-uw-o”=*ɬen*
 watch(V) V-do-IMP=QUOT
 ‘Father had told us in his testament to watch his grave for three days.’
 (N)

7.5.9. Compound Resultative Past

This tense is formed by a lexical verb marked with the Imperfective converb suffix (suffix *-o* or allomorphs *-yo* or *-ho*) plus the Resultative form of the copula, which consists of the Resultative participle form *zoq'wes* plus the Present tense form *goɬ*. In other words, a predicate in the Compound Resultative Past consists of three verbs, the lexical verb plus two auxiliaries. In negative clauses *goɬ* is replaced by *gom* (349).

This tense seems to have roughly the same function as the Resultative Past: it is used for referring to relevant results of prior situations (349). According to my informants, the meaning of the Compound Resultative Past is also comparable to the Compound Past.

- (349) *hagoɬ'o=šid Muḥamad ḥaži obu-y sabab-be=n*
 at.that.time=on Mohamed Gadzhi father-ERG amulet-PL=and
caxxo zoq'e-s gom
 write.ICVB be-RES be.NEG
 ‘From that time on father Mohamed Gadzhi did not write anymore amulets.’
 (N)

This form is as well used in the description of characteristic occupations and frequent activities of people that are not necessarily the immediate result of some prior event or situation.

- (350) a. *hayɬoy kiki-yo zoq'e-s goɬ idu-s haq'u [čan-mo-ɬ'o*
 he.ERG feed-ICVB be-RES be home-GEN1 family hunt-OBL-SPR
Ø-iɬ'i-n]
 I-go-CVB
 ‘He fed his family going hunting.’ (N)

- b. *moł-o zoq'e-s goł ʔelmu, hibayru hezzo r-aq'e-s*
 teach-ICVB be-RES be science so then V-come-PST
hało-ł'o hapiz ʔumar=λen eλi-n
 he.OBL-SPR Hapiz Omar=QUOT say-CVB
 'He taught science and so he got the name Hapiz Omar.' (N)

However, the Compound Resultative Past seems to be a morphologically more complex variant of the Resultative Past than a genuine tense-aspect-mood form on its own with a meaning that is distinct from the meanings of all other tense-aspect-mood forms. This form has been used by one speaker only, who apparently employs the Resultative Past in similar contexts. For instance, in the first sentence of the following example the speaker uses the Resultative Past, whereas in the subsequent sentence, which extends the facts reported in the first sentence with a negative statement, the Compound Resultative Past has been used.

- (351) *Cezi=n Hinuze=n=xa C'unt'a rayon-mo-ł-er aldoyo*
 Tsez=and Hinuq=and=EMPH Tsunta region-OBL-CONT-LAT formerly
b-iλ'i-š goł. Kebura aldoyo b-iλ'i-yo zoq'e-s gom
 HPL-go-RES be Bezhta formerly HPL-go-ICVB be-RES be.NEG
 'Formerly (only) Tsez and Hinuq (people) were part of the Tsunta district; formerly Bezhta did not participate.' (N)

The Compound Resultative Past has the evidentiality meaning 'neutral'. It can co-occur with first persons.

7.5.10. Simple Unwitnessed Past

The Simple Unwitnessed Past is formed by adding the Narrative converb suffix (-*n* or -*no*) to the stem of the lexical verb. Only the negative form of this tense is morphologically complex because it is built by adding the negative copula *gom* to the Narrative converb (352b).

The Simple Unwitnessed Past combines the evidentiality value of 'unwitnessed' (for more information see Section 8.3.2.4) with past time reference. It refers to recent and remote past events, states, and situations and is most often used when telling fairy tales, legends, or myths.

- (352) a. *Ø-aq'e-n Malla Rasadan λerba-zo buλe-ho-r*
 I-come-UWPST Mullah Nasrudin guest-GEN2 house-ILOC-LAT
 'Mulla Nasrudin came to the house of his friend.' (N)

- b. [y-aši-me-λ'o] hazey hacik'-no gom t'ok'aw haw
 II-find-SIM-NEG they.ERG search-UWPST be.NEG anymore she
 'When they did not find her, they did not look anymore for her.' (N)
- c. y^wadi: haw muh b-ac'-no. hag žo haylu
 crow.ERG that grain(III) III-eat-UWPST that thing that.OBL
 k'et'-ez r-eq'i-n
 cat.OBL-DAT V-know-UWPST
 'The crow ate that grain. The cat knew about that.' (N)

With the verb *-eti-* 'want' the Simple Unwitnessed Past does not have the evidentiality meaning it usually has and refers to states which are currently true. With this verb, first person is allowed in assertions (353a), and second person in questions. With the verb *-eti-* the additional use of *goł* in affirmations is possible though not necessary. Normally, the use of the copula in clauses where the lexical verb has the Simple Unwitnessed Past form are judged by speakers as ungrammatical (353b). Thus, the possibility of using first person with *-etin* may be due to the fact that with this verb the affirmative Present tense copula can co-occur, therefore *-etin* is in fact not a Simple Unwitnessed Past tense form, but a Narrative converb form that does not have an evidentiality value of its own.

- (353) a. "diž biša r-eti-n, de nek^we-s goł"=λen
 I.DAT food(V) V-want-UWPST I starve-RES be=QUOT
 eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 "'I want food, I am hungry,'" he said.' (N)
- b. * y^wadi: haw muh b-ac'-no goł
 crow.ERG that grain(III) III-eat-UWPST be
 (The crow ate the grain.)

Interestingly, this argumentation cannot be transferred to the negated Simple Unwitnessed Past. Although the negative form is analytic containing the negative copula *gom*, it retains the evidentiality value 'unwitnessed' and cannot occur with first persons (354a), except for the verb *-eti-*. For more details on the category of evidentiality in Hinuq see Section 8.3.

- (354) a. * de hayło-λ'o boži y-iq-no gom
 I he.OBL-SPR belief II-happen-UWPST be.NEG
 (I (fem.) did not believe him.)
- b. me diž Ø-ik-ayaz Ø-eti-n gom
 you.SG I.DAT I-see-PURP I-want-UWPST be.NEG
 'I do not want to see you (masc).'

7.5.11. Compound Unwitnessed Past

This tense is formed by combining a lexical verb marked with the Imperfective converb suffix (*-o* or allomorphs *-yo* and *-ho*, see Section 7.7.2.9) with *zoq'wen*, the Unwitnessed Past form of the copula. In negative clauses the negative copula *gom* follows *zoq'wen* (355a, 355d).

The Compound Unwitnessed Past refers to events and situations in the past that have not been witnessed by the speaker. This tense occurs quite frequently in traditional stories, fairy tales (355a, 355b), legends (355c), and when telling anecdotes from other people's lives (355d). Its semantics are very similar to the Simple Unwitnessed Past. There is only a slight difference with regard to the aspectual value of both categories: the Compound Unwitnessed Past, but not the Simple Unwitnessed Past, is overtly marked for imperfectivity and is thus slightly more often used in imperfective contexts as illustrated in example (355b). However, as all other compound tenses in Hinuq, it can occur with stative verbs (355d).

- (355) a. *haw ked y-uq'er=tow y-aq'-o zoq'we-n gom*
 that girl(II) II-heal=EMPH II-come-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
 'They did not heal the girl.' (N)
- b. *y^wedes hagze-y [b-uher-no boŋi=n] b-aq'er-ho*
 daily they.OBL-ERG III-kill-CVB deer(III)=and III-bring-ICVB
zoq'we-n
 be-UWPST
 'Every day they killed a deer and brought it (home).' (N)
- c. *hoboži [hay č'e=n gor-no] [...] r-eša:ho zoq'we-n*
 now there fire=and put-cvb V-bake-ICVB be-UWPST
Ibrahim-i hag mihi
 Ibrahim-ERG that tail(V)
 'After making fire [...] Ibrahim baked the tail.' (N)
- d. *haq'iq'atalda t'ot'er-ho zoq'we-n haytoy č'egen, amma*
 really read-ICVB be-UWPST he.ERG Koran(IV) but
y-eq'i-yo zoq'we-n gom
 IV-know-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
 'In reality he read the Koran, but he did not know it.' (N)

7.5.12. Habitual Unwitnessed Past

The Habitual Unwitnessed Past is formed by attaching the Habitual participle suffix *-x'os* to the verb stem and adding the Unwitnessed Past form of the cop-

ula, *zoq'wen*. In negative clauses *gom* follows *zoq'wen* (356b). This tense has the same function as the Habitual Past except for its evidentiality value. This means that the habitual or characteristic situations, traditions, habits, etc. expressed with this tense have not been witnessed by the speaker (356a, 356b). Like its counterpart, the Habitual Past, it can also refer to situations that occurred habitually (e.g. in example (344b) above *zoq'wes* could be easily replaced by *zoq'wen*, and only the evidentiality value would change).

- (356) a. *ʔac teʔ-edo y-aʔi-ʔ'os zoq'we-n*
 door(IV) inside-DIR IV-open-HAB be-UWPST
 'The door opened from inside.' (N)
- b. *aldoʔo ahlu-mo-y k'al y-ux-ʔ'os zoq'we-n*
 formerly folk-OBL-ERG fasting(IV) IV-keep-HAB be-UWPST
gom
 be.NEG
 'In former times the people did not fast.'

7.5.13. Resultative Unwitnessed Past

This tense is formed by using the Resultative participle of the lexical verb (suffix *-s* or one of the two allomorphs *-š* or *-iš*) together with the Unwitnessed Past form of the copula (*zoq'wen*). In negative clauses the negative copula *gom* follows *zoq'wen*.

The Resultative Unwitnessed Past is used when reporting about past events with relevant results. It has the evidentiality value 'unwitnessed'; thus it predominantly occurs in telling traditional stories and fairy tales (357a, 357b). But I also found examples in one of the pear stories (357c) and in the answers that were given to Dahl's (1985) questionnaire (357d).

- (357) a. *haʔo-z hezzor iyo ʔex^we-s zoq'we-n, obu*
 he.OBL-DAT back mother remain-RES be-UWPST father(I)
Ø-uhe-s zoq'we-n
 I-die-RES be-UWPST
 'His mother was alive, his father had died.' (N)
- b. *hag heyu y-oʔʔoku bex-o-s y-ič'-iš zoq'we-n*
 that hayloft(IV) IV-half grass-OBL-GEN1 IV-fill-RES be-UWPST
 'That hayloft had been filled up to the half with grass.' (N)
- c. *šlyapa y-iʔ'i-š zoq'e-n*
 hat(IV) IV-fall-RES be-UWPST
 'The hat had fallen down.' (S)

- d. [He wrote the letter during my absence.]

[*de huł idu-r Ø-aq 'e-yλ'o] hało-y q'ono kayat*
 I yesterday home-LAT I-come-SIM he.OBL-ERG two letter
cax-iš zoq'e-n
 write-RES be-UWPST

‘When I (masc.) came home yesterday, he had already written two letters.’

As all other resultative tenses, it can not co-occur with predicates that normally lack results:

- (358) * *hago axxa:s zoq'w'e-n*
 he suffer.from.acrophobia-RES be-UWPST
 (He suffered from acrophobia.)

7.5.14. Pluperfect Unwitnessed

This tense is formed by combining the Narrative converb of the lexical verb (suffixes *-n* or *-no*) with the Unwitnessed Past form of the copula (*zoq'w'en*). In negative clauses the negative copula *gom* follows *zoq'w'en* (359b).

The Pluperfect Unwitnessed expresses absolute-relative past time reference in combination with the evidentiality value ‘unwitnessed’. This means that it is employed when talking about events that happened before a certain moment in the past and were not witnessed by the speaker. For instance, in example (359a) the event of recognizing the girl by her smell belongs itself to the past and serves as reference point for another preceding event, the hiding of the girl. The girl had hidden herself before the men recognized her, so the hiding event has been coded with the Pluperfect Unwitnessed. The time point in the past that serves as the reference point for the event or situation expressed with the Pluperfect Unwitnessed is often not explicitly mentioned in the text but only given by the context. Note that in (359c) the beneficiary is a first person pronoun although the clause has the evidentiality value ‘unwitnessed’. This is an example of the ‘first-person effect’, i.e. the use of the first person with an unwitnessed past tense form that creates a mirative overtone. The speaker had forgotten about the testament, but then it comes suddenly to his mind almost like a surprise (see Section 8.3.2.4 for more information).

- (359) a. *hoboži haw y-uqił-no zoq'e-n, maħ-mo-λ'o-zo*
 now she II-hide-CVB be-UWPST smell-OBL-SPR-ABL2
y-eq'ir-no haze-y haw
 II-get.to.know-UWPST they.OBL-ERG she

- ‘After she had hidden, they recognized her by her smell.’ (N)
- b. *hayto rek’u-z Malla Nasrudin neteqen Ø-ike-n*
 that.OBL man.OBL-DAT Mullah Nasrudin(I) never I-see-ICVB
zoq’^we-n gom
 be-UWPST be.NEG
 ‘That man had never seen Mullah Nasrudin.’ (N)
- c. *buqlič’at q’idi Ø-iči-n rok’x’o r-aq’e-n, “wallah*
 in.the.evening down I-sit-CVB by.heart V-come-UWPST, by.God
pulanaw obu-y diž wasi b-u:-n zoq’^we-n”
 certain father-ERG I.DAT testament(III) III-do-CVB be-UWPST
 ‘In the evening he sat down and remembered, by God, father had left
 me a testament.’ (N)

As common for pluperfects in a number of languages, the Pluperfect Unwitnessed is also used when telling events that are supposed to have happened in the remote past (360a). In this use the Pluperfect Unwitnessed does not have relative past time reference, but rather absolute time reference. Its function is then to set the scene for narration, e.g. to indicate that the following story belongs to the remote past, and therefore the Pluperfect Unwitnessed is usually restricted to the first introductory sentence. For instance, (360b) is the beginning of a fairy tale that then proceeds in the Compound Unwitnessed Past.

- (360) a. *haytu ked-es iyo y-uh-en zoq’e-n*
 that.OBL girl-GEN1 mother(II) II-die-CVB be-UWPST
 ‘The mother of that girl had already died.’ (N)
- b. *seda aλ-a žumru b-u:-n zoq’^we-n [...]*
 one.OBL village-IN life(III) III-do-CVB be-UWPST
zurmaqan-i=n q’iliqan-i=n
 zurna.player-ERG=and drummer-ERG=and
 ‘In one village lived [...] a zurna player and a drummer.’ (N)

7.6. Non-indicative moods

7.6.1. Introduction

The following non-indicative moods occur in Hinuq: Imperative/Prohibitive, Optative, Irrealis Conditional, Conditional Past, and Conditional Unwitnessed Past. Additionally, the interrogative verb forms of the Simple Past differ in their morphological make-up from the forms used in assertive sentences. Some examples

are given in Section 7.6.7, but see also Chapter 28. All non-indicative moods are illustrated in Table 54.

Furthermore, the category of modality is part of the verbal system of Hinuq. Modality, as opposed to mood, is treated separately in Section 8.2.

7.6.2. Imperative

Verbs of the conjugation classes 1-3 (i.e. verbs with stem-final consonants, verbs with stem-final /i/ or /e/) form their Imperative according to their transitivity, independently of whether they are derived or simple verbs. Transitive verbs have almost exclusively *-o* as the Imperative suffix; intransitive have usually a zero Imperative (i.e. the stem is used as the Imperative). There are two exceptions from this rule: the intransitive verb *-uh-* ‘die’ takes the Imperative ending *-o*, e.g. *Ø-uh-ó!* ‘I-die-IMP!’ (said to a man). The ditransitive verb *neλ-* ‘give’ has the zero Imperative, e.g. *neλ!* ‘give!’.

Verbs with a stem-final long vowel (i.e. conjugation class 4) always have the stem as Imperative, independently of their transitivity, e.g. *čay ga!* ‘Drink tea!’. The only two exceptions to this rule are *-u:-* ‘do’ and *li:-* ‘wear’, which have a semivowel inserted before the Imperative suffix *-o* thereby shortening the stem vowel: *-uwo!*, *liyo!*

Imperatives occur only with second person. They can be used with or without second person pronouns. They express commands and requests (361a) and occasionally occur in procedural texts (361b).

- (361) a. *hoboži me Ø-ułi di-žo moqoli-λ'o-s!*
 now you.SG I-go.down I.OBL-GEN2 back-SPR-ABL1
 ‘Now you (masc.) come down from my back!’ (N)
- b. *t'ot'-o yiy, hoboži y-iq'-o idu-do yiy, got'-o*
 milk-IMP milk(IV) now IV-bring-IMP home-DIR milk pour-IMP
biλ!
 curdled.milk
 ‘Milk the milk, now bring it home and pour the curdled milk!’ (N)

Those intransitive verbs that have an agreement prefix agree in gender and number with the addressee to whom the Imperative is directed (361a).

- (362) a. *[deče yaħ b-u:-n] y-iq'-o me hag*
 how.much patience(III) III-do-CVB IV-bring-IMP you.SG.ERG that
idu-r
 home-LAT
 ‘You bring it home with patience!’ (N)

Table 54. Non-indicative moods

Label	Affirmative		Negative		<i>-iλ' i- 'go'</i>	
	Suffix, particle	Auxiliary	Suffix, particle	Auxiliary	Affirmative	Negative
Imperative	-o / -∅	#	-om, -yom	#	-iλ' i	-iλ' i-yo-m
Optative	-λo	#	-omλo, -yomλo	#	-iλ' i-λo	-iλ' i-yo-m-λo
Irrealis Conditional	q'ede	goti	q'ede	goti	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wes}	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wes} esme
Conditional Past	-a / -z, -ẓ	zoq ^{'wes}	-a / -z, -ẓ	zoq ^{'wes} esme	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wes} en	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wes} en gom
Conditional Unwit. Past	-a / -z, -ẓ	zoq ^{'wen}	-a / -z, -ẓ	zoq ^{'wen} gom	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wen}	-iλ' -a zoq ^{'wen} en gom
Interrogative Simple Past	-i, -y,	#	-ime, -yme,	#	-iλ' i-ye	-iλ' i-me
	-(y)e		-(y)eme			

- b. *hoboži kekir-o de, hes=gozon mus=no b-ux-o,*
 now let-IMP I one=ADD hair(III)=and III-take-IMP
me=n idu-do Ø-iλ'i!
 you.SG=and home-DIR I-go
 'Now you let me free, take another hair and go home!' (said to a man) (N)

The two labile verbs that have a stem-final consonant (*t'ot'(e)r-* 'read, study', *-ič'* 'fill') take the Imperative suffix *-o*, regardless of whether they occur as intransitive or as transitive verbs (see Section 16.8 for more information on labile verbs and more examples).

- (363) *uniwersitet-ma t'ot'r-o!*
 university-IN study-IMP
 'Study at the university!'

Experiencer verbs cannot form Imperatives for semantic reasons. Experiencer verbs denote events and situations that are not controlled by the most prominent argument and can thus not be expressed with interrogative illocutionary force. If speakers are asked to utter a sentence like 'see!' or 'forget!' then they give the Imperative of the causative verb, which has been derived on the base of the experiencer verb, e.g. *-aši-* 'find' becomes *-ašir-* 'catch', *-ike-* 'see' becomes 'show' (364a-364b). The Imperative of the causativized experiencer verbs is in accordance with the lexical meaning of the causativized verbs, e.g. *-ike-r-* means 'show', so its imperative *-ikero!* means 'Show (him)!'. Other experiencer verbs do not change the meaning but only the valency frame when they are causativized, e.g. *šuλ'e-r-* 'forget-CAUS' still means 'forget' (transitive), so the imperative of the causativized verb is *šuλ'ero!* 'Forget (it)!'.

- (364) a. *Ø-aši-r-o hago uži [ni Ø-ese-yon]!*
 I-find-CAUS-IMP that boy(I) where I-be.probable-CONC
 'Find this boy wherever he is!' (N)
- b. *y-iker-o di-go debe mecu!*
 IV-show-IMP I.OBL-AT you.SG.GEN1 forearm(IV)
 'Show me your forearm!' (N)

Derived intransitive verbs can form the Imperative, but it may be somewhat difficult to think of the right context. For example, sentences such as the following ones could be uttered in a fairy tale by a magician.

- (365) a. *qešu, alde!*
 wall become.white
 ‘Wall, become white!’
- b. *ac, y-ayi!*
 door(IV) IV-open
 ‘Door, open!’

7.6.3. Prohibitive

The Prohibitive is the negative counterpart of the Imperative. It has the suffix *-om* if the verb has a stem final consonant (i.e. conjugation class 1) and *-yom* for all other verbs (including *-u:-* ‘do’ and *li:-* ‘wear’, which have *-uyom!* and *li.yom!* as their Imperatives). So the intransitive vs. transitive distinction found in the Imperative is cancelled.

As its affirmative counterpart, the Prohibitive is only used with second persons. It expresses negative commands, i.e. prohibitions. It occurs with or without second person pronouns. The experiencer verbs do not form the Prohibitive for the same reasons for which they do not form the Imperative (366d).

- (366) a. *“hago meži Ø-uher-om!”=χen eχi-n*
 he you.PL.ERG I-kill-PROH=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘“You do not kill him!” he said.’ (N)
- b. *“łora ambar-ma-r Ø-iχ'i-yom!”=χen eχi-n*
 three.OBL store.house-IN-LAT I-go-PROH=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘“Do not go into the third store house!” it said.’ (said to a man)
 (N)
- c. *ħaži, cax-om sabab-be! devez zaral b-uw-a*
 Gadzhi write-PROH amulet-PL you.SG.DAT harm(III) III-do-INF
goł
 be
 ‘Gadzhi, do no write amulets, this will harm you.’ (N)
- d. * *devez hado uži Ø-eti-yom!*
 you.SG.DAT this boy(I) I-want-PROH
 (Do not love this boy!)

7.6.4. Optative

For the formation of the Optative the suffix *-ło* is attached to the verb stem. The Optative expresses wishes and hopes. It is used for traditional wishes (367a,

367b) but also for all other kinds of wishes or damnations. The beneficiary or maleficiary is marked with the Dative case (367c). For the negative form the Optative suffix *-xo* is added to the Prohibitive *-(y)om* (367b).

- (367) a. *hune kekir-xo!*
way send-OPT
'Have a safe trip!' (N)
- b. *rok'-x'o b-²eži uryel=no [lagi-qo*
hear.OBL-SPR III-big sorrow=and body.OBL-AT
b-ux-eł-iš-me] unti=n kekir-om-xo!
III-keep-POT-RES-NEG disease=and send-PROH-OPT
'May there be no big sorrows on the heart and no disease that the
body is not able to withstand!' (N)
- c. *"xan-łi=n devez r-iči-xo!"=xen ełi-n*
khan-ABST=and you.SG.DAT V-be-OPT=QUOT say-CVB
'"May the kingdom also be for you!" he said.' (N)
- d. *me q'imucuł'er Ø-ił'i-xo!*
you.SG head.over.heals I-go-OPT
'May you (masc.) fall upon your head!'

The Optative is also used in exhortations to actions by third person agents (368a, 368b), and it can express permission or indifference. For instance, the answer in (368c) could be given by a mother as the permission to go or by somebody who is indifferent to the activities of Patimat.

- (368) a. *"hago debe Ø-egennu essu=łun Ø-iči-xo!"=xen*
he you.SG.GEN I I-young brother(I)=AS I-be-OPT=QUOT
ełi-yo
say-PRS
'"May he be your younger brother!" (it) says.' (N)
- b. *łali=n Madina=n di-de-r nox-xo!*
Ali=and Madina=and I.OBL-ALOC-LAT come-OPT
'May Ali and Madina come to me!'
- c. *Pat'imat Madina-de-r y-ił'-a behezi.y.iq-e? y-ił'i-xo!*
Patimat(II) Madina-ALOC-LAT II-go-INF allow.II-Q II-go-OPT
'Is Patimat allowed to go to Madina? Let her go!'

The Optative does not have any person restrictions, i.e. it can occur with all persons (369a, 369b), not only with second person (367d).

- (369) a. *“de po?et=ʔun Ø-iq-ʔo!”=ʔen eʔi-n*
 I poet=AS I-become-OPT=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘“May I (masc.) become a poet!” I said.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži hayʔuy xode-n “waqi=čey q’imu*
 now she.ERG request-UWPST walnut=EQ head(V)
r-iq-ʔo di-žo uži-š!”=ʔen
 V-become-OPT I.OBL-GEN2 son-GEN1=QUOT
 ‘She begged, “May the head of my son may become like a walnut!”’
 (N)

The Optative can occur with all verbs, including experiencer verbs that do not form the Imperative. Compare the following two examples with examples (364a) and (364b) above.

- (370) a. *debez ked y-aši-ʔo!*
 you.SG.DAT girl(II) II-find-OPT
 ‘May you find yourself a girl!’
- b. *debez essu Ø-ike-ʔo!*
 you.SG.DAT brother(I) I-see-OPT
 ‘May you see your brother!’

7.6.5. Irrealis conditional

Irrealis conditional sentences typically show a special marking in the protasis as well as in the apodosis. The protasis contains the particle *q’ede* preceded by the lexical verb marked with any of the tense-aspect-mood forms that occur in independent clauses, i.e. Simple Present (371a), Compound Present, Simple Past (371b), and Unwitnessed Past, Intentional Future and even the “Still not” Present. Only General tense forms on the lexical verb are excluded. The apodosis, on the other hand, contains either the lexical verb marked with the General tense and *goʔi*, the irrealis form of the copula (371a, 371b) or some Conditional Past form (see examples (374a) and (374b) in Section 7.6.6). Irrealis conditional sentences express low probability, typically counterfactual meanings.

- (371) a. *[de č’agu goʔ q’ede] [de-de purho=no nox-no] di*
 I alive be IRR I.OBL-ALOC near=and come-CVB I.GEN I
omoq’i b-uher-me goʔi meži
 donkey(III) III-kill-NEG be.IRR you.PL.ERG
 ‘If I were alive, you would not come near me and kill my donkey.’
 (N)

- b. [*debez bahaduraw rek^we=n hayto-s haw*
 you.SG.DAT brave man=and he.OBL-GEN1 that
hawa-λ'o-s gulu=n kabadu b-ike-s q'ede] eli
 air-SPR-ABL1 horse=and black HPL-see-PST IRR we
b-iṭi=tow me=n aq'lu-λ'o-s Ø-iλ'i
 HPL-similar=EMPH you.SG=and consciousness-SPR-ABL1 I-go
goṭi
 be.IRR
 'If you had seen the brave man and his black horse in the air, you
 would have lost consciousness like we did.' (N)

It is possible to mark only the protasis with *q'ede*, whereas the apodosis just contains verb forms used in independent indicative clauses. In this case an irrealis conditional interpretation is sometimes nonetheless possible.

- (372) [*seda q^wena minut-ma k^wat'izi Ø-iq-iš q'ede] hibayṭi=n*
 one.OBL two.OBL minute-IN be.late I-happen-PST IRR there=and
de Ø-uh-o zoq^we-s
 I I-die-ICVB be-PST
 'If he had come one, two minutes later, I (masc.) would have died there.'
 (N)

In irrealis conditional clauses lacking an apodosis (and thus lacking *goṭi*), the use of *q'ede* leads to an irreal optative interpretation (373a) that expresses unrealized wishes (373b). Note that in this context the Intentional Future can co-occur with the second person, perhaps because it expresses the intention of the speaker (373b).

- (373) a. [*q'iloza-go Ø-ece-mez] [xemza-go Ø-ece-n*
 board.OBL.PL-AT I-tie-PURP.NEG stone.OBL.PL-AT I-tie-UWPST
q'ede] de raṭad-li-ṭ-edo kur-ho ahlu-mo-y
 IRR I sea-OBL-CONT-DIR throw-PRS folk-OBL-ERG
 'If only the people would have tied me, not to boards, but to stones
 and thrown me into the sea!' (N)
- b. *me Ø-uh-an q'ede!*
 you.SG I-die-INTFUT IRR
 'If you (masc.) would only die!'

7.6.6. Conditional Past and Conditional Unwitnessed Past

Hinuq has two tense-aspect-mood forms that morphologically and semantically correspond to the Compound Future: the Conditional Past and the Conditional Unwitnessed Past. The Conditional Past is formed by combining the lexical verb in the Infinitive with the Simple Past form of the copula, *zoq'wes*. With verbs that lack the Infinitive (i.e. conjugation class 4), the Purposive converb is used instead. In negative clauses the suffix *-me* is added to *zoq'wes*.

This mood expresses hypothetical and counterfactual events and situations that are located in the past. It has the evidentiality meaning 'neutral'. Although the described events did not actually occur, the speaker assumes that s/he would have been present at the event in question if it had occurred. Due to this meaning, the Conditional Past occurs in the apodosis of irrealis conditional sentences that express counterfactual situations (for more details on Irrealis conditional sentences see Section 7.6.5):

- (374) a. [*di r-iq-iš-me q'ede*] *hadbe=n aldoxo*
 I.GEN I NHPL-happen-PST-NEG IRR these=and in.front
c'uk'-no de hadi-r Ø-aq'-a zoq'we-s-me
 drive-CVB I here-LAT I-come-INF be-PST-NEG
 'If they were not mine, I (masc.) would not have come here driving them.' (N)
- b. [*b-eq'i-š q'ede*] *b-iλ'-a zoq'we-ye bazargam-be*
 III-know-PST IRR HPL-go-INF be-Q merchant-PL
yeme-λ'o?
 mill-SPR
 'If they had known this, would the merchants have gone to the mill?' (N)

In clauses lacking a protasis the Conditional Past is used to express 'future in the past' contexts, i.e. events and situations which had still not happened at the moment of time in the past that serves as reference point, but were expected to happen at some time after the reference point. For example, (375) is a sentence from a story about Mulla Nasrudin. Mulla Nasrudin says that if at a certain moment in the past the people of the village had treated him differently he would have received more sheep than he actually received. This meaning of the Conditional Past is not at all surprising since it formally resembles the Compound Future: the Infinitive/Purposive form of the lexical verb is combined with a copula verb.

- (375) *hibago*λ'o-r *diž* [*q'ono x^win* *y-ič'-ače*] *be*λ'
 at.that.time-LAT I.DAT two pasture(IV) IV-fill-TERM sheep(V)
r-aš-a zoq^we-s
 V-get-INF be-PST
 'Then I would have gotten two pastures (lit. mountains) filled with sheep.'
 or 'I was about to get two pastures filled with sheep.' (N)

The Conditional Unwitnessed Past is formally and functionally almost identical with the Conditional Past, but where the Conditional Past uses the Simple Past tense form, the Conditional Unwitnessed Past uses the Unwitnessed tense form of the copula (*zoq^wen*). In negative clauses *gom* follows *zoq^wen* (376).

With respect to the function, the only difference between the two moods is their evidentiality value. The Conditional Unwitnessed Past has the evidentiality value 'unwitnessed'. It is used for hypothetical and counterfactual events and situations that are located in the past and have not been witnessed by the speaker, and for 'future in the past' contexts.

- (376) *hay hay, b-iλ'-a zoq^we-n gom*
 hey hey HPL-go-INF be-UWPST be.NEG
 'Of course they would not have gone.'

7.6.7. Interrogative

Hinuq does not have a special interrogative mood, but the affirmative and the negative form of the Simple Past have dedicated interrogative forms. These forms correspond to the verbal stem plus an Interrogative suffix that has a number of allomorphs (*-i*, *-y*, *-(y)e*, and *-iye*). In negative questions the interrogative suffix precedes the negative suffix *-me* (377b). Thus, the usual Simple Past suffix *-s* (or its allomorphs *-š* or *-iš*) does not occur in interrogative sentences. The interrogative suffix is a cognate of the interrogative enclitic. For more information on the Interrogative suffixes and enclitics see Section 13.1.2.1, and for a detailed analysis of questions in Hinuq see Chapter 28.

- (377) a. "*me sira biša r-u:y-me?*"=λen eλi-n
 you.SG.ERG why food(V) V-do-Q-NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
xoddo-y
 husband
 "'Why did you not prepare food?" said the husband.' (N)
- b. *se r-iq-i, mežu-z b-aši-ye hagbe?*
 what V-happen-Q you.OBL.PL-DAT HPL-find-Q they

‘What happened, did you find them?’ (N)

The Simple Past form of the copula as it is used in interrogative sentences is *zoq’wey* (*zoq’weyme* in negative interrogative sentences, see (378)). Furthermore, all tense-aspect-mood forms that are formed with the help of the copula in the Simple Past occurring as last element of the verbal predicate (e.g. Compound Past, Resultative Past, etc.) use the forms *zoq’wey* or *zoq’weyme* with interrogative illocutionary force (e.g. see the Conditional Past example (374b) above).

- (378) “*me bikore zoq’wey-me?*” = *λen eλi-yo ked-i*
 you.SG snake be-Q-NEG=QUOT say-PRS girl-ERG
 “‘Have you not been a snake?’” asks the girl.’ (N)

7.7. Lexical verb forms in dependent clauses

7.7.1. Introduction

In order to form complex sentences, Hinuq makes extensive use of converbs and participles. They may be combined to form a sentence much longer than a normal sentence of a European language. Table 55 gives an overview of all verb forms used in dependent clauses. According to their main functions the verb forms used in dependent clauses can be roughly divided into three major groups: (i) converbs that are used in adverbial clauses that modify other clauses, (ii) participles that are used to modify nouns, and (iii) other verb forms with varying functions.

The formal marking of verbs in Hinuq dependent clauses is quite diverse. Usually a suffix is added to the verb, which can be morphologically simple (e.g. Local participle, or Infinitive) or complex (e.g. Posterior, Immediate Anterior, or Concessive converb). Sometimes the verb forms in dependent clauses can be periphrastic (Progressive converb or General participle).

7.7.2. Converbs

Converbs represent the biggest group of verbal forms that occur in dependent clauses in Hinuq. Adopting the terminology proposed by Nedjalkov (1995: 106), there are three types of converbs: (i) contextual converbs, (ii) specialized converbs, and (iii) narrative converbs. Contextual converbs have three or more meanings that are realized under certain conditions, i.e. contextual converbs allow for great variety in interpreting the relation between the converbal clause and the matrix clause. Specialized converbs have one or two meanings of the adverbial type that are relatively independent of the context. Narrative converbs are used in

Table 55. Verb forms in dependent clauses

Label	Suffixes, auxiliaries, particles		-iX'i-'go'	
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
	Temporal, contextual, and non-temporal converbs			
Posterior converb	-X'o-r; -yX'o-r	#	-iX'i-X'or	#
Terminative converb	-če	#	-iX'a-če	#
First Simultaneous converb	-X'o, -oX'o, -yX'o	-me-X'o, -o-meX'o, -y-meX'o	-iX'i-X'o	-iX'i-meX'o
Second Simultaneous conv.	-ti, -a-ti	-me-ti	-iX'ati	-iX'i-meti
Progressive converb	-o, -yo, -ho + -ičin	#	-iX'i-yo -ičin	#
Reduplicated Narrative conv.	-an(no) + -n, -no	(-me-z)	-iX'an(no) -iX'i-n	(-iX'an(no) -iX'i-me-z)
Simple Anterior converb	-nos	#	-iX'i-nos	#
Immediate Anterior converb	-o-ru-n, -yo-ru-n, -ru-n	#	-iX'i-yorun	#
Narrative converb	-n, -no	(-me-z)	-iX'i-n	(-iX'i-me-z)
Imperfective converb	-o, -yo, -ho	(-me-z)	-iX'i-yo	(-iX'i-me-z)
Realis Conditional converb	-o, -yo	-o-me, -yo-me	-iX'i-yo	-iX'i-yome
Concessive converb	-on(o), -yon(o)	-on-me, -yon-me	-iX'i-on(o)	-iX'i-yon-me
Purposive converb	-(ya)z, ž	-me-z	-iX'a-yaz	-iX'i-me-z
	Participles			
Local participle	-a, ya	-a-me, -ya-me	-iX'i-ya	-iX'i-yame
General participle	-o, -yo, -ho + goŭa	-o, -yo, -ho + goyomeru	-iX'i-yo goŭa	-iX'i-yo goyomeru
Past participle	-oru, -yoru, -ru	-omeru, -yomeru, -meru	-iX'i-yoru	-iX'i-yomeru
Habitual participle	-X'os	-meX'os	-iX'i-X'os	-iX'i-me-X'os
Resultative participle	-s, -š, -iš	-s-me, -š-me, -iš-me	-iX'i-š	-iX'i-sime
	Other verb forms			
Infinitive	-a	#	-iX'a	#
Masdar	-nu, -a-nu	#	-iX'anu	#

order to advance a plot in a narration. As Bickel (1998: 383) points out, this distinction between the three types is not always clear-cut. This can also be seen in Hinuq. Almost all Hinuq converbs, whether temporal or non-temporal, are specialized because they express a specific relation of the converbal clause with respect to the matrix clause. However, the Narrative converb has a plot-advancing function but can also express only anteriority or simultaneity. Consequently, it seems to be somewhere in between specialized and narrative converbs. Furthermore, it is the only converb that is not only found in adverbial function but also functions as the object in complement clauses.

In addition to the converbs, participles such as the Local participle or the General participle can be used for the expression of adverbial clauses (Section 7.7.3). These constructions can be interpreted syntactically as relative clauses without a nucleus.⁷⁰

The more specific a temporal converb is the less it occurs in the texts. Thus, the terminative and the immediate anterior converbs are the most specific converbs, with only a handful of occurrences each. On the other hand, the Narrative converb has a broad range of functions and by far the highest text frequency, as it is typical for narrative converbs (see Nedjalkov (1995: 110) for the text frequency of narrative converbs in four unrelated languages).

Both contextual converbs (i.e. the Narrative and the Imperfective converb) have suffixes that are homophonous with the suffixes of tense forms used in independent clauses (the Unwitnessed Past and the Simple Present, respectively). Though there is clearly a similarity between the suffixes used in the converbal clauses and those used in independent clauses, there are also obvious differences in meaning. The relationship of verb forms occurring in independent and in dependent clauses and the problem of the finite vs. non-finite distinction is discussed in Forker (2011b).

7.7.2.1. *The Posterior converb*

The Posterior converb is marked with the suffix *-λ'or* (for verbs with stem final /i(:)/), *-yλ'or* (for all other verbs with stem-final long or short vowel), and *-oλ'or* (for stems ending with a consonant). This suffix is morphologically complex, consisting of the SPR location marker *-λ'o* and the Lative *-r*.⁷¹ When used with temporal nouns the same local suffix *-λ'or* acquires the meaning 'in' or 'after' (see Section 3.5.17 for a detailed description of the SPR-Lative case):

⁷⁰ I use the term 'nucleus' rather than 'head' to refer to the relativized argument.

⁷¹ Note that the local case suffix *-λ'or* behaves a little bit differently from the Posterior converb suffix since it lacks allomorphs. But because of the similarity in meaning I assume that both forms are diachronically cognate.

- (379) *haytoy cax-iš kayat seda saʔat-mo-λ'o-r*
 he.ERG write-PST letter one.OBL hour-OBL-SPR-LAT
 'He wrote the letter in an hour'

This Posterior converb indicates posteriority ('until' or 'before'), i.e. the situation of the converbal clause is posterior to the main clause situation (380a, 380b). It lacks a negative form.

- (380) a. *hag yašik' me y-aγi-yom [idur me*
 this box(IV) you.SG.ERG IV-open-PROH home you.SG
Ø-aq'e-yλ'or]!
 I-come-POST
 'Do not open this box before you come home!' (N)
- b. *[q'idi-r kur-ho goʔa yocu quqe-yλ'or] hezzor*
 down-LAT throw-ICVB be.PTCP spittle dry-POST back
y-uti-n y-aq'e-s
 II-turn-CVB II-come-PST
 'She came back before the spittle on the earth dried.' (N)

The Posterior converb expresses only realis modality, that is, it refers only to situations and events that really happened (380b) or are intended to happen (380a). It is never used for the expression of irrealis modality, i.e. referring to situations or events that did not happen. Example (381) means that he actually died; it can never mean that he drank the medicine in order not to die and he survived in the end.

- (381) *[Ø-uhe-yλ'or] haytoy daru ga:s*
 I-die-POST he.ERG medicine drink-PST
 'He drank the medicine before he died.'

7.7.2.2. *The Terminative converb*

The suffix of the Terminative converb is *-če*, a suffix that is homophonous with the Equative enclitic *=če*. It is added to the Infinitive. Verbs that lack an Infinitive (almost all verbs with a stem-final long vowel, i.e. conjugation class 4) attach *-če* to the Purposive converb suffix. The meaning is only terminative ('till, as long as'); the situation of the converbal clause indicates the ending point of an action or situation (382a, 382b). The converb lacks a negative form.

- (382) a. “*me sira [k^wat’izi y-iq-a-če]* *λex^we-y?*”=*λen*,
 you.SG why be.late II-happen-INF-TERM remain-Q=QUOT
eser-no Ibrahim-i
 ask-UWPST Ibrahim-ERG
 ‘‘Why did you remain till you were late?’’ asked Ibrahim.’ (N)
- b. *žiqu=šid me t’ot’er-o [...]* [*debez*
 today=on you.SG.ERG read-IMP you.SG.DAT
r-et-a-če]
 V-want-INF-TERM
 ‘From today on you study [...] as long as you want.’ (N)

7.7.2.3. Simultaneous converbs

Hinuq has two Simultaneous converbs with approximately the same meaning, but the First Simultaneous converb is by far more frequent than the Second Simultaneous converb.

The First Simultaneous converb is formed with the SPR-Essive suffix, which is also employed for the expression of points in time (Section 3.5.16). It has the suffix *-λ’o* (for verbs with stem final /i(:)/), *-yλ’o* (for all other verbs with stem-final (long) vowel), and *-oλ’o* (for stems ending with a consonant).

The meaning of this converb is quite broad; it can usually be translated with ‘while’ or ‘when’ (383a) indicating simultaneity of the converbal and main clause event. But for some sentences ‘after’ or ‘because’ seems to be the more appropriate translation because the situation in the converbal clause clearly precedes the situation in the main clause (383b).

- (383) a. [*geł ixi-ho-r* *Ø-aq’e-yλ’o]* [*λ’ere*
 down river.OBL-ILOC-LAT I-come-SIM upwards
xun-λ’o-r *Ø-eze-yλ’o]* *b-[?]eži buλe b-ike-n*
 mountain-SPR-LAT I-look-SIM III-big house(III) III-see-UWPST
 ‘While coming down to the river and looking upwards to the mountain he saw a big house.’ (N)
- b. [*q’idir Ø-iλ’i-λ’o]* *hado hayto rek’uł hezzo k’oλe-n*
 down I-fall-SIM he that.OBL man.CONT after run-UWPST
 ‘After he fell down, he ran after that man.’ (N)

In negative clauses *-me* precedes the converbal marker (*-me-λ’o*, *-o-me-λ’o*, or *-y-me-λ’o*). As in many languages, the negative Simultaneous converb expresses mostly a causal relationship:

- (384) a. [*hado Ø-aq'e-ymeλ'o*] *se=m r-iq-iš=λen*,
 he I-come-SIM.NEG what=DOUBT V-happen-PST=QUOT
maqo-r b-ułi-š=eλ nartaw-be
 outside-LAT HPL-go.out-PST=NARR giant-PL
 'When/since he did not come, the giants went outside (to see) what happened.' (N)
- b. [*aλ-a-r y-aq'e-ymeλ'o*] *kekir-iš goł qartay*
 village-IN-LAT II-come-SIM.NEG send-RES be witch
 'When/since (the girl) did not come back to the village, (the step-mother) sent a witch (to her).' (N)

Another way of formulating adverbial clauses with the temporal meaning of simultaneity is the use of the Second Simultaneous converb. Diachronically it consists of the Abstract suffix *-ti* which is added to the Infinitive of the lexical verb (for all verbs having an Infinitive) or directly to the stem (for all other verbs). According to my informants, both Simultaneous converbs fulfill the same function, expressing simultaneity (385a, 385b) and occasionally, especially in negative clauses, causality (385c).

- (385) a. [*haw y-iλ'i-λ'o*] [*dahaw zaman b-iλ'-ałi*] *de=n Ø-ox-o*
 she II-go-SIM few time(III) III-go-SIM I=and I-leave-ICVB
zoq''we-s iškola:s
 be-PST school.IN-ABL I
 'When she went away and a little time passed by, I (masc.) left the school.' (N)
- b. [*ked-qo-r Ø-ez-ałi*] *hało-qo-s šapka=n*
 girl-AT-LAT I-look-SIM he.OBL-AT-ABL I hat(III)=and
b-iλ'i-r-ho łaci-na-y
 III-go-CAUS-PRS wind-OBL-ERG
 'While he is looking at the girl, the wind makes his hat fall down.' (S)
- c. [*žiqu buq b-iq-mełi*] *łe r-oč'č'u goł*
 today sun(III) III-become-SIM.NEG water(V) V-cold be
 'Since there is no sun today, the water is cold.'

7.7.2.4. The Progressive converb

This converb is periphrastic, consisting of the lexical verb marked with the Imperfective converb suffix *-o* (or one of its allomorphs *-yo* and *-ho*) and the verb

-iči- ‘be, stand, sit’ marked with the Narrative converb suffix. Due to the auxiliary *-iči-*, this converb has a progressive meaning referring to events and situations that are in progress during the time of the main event (for more information on the progressive aspect with *-iči-* constructions see Section 8.1.3.4). Thus, the meaning of the Progressive converb resembles that of the Simultaneous converbs and can be translated with ‘while’. At the same time it can be used in short narrative sequences where it usually occurs once or twice per complex sentence, like the other specialized temporal converbs (386b).

- (386) a. *hoboži hado Malla Rasadan [y-occo Ø-iči-n]*
 now this Mullah Nasredin(I) IV-cut.ICVB I-be-CVB
ažey-λ'o-s q'idi-r Ø-iλ'i-n
 tree-SPR-ABL I down-LAT I-fall-UWPST
 ‘When Mullah Nasredin cut (the branch) he fell down from the tree.’
 (N)
- b. *[hibay t'ot'er-ho Ø-iči-n] [halt'ezi Ø-iqqo Ø-iči-n]*
 there learn-ICVB I-be-CVB work I-become.ICVB I-be-CVB
dekabir-eł eli kekir-iš [t'ot'r-ayaz] pedučiliša-r
 december-CONT we send-PST learn-PURP college.IN-LAT
Buynaksk-λo-r
 Buynaksk-SPR-LAT
 ‘While I was studying and working there they sent us to the pedagogical college in Buynaksk to study.’ (N)

7.7.2.5. The Reduplicated Narrative converb

Hinuq has a number of possibilities to reduplicate or repeat lexical verbs in adverbial clauses (see Section 9.5 for more variants). The most frequent reduplicated verb form is the Reduplicated Narrative converb. It consists of the lexical verb marked with the suffix *-an(no)* plus the same lexical verb marked with the Narrative converb suffix itself. The Reduplicated Narrative converb express only anteriority (387b) and is widely used in narrative sequences containing also the Narrative converb (387a). According to my informant it is more emphatic than the simple Narrative converb, and it predominantly occurs in oral stories.

- (387) a. *[hagoλ'o=n hibayru=tow sedi.sed-de-r ʔagartı*
 at.that.time=and like.that=EMPH REC-ALOC-LAT relatives
ʔagartı-de-r hudul halmay-tı-de-r b-iλ'-anno
 relatives-ALOC-LAT friend friend-ABST-ALOC-LAT HPL-go-RED

b-iλ'i-n] [*b-iš-anno b-iš-no]* [*q'urban-es*
 HPL-go-CVB HPL-eat-RED HPL-eat-CVB sacrifice-GEN I
sadaq'a=n r-ux-no] *b-ułi-λ'os* *goł hezzoq'imur*
 alms(V)=and V-take-CVB HPL-go.out-HAB be back

'At that time after everybody goes to each other, relatives to relatives, friends to friends, after eating and taking the alms of the Greater Bairam, they go back home.' (N)

- b. [*q'ono y-oλλokoku λebu hayti t'ot'r-an t'ot'er-no]* [...] *de*
 two IV-half year(IV) there learn-RED learn-CVB I
ħalt'ezi Ø-iq-iš aλ-a učitel=ħun
 work I-be-PST village-IN teacher=AS

'After studying there for two and a half years I worked in the village as a teacher.' (N)

7.7.2.6. *The Simple Anterior converb*

Anteriority is expressed by the converb with the suffix *-nos*. The suffix is composed of *-no* (homophonous with the Narrative converb suffix and the Unwitnessed Past suffix) and *-s* (the First Genitive/Ablative suffix). Converbial clauses marked with *-nos* precede the matrix clause situation (388a, 388b). The Simple Anterior converb lacks a negative form.

- (388) a. *hadbe ħono=n* [*y^wede r-oλλo* *r-iλ'i-nos]*
 these three=and day(V) V-in.the.middle V-go-ANT
b-aq'-o idu-r
 HPL-come-PRS home-LAT

'After one day went by the three come home.' (N)

- b. [*de Ø-uhe-nos]* *meži* *de Ø-eqer-o!*
 I I-die-ANT you.PL.ERG I I-bury-IMP

'Bury me (masc.) after my death!' (N)

7.7.2.7. *The Immediate Anterior converb*

The suffix of the immediate anterior converb *-orun* (*-yorun* for verbs with stem-final vowel) is based on the Past participle suffix plus *-n*. It refers to situations that happen immediately before the main clause situation ('as soon as'). This converb cannot be negated.

- (389) a. *[maʔa teʔ-edo Ø-uʔi-yorun] [rik'-r-ik'-no*
 threshold inside-DIR I-enter-IMANT RED-NPL-beat-CVB
xurʒan-mo-za-ʔ'o og-be] sadaq nuce-s banka-be
 bag-OBL-OBL.PL-SPR ax-PL all honey-GEN1 jar-PL
r-uher-no hayʔu-y
 NPL-break-UWPST she.OBL-ERG
 'As soon as he entered the house, she hit with axes on the bags and
 broke all the jars of honey.' (N)
- b. *[hado uʒi [hadbe b-ik'eʔ-orun] Ø-iʔ'i-n hibayʔu*
 this boy(I) they HPL-disappear-IMANT I-go-CVB that.OBL
čeq-zo raʔal-qo-r=no] c'uddu-k'a-ni gulu-s
 forest-GEN2 edge-AT-LAT=and red-ADJ-ATT horse-GEN1
mus=no b-ek'wer-ho
 hair(III)=and III-burn-PRS
 'As soon as they disappear the boy goes to the edge of the forest and
 burns a hair of the red horse.' (N)

7.7.2.8. The Narrative converb

By far the most frequent converb is the Narrative converb. Its suffix *-n* (*-no* after consonants) is homophonous with the Simple Unwitnessed Past suffix and the Coordinative enclitic. The affirmative form of the Simple Unwitnessed Past is used without any auxiliary; thus there is no morphological distinction between the two verbal forms. But the fact that they are not identical can be seen in (390a): the converbal clause has present time reference, which is impossible for verbs marked with the Simple Unwitnessed Past. Similarly, aspect and illocutionary force of Narrative converb clauses and Simple Unwitnessed Past clauses may differ. For instance, if the matrix clause verb is marked with the Imperative suffix, a Narrative converb clause may also be interpreted as an imperative (390d). A further difference between the Narrative converb and the Simple Unwitnessed Past is evidentiality. Whereas the Simple Unwitnessed Past refers to situations that the speaker did not attend himself or herself (Section 7.5.10), the Narrative converb may refer to situations where the speaker was present if the main clause verb has Simple Past marking (390b).

The Narrative converb has three functions, which are not always clearly separable from each other:

1. It coordinates two or more simultaneous or sequential events (chaining use in a narrative sequence):

- (390) a. *seda zaman-a-ł [geł q'idi ix-i=n Ø-iči-n]*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT down down river.OBL-IN=and I-sit-CVB
t'ot'er-ho hałoy q'urʔan-o-s ayat-be=n
 read-PRS he.ERG Koran-OBL-GEN1 ayah-PL=and
 'Once he is sitting down at the river and reading the ayahs of the
 Koran.' (N)
- b. *[zahmataw r-oši-r-oqi-š hune-be=n xece-n]*
 difficult NPL-bend-NPL-stick.into-RES way-PL=and let-CVB
[ʔat'idaw awlaq-be xece-n] [x^win ixu y-iy-no]
 wide lowlands-PL let-CVB mountain river(IV) IV-take-CVB
[čeq r-oc'-no] b-ił'i-š=eł b-ił'i-š=eł
 forest(V) V-cut-CVB HPL-go-PST=NARR HPL-go-PST=NARR
hadbe
 they
 'Leaving behind difficult curved ways, wide lowlands, crossing moun-
 tains and rivers, cutting forests, they went and went.' (N)
- c. *hayło rek'u-y [łemo-ł'o-r=no Ø-ix-no]*
 that.OBL man(I).OBL-ERG stairway-SPR-LAT=and I-get.up-CVB
b-ut'-o zoq'e-s geni ažey-ł'o-s
 III-collect-ICVB be-PST pear(III) tree-SPR-ABL I
 'This man, having climbed up on the ladder, was collecting pears.'
 (S)
- d. *[žin b-iži-n] de kik-o łora łeba-ł žin!*
 again III-take-CVB I feed-IMP three.OBL year.OBL-CONT again
 'Take me again and feed me again for three years!' (N)

In the chaining function there are sometimes four or five Narrative converb clauses combined with a finite verb (390b). The converbal clauses often contain arguments (e.g. *hune* in (390b)) or adjuncts (e.g. *łemoł'o* in (390c)) that are marked with the Coordinative enclitic =*n(o)*. This is a typical way of obtaining cohesion in a narrative sequence. The enclitic emphasizes the fact that the clauses belong together, and they can often be translated by means of coordinate clauses in English (390a). Sometimes the meaning of the Narrative converb can be similar to that of the Simple Anterior converb. For instance, in example (390c) the Narrative converb could be replaced by the Simple Anterior converb without a significant change in meaning. There are even a number of examples where the Narrative converb expresses not only the relative temporal meaning of anteriority, but in addition also perfectivity, i.e. the described action has already come to an end (391).

- (391) *hoboy hezzo dessu roxel zoq^we-y [di haw keč' t'occebe*
 then after which joy be-Q I.GEN1 that song(III) first
b-iŷ-no b-ike-yλ'o]?
 III-bring.out-CVB III-see-SIM
 'Which joy was there when I saw my first published song?!' (N)

2. The Narrative converb can express manner of action. In this function the Narrative converb is mostly found together with verbs of motion specifying in more detail the general motion expressed by the finite verb (392b). But there are some concepts like WAIT or WONDER that are expressed through a combination of the verb *-eze-* 'look' marked with the narrative converb suffix and an intransitive verb like *λex^w-* 'remain, stay' or *-iči* 'be, become, sit' or 'stand', as illustrated in example (392c). For more information on these kinds of converb constructions which resemble serial verbs see Section 25.4.

- (392) a. *[qaλe-n] aλ'i!*
 call-CVB talk
 'Talk louder!'
- b. *[k'oλe-n] Ø-aq'-o Ø-eg^wey [ʔeno λebu y-aq'e-s] uži*
 run-CVB I-come-PRS i-small five year(IV) II-come-RES son(I)
 'The five year old son comes running.' (N)
- c. *[xalq'i hay goʔa ʔadal.b.iq-oλ'o] b-iči*
 people there be.PTCP become.stupid.HPL-SIM HPL-similar
[b-eze-n] λex^w-o hayʔu gulu-qo-r=no
 HPL-look-CVB remain-PRS that.OBL horse-SPR-LAT=and
 'The people there were wondering like fools about this horse.' (N)

3. The Narrative converb is used in complements of the verbs *ʔaq'e-* 'end, finish' (intr.) and *ʔaq'er-* 'end, finish' (tr.) (see also Section 22.2.7 for more examples of these complement constructions).

- (393) *hayʔoy [t'ot'er-no] ʔaq'er-iš had t'ek*
 he.ERG read-CVB finish-PST this book
 'He finished reading this book.'

The Narrative converb does not have its own negative form. Instead, the negative form of the Purposive converb is used (394b).

- (394) a. *Šamil [kaŷat cax-no] Ø-iλ'i-š*
 Šamil(I) letter write-CVB I-go-PST
 'Having written the letter, Šamil went away.'

- b. *Šamil [kaɣat cax-mez] Ø-iχ'i-š*
 Šamil(I) letter write-PURP.NEG I-go-PST
 'Not having written the letter, Šamil went away.'

7.7.2.9. The Imperfective converb

This converb has the suffix *-o* (or one of the two allomorphs *-yo* and *-ho*), which is homophonous with the suffix of the Simple Present. For descriptive reasons both suffixes are treated here as independent (though formally and functionally related. See (Forker 2011b) for a different approach). The Imperfective converb refers to events that occur simultaneously with the main event. Thus, it resembles the Simultaneous converbs (Section 7.7.2.3), but in contrast to the latter, the Imperfective converb almost exclusively shares the subject with the predicate of the main clause. That is, the main clause situation and the converb clause situation are described as especially tightly connected, representing in fact one and the same situation. For example, the main clause in (395a) states that the man remained alone (because his wife died), and the converb clause specifies the way in which he remained, namely he was crying.

- (395) a. *hagoχ'o=šid hado rek'we λex^we-n [Ø-a:-ho]*
 at.that.time=on this man(I) remain-UWPST I-yell-ICVB
 'From that time on the man remained crying.' (N)
- b. *hes zoq'^we-n čeq-i [r-ac'-ayaz] [žo=n*
 one be-UWPST forest-IN V-eat-PURP thing(V)=and
r-aši-mez] [b-exna:-ho] boc'e
 V-find-PURP.NEG III-go-ICVB wolf(III)
 'There was one wolf going in the forest without finding anything to eat.' (N)

In other words, the Imperfective converb is used for the expression of manner of action. For instance, with verbs of motion the way in which the motion takes place is specified by means of the Imperfective converb. The Imperfective converb frequently combines with the *-iči-* progressive, as illustrated in the following example:

- (396) *[šūqarya:-ho] [Ø-iči hago Ø-iχ'i-yo Ø-iči-n] hezzoq'imur*
 limp-ICVB I-be he I-go-ICVB I-be-CVB back
[šaχu=n šaχe-n] Ø-eze-r-ho xexza-y
 whistle=and whistle-CVB I-look-CAUS-PRS childred.OBL.PL-ERG
 'While he is going and limping, the children whistle and make him look back.' (S)

Since the Imperfective converb lacks a negative form, the negative Purposive converb is used instead. This can be seen in example (395b) above, where the verb *-aši-* ‘find’ marked with the negative Purposive converb fulfills a similar function as the affirmative Imperfective converb of *-exna:-* ‘go’, namely to specify the way in which the wolf was leaving.

7.7.2.10. The Realis Conditional converb

The Realis Conditional converb has the ending *-o* after consonants and *-yo* after vowels. Generally, the conditional converb alone can express a conditional clause (397a), but it can also be combined with the borrowed conjunction *nagaħ* ‘if’ in the protasis (397b) or nowadays with the Russian conditional conjunction *esli*. The negative suffixes are *-o-me* and *-yo-me* (397c).

- (397) a. *[eli č'ago λex^we-yo] b-ič-a goł hibaw=tow ʔadat*
 we alive remain-COND III-be-INF be that=EMPH custom(III)
 ‘If we stay alive, this will be the custom.’ (N)
- b. *“[nagaħ san=gazon me hači kur-o] hibadu*
 if once=ADD you.SG.ERG sneezing throw-COND this
yilla dewzo de moqoli-λ'o b-ik'-a goł”=λen,
 stick(III) you.SG.GEN2 I.ERG back-SPR III-beat-INF be=QUOT
eλi-š=eλ yoλu.koka-y, [nuqo=n b-iker-no]
 say-PST=NARR cinderello-ERG log(III)=and III-show-CVB
 “‘If you once again sneeze, then I will beat you with this stick on the
 back,” said Cinderello, showing the stick.’ (N)
- c. *eli [me elu-łe-do kezi.y.iq-o-me]*
 we.ERG you.SG we.OBL-CONT-DIR meet.II-COND-NEG
λ'u=n b-iy-a goł
 earth.roof(III)=and III-take-INF be
 ‘If you (fem.) are not on our side, we will also take away the roof.’
 (N)

As shown in the above examples the protasis typically has future or present time reference. In order to have past time reference (and perfective aspect) in the protasis, an adverbial clause with epistemic modality containing the auxiliary *-ese-* ‘turn out to be, be probable’ must be used (398). For a detailed description of epistemic modality with *-ese-* and other verbs see Section 8.2.2.

- (398) *b-ez-an* *[hayɫuy uborka b-u:-n*
 HPL-look-INTFUT she.ERG cleaning(III) III-do-CVB
b-ese-yo]
 III-be.probable-COND
 ‘We will see if she has done the cleaning.’

The Realis Conditional converb expresses only real conditions for the main clause situation. Conditional clauses with irrealis modality that express counterfactual relations are formed with the help of the particle *q'ede* and the irrealis form of the copula *goʔi*. Since these constructions do not involve converbs, they are not described in this section but in the section on the Irrealis Conditional mood (Section 7.6.5).

7.7.2.11. *The Concessive converb*

The suffix of the Concessive converb *-on(o)*⁷² (*-yon(o)* after vowels) is composed of the Realis Conditional converb and the Coordinative enclitic *=n*, which is a widespread pattern of forming concessive converbs within the Nakh-Daghestanian languages. It is for instance found in all other Tsezic languages (Comrie et al. 2012), in Icaric Dargwa (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 104), in Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 396), in Godoberi (Eulenberg et al. 1996: 210), and in Bagvalal (Chumakina 2001: 609). The formal relationship between the conditional and the concessive converb is not accidental. It is known from European languages such as English that conditionals can be elaborated to concessive conditionals which in turn develop into genuine concessives (cf. Kortmann 1997: 197ff., Haspelmath & König 1998: 568). In negative clauses the negation suffix *-me* is inserted between *-(y)o* and *-n* (402).

According to Haspelmath & König (1998: 566), concessive clauses can be sub-classified into various types. One of these types has a proper concessive meaning of the kind ‘although p, q’ that asserts the truth of both clauses (399a, 399b). The situation described in the concessive clause is an unfavorable condition for the situation described in the main clause.

- (399) a. *hawsaʔat=gen [q'ono qu ɣebu y-iɣ'i-yono] diʒ haw*
 now=at.least two twenty year(IV) IV-go-CONC I.DAT that
keč' rok'-ɣ'o b-ič'i-yo
 song(III) heart.OBL-SPR III-be-PRS
 ‘Even now, although 40 years passed, I remember the poem.’ (N)

⁷² From time to time some speakers use *-ono* instead of *-on*. According to my informants the former is an emphatic variant of the latter.

- b. [de γ^were-z daru neλ-ono] haw b-uhe-s
 I.ERG cow(III).OBL-DAT medicine give-CONC it III-die-PST
 ‘Although I gave the cow medicine, it died.’

But in the majority of occurrences it is used to express concessive conditionals, where only the truth of the main clause is asserted. Haspelmath & König (1998: 563) distinguish between three types of concessive conditionals, namely (i) scalar, (ii) universal, and (iii) alternative concessive conditionals.

In scalar concessive conditionals the protasis is characterized as an extreme value for the condition in question (400).

- (400) [hało sumka-ma teł xemu gor-ono] hado λax-a gom
 this.OBL bag-IN inside stone put-CONC this tear.up-INF be.NEG
 ‘Even if you put a stone into this bag, it will not tear up.’

Universal concessive conditionals, which are sometimes regarded as a specific type of relative clause (Haspelmath & König 1998: 563), include a question word in the subordinate clause. The function of this question word resembles that of a free-choice quantifier like (stressed) *any* in English or of universal quantifiers with sortal restrictions indicated by the question word (*whoever, whatever, wherever*, etc.). The question word has scope over some variable in the subordinate clause. To illustrate this with an example, (401a) could be reformulated as: For any event *x* of hunting, if *x* happens, then you will not hunt anything. In Hinuq, universal concessive constructions are by far the most frequent type of constructions containing the Concessive converb. They have been lexicalized as free choice pronouns (Section 5.6.5).

- (401) a. “hoboži žiqu=šid”=λen eλi-yo “[haži, me deče
 now today=on=QUOT say-PRS Gadzhi you.SG how.much
 čan-mo-λ’o Ø-iλ’i-yon]”=λen eλi-yo, “debez čan
 hunt-OBL-SPR I-go-CONC=QUOT say-PRS you.SG.DAT hunt(III)
 b-aši-me”=λen
 III-get-NEG=QUOT
 ‘‘From this day on’’, he says, ‘‘however often you will go hunting’’,
 he says, ‘‘you will not get (anything).’’ (N)
- b. [bołiλ’o b-iλ’i-λ’o] [se r-aši-yon] [hagze-y
 hunting HPL-go-SIM what V-find-CONC they.OBL-ERG
 sadaqer-no r-iq’e-n] r-oλλo r-ik-o zoq’^we-n
 unify-CVB V-bring-CVB V-in.the.middle V-see-ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘When they went hunting, whatever they got, they brought it together
 and divided it into two equal parts.’ (N)

The third type, the alternative concessive conditional, contains a disjunction of usually contradictory assertions in the protasis.

- (402) [qema r-aq'e-yon] [r-aq'e-yomen] eli maqo-r
 rain(V) V-come-CONC V-come-CONC.NEG we outside-LAT
 b-ut-a goŋ
 HPL-go.out-INF be
 'Whether it rains or not, we will go outside.'

7.7.2.12. The Purposive converb

Hinuq has a dedicated Purposive converb marked with the suffixes *-z* or its allomorph *-ž* (for verbs lacking the Infinitive) and *-ayaz* (for all other verbs).⁷³ The suffix *-z* is homophonous with the Dative case marker. That the Dative suffix is used for the expression of purpose and in infinitives is a cross-linguistically widespread phenomenon (Haspelmath 1989).

The Purposive converb can express purposive meaning ('in order to') as in the examples (403a, 403b). In addition, it is used in many complement clauses as illustrated in (403c) (see Section 22.2.2 for complement clauses).

- (403) a. *de Ø-iŋ'i-š [t'ot'r-ayaz] kebura-t-er*
 I I-go-PST learn-PURP Bezhta-CONT-LAT
 'I went to Bezhta in order to study.' (N)
- b. *obu-zo mačexa-y de [ɣodes inaŋzek'u*
 father.GEN2 stepmother-ERG I daily mushroom(V)
r-ut'-ayaz] kekir-ho
 V-collect-PURP send-PRS
 'Father's new wife sends me daily in order to collect mushrooms.'
 (N)
- c. *hoboži haŋo-z šuŋ'e-n [hag yašik' hezzoq'imur*
 then he.OBL-DAT forget-UWPST that box(IV) back
y-aq-ayaz]
 IV-close-PURP
 'Then he forgot to close the box again.' (N)

Both functions can also be fulfilled by the Infinitive (Section 7.7.5.1). But for the expression of purposive meanings the Purposive converb is preferred, whereas in complement clauses the Infinitive is slightly more frequent.

⁷³ With the verb *-ike-* 'see' two forms, *-ikayaz* and *-ika:z*, occur in free variation.

Since (almost) all verbs with a stem-final long vowel lack the normal Infinitive, they use the Purposive converb instead, e.g. in complement clauses (404) or in periphrastic verb forms such as the Compound Future.

- (404) [*deru r-iq-on*] *b-ihī:-ž* *b-aq'e* *eli haylo*
 how V-happen-CONC HPL-fight-PURP HPL-must we that.OBL
xan-i-de *dandi*
 khan-OBL-ALOC against
 'Whatever happens, we must fight against that khan.' (N)

The negative form of the purposive converb is *-mez*. It means 'in order not to' (405a) or simply 'without' (405b). The same converb is employed to express the negative form of the Narrative converb (394b) or the Imperfective converb (395b).

- (405) a. [*Ø-uλ'-iš-ti* *r-eq'i-r-mez*] *hado*
 I-fear-RES-ABST V-know-CAUS-PURP.NEG he
 [*zone-s* *goła*] *hunar* *b-iker-a*
 REFL.SG.OBL-GEN1 be.PTCP ability(III) III-show-INF
Ø-uti-š=eλ
 I-begin-PST=NARR
 '(He) began to show his tricks in order not to make know that he was afraid.' (N)
- b. *somorax=no* *hay=tow* *λex^w-o* *zoq'e-s* [*at'*
 how.often=and there=EMPH remain-PRS be-PST wheat(V)
r-aši-mez]
 V-get-PURP.NEG
 'How often did they remain there without getting wheat!' (N)

7.7.3. Participles used in adverbial clauses

Although the main function of adverbials is to modify a head noun, three of the Hinuq participles also head adverbial clauses that modify other clauses. These participles are the Local participle, the Present participle, and the Past participle. The relevant constructions will be presented in the following sections. For their use as nominal modifiers in relative clauses see Section 7.7.4.

7.7.3.1. The Local participle

The Local participle (suffix *-a* for verbs with stem-final consonant and *-ya* otherwise) is used in clauses expressing temporal and local circumstances of the main

clause situation. If there is a noun like *moč-a* ‘place.OBL-IN’ in example (406b) the construction looks just like a relative clause. But as a rule there is no nucleus, and therefore the examples (406a, 406c) are in fact relative clauses without a nucleus, where the zero nucleus could be a noun like ‘place’ or ‘time’, depending on the interpretation.

If the Local participle suffix is not followed by any additional case markers, then the clause acquires a temporal (406a) or local (406b) interpretation, just like nouns marked with the Essive case. In fact, the Essive marker for nouns that have the oblique stem ending with *-a* is a copy vowel, and the Essive is not only used for location but also in temporal expressions like *saʔat-ma* (time-IN) ‘for/in an hour’. Temporal and local meanings are not always clearly distinguishable from each other. In some cases both interpretations are available (406c). For the use of the Local participle in case-marked relative clauses lacking a nucleus see 7.7.4.1.

- (406) a. [*idu Ø-aq'e-ya*] *dandi=tow Ø-otto muži*
 home I-come-PTCP.LOC just=EMPH I-lay.PRS bed.IN
 ‘When he is coming home he is laying down on the bed.’ (N)
- b. [*eli xalq'i b-iči-ya*] *moč-a zoq'w'e-s goł*,
 we.GEN I people HPL-be-PTCP.LOC place.OBL-IN be-RES be
b-ʔeži obšestwo rik'zi.b.u:-ho zoq'w'e-s goł
 HPL-big society count.HPL-ICVB be-RES be
 ‘In the place where our people lived, there was a big society.’ (N)
- c. *hado [axxa kur-no] Ø-iči-n [ze-y=no*
 he ear throw-CVB I-sit-UWPST bear-ERG=and
boc'-i=no xabar ese-ya]
 wolf.OBL-ERG=and story tell-PTCP.LOC
 ‘He was sitting and listening when/where the bear and the wolf were talking.’ (N)

Adding the Emphatic enclitic *=tow* to the suffix *-(y)a* seems to prevent the clause from having a local interpretation, leaving only the temporal meaning of simultaneity, as in example (407).

- (407) [*beʔe-r Ø-aq'e-ya=tow*] [*idu-r Ø-iλ'-a aldoɣo*]
 house.IN-LAT I-come-PTCP.LOC=EMPH home-LAT I-go-INF before
hado Ø-eze-n aki-λ'o-zo
 he I-look-UWPST window-SPR-ABL2
 ‘When he came to the house he looked through the window before going in.’ (N)

7.7.3.2. The General participle

The General participle (Imperfective converb of the lexical verb plus *goła*, the Local participle of the copula) is also used in adverbial clauses with the temporal meaning of simultaneity (408, 410). Although this is not the most common function of the General participle, it is not surprising at all since both the Imperfective converb (Section 7.7.2.9) as well as the Local participle of the copula (Section 7.8.3.5) occur as heads of simultaneous adverbial clauses. All other functions of the General participle are described in Section 7.7.4.2.

- (408) [*mali-ho=šid Ø-ixxo goła*] *omoq'i-ya-y qaXu san*
 hill-ILOC=ON I-get.up.ICVB be.PTCP donkey-OBL-ERG scream once
qaXe-s
 call-PST
 ‘When he climbed up the hill, the donkey screamed once.’ (N)

In this function it is also possible to have the Resultative participle suffix on the lexical verb instead of the Imperfective converb, without any difference in meaning. Thus (409) illustrates the latter variant whereby *bot'iš* could be replaced by *botto* (‘HPL.lay.ICVB’) without alternating the meaning of the sentence. However, this variant is not very common.

- (409) [*hadbe b-ot'iš goła*] *maqo-r b-ułi-n Xoči*
 they HPL-lay-RES be.PTCP outside-LAT III-go.out-UWPST frog(III)
 ‘When they slept, the frog went outside.’ (S)

Some sentences containing the General participle are ambiguous between a relative clause reading and an adverbial clause reading. The ambiguity concerns in the first place sentences containing a noun that could be interpreted as the nucleus of a relative clause. For example, (410) can be interpreted as an adverbial clause, but the noun phrase *hago uži* ‘that boy’ in the main clause could also be called the nucleus of a relative clause whereby the translation would be ‘Then the boy who looked at her fell down.’ See Chapter 20 for more ambiguous examples.

- (410) *hoboy [haytu-go Ø-ez-o goła] hago uži q'idi-r*
 then she.OBL-AT I-look-ICVB be.PTCP that boy(I) down-LAT
Ø-iX'i-n
 I-fall-UWPST
 ‘Then when he looked at her, the boy fell down.’ (S)

7.7.3.3. *The Past participle*

The Past participle has the suffix *-oru* (with the allomorph *-yoru*⁷⁴ for all verbs with a stem-final vowel). It occurs in different kinds of adverbial clauses. (For all other functions of the Past participle see 7.7.4.3.) When there are no additional markers, adverbial clauses headed by Past participles express situations that took place immediately before the main clause situations (411).

- (411) *hayi-š [hag eʎi-yoru] [r-iʃ-no ižey] toʎʎo*
 there-ABL1 that say-PTCP.PST V-bring.out-CVB eye(V) give.PRS
gaqinnu-k'a essu-z
 bad-ADJ brother-DAT
 'As soon as he said that, he pulled his eye out and gave it to the bad brother.' (N)

The Past participle can also take spatial case suffixes whereby the resulting adverbial clause normally gets the meaning from the case suffix in question. That is, when the AT-Essive suffix is attached to the Past participle then the resulting predicate expresses cause (412). This fits well with the fact that the AT-Essive suffix is used for the expression of cause (see Section 3.5.20 for a description of the functions of this case).

- (412) *[rek'we Ø-ike-yʎ'o] [ze b-uʎ'-oru-go] seda moča*
 man(I) I-see-SIM bear(III) III-fear-PTCP.PST-AT one.OBL place.IN
sot'i b-ut-a b-u'i-š=eʎ
 around III-turn-INF III-begin-PST=NARR
 'When the bear saw the man he got afraid, and therefore it began to turn around at its place.' (N)

There is another way of expressing causes or reasons by means of the Past participle. In these constructions it takes the First Genitive suffix. This construction actually represents the headless equivalent of Genitive phrases. Occasionally, there is a head noun like *?illa* 'reason' (413a), but usually the head noun is lacking (413b).

- (413) a. *ahlu-mo-y eser-iš=eʎ [...] "[hes hesqen gosme*
 folk-OBL-ERG ask-PST=NARR one nothing without
Ø-aq'e-yoru-s] ?illa se"=ʎen
 I-come-PTCP.PST-GEN1 reason what=QUOT
 'The people asked for the reason why one (masc.) came back without anything.' (N)

⁷⁴ In fast speech *-yoru* can become *-ru*.

- b. [*obu-de-r=no* *iyo-de-r=no* *hadbe*
 father-ALOC-LAT=and mother-ALOC-LAT=and they
b-aq'e-yoru-s] *hało* *obu-y* *r-²eži berten*
 HPL-come-PTCP.PST-GEN1 this.OBL father-ERG V-big wedding(V)
r-u:-ho
 V-do-PRS
 'Because of their coming back to the father and the mother, the father
 makes a big wedding.' (N)

Another case that when attached to the Past participle leads to an adverbial clause structure is the CONT-Lative, but its exact semantic contribution to the meaning of the adverbial clause remains unclear (414). This case is normally not employed to express temporal simultaneity.

- (414) [*hado muži:* *Ø-ot'-oru-ł-er*] *b-aq'-o* *hag*
 he mattress.IN I-lay-PTCP.PST-CONT-LAT HPL-come-PRS those
hało-s *esni*
 he.OBL-GEN1 brother.PL
 'At the very moment when he lay down his brothers came.' (N)

Another kind of adverbial clause is the AS-clause, which is formed by adding the ILOC-Lative suffix to the Past participle (415a, 415b). These clauses express conformity or similarity of action, a meaning that the ILOC-Lative also has when added to other parts of speech (Section 3.5.28).

- (415) a. [*de ełi-yoru-ho-r*], [*Čaćan-ł'o-do* *b-ił'i-nos*]
 I.ERG say-PTCP.PST-ILOC-LAT Chechnya-SPR-DIR HPL-go-ANT
 [*hibaw b-aq'-o* *untin* *b-ołex-no*] *q'ono*
 that III-come-ICVB disease(III)=and III-appear-CVB two
uži *hay* *Ø-uhe-s*
 boy(I) there I-die-PST
 'As I said, when we came to Chechnya, there appears this disease
 and two boy died there.' (N)
- b. [*debez* *r-eti-yoru-ho-r*] *r-uw-o!*
 you.SG.DAT V-want-PTCP.PST-ILOC-LAT V-do-IMP
 'Do as you like!'

In principle, when used in adverbial clauses, the Past participle is negated in the same way as it is negated in relative clauses, i.e. by insertion of the negative suffix *-me* before *-ru* (416). However, for semantic reasons not every adverbial clause containing a Participle can be negated.

- (416) [*debez r-eti-yomeru-ho-r*] *r-uw-o!*
 you.SG.DAT V-want-PTCP.PST.NEG-ILOC-LAT V-do-IMP
 ‘Do as you do not like!’

7.7.4. Participles

Hinuq has five participles that are used for nominal modification and in relative clauses lacking a nucleus (see Chapter 20 for the syntax of relative clauses). Among them, the General participle is definitely the most frequent one. At the same time the General participle occurs in the widest range of contexts and lacks a specific meaning. All other participles have more specific meanings and thus occur only in a restricted variety of contexts.

Concerning the time reference of the participles, this is not always easy to discover. The General participle has relative present time and past time reference. The Habitual participle has relative present time and future time reference, whereas the Past participle and the Resultative participle have relative past time reference. The other participles do not express any clear temporal reference.

7.7.4.1. The Local participle

The suffix of the Local participle is *-a* (with the allomorph *-ya* for all verbs with a stem-final vowel, i.e. conjugation classes 2-4). The Local participle is heavily used in relative clauses without a nucleus (and occasionally in relative clauses with a nucleus). These relative clauses describe temporal and local circumstances of events. In relative clauses lacking a nucleus the Local participle is substantivized and can take spatial, but no other case suffixes. If the First Ablative suffix *-s* is added then the participle gets the Ablative reading ‘from X’ (417a). Analogously, Lative (417b) or Directive (417c) contribute to the meaning of the participle with their respective spatial meanings.

- (417) a. *haw coy [k'oʎe-n b-iʎ'i-n] [iʒe-z*
 that eagle(III) fly-CVB III-go-CVB eye.OBL-DAT
b-ike-ya-s] *b-ik'eʎ-no*
 III-see-PTCP.LOC-ABL I III-disappear-UWPST
 ‘The eagle flew away and disappeared out of sight.’ (N)
- b. [*nosodes mix b-aq'e-yʎ'or*] [*hune q'^wena-ʎo-do*
 at.noon time(III) III-come-POST way(V) two.OBL-LOC-DIR
biʎ'izi r-iq-a-r] *Ø-aq'e-s=eʎ*
 divide V-happen.PTCP.LOC-LAT I-come-PST=NARR

‘Until it became noon he reached the place where the way divided in two parts.’ (N)

- c. *zurmaqan* [*buq b-oλex-a-do*] *q’iliqan* [*buq zurna*.player sun(III) III-appear-PTCP.LOC-DIR drummer sun(III) *b-iλ’i-ya-do*] *b-eze-n* *b-iλ’i-š=eλ*
 III-go-PTCP.LOC-DIR HPL-look-CVB HPL-go-PST=NARR

‘The zurna player went in the direction of the rising sun, the drummer went into the direction of the setting sun.’ (N)

Furthermore, the Local participle appears in adverbial clauses. Examples of such adverbial clauses are treated in Section 7.7.3.1 above.

7.7.4.2. The General participle

This participle is formed by means of a lexical verb marked with the Imperfective converb suffix (*-o*, *-yo*, or *-ho*) followed by the Local participle of the copula *goła* (for the use of *goła* alone see 7.8.3.5). It is a kind of default participle lacking a specific meaning. The General participle is used in relative clauses with (418a) and without a nucleus (418b). In these clauses a vast number of positions such as S, A, P, Experiencer, beneficiary, instrument, temporal, and local circumstances is relativized on (Section 20.2.1.2). Case suffixes are directly added to *goła*. In addition to the functions presented in this section, the General participle is also employed in adverbial clauses with the meaning of simultaneity (see 7.7.3.2 for examples).

- (418) a. *b-aq’-o* *hayto-de-r* *hibaw* [*ha-to-y* *kiki-yo*
 III-come-ICVB he.OBL-ALOC-LAT that he.OBL-ERG feed-ICVB
goła] *coy*
 be.PTCP eagle
 ‘To him comes the eagle that he had fed.’ (N)
- b. [*tono eλa* *ɣ^wed-λ’o* *Ø-iči-yo* *goła*]-*z=no* *hibayi=tow*
 three ORD day.OBL-SPR I-be-ICVB be.PTCP-DAT=and such=EMPH
nasibaw *žo* *r-aš-a* *goł*
 predestinated thing(V) V-find-INF be
 ‘And the one who is (at the grave) on the third day will also get the predestinated thing.’ (N)

When used in relative clauses *goła* can take the attributive suffixe *-ni* (419a) or the suffix *-li* (419b).

- (419) a. [Metiro= λ en e λ i-yo go λ a-ni] a λ -a hibay λ i zoq'^we-s
 Metiro=QUOT say-ICVB be.PTCP-ATT village-IN there be-RES
 go λ eli a λ
 be we.GEN1 village
 'In the village which is/was called Metiro there was our village.' (i.e. We lived in the village with the name Metiro.) (N)
- b. [debez y-ik-o go λ a-li] ked di essu go λ
 you.SG.DAT II-see-ICVB be.PTCP-REL girl(II) I.GEN1 sister(II) be
 'The girl that you see is my sister.'

When the General participle is negated, *go λ a* is replaced by *goyomeru*. The negative General participle has the same range of function as the affirmative form and can also be used with *-ni* or *-li*. However, in my corpus there are no occurrences of any negative participles; thus this example and all following negative examples are elicited. Example (420) is ambiguous because the dependent clause can be interpreted as containing a covert possessor that is identical to the nucleus *bet'erhan*. But it is also possible to interpret *bet'erhan* as the agent in the preceding relative clause. However, for pragmatic reasons the first interpretation is preferred.

- (420) [bu λ e b-ek'^wer-ho goyomeru(-ni)] bet'erhan razi
 house(III) III-burn-ICVB be.PTCP.NEG-ATT owner(I) happy
 Ø-iqqo
 I-happen.PRS
 'The owner, whose house did not burn down, is happy.' or 'The owner, who did not burn his house, is happy.'

7.7.4.3. The Past participle

The Past participle is formed by attaching *-oru* (for verbs of conjugation class 1, i.e. with a stem-final consonant) or *-yoru* (all other verbs) to the verbal stem.⁷⁵ The suffix is morphologically complex, consisting of *-o* and *-ru*, between which *-me* is inserted for negation (422b).

The Past participle is used in different kinds of adverbial clauses, with or without case suffixes (Section 7.7.3.3). When the Equative enclitic =*če* is added the participle is also used in comparative constructions with the meaning 'the X-er the X-er' (421) (see Section 26.1.4 for more examples).

⁷⁵ In fast speech *-yoru* can become *-ru*.

- (421) *ʔaši r-iq-oru=če r-eg goł*
 much V-happen-PTCP.PST=EQ V-well be
 ‘the more the better’

Occasionally the Past participle occurs in relative clauses. The nucleus usually has a temporal meaning (e.g. ‘time, day’), but other relative clauses can also be elicited (422b). Example (422c) presents a relative clause without a nucleus.

- (422) a. *[eli busurman-za-s din b-ux-oru]*
 we.ERG moslem-OBL.PL-GEN1 belief(III) III-take-PTCP.PST
zaman-a-ł
 time-OBL-CONT
 ‘during the time when we became Muslims’ (N)
- b. *[t’ot’er-omeru] rek’u-z ni=n=tow r-eg*
 learn-PTCP.PST.NEG man.OBL-DAT where=and=EMPH V-well
gom
 be.NEG
 ‘The person who did not study lives everywhere badly.’
- c. *[moła-y y-ux-oru] y-iłi y-iči-n*
 sleep.OBL-ERG II-take-PTCP.PST II-similar II-be-UWPST
 ‘She was like sleeping.’ (N)

The Past participle can be substantivized and can then take case suffixes. This is the case in relative clauses without nucleus (423a), in some complement clauses (423b) (see Section 22.2.5 for more examples), and in some adverbial clauses (Section 7.7.3.3), as well as in Genitive phrases expressing reasons or causes as illustrated in (423c).

- (423) a. *[t’ot’er-oru]-y di q’imu r-iłło*
 read-PTCP.PST-ERG I.GEN1 head(V) V-ache.PRS
 ‘Reading makes my head ache.’
- b. *de ʔažaʔibłi r-u:-ho [hago č’ago łex^we-yoru-ł’o]*
 I.ERG wonder(V) V-do-PRS he alive remain-PTCP.PST-SPR
 ‘I wonder about his staying alive.’
- c. *[gulu-zo [kutakalda b-oło b-ił’i-yoru-zo]*
 horse(III)-GEN2 strongly III-fast III-go-PTCP.PST-GEN2
kutak-mo-y r-ixer-ho goła] łaci dulan=tow
 force-OBL-ERG V-lift.up-PRS be.PTCP wind(V).ERG earth=EMPH
kabadek’-iř
 paint.black-PST

‘The wind, which had been lifted up by the force of the very fast going horse, painted the earth black.’ (N)

The verb *-iči-* ‘be, sit, stand’ has two past participles. There is the regular past participle, which is formally and semantically transparent (424a). In addition, there is a lexicalized variant *-ičiru*, which is only used as an adverb with the meaning ‘vertically’. It mostly occurs together with the verb *-ix-* ‘raise’ (424b). It is impossible to employ the regular form *-ičiyoru* in that context.

- (424) a. *ked y-iči-yoru y-iči-n goŕ*
 girl(II) II-be-PTCP.PST II-be-CVB be
 ‘The girl is standing for a long time (there).’
- b. *xan-i-š ked=no y-iči-ru y-ixxo*
 khan-OBL-GEN1 daughter(II)=and II-be-PTCP.PST II-get.up.PRS
 ‘And the khan’s daughter gets up.’ (N)

7.7.4.4. *The Habitual participle*

The Habitual participle is formed by adding *-λ’os* to the verbal stem. For the negative form the negation suffix *-me* is inserted before *-λ’os* (426). The suffix *-λ’os* is morphologically complex, consisting of *-λ’o* and *-s*.

The Habitual participle is mostly used to modify nouns in short relative clauses with an adjectival character that describe characteristic properties of the head noun (425a-425c). It also occurs in three periphrastic tense-aspect-mood forms expressing habitual meaning (Habitual Present, Habitual Past, and Habitual Unwitnessed Past, see 7.5).

- (425) a. [*debez r-eti-λ’os*] *biša se goŕ?*
 you.SG.DAT V-want-HAB food(V) what be
 ‘What is our preferred food?’ (S)
- b. [*ga:-λ’os*] *žo*
 drink-HAB thing
 ‘things to drink’, ‘drinks’, ‘drinkable things’ (used when referring to vodka and other spirit drinks) (N)
- c. [*bex kiki-λ’os*] *zaman*
 gras mow-HAB time
 ‘grass mowing time/season’ (refers to a certain time of the year) (N)

The use of the Habitual participle strongly resembles adjectives because it often occurs on its own without any additional expressions belonging to it (425b),

and it can be separated from its head noun and therefore easily follow the head noun, especially when a contrastive interpretation is desired. Thus, in (426) the diligent, hard-working husband is contrasted with his very lazy wife.

- (426) *xoddo zoq^we-n Ø-edo:-z Ø-eti-š, [halt^wi-qo*
 husband be-UWPST I-work-PURP I-want-RES work-AT
Ø-ay^wi-me-λ^wos]
 I-eat.one's.fill-NEG-HAB
 'The husband loved to work, he could not be satisfied from the work.'
 (N)

Further suffixes (-*λa*, -*li* and -*ni*) can be added to the Habitual participle. The participle has an oblique form in which the final -*s* is replaced by -*zo* (427a). The oblique form is optionally used when the head noun is not in the Absolutive case.⁷⁶ Furthermore, case suffixes can only be added to the oblique form (427b). The alternation between direct and oblique participle formally and functionally resembles the alternation between the First and the Second Genitive and the linking use of these cases (Section 3.5.4).

- (427) a. *hayło-s pikru=n iżey-be=n [zone-z*
 he.OBL-GEN1 thought=and eye-PL=and SG.REFL.OBL-DAT
r-aši-λ^wozo] žo-yla-ł hezzo zoq^we-s=eλ
 V-get-HAB.OBL thing(V)-OBL-CONT after be-PST=NARR
 'His thoughts and his eyes were already on the things that he would get.' (N)
- b. *[Maskwał t'ot'er-λ^wozo]-y t'ek-be r-uxxo*
 Moscow.CONT study-HAB.OBL-ERG book-PL NHPL-buy.PRS
 'The one who will study in Moscow buys books.'

When used in relative clauses, the Habitual participle expresses either relative future time reference of the relative clause (427a), or it has no specific time reference as in the examples referring to characteristic properties (426).

Finally, the Habitual participle is regularly employed in complement clauses of verbs of cognition and other verbs (e.g. -*eq'i* 'know', *bič'i* -*iq/-u:-* 'understand'/'explain', *xece-* 'stop, let'), as illustrated in example (428). These complement clauses are analyzed in Section 22.2.3.

- (428) *bič'i r-iq-no [hadu bikore b-³eži-λ^wos-łi]*
 understanding V-happen-UWPST this snake(III) III-win-HAB-ABST
 'He understands that the snake will win.' (N)

⁷⁶ Similarly, the use of oblique forms of adjectives when the head noun is in an oblique case is not obligatory, but admissible.

7.7.4.5. *The Resultative participle*

This participle is formed by adding *-s* (or one of its allomorphs *-š* or *-iš*) to the verb stem. Though it is homophonous with the Simple Past, both verb forms can be distinguished on the basis of their differing functions. For the negative form, *-me* is attached to *-s* (429c).

The Resultative participle refers to Resultative states of events. It is used in four periphrastic verb forms with resultative meaning (Resultative Present, Resultative Past and Resultative Unwitnessed Past, as well as Compound Resultative Past, see 7.5). Furthermore, it occurs as a nominal modifier in an adjective-like manner as can be seen in the following example where the noun *haywanbe* ‘animals’ is modified with a Resultative participle and a genuine adjective.

- (429) a. *hayʔi maydan-i [b-uhe-s=no] č'aguyaw=no haywan-be q'idi*
 there gade-IN HPL-die-RES=and alive=and animal-PL down
χex^we-n
 remain-UWPST
 ‘There on this glade, dead and living animals lay.’ (N)
- b. *haʔu-z Ø-aši-yo muži: [Ø-ot'-iš] hado uži*
 she.OBL-DAT I-find-PRS mattress.IN I-lie-RES this boy(I)
 ‘She finds the boy sleeping on the bed.’ (N)
- c. *[kekir-ho goʔa] ambar-za-r Ø-iχ'i-yo gom*
 let-ICVB be.PTCP store.house-OBL.PL-LAT I-go-ICVB be.NEG
hado. [kekir-iš-me-(χa-ni)] ambar-za-r Ø-iχ'i-yo
 he let-RES-NEG-(ATT-ATT) store.house-OBL.PL-LAT I-go-PRS
 ‘He does not go into the store houses where he was allowed to go.
 He goes into the store houses where he was not allowed to go.’ (N)

However, the Resultative participle also occurs in relative clauses that consist of more than the participle alone (430a). The relative clause in (430b) even contains a complement clause.

- (430) a. *[magalu b-u:s] ked di essu goʔ*
 bread(III) III-do-RES girl I.GEN I sister be
 ‘The girl who made the bread is my sister.’
- b. *[[haw ked y-iq'-a] y-eti-š] xalq'i, toxtur-be*
 that girl(II) II-bring-INF II-want-RES people doctor-PL
b-aq'e-n
 HPL-come-UWPST
 ‘The people, the doctors, who wanted to marry the girl came.’ (N)

The oblique form of the Resultative participle is formed by replacing *-s/-š* with *-za* (or *-ža* after /i/) to the stem of the verb (431a). This suffix also occurs in the negative participle of the copula *gomeza* ‘not being, without’ and is homophonous with the oblique plural markers of nouns. In relative clauses lacking a nucleus it takes case suffixes (431b).

- (431) a. *[nek^we-za]* *iš-i-go* *[moči b-eχ-a]* *k^wezi*
 starve-RES.OBL bull-OBL-AT field(III) III-plough-INF be.able
b-iqgo *gom*
 III-happen.ICVB be.NEG
 ‘A hungry bull cannot plough the field.’
- b. *[Ø-iχ'i-ža]-y* *xece hune*
 I-go-RES.OBL-ERG let way
 ‘The going one overcomes the way.’ (i.e. who walks, works, etc. will manage his/her way/task, etc.) (N)

Some Resultative participles of intransitive verbs have been lexicalized and are listed separately in the dictionary as adjectives, e.g. *-exχ'es* ‘warm’ (from the verb *-exχ'e-* ‘become warm’), *nek^wes* ‘hungry’ (from *nek^we-* ‘starve’), *-užiš* ‘crooked, bent’ (from *-uži-* ‘bend, curve’, intr.), and *quqes* ‘dry’ (from *quqe-* ‘dry’, intr.).

7.7.5. Other verbal forms

7.7.5.1. Infinitive

The Infinitive is formed by adding *-a* to the last consonant of the root. Verbs with a stem-final short vowel (i.e. conjugation class 2 and 3) lose this vowel before taking *-a*. It is the citation form of the verb (together with the Purposive converb) and is used as such in the dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005). Verbs with a stem-final long vowel (except for *-u:-* ‘do’ and *li:-* ‘wear’, which have *-uwa* and *liya* as their Infinitives) do not form a regular Infinitive and use the Purposive converb in all contexts where otherwise the Infinitive would occur.

The Infinitive is used in complement clauses of a wide range of verbs. In many such complement constructions the main clause subject and the dependent clause subject are identical, and therefore the dependent clause does not contain an overt subject (432a). The complement clause can have its own expressed subject (432b). For more information on coreference and control in complement clauses see Section 22.4.

- (432) a. *hayto-z [Ø-uh-a=tow] Ø-eq'i-n gom*
 he.OBL-DAT I-die-INF=EMPH I-know-UWPST be.NEG
 'He could not die.' (N)
- b. *hayto-z r-eti-yo [de kayat cax-a]*
 he.OBL-DAT V-want-PRS I.ERG letter write-INF
 'He wants me to write letters.'

Another function of the Infinitive is to convey purpose (433), but the Purposive converb is usually preferred in purpose and goal expressing clauses (see 7.7.2.12 for the Purposive converb).

- (433) *[hasaqo Ø-ix-no] nox q'ul?a-zo ma?a-λ'o-r*
 in.the.morning I-get.up-CVB come water.pool-GEN2 outside-SPR-LAT
[q'w aridaw di rok'e r-uq'er-r-aq'er-a]
 sad I.GEN1 heart(V) V-heal-V-bring-INF
 'After getting up in the morning come to the water basin in the yard in order to heal my sad heart!' (said to a man) (N)

The Infinitive is used in three periphrastic verb forms, namely the Compound Future (Section 7.5.1), the Conditional Past, and the Conditional Unwitnessed Past (Section 7.6.6). Diachronically, it served as the base for a number of other verbal forms: (i) the Indefinite Future (Section 7.4.1), (ii) the Intentional Future (Section 7.4.2), (iii) the Terminative converb (Section 7.7.2.2), (iv) the Second Simultaneous converb (Section 7.7.2.3), (v) the Reduplicated Narrative converb (Section 7.7.2.5), (vi) the Masdar (Section 7.7.5.2), and (vii) the Intentional modality (Section 8.2.3). As a consequence, a few of these verb forms cannot be built from those verbs that lack the Infinitive (namely the Indefinite Future and the Intentional Future). For other verb forms, the Infinitive-lacking verbs use either the Purposive converb (Terminative converb, Reduplicated Narrative converb, and the three periphrastic verb forms mentioned above), or the relevant suffix is directly attached to the stem (Second Simultaneous converb, Masdar, Intentional modality).

Adding the attributive suffix *-li* to the Infinitive leads to constructions that resemble relative clauses (see Section 13.1.2.8 for more examples). For instance, in (434a) *b-ič'-a-li* could be replaced by the Resultative participle of the same lexeme *b-ič'-iš* without any change in meaning. However, in other contexts such a replacement is impossible. Compare (434b) with (434c), where the participle in the first example indicates that *uži* refers to a child, because *-etali* 'beloved' is only employed when talking about children or other close relatives. In contrast, *-eti-š* or the Habitual participle *-eti-λ'os* are only used when talking about love between adults.

- (434) a. *[mesed-li-š b-ič'-a-li] torpa=n k^wa:*
 gold-OBL-GEN1 III-fill-INF-ATT bag(III)=and in.the.hands
b-ux-no ...
 III-take-CVB
 ‘taking the bag which was filled with gold in the hands ...’ (N)
- b. *hago goł [di-žo essu-z Ø-et-a-li] uži*
 this be I.OBL-GEN2 sister-DAT I-want-INF-NMLZ boy(I)
 ‘This is the small boy whom my sister likes.’
- c. *hago goł [di-žo essu-z Ø-eti-š] uži*
 this be I.OBL-GEN2 sister-DAT I-want-RES boy(I)
 ‘This is the young man whom my sister loves.’

Case markers may be added to the suffix *-li* (435).

- (435) *eli [koli λex^w-a-li]-ž magalu toλ-iš*
 we.ERG Koli remain-INF-ATT-DAT bread give-PST
 ‘We gave the one who stayed in the canyon called Koli bread.’

Finally, the Infinitive is used in verb reduplication together with a subsequent negative verb form. These constructions are described in Section 9.5.2.

7.7.5.2. *Masdar*

For the formation of the *Masdar*, the suffix *-nu* is added to the Infinitive of the verb for verbs that have an Infinitive (i.e. inflection classes 1-3 plus the two exceptional verbs *-u:-* ‘do’ and *li:-* ‘wear’). All other verbs (i.e. those with astem-final long vowel) add the suffix *-nu* directly to the stem.

In the tradition of Caucasiology, the term “*Masdar*” refers to deverbal nouns that have both verbal and nominal properties. In this regard the Hinuq verb form called “*Masdar*” does not behave exactly as one would expect. The *Masdar* can be used on its own in independent clauses expressing a special type of modality with the meaning ‘still not’ (436). In this function it can also be combined with the copula and form three periphrastic modality verb forms (“Still not” Present, “Still not” Past, and “Still not” Unwitnessed Past, see Section 8.2.4). In any case, whether used on its own or together with a copula, the clauses headed by the *Masdar* convey a negative meaning usually referring to events and situations that are expected to happen but have not happened yet. The negative semantics of the

Hinuq Masdar in examples such as (436) is surprising because it is not shared by cognate Masdars in the other West Tsezic languages, Tsez and Khwarshi.⁷⁷

- (436) “*žied b-eta:z-če b-iq-anu*”=*χen eχi-n*
 yet III-reap-PURP-TERM III-happen-MSD=QUOT say-UWPST
baru-y
 wife-ERG
 ‘‘It is still not mature,’’ said the wife.’ (N)

Similarly, the Masdar can be used in a participle-like manner and modify nouns. In this function it has also a negative meaning describing situations that usually contradict the expectation of the hearer. For two more examples see Section 8.2.4.4.

- (437) *hadu goł [tetu y-iχ-anu] cen*
 this be cream(IV) IV-take-MSD brynza
 ‘This is cottage cheese from which the cream has not been taken away.’
 (N)

However, the Masdar also occurs in contexts that are typical for this type of predicate. That is, it can be substantivized and then used as a nominal complement. In this function the Masdar takes case suffixes and does not mean ‘still not’ but has affirmative semantics. One context where the substantivized Masdar regularly occurs is in complements of a few verbs like *boži -iq-* ‘believe’ and *šak -iq-* ‘doubt’ (438a). Other examples of the Masdar used in a nominal function are (438b) where the SUB-Essive (a spatial case that is regularly used for the expression of objects of exchange) appears and (438c) where the suffix *-χi* indicates a purpose clause.

- (438) a. *de šak Ø-iqo [zokes y^wede r-egi*
 I doubtful I-be.PRS tomorrow.GEN1 day(V) V-good
r-iq-anu-χ’o]
 V-be-MSD-SPR
 ‘I (masc.) doubt that tomorrow will be good weather.’ (lit. ‘a good day’).

⁷⁷ Maybe the negative semantics is just an implication of an irrealis meaning of the Masdar. That is, an event that has still not happened will probably happen in the future. In this case, (436) would be better translated with ‘It is still to reap.’ or ‘It will reap.’, and (437) with ‘cottage cheese from which the cream is to be taken away’.

- b. *de hayłoy dew-qo-s* *Ø-iy-iš* [*hay hibadu*
 I he.ERG you.SG.OBL-AT-ABL I I-take-PST there this
bułe *yašik'-ma-r b-uti-r-anu-ł*
 house(III) box-IN-LAT III-turn-CAUS-MSD-SUB
 'He took me away from you for putting the house back into the box.'
 (N)
- c. [*hasaqo=n* *nesa:=no* *diž* *Ø-ik-anu-łi*]
 in.the.morning=and in.the.evening=and I.DAT I-see-MSD-PURP
maduhal-łi-qo-r *nox=čo* *me,* *uži*
 neighbor-ABST-AT-LAT come=EMPH you.SG boy
 'In order to see you in the morning and in the evening, come to the
 neighbors, boy!' (N)

7.8. The copula

The verb 'be' is the only irregular verb in Hinuq. It has three suppletive forms and additionally uses the verbs *-iči-* 'be, stand, sit' and *-iq-* 'be, become, happen' for all verbal forms for which the copula itself lacks its own form. The three suppletive forms of the copula are *goł* (affirmative) and *gom* (negative) with present time reference, and *zoq'*⁷⁸ *we-* with past time reference. Diachronically the verb *goł* is morphologically complex, but synchronically there is no verb *go-* with the meaning 'be' and present time reference, and the origin of the final /ł/ is unclear. Nevertheless, many of the copula forms beginning with *go-* have a clearly identifiable suffix, e.g. *go-m* 'be.NEG' (*-me* is the negative suffix), *goyame* 'be.PTCP.LOC.NEG' (*-ya* is the suffix of the Locative participle) or *gosme* 'without' (*-s-me* is the negative suffix of the Resultative participle).

The copula can express the same tense (future vs. present vs. past time reference) and evidentiality (neutral vs. unwitnessed) values as normal lexical verbs. However, it has fewer verb forms than lexical verbs; therefore many forms are expressed with the two verbs that roughly mean 'be' (*-iči-* and *-iq-*). These verbs are normal lexical verbs with all verbal forms that other lexical verbs have, but they additionally occur as auxiliaries or light verbs.

The copula is also used for the formation of various periphrastic tense-aspect-mood forms. For the syntax of copula clauses see Chapter 18.

⁷⁸ In the glosses all verbs appear simply glossed with 'be' regardless of their inherent time reference because otherwise the glosses become too long.

7.8.1. The copula in independent main clauses

The verbal forms of the copula that occur in independent main clauses in the indicative mood are presented in Table 56. For each temporal value (future vs. present vs. past time reference) a different verb is used. Future time reference can only be expressed with the help of *-iči-* and *-iq-*.

Table 56. Copula forms in independent main clauses

Tense	Affirmative	Negative
Present	<i>goł</i>	<i>gom</i>
Simple Past	<i>zoq'we-s</i>	<i>zoq'we-s-me</i>
Unwitnessed Past	<i>zoq'we-n</i>	<i>zoq'we-n gom</i>
Resultative Past	<i>zoq'we-s goł</i>	<i>zoq'we-s gom</i>
General tense	<i>-iči- / -iq-</i>	<i>-iči-me / -iq-me</i>
Compound Future	<i>-iči-a goł / -iq-a goł</i>	<i>-iči-a gom / -iq-a gom</i>

7.8.1.1. Simple Present

In the Simple Present the copula has the affirmative form *goł* and the negative form *gom*. The final /m/ in *gom* seems to be cognate with the negative suffix *-me*. Both *goł* and *gom* have only present time reference, never future time reference.

- (439) a. *de goł hibay miskinaw besdal ked*
 I be such poor orphan girl
 'I am such a poor orphan girl.' (N)
- b. *hawa hače r-egi gom hayti*
 air(V) so.much V-good be.NEG there
 'There the air is not so good.' (N)

7.8.1.2. Simple Past

For the Simple Past the suffix *-s* is added to the stem of the copula which has past time reference (*zoq'we-*). In negative clauses *-me* is attached to *-s* (440b). It is used when talking about past events witnessed by the speaker though its evidentiality value is 'neutral'.

- (440) a. *gulu-be zoq'e-s aldoɣo ɯuraw*
 horse-PL be-PST formerly many

‘Formerly there were many horses.’ (N)

- b. *mašina-s hune-be zoq'we-s-me hadi-r b-aq'e-yλ'o*
 car-GEN1 way-PL be-PST-NEG here-LAT HPL-come-SIM
 ‘There were no ways for cars when we came here.’ (N)

7.8.1.3. Unwitnessed Past

For the Unwitnessed Past the suffix *-n* is added to the stem of the copula which has past time reference (*zoq'we-*). In negative clauses the form is periphrastic due to the use of *gom* (441a, 441c). The copula in the Unwitnessed Past occurs in fairy tales, legends, myths, and when telling about events that the speaker did not witness. It cannot be used with first person except for cases where the speaker does not consciously remember the situation (441d).

- (441) a. *zoq'we-n, zoq'we-n gom=eλ xan-es λono uži=n*
 be-UWPST be-UWPST be.NEG=NARR khan-GEN1 three son=and
hes ked=no
 one girl=and
 ‘Once upon a time there lived a khan who had three sons and one girl.’ (N)
- b. *Gruziya-ł hayłu zaman-a-ł carica xan zoq'we-n*
 Georgia-CONT that.OBL time-OBL-CONT queen khan be-UWPST
Tamar
 Tamar
 ‘In Georgia at that time there was the queen Tamar.’ (N)
- c. *želmu zoq'e-n hayło-qo, žamal zoq'e-n gom*
 science be-UWPST he.OBL-AT character be-UWPST be.NEG
 ‘He was educated, but he did not have a good character.’ (N)
- d. *huł de hudul-de idu zoq'we-n, amma diž hag*
 yesterday I friend-ALOC home be-UWPST but I.DAT that
rok'λ'o gom
 heart.SPR be.NEG
 ‘Yesterday I was at a friend’s place, but I do not remember that.’

7.8.1.4. Resultative Past

The Resultative Past is formed with the help of the Past tense copula marked with the Resultative participle suffix *-s* and the Present tense copula *goł*. In negative sentences *goł* is replaced by *gom* (442c). Despite the use of the Resultative

participle, this tense occurs in a variety of contexts with past time reference but no clear resultative meaning. It is used in telling about the Past, in stories about one's own life and from the lives of other people. Just as the Simple Past this tense is not marked for evidentiality. It can easily occur with first person (442c).

- (442) a. *[eli xalq'i b-iči-ya] moč-a zoq'ʷe-s goł*
 we.GEN1 people HPL-be-PTCP.LOC place.OBL-IN be-RES be
b-ʔe'ži obšestwo
 HPL-big society
 'In the place where our people lived there has been a big society.'
 (N)
- b. *Hinuq aλ-a zoq'e-s goł aldoγo-do ʔazal xadu ruħ*
 Hinuq village-IN be-RES be formerly-DIR 1.000 almost soul
 'In former times there were almost a thousand people in Hinuq.' (N)
- c. *eli hay zoq'ʷe-s gom*
 we there be-RES be.NEG
 'We have not been there.'

7.8.1.5. General tense

Since the copula has no special form for the General tense, the verbal stems of *-iči-* and *-iq-* are used instead. The General tense has the same range of functions with these two verbs as it has with all other verbs, e.g. expressing general truths and generic sentences (443a), how-to-do descriptions (443b), and future situations (443c).

- (443) a. *maʔarul-ho-r r-iči, ʔurus-ho-r r-iči, ʔezaʔan*
 Avar-ILOC-LAT NHPL-be Russian-ILOC-LAT NHPL-be many
t'ek-be goł
 book-PL be
 'Be it in Avar, be it in Russian, there are many books.' (N)
- b. *[ʔaši yi goła] r-ʔežinnu izače r-ʔeži rocimu r-iči*
 much milk be.PTCP V-big this.much V-big sieve(V) V-be
 'When there is much milk, it is a big, such a big sieve.' (N)
- c. *rehel goya-me aže y-iq-me*
 moisture be.PTCP-NEG tree(IV) IV-happen-NEG
 'There where there is no moisture there will be no tree.'

7.8.1.6. Compound Future

The Compound Future of the copula is formed with the help of the verbs *-iči-* and *-iq-*. It has the same range of functions as Compound Future verbs of other lexical verbs. The Compound Future regularly occurs in the apodosis of conditional clauses because the apodosis frequently refers to future situations (444c). In such clauses the verb *-iq-* can often be translated with ‘become’ (444b), whereas *-iči-* functions simply as a copula with future time reference (444a).

- (444) a. *debez kwalkwal b-ur-λ'os rek'we Ø-ič-a gom*
 you.SG.DAT obstacle(III) III-do-HAB man(I) I-be-INF be.NEG
 ‘There will be nobody disturbing you.’ (N)
- b. *“de hoboži=gozon bečed Ø-iq-a goł”=λen*
 I now=TOP richly I-become-INF be=QUOT
 ‘‘Now I will become even richer,’’ he says.’ (N)
- c. *[hało iżey-be gosme rek'u-z iżey-be y^we-yi-š*
 this.OBL eye-PL without man.OBL-DAT eye-PL dog-OBL-GEN1
gor-o] żurab mumpa?at b-iq-a goł
 put-COND much benefit(III) III-happen-INF be
 ‘If you give the man without eyes the eyes of a dog, there will be
 much benefit for you.’ (N)

7.8.2. Non-indicative forms of the copula

Most of the non-indicative moods of the copula are built with the verbs *-iči-* and *-iq-*. Table 57 shows the Imperative, the Prohibitive (i.e. the negative Imperative), the Irrealis Conditional, and the Optative. Other forms such as the Conditional Past and the Conditional Unwitnessed Past are completely regularly formed by means of *-iči-* and *-iq-* (see Section 7.6 on non-indicative verb forms of lexical verbs). Two examples are given below: (445a) illustrates the Imperative and (445b) the Optative.

- (445) a. *razi y-iq!*
 happy II-be
 ‘Be happy!’ (said to a woman)
- b. *Allah-li-go eλi-n hayłuy “hibało di-žo*
 Allah-OBL-AT say-UWPST she.ERG this.OBL I.OBL-GEN2
uži-š q'imu r-²eži r-iq-λo!”=λen
 son-GEN1 head(V) V-big V-become-OPT=QUOT
 ‘She said to Allah, ‘‘May the head of my son become big!’’’ (N)

Table 57. Non-indicative forms of the copula

Mood	Affirmative	Negative
Imperative	-iči!/-iq!	-ičiyom!/-iqom!
Optative	-iči-λo!/-iq-λo!	-ičiyom-λo!/-iqom-λo!
Irrealis Conditional	<i>q'ede goŋi</i>	<i>q'ede goŋi</i>
Simple Past interrogative	<i>zoq''^we-y</i>	<i>zoq''^we-y-me</i>

Goŋi is the Irrealis Conditional particle formed from the Present tense form of the copula. It is used in the apodosis of all kinds of irrealis conditional clauses, not only with the verb ‘be’. It always follows the main predicate of the apodosis. In the protasis of irrealis conditional constructions, the obligatory particle *q'ede* follows the predicate. (446a) and (446b) are two examples of irrealis conditional clauses with the copula. Note that *goŋi* on its own cannot head an independent main clause.

- (446) a. [*hoboži eli Čačan-λ'o zoq''^we-s q'ede*] *ʔezaʔan b-egi*
 now we Chechnya-SPR be-PST IRR very III-good
ruq'a.raq'i=n b-iči goŋi
 being(III)=and III-be be.IRR
 ‘If we were now in Chechnya, we would live very well.’ (N)
- b. “[*de č'agu goŋ q'ede*] [*de-de purho=no nox-no*] *di*
 I alive be IRR I.OBL-ALOC near=and come-CVB I.GEN1
omoq'i b-uher-me goŋi meži”=*λen*
 donkey(III) III-kill-NEG be.IRR you.PL.ERG=QUOT
 “‘If I were alive you would not come near to me and kill my donkey,’
 he said.’ (N)

As with lexical verbs, verbs in interrogative clauses only have a special form in the Simple Past; that is, the Interrogative suffix is added to the stem of the verb. For another example see (378) in Section 7.6.7.

- (447) *hay roλ'i zoq''^we-ye di=λen?*
 hey love be-Q I.GEN1=QUOT
 ‘Well, did I have the love?’ (N)

7.8.3. The copula in dependent clauses

The copula does not have all verbs forms for dependent clauses that lexical verbs have (compare Table 58 with the respective Table 55 for lexical verbs). The copula forms used in dependent clauses are almost exclusively built from the Present tense root of the copula *go(ł)*. Among the forms displayed in Table 58 only *gołiś*, *goła*, *gołi*, and *gosme* occur frequently in my text corpus. Due to the relative scarcity of examples, the exact function of some copula forms is not always clearly identifiable. For example, *gołiś*, *goła*, and *gołoru* on the one hand and *goyomeru* and *gomeza* on the other hand occur in quite similar contexts.

Some of the verb forms presented in Table 58 occur not only in dependent copula clauses but also in dependent clauses containing additional lexical verbs (e.g. *goła* is used for the formation of the General participle of lexical verbs).

Table 58. Copula forms in dependent clauses

Label	Affirmative	Negative
Simultaneous converb	<i>gołoł'o</i>	#
Terminative converb	<i>gołače / gołoruče</i>	<i>goyomeruče / #</i>
Converb	<i>gołiś</i>	<i>gosme</i>
Past participle	<i>gołoru</i>	<i>goyomeruče</i>
Local participle	<i>goła</i>	<i>goyame</i>
Negative participle	#	<i>goyomeru</i>
Compound Present participle	<i>zoq'wo goła</i>	<i>zoq'wo goyomeru</i>

All other verb forms used in dependent clauses and involving 'be' are built with *-iči-* and *-iq-*, e.g. the Habitual participle (448a) or the Concessive converb (448b).

- (448) a. *izače r-eg^wey banka-be r-iči-ł'os goł*
 so.much NHPL-small jar-PL NHPL-be-HAB be
 'There are such small jars.' (N)
- b. *[b-eg^wey=gazon b-iq-on] elo ał-a-s*
 III-small=TOP III-happen-CONC we.GEN2 village-OBL-GEN I
[?]*aši goł t'ot'er-iś xalq'i*
 much be study-RES people
 'Although it is small, there are many educated people from our vil-
 lage.'

7.8.3.1. *The Simultaneous converb*

The Simultaneous converb is formed by adding the suffix *-oλ'o* to the Present tense copula *goł*. However, the resulting verb form does not behave like normal lexical verbs with the same suffix, e.g. the following example does not represent a typical context for the Simultaneous converb. Besides, (449) is the only example in my corpus, and I was only able to elicit more examples with a meaning very similar the one in (449).

- (449) “*di-žo uži-š q'imu [aldoɣo goł-oλ'o] r-iți*
 I.OBL-GEN2 son-GEN1 head(V) formerly be-SIM V-similar
r-uw-o!”=λen
 V-do-IMP=QUOT
 ‘‘Make the head of my son like it was before!’’ she said.’ (N)

7.8.3.2. *The Terminative converb*

The terminative converb of the copula is formed by adding the suffix *-če*, which is homophonous to the Equative enclitic, to one of the two affirmative participles of the copula (*gołta* or *gołoru*) (450a, 450b). The form *gołoruče* has a negative counterpart *gołomeruče* (450c); the other form lacks a negative equivalent. This is not surprising since the Local participle of the copula *gołta* also lacks a negative form, whereas the Past participle *gołoru* has a negative variant (Table 58).

- (450) a. [*me hadi gołta-če] zaman-a-ł de šaharli y-iči*
 you.SG here be.PTCP-TERM time-OBL-CONT I town.IN II-be
 ‘As long as you are here, I (fem.) stay in the city.’
- b. *me gołta-če mecxer b-uher-o!*
 you.SG.ERG be.PTCP-TERM money(III) III-kill-IMP
 ‘Spend the money as long as there is some!’
- c. [*me sadaq goyomeruče] de łu-qo=qen*
 you.SG together be.PTCP.PST-TERM I who-AT=at.least
y-uλ'-me
 II-fear-NEG
 ‘During the time when you are not with me, I (fem.) do not fear anybody.’

7.8.3.3. The Converb

The affirmative converb form of the copula is *goliš*. This verb form is used with a kind of adpositional meaning ('being, having, with'), e.g. *hunar goliš rek*^w*e* (lit. talent be.CVb man) 'a man with talent'. In such sentences *goliš* usually precedes the noun to which it refers (451a-451c), but the reverse order is also possible. The noun can be in the Absolutive case or in an oblique case.

- (451) a. *hago Ø-iλ'i-n [haw ked eser-ayaz] [goliš mecxer=no*
 he I-go-UWPST that girl ask-PURP be.CVb money(III)=and
b-iži-n] ...
 III-take-CVB
 'He went to marry this girl, taking all the money that he had, ...' (N)
- b. *hibaylu zaman-a-ł yeme-λ'o goliš hału-s*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT mill-SPR be.CVb she.OBL-GEN1
bet'erhan Ø-aq'e-n
 husband(I) I-come-UWPST
 'At that time came her husband who had been at the mill.' (N)
- c. *di goliš kinawnigi sihirłi r-eq'-a r-aq'e*
 I.GEN1 be.CVb altogether slyness(V) V-know-INF V-must
debez
 you.SG.DAT
 'You must know all my tricks.' (N)

When marked with the Abstract suffix *-łi*, the converb of the copula frequently occurs in complement clauses of verbs like 'know, seem, tell', etc.:

- (452) *[hayłoy gex-o goła] šeł'u-ro-y es-o*
 he.ERG dress-ICVB be.PTCP clothes-OBL-ERG tell-ICVB
zoq^w*e-s=eλ [hago miskin rek'u-s uži goliš-łi]*
 be-PST=NARR he poor man.OBL-GEN1 son be.CVb-ABST
 'The clothes that he wore told that he was a poor man's son.' (N)

The negative converb *gosme* has approximately the same range of functions as the affirmative variant. It occurs in a postposition-like function with the meaning 'without, not being' or 'not having' and follows the noun in the Absolutive case, which it governs (see Section 11.4.1 for more examples).

- (453) *quy gosme Ø-ułi-yo hayi-š hago*
 noise without I-go.out-PRS there-ABL1 he
 'Without noise he leaves that place.' (S)

The oblique form of *gosme* is *gomez*. It is used when the head noun is in an oblique case (454a). The verb form *gomez* can be substantivized and take case suffixes (454a).

- (454) a. *hoboži [ɣ^we-yi-š ižey-be r-iɣ-no] [hayto*
 now dog-OBL-GEN1 eye-PL NHPL-take-CVB that.OBL
gomez *rek'u-z* *ɣ^we-yi-š ižey-be*
 be.PTCP.NEG-OBL.PL man.OBL-DAT dog-OBL-GEN1 eye-PL
gor-no] mumpaʔat b-iq-no
 put-CVB profit(III) III-happen-UWPST
 ‘Now he took the eyes from a dog, gave the dog’s eyes to that man
 without (eyes) and made profit in this way.’ (N)
eli [rorqos gomez]-z mecexer toλ-iš
 we.ERG shoe be.PTCP.NEG-OBL.PL-DAT money give-PST
 ‘We gave the one without shoes money.’

7.8.3.4. The Past participle

The Past participle of the copula is formed by adding the Past participle suffix *-oru* to the Present tense copula *goł*. It occurs as a modifier of a following head noun (455a) or in a kind of headless relative clause (455b). In such clauses it has past time reference. But the Past participle can also be used in complement clauses of verbs like ‘think, believe’, together with a lexical verb. In these complement clauses it takes case suffixes (455c) and lacks a specific time reference.

- (455) a. *hadu marha di-go ese-s [...] Ramazan-i Erseni eli*
 this fary.tale I.OBL-AT tell-PST Ramazan-ERG Erseni we
gołoru zaman-a-ł
 be.PTCP time-OBL-CONT
 ‘Ramazan told me this fairy tale at the time when we lived in Erseni.’
 (N)
- b. *[axir-λ'o-do gołoru=tow] luyu-da-r Ø-aq'e-n hado,*
 end-SPR-DIR be.PTCP=EMPH trace-OBL-LAT I-come-UWPST he
zon-zo lagi-λ'o-r kekir-no noc-be=
 REFL.SG.OBL-GEN2 body.OBL-SPR-LAT let-CVB louse-PL=and
 ‘In the end it was like before, he lived his former life, he let the lice
 come on his body.’ (N)

- c. *di essu boži Ø-iqqo [zek ɬe r-oč'č'u*
 I.GEN1 brother(I) belief I-happen.PRS tomorrow water(V) V-cold
r-ič-a goɬoru-λ'o]
 V-become-INF be.PTCP-SPR

'My brother believes that the water will be cold tomorrow.'

7.8.3.5. The Local participle

The Local participle of the copula is formed by adding the suffix of the Local participle *-a* to the Present tense copula *goɬ*. As the Local participle of lexical verbs, it does not only serve a local function (457c); quite the contrary, more frequently it occurs in temporal adverbial clauses (456).

- (456) *ha izadu goɬ akli, [had ec'endiyu goɬa] ga:-z r-aq'e*
 ha this be whey(V) this fresh be.PTCP drink-PURP V-must
 'Well, this is whey; when it is fresh you must drink it.' (N)

But even more often *goɬa* occurs in short relative clauses modifying a following head noun (457a, 457b). It can be substantivized and take further case suffixes (457c). Finally, lexical verbs form their General participle with the help of *goɬa* (Section 7.7.3.2).

- (457) a. *sasaqo dew-qa moɬ-a goɬ [di goɬa]*
 in.the.morning you.SG.OBL-AT teach-INF be I.GEN1 be.PTCP
?ilmu
 science
 'In the morning I will teach you everything that I know (lit. the knowledge that I have).' (N)
- b. *hoboy goɬa-ni yeme-ra-ho igo baydan-li-λ'o,*
 then be.PTCP-ATT mill-OBL-ALOC near square-OBL-SPR
ra?al-ɬi-λ'o zoq'we-n r-u:-s hag saq'dari
 edge-ABST-SPR be-UWPST V-do-RES that church(V)
 'Then on the place near the mill, on the edge (of the village) that church had been built.' (N)
- c. *rok'we goɬa-r rore b-iλ'i-yo*
 heart be.PTCP-LAT foot(III) III-go-PRS
 'The foot goes to where the heart is.'

The negative counterpart of *goɬa* is *goyame*. It can also be case-marked with spatial case suffixes (458b).

- (458) a. [oqondeŧ-no] λex^w-o hayŧo uži-š obu, žied
wonder-CVB remain-PRS that.OBL boy-GEN1 father yet
zon-zo žumru-ŧ goyame hay bercinaw arxi
REFL.SG.OBL-GEN2 life-CONT be.PTCP.NEG there beautiful ditch
'The boy's father remains wondering, never before in his life there
had been such a beautiful ditch.' (N)
- b. bex goyame-r y^weriš r-iži-yom!
grass be.PTCP.NEG-LAT cow.PL NHPL-take-PROH
'Do not take the cows to a place without grass!'

7.8.3.6. The Compound Present participle

The Compound Present participle of the copula is homophonous with the Present participle of normal lexical verbs, i.e. it consists of a first verb with the Imperfective converb suffix plus the Local participle of the copula *goŧa* (see Section 7.7.3.2 for the General participle of lexical verbs). In negative clauses *goŧa* is replaced by *goyomeru* (459b). This form is remarkable because it is the only verbal form where the Imperfective converb suffix *-o* occurs on the copula with past time reference *zoq*'^w*e-*.

- (459) a. hale b-aši-š di-qo meži [žiqu-r
well HPL-find-PST I.OBL-AT you.PL today-LAT
b-aši-mez zoq'^w-o goŧa] ahlu=λen
HPL-find-PURP.NEG be-ICVB be.PTCP folk=QUOT
'Well, I found you, the people whom I did not find until today.' (N)
- b. [me zoq'^w-o goyomeru] aλ diž b-ik-o
you.SG be-ICVB be.PTCP.NEG village(III) I.DAT III-see-PRS
'I see the village where you have not been.'

7.8.3.7. The Negative participle

The Hinuq copula has a Negative participle. The negative counterpart of the Past participle *goŧoru* and occasionally also of the Local participle *goŧa* is *goyomeru* (460a). It can be substantivized and take further case suffixes (460b). It also occurs in the negative form of the General participle of lexical verbs (Section 7.7.3.2).

- (460) a. [*de idu goyomeru*] *zaman-a-ŋ* *Madina-y* *mos*
 I home be.PTCP.NEG time-OBL-CONT Madina-ERG broom(III)
b-aʕi-š
 III-sweep-PST
 ‘At the time when I was not at home Madina did the cleaning.’
- b. [*mihi goyomeru*]-*y* *xu* *r-ac’-iš*
 tail be.PTCP.NEG-ERG meat(V) V-eat-PST
 ‘The one without a tail ate the meat.’ (i.e. a dog)

Chapter 8

Other verbal categories

This chapter offers a more detailed description of four verbal categories that have been only briefly mentioned in the chapter on verbal inflection (Chapter 7), namely aspect, modality, evidentiality, and mirativity. The expression of aspect, but even more the expression of evidentiality plays an important role in Hinuq grammar, no less important than tense or modality. Aktionsart, which is heavily related to the lexicon, will not be treated in this grammar.

8.1. Aspect

8.1.1. Introduction

Aspectuality exists in Hinuq not only as a semantic category but also in the form of a grammatical category. Although there is a distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect in Hinuq, the category of perfectivity is not grammaticalized. It is imperfectivity and some of its subcategories that are grammatically marked. The tense-aspect-mood/modality forms presented in this chapter have quite clear aspectual meanings. The aspectual meanings of all other verb forms are not so obvious; therefore, they mostly go unmentioned here. For a detailed analysis of the form and the function of all verbal forms in Hinuq see the chapter on verbal inflection (Chapter 7).

This chapter is partially based on the answers of three speakers to Dahl's (1985) tense-aspect-mood questionnaire.

8.1.2. Perfectivity

As already mentioned, Hinuq does not have grammatical means to express perfective aspect, i.e. there is no specialized verbal form referring to situations that are viewed in their entirety. Instead, in perfective contexts the Simple Past (461a) and the Simple Unwitnessed Past (461b) are used. Both verb forms are distinguished by their evidentiality value, and in fact, evidentiality is a more important category in Hinuq than aspect. Speakers readily and repeatedly comment on the evidentiality meaning of clauses, but never on the aspectual meaning. For instance, sentence 101 from Dahl's questionnaire is supposed to be typical for the perfective aspect. When I asked speakers to translate the target sentence into Hinuq, I received answers with both the Simple Past and the Simple Unwitnessed

Past, according to how the speakers imagined the evidentiality meaning of the sentence, which was not available from the Russian sentence.

- (461) a. [Last year, the boy's father sent him a sum of money]
 [hayɫo-z mecxe**r** b-aši-χ'o] hayɫoy ked-ez k'oħlo
 he.OBL-DAT money(III) III-get-SIM he.ERG girl-DAT ball(III)
 b-ux-iš
 III-buy-PST
 'When he got the money, he bought a present for the girl.'
- b. [Last year, the boy's father sent him a sum of money]
 [uži-ž mecxe**r** b-aši-χ'o] haɫo-y ked-ez k'oħlo
 boy-DAT money(III) III-get-SIM he.OBL-ERG girl-DAT ball(III)
 b-ux-no
 III-buy-UWPST
 'When the boy got the money, he bought a ball for the girl.'

Furthermore, in Hinuq there is no distinction between durative adverbials of the type *for one hour* that are supposed to cooccur with imperfective verb forms and adverbials of the type *in one hour* that should co-occur with perfective verb forms (Section 10.3.6).

8.1.3. Imperfectivity

Broadly speaking, the imperfective aspect can be said to pay attention to the internal structure of the situation (e.g. Comrie 1976a: 3). In Hinuq, the imperfective aspect represents the marked member of the aspectual opposition. There are four groups of verb forms that express various subcategories of imperfectivity: the compound tenses, the resultative tenses, the habitual tenses, and progressive constructions with the auxiliary *-iči-* 'be, become, sit, stay, stand, stop'.

The first three categories refer to periphrastic verb forms occurring in the normal verbal paradigm as presented in Section 7.5. They all consist of a lexical verb taking a converbial or a participial suffix plus the auxiliary 'be'. The temporal and aspectual meanings of these periphrastic forms are fully compositional: the suffix on the lexical verb determines the aspectual meaning, and the auxiliary determines the temporal and the evidentiality meaning plus the polarity. For the aspectual meaning there are three parameters: general imperfective (compound tenses), resultative, and habitual. The temporal meaning has two parameters: past time reference and present time reference. Verbal forms with future time reference do not distinguish between perfective and imperfective aspect. The evidentiality meaning can be neutral or unwitnessed, but it is restricted to the past.

Table 59. Imperfective tense-aspect-mood forms

	Affirmative	Negative
Present time reference		
Imperfective (Compound tenses)	-o goł	-o gom
Resultative	-s goł	-s gom
Habitual	-ł'os goł	-ł'os gom
Past time reference, Unwitnessed		
Imperfective (Compound tenses)	-o zoq'wen	-o zoq'wen gom
Resultative	-s zoq'wen	-s zoq'wen gom
Habitual	-ł'os zoq'wen	-ł'os zoq'wen gom
Past time reference, Neutral		
Imperfective (Compound tenses)	-o zoq'wes	-o zoq'wesme
Resultative	-s zoq'wes	-s zoq'wesme
Habitual	-ł'os zoq'wes	-ł'os zoq'wesme

Finally, polarity includes affirmative and negative. Thus, we can construct a table that contains all 18 possible verbal forms (Table 59). The table shows the appropriate suffixes of the lexical verb plus the auxiliary.

The fourth subcategory of imperfectivity, the *-iči-* progressive, is a separate construction since it employs the specialized auxiliary *-iči-* (Section 8.1.3.4).

8.1.3.1. The compound tenses

Hinuq has three compound tenses where the lexical verb has the Imperfective converb suffix *-o*. Therefore, these tenses express imperfectivity, but to different degrees. They are used in many contexts that are typical for the imperfective aspect, but occasionally also in other contexts. In other words, they do not correspond to the canonical imperfective aspect as e.g. defined in Comrie (1976a: 24–40). All three compound tenses allow for the biabsolute construction, a construction that in Nakh-Daghestanian languages is restricted to the Imperfective aspect (Forker 2012a). This fact can be taken as a further indication for the imperfective meaning of the compound tenses (see Section 17.10 for the biabsolute construction in Hinuq).

The compound tenses are predominantly used in three contexts: when referring to (i) habitual situations, (ii) to the current general occupation of people, and (iii) to the current situation or a situation that is conceived as extending in time. However, in all these contexts other verbal forms also occur. Further-

more, the temporal reference and the polarity also have an important influence on the meaning and use of these forms. For example, the Simple Present tense lacks a negative form. Since the Compound Present is used instead, the negative Compound Present covers both the function of the Simple Present and of the Compound Present (see Section 7.5.2 for details and examples.)

The first context refers to the Compound Past and the Compound Unwitnessed Past: when frequency adverbs like ²*aši* ‘often’ or *neten* ‘always’ are used to express habitual situations, both verbal forms seem to be preferred over other verbal forms with past time reference (462a, 462b). In contrast, in contexts with present time reference the Simple Present is preferred (462c), but the verb contains an Antipassive suffix, which leads to an iterative meaning.

- (462) a. [Q: Why did you think yesterday that your brother had caught a cold?]
hago ²*aši* *xomorɣa:-ho zoq'e-s*
 he often cough-ICVB be-PST
 ‘He often coughed.’
- b. [The boy used to receive a sum of money now and then]
 [*uži-ž mecxer b-aši-yλ'o*] *neten ked-ez k'oħlo*
 boy-DAT money(III) III-get-SIM always girl-DAT ball(III)
b-uxxo zoq'e-n
 III-buy.ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘When the boy got the money, he always bought a ball for the girl.’
- c. [Q: Why do you think your brother has caught a cold?]
hayto-λ'o neten xomore b-aq'e-do:-ho
 he.OBL-SPR always cough(III) III-come-ANTIP-PRS
 ‘He always has to cough.’

The difference between the habituality meaning of the Compound verbal forms and the Habitual tenses is that only the latter describe habitual situations that are at the same time characteristic and thus conceived as not referring to any particular point in time (Section 8.1.3.3).

The second context also refers to habitual situations, namely to the current occupations of people. Thus, for this context the Compound Present tense is used (see Section 7.5.2 for more examples). In contrast, when talking about occupations in the past, other verbal forms like the Simple Past are used. The following two sentences are from an autobiographical text:

- (463) a. *Ø-edo:-s ɬera λeba-ɬ zawuč=ɬun*
 I-work-PST five.OBL year.OBL-CONT didactical.director=AS

‘I worked for five years as didactical director.’ (N)

- b. *hawsaʔataʔ=no Ø-edo:-ho goʔ metadist=ʔun*
 now=and I-work-ICVB be methodologist=AS

‘And now I am working as a teaching methods specialist.’ (N)

The third context of use for the compound tenses comprises utterances referring to the current situation (464a). However, the normal question asking for the current activity is (464b), which represents the Simple Present. The answer can be either in the Simple Present or in the Compound Present.

- (464) a. [Q: What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?) A by someone who can see him]

hayʔoy kayat caxxo goʔ
 he.ERG letter write.ICVB be

‘He is writing letters.’

- b. *me se r-u:-ho?*
 you.ERG what V-do-PRS

‘What do you do?’ (N)

If a question like (465) is formulated with respect to the past and the focus is not on the result, then the Compound Past or the Compound Unwitnessed Past seems to be preferred. For questions where the result is important, the Simple Past is normally used.

- (465) [A returns home after having been away for a while. B asks:]

me se hay r-u:-ho zoq'e-y?
 you.SG.ERG what there V-do-ICVB be-Q

‘What were you doing there?’

For sentences describing ongoing activities that are embedded as complements into speech contexts, the Compound present tense is mostly used. Thus, all three speakers that I asked to translate sentence 156 from Dahl’s questionnaire answered with this tense:

- (466) [Q: What did your brother say yesterday when you asked him if he was busy?]

hayʔoy eʔi-š “kayat caxxo goʔ”=ʔen
 he.ERG say-PST letter write.ICVB be=QUOT

‘He said that he is writing letters.’

The third context seems to point in the direction of the progressive aspect. But there is one important difference between the compound tenses and the canonical progressive aspect: canonical progressive aspect can normally not combine with stative verbs. For the Hinuq compound tenses there is no such restriction (467). All three verbal forms can freely occur with stative verbs (see Sections 7.5.2, 7.5.5 and 7.5.11 for more examples):

- (467) *de dew-λo boži Ø-iqgo goł*
 I you.SG.OBL-SPR belief I-happen.ICVB be
 ‘I (masc.) believe you.’

8.1.3.2. The Resultative

In the three Resultative tenses the lexical verb is marked with the Resultative participle (suffix *-s*). The Resultative aspect focuses on the result of an event or situation; thus it usually presents a state that follows the final point of a telic event (Smith 1997: 76). The Resultative tenses are often used with verbs of posture, location, and movement and imply a change of state as result:

- (468) a. *hayło-s y-iλ'i-š zoq'e-s q'imur-mo-λ'o-s šlyapa*
 he.OBL-GEN I IV-fall-RES be-PST head-OBL-SPR-ABL I hat(IV)
q'idi-r
 down-LAT
 ‘His head had fallen down.’ (S)
- b. *[ižera-s kanłi łaq'e-n] de [uže iškola=n xece-n]*
 eye.OBL-GEN I light finish-CVB I already school=and let-CVB
q'idi Ø-iči-š zoq'e-s
 down I-be-RES be-PST
 ‘When the eyes became worse and I already left the school, I (masc.) retired.’ (lit. ‘I sat down.’) (N)

Other telic verbs that imply a change of state and/or a result are also used with the Resultative tenses. These can be verbs where the change of state is very clear (e.g. ‘die’, ‘become alive’, ‘become tired’, etc.), but also verbs that are usually not conceived as having a real result (e.g. ‘see’, ‘remain’).

- (469) a. [Q: Do you know my brother?]
o?o, diž hago san=qen kezi.iq-iš gom
 no I.DAT he once=at.least meet.I-RES be.NEG
 ‘No, I have never met him.’

- b. [Q: Why is it so cold in the room? The person who opened the window answers:]

de aki y-ayi-š goł
I.ERG window(IV) IV-open-RES be

‘I opened the window.’

- c. *bišun y-eg^w ennu idu lex^w e-s zoq^w e-n*
most II-small home remain-RES be-UWPST
‘The youngest (daughter) had stayed at home.’ (N)

- d. [Q: Do you think the king will go to sleep? A:]

hago akeł-iš goł
he get.tired-RES be

‘He is tired.’

In any case a resulting state must necessarily obtain. Therefore, predicates that normally do not imply a result cannot occur with the Resultative tenses (470a, 470b).

- (470) a. **hago łeža:s zoq^w e-s*
he laugh-RES be-PST
(He laughed.)
b. **ked xomorya:s zoq^w e-n*
girl cough-RES be-UWPST
(The girl coughed.)

Furthermore, the implicated achievement of a resultative state cannot be cancelled by a subsequent correction. Compare (471a) with (471b).

- (471) a. **hago Ø-uhe-s zoq^w e-s, amma Ø-uhe-s-me*
he I-die-RES be-PST but I-die-PST-NEG
(He died, but he did not die.)
b. *hago Ø-uhe-ł'os ħal zoq^w e-s amma Ø-uhe-s-me*
he I-die-HAB condition be-PST but I-die-PST-NEG
‘He was at the stage of dying, but did not die.’

8.1.3.3. *The Habitual*

The Habitual tense-aspect-mood forms are formed with the Habitual participle (suffix *-ł'os*). They describe permanent characteristics of people and things. They do not frequently occur in my corpus. Additionally, the Habitual Present

refers to predictive future situations and events (see Section 7.5.3 for examples). The following three examples show typical contexts for the Habitual tenses, all exemplified with the Habitual present. For examples with the other two verbal forms see 7.5.6 and 7.5.12.

- (472) a. *“haytoy ahlu b-uher-λ’os goɬ”=λen eλi-yo Malla*
 he.ERG folk HPL-kill-HAB be=QUOT say-PRS Mullah
Rasadan-i
 Nasredin-ERG
 ‘“He kills people,” said Mullah Nasredin.’ (N)
- b. [Talking about the speaker’s habits: I like to be up early.]
de y-ix-λ’os goɬ hasaqa iħra-λ’o
 I II-get.up-HAB be in.the.morning six.OBL-SPR
 ‘I (fem.) usually get up at six o clock in the morning.’
- c. *me ni žit y-iq-λ’os goɬ*
 you.SG where live II-happen-HAB be
 ‘Where do you (fem.) live?’ (S)

8.1.3.4. *-iči-* constructions

The *-iči-* constructions differ from the other three subcategories of the imperfective aspect. They formally fall out of the normal paradigm because they employ a special auxiliary that leads to a progressive and continuative meaning.

The verb *-iči-* has many different but related meanings. It can be translated with ‘be, become, sit, stay, stand’ or ‘stop’, according to the context. As a normal lexical verb it heads its own clause (473a) and takes complements (473b). In this function it may express a copula-like meaning, but it may also have a purely locative meaning (473c). It is also used in copula clauses with future time reference (Section 7.8.1.6).

- (473) a. *hibayħi raλ’ gom, hibayħi y-iči-yo di k’onc’u*
 there earth be.NEG there IV-stop-PRS I.GEN1 leg(IV)
 ‘There is no earth, there my leg stops.’ (N)
- b. *r-oč’č’u goɬ, Ø-oč’iħ-a Ø-iči-yom!*
 V-cold be I-become.cold-INF I-be-PROH
 ‘It is cold, do not get a cold!’ (said to a man)
- c. *q’idi y-iči!*
 down II-sit
 ‘Sit down!’ (said to a woman) (N)

In addition to its use as the main predicate, *-iči-* is used as an auxiliary leading to a progressive or continuative meaning. These constructions describe ongoing activities. Sometimes the focus may be on the fact that some event or situation that started previously is continuing. They appear in main and in subordinate clauses (see Section 8.1.3.5 below for the subordinate clauses).

- (474) a. *hayłu-qo-r=no b-eze-n, zeru ʔeža:n b-iči-n*
 she.OBL-AT-LAT=and III-look-CVB fox laugh-CVB III-be-UWPST
 ‘Looking at it, the fox was laughing.’ (N)
- b. *žiqu me idu Ø-ot'-no Ø-iči!*
 today you.SG home I-lay-CVB I-be
 ‘Today you (masc.) sleep at home.’ (N)
- c. *y^wadbe awlaq-mo-λ'o sot'i r-uti-yo r-iči-yo*
 crow.PL lowlands-OBL-SPR around NHPL-turn-ICVB NHPL-be-PRS
 ‘Crows are flying around the lowlands.’ (N)

In clauses with progressive aspect *-iči-* is preceded by a lexical verb. The lexical verb has either an Imperfective converb suffix (474c) or a Narrative converb suffix (474a, 474c). It cannot be used with other suffixes that normally occur in periphrastic verb forms, as for instance the Habitual participle. If the lexical verb has the Habitual participle suffix, *-iči-* is interpreted as meaning ‘stop’ and the construction represents a complement clause (475a). Similarly, the lexical verb cannot be marked with the Resultative participle (475b).

- (475) a. *hago [iši b-ac'-λ'os] Ø-iči-š*
 he apple(III) III-eat-HAB I-stop-PST
 ‘He stopped eating the apple.’
- b. **obu qešu r-u:s Ø-iči-š*
 father wall(V) V-do-RES I-be-PST
 (Father was building the wall.)

Progressive constructions where *-iči-* combines with the Narrative converb suffix on the lexical verb are not always easily formally distinguished from Narrative converb constructions. Thus, compare (476a) and (476b): both clauses contain two arguments in the Absolutive case, a lexical verb marked with the Narrative converb suffix and *-iči-* followed by *zoq'^we-* ‘be’. Only in (476b) is the P argument of the lexical verb marked with the Coordinative enclitic =*n*, which is typical for Narrative converb constructions. Furthermore, *-ik'er-* ‘beat.CAUS’ takes a goal argument in the Dative, i.e. the thing or person against whom is beaten must be marked with the Dative and not with the ILOC-Essive. Finally,

the semantics of both sentences differ because (476a) refers to one situation only whereas (476b) describes two situations occurring at the same time.

- (476) a. *sasaqo nesa: de t'ek t'ot'er-ho Ø-iči-yo*
 in.the.morning in.the.evening I book read-ICVB I-be-ICVB
zoq'we-s
 be-PST
 'In the morning, in the evening I (masc.) was (continuously) reading books.' (N)
- b. *Malla Nasrudin sedayo [qešu-ho moqoli=n*
 Mullah Nasrudin in.one.place wall-ILOC back(III)=and
b-ik'er-no] Ø-iči-š zoq'we-n
 III-beat.CAUS-CVB I-stand-RES be-UWPST
 'Mullah Nasredin stood in some place, leaning his back against the wall.' (N)

The verb *-iči-* takes the same tense-aspect-mood markers when used with or without additional verbs, according to the time reference of the clause, e.g. Simple Present (473a), Simple Unwitnessed Past (474a), or General tense (474b). It can also be followed by the auxiliary 'be' (476a).

At first glance these constructions look like other periphrastic verbal forms. However, *-iči-* constructions, though also monoclausal, exhibit a very special behavior. The verb *-iči-* is intransitive when used as the head of a clause. But, in contrast to other auxiliaries, it necessarily changes the argument structure of clauses when it occurs as a progressive auxiliary together with a transitive verb. With intransitive verbs there is no difference in case marking and agreement between, for instance, a clause in the Simple Present (477a) and a progressive clause (477b).

- (477) a. *hado uži Ø-otto muži:*
 this boy(I) I-lay.PRS mattress.IN
 'The boy is sleeping in the bed.' (N)
- b. *[hagbe b-iλ'i-λ'or=no] Ø-ot'-no Ø-iči-yo hago*
 they NHPL-go-POST=and I-lay-CVB I-be-PRS he
 'Until they go away, he is sleeping.' (lit. 'lying down') (N)

However, in progressive constructions with transitive verbs, case marking and agreement change. These clauses contain two arguments in the Absolutive (A and P). The lexical verb agrees with the P and the auxiliary *-iči-* agrees with

the A argument. Thus, *-iči-* progressive constructions belong to the biabsolutive constructions and therefore share all properties of these constructions (for a detailed analysis of biabsolutive constructions in Hinuq see Section 17.10).

- (478) *Ibrahim xal b-ux-no Ø-iči-yo haytu-qa*
 Ibrahim(I) gaze(III) III-keep-CVB I-become-PRS she.OBL-AT
 ‘Ibrahim is looking at her.’ (N)

One such property is that experiencer verbs are excluded from *-iči-* constructions (479a, 479b). The majority of these verbs do not refer to situations with internal parts that could easily be thought of as ongoing or in progress at a certain moment in time. In contrast, they refer to psychological events, affection, and perception. In order to use experiencer verbs with the *-iči-* progressive, the verbs must be causativized (479c).

- (479) a. * *hago Pat’imat y-ik-o Ø-iči-š*
 he Patimat(II) II-see-PRS I-be-PST
 (He was seeing Patimat.)
 b. * *haw di roži-be šuχ’e-n y-iči-yo*
 she I.GEN I word-PL forget-CVB II-be-PRS
 (She is forgetting my words.)
 c. *haw di roži-be šuχ’e-r-no y-iči-yo*
 she I.GEN I word-PL forget-CAUS-CVB II-be-PRS
 ‘She is forgetting my words.’

Another property of the *-iči-* progressive that is generally found in biabsolutive construction is the restriction on word order. The P argument must appear immediately in front of the lexical verb. It cannot be moved into another position:

- (480) * *Mahama b-acco Ø-iči-š magalu*
 Mahama(I) III-eat.PRS I-be-PST bread(III)
 (Mahama is eating bread.)

The *-iči-* progressive is perfectly in line with what is known about the development of periphrastic verb forms from originally locative constructions (Bybee et al. 1994: 133–137). The verb *-iči-* still has a locative semantics, but in combination with the Narrative or the Imperfective converb, it functions as an auxiliary without any locative meaning.

8.1.3.5. Aspect in subordinate clauses

The Imperfective converb, the Resultative, and the Habitual participle occur in subordinate clauses where they preserve their aspectual values. The Imperfective converb refers to events and situations that are ongoing at the time of the main clause event (Section 7.7.2.9). The Resultative participle expresses the resulting state of an event (Section 7.7.4.5). And the Habitual participle when used as an attribute to a noun refers to permanent characteristics (Section 7.7.4.4).

- (481) a. “[xexbe b-a:-yλ’o] [hagbe b-išer-ho] λex^we-s”=λen
 child.PL HPL-yell-SIM these HPL-feed-ICVB remain-PST=QUOT
 eλi-yo baru-y
 say-PRS wife-ERG
 ‘‘Because the children cried, I kept feeding them,’’ said the wife.’
 (N)
- b. moči=n b-aš-a goł [b-eλe-s]
 field(III)=and III-find-INF be III-plough-RES
 ‘(You) will find the field also ploughed.’ (N)
- c. t’ut’-be hag [nuce b-u:-λ’os]
 fly-PL those honey(III) III-do-HAB
 ‘the honey making flies’ (i.e. bees) (S)

Similarly, the auxiliary *-iči-* is also used in subordinate clauses with a progressive meaning. The verb can take a converb suffix and then can be used in adverbial clauses expressing an event or situation that occurs simultaneously with the main clause event, i.e. the clause asserts that some other event is in progress while the main clause event is happening. The most frequent use of *-iči-* in subordinate clauses is as a Progressive converb (482a, 482b). The Progressive converb is treated in more detail in Section 7.7.2.4.

- (482) a. [Ø-iλ’i-yo Ø-iči-n] hayło-z λ’oq’ar kezi.y.iqgo ked
 I-go-ICVB I-be-CVB he.OBL-DAT towards meet.II.PRS girl(II)
 ‘While going he meets a girl.’ (S)
- b. hago rek^we azey-λ’o [geni b-ut’-o Ø-iči-n]
 that man(I) tree-SPR pear(III) III-collect-ICVB I-be-CVB
 [łaq’e-n geni=n] geł-er Ø-aq’e-s azey-λ’o-s
 finish-CVB pear=and down-LAT I-come-PST tree-SPR-ABL I
 ‘The man gathered pears on a tree, the pears finished and he came
 down from the tree.’ (S)

Another possibility is to form an adverbial clause by means of the General participle. This participle alone already expresses simultaneous temporal reference, which can be reinforced by using *-iči-*:

- (483) *hezzo [hibay λ'ere hago b-ut'-o Ø-iči-š goła]*
 then there upwards he III-collect-ICVB I-be-RES be.PTCP
welosiped-λ'o Ø-oλex-iš uži
 bicycle-SPR I-appear-PST boy(I)
 'Then while he was upwards gathering pears, a boy on a bike appeared.'
 (S)

As can be seen in (483), this leads to the same kind of biabsolute construction as it is found in main clauses.

8.2. Modality

8.2.1. Introduction

Although there is no widely accepted definition of modality, one could say that modality is concerned with the speaker's view of the encoded situation with respect to the actual world and to alternative worlds. Hinuq has three grammatical categories of modality, and a number of modal verbs taking complement clauses. One of the grammatical modality categories, the potential modality expressed by the Potential construction, is presented in Section 17.2. Lexical expressions of modality by means of modal verbs are treated in the chapter on complement clauses (Section 22.2.2.3). Here only the two grammatical categories of epistemic and intentional modality are presented.

8.2.2. Epistemic modality with the verb *-ese-*

Epistemic modality concerns a judgment, typically by the speaker, of the chances that the situation or event expressed in the clause applies in the world. The grammatical category of epistemic modality in Hinuq is expressed by means of the auxiliary *-ese-* 'be probable, be possible, turn out to be'. The use of this auxiliary indicates that the speaker judges the relevant event or situation as probable or possible. It can also convey doubts on the part of the speaker, especially in questions. The verb *-ese-* can occur alone as the head of a main clause or of some types of subordinate clauses (Section 8.2.2.1), but it can also function as an auxiliary in periphrastic verb forms (Section 8.2.2.2). The verb is intransitive

and agrees with the Absolutive argument of its clause. When it occurs in periphrastic verb forms, it shows the same agreement as the lexical verb (i.e. with the S or P argument).

Occasionally speakers use *behula*, the simple present form of the Avar verb *b/eh/ize* ‘be possible, be probable’ for expressing a similar meaning (484). Note that the only Hinuq verb contained in this sentence is in the Infinitive.

- (484) *hago zek Ø-aq'-a behula*
 he tomorrow I-come-INF be.possible
 ‘He will probably come tomorrow.’ or ‘It is possible that he comes tomorrow.’

8.2.2.1. *-ese-* as the only verb in the clause

When occurring as the only verb of a clause *-ese-* has a defective paradigm of inflectional forms. In independent main clauses the only forms in which *-ese-* occur as the clausal head are the General tense (485a) and the Compound Future (485b), both verbal forms with future time reference.

- (485) a. *hadi-š Ø-iλ'i-yo, sto, sto.pidesat metra b-ese*
 here-ABL I I-go-COND 100 150 meter(III) III-be.possible
 ‘If I would have fallen from there, it would probably be 100, 150 meters.’ (N)
- b. *di ked hayti y-eg y-es-a goł*
 I.GEN I daughter(II) there II-well II-be.possible-INF be
 ‘My daughter will probably live well there.’ (N)

The General tense with the Quotative enclitic also occurs in complement clauses with some psychological verbs, e.g. ‘doubt’, ‘seem’, ‘hope’. These sentences do not express knowledge, and the complement need not have a positive truth value.

- (486) a. *di essu boži Ø-iqgo gom [te r-oč'č'u*
 I.GEN I brother(I) belief I-happen.ICVB be.NEG water(V) V-cold
r-ese=λen]
 V-be.possible=QUOT
 ‘My brother does not believe that the water is cold.’
- b. *[as-moči r-ese=λen] qebar:s mesed-li-š*
 sky-earth NHPL-be.possible=QUOT seem-PST gold-OBL-GEN I
 ‘It seemed (to me) that the sky and the earth were made of gold.’ (N)

In two types of converbal clauses *-ese-* functions as the head when marked with the appropriate suffix: in Realis Conditional clauses (487a) and in Concessive clauses (487b).

- (487) a. *[me hače q'uwataw Ø-ese-yo] ho hibad xemu*
 you.SG so.much strong I-be.probable-COND hey this stone
t'ece-n ĩe r-ołek'-o=łen
 squeeze-CVB water(V) V-put.out-IMP=QUOT
 'If you (masc.) are so strong, then squeeze this stone until water comes out.' (N)
- b. *Ø-ašir-o hago uži [ni Ø-ese-yon]!*
 I-catch-IMP that boy(1) where I-be.probable-CONC
 'Catch the boy, wherever he might be!' (N)

8.2.2.2. *-ese-* as auxiliary

The verb *-ese-* is used as an auxiliary in periphrastic verb forms more frequently than it is used as the only predicate in a clause. These constructions are monoclausal. The auxiliary *-ese-* itself is in the General tense. The lexical verb can occur in various forms used for periphrastic verb forms: Imperfective converb (488a), Narrative converb (488b), Resultative participle (488c), Infinitive (488d), and Masdar (488e).

- (488) a. *idu-do Ø-ese Ø-ił'i-yo hago=n*
 home-DIR I-be.probable I-go-ICVB he=and
 'Probably he also goes home.' (S)
- b. *hagbe kezi.b.iq-no b-ese besuro-zo*
 they meet.HPL-CVB HPL-be.probable fish.OBL-GEN2
xan-i-de-r
 khan-OBL-ALOC-LAT
 'They probably met the sea king.' (N)
- c. *de had t'ek t'ot'er-iš y-ese, amma diž*
 I.ERG this book(IV) read-RES IV-be.probable but I.DAT
rok'ł'o y-aq'-o gom
 heart.SPR IV-come-ICVB be.NEG
 'I probably read this book, but I do not remember it.'
- d. *de zek ĩalt'o-ł-edo Ø-ił'-a Ø-ese*
 I tomorrow work.OBL-CONT-DIR I-go-INF I-be.probable
 'I (masc.) will probably go to work tomorrow.'

- e. *hago Ø-uh-anu Ø-ese*
 he I-die-MSD I-be.probable
 ‘Probably he still has not died.’

The fact that this construction represents a monoclausal periphrastic verb form and not a complement clause is indicated by two more facts: first, even the auxiliary ‘be’ can occur together with *-ese-*, analogously to periphrastic verbal forms of the copula (489).⁷⁹

- (489) *hadi zoq'e-s b-ese oc'eno oc'eno ĩeno xozyaystwo*
 here be-RES III-be.probable ten ten five household
 ‘Here were probably ten, fifteen households.’ (N)

Second, like in other complex periphrastic verbal forms consisting of one lexical verb and two auxiliaries ‘be’, the auxiliary *-ese-* can be preceded by the lexical verb plus a form of *zoq'we-* ‘be’. Thus, (490a) corresponds to the Pluperfect and (490b) to the Compound Resultative tenses.

- (490) a. *me huł bex kiki-n zoq'we-n*
 you.SG.ERG yesterday gras(V) mow-CVB be-CVB
r-ese-me
 V-be.probable-NEG
 ‘You probably did not mow the grass yesterday.’
 b. *hayłuy mos b-ałi-yo zoq'we-s b-ese*
 she.ERG broom(III) III-sweep-ICVB be-RES III-be.probable
 ‘She probably swept.’

To combine finite verb forms with *-ese-* is impossible. Thus, compare (488d) above where the lexical verb is an Infinitive with (491) where an attempt has been made to combine a Compound Future form with *-ese-*.

- (491) * *de zek ħalt'o-ł-edo Ø-ił'-a goł Ø-ese*
 I tomorrow work.OBL-CONT-DIR I-go-INF be I-be.probable
 (Tomorrow I (masc.) will probably not go to work.)

Furthermore, negation occurs only once in the clause, namely on the last auxiliary, which is *-ese-* (492a) (see also (490a) above). Thus, to negate the auxiliary ‘be’ in more complex forms (492b) is ungrammatical. Similarly, to have two negative forms in one clause leads to ungrammaticality (492c).

⁷⁹ The *-ese-* construction does not represent clause union either. For more information on the clause union construction in Hinuq see Section 22.2.8.

- (492) a. *“b-iγ-no b-ese-me me haw”=χen*
 III-bring.out-CVB III-be.probable-NEG you.SG.ERG that=QUOT
eχi-n
 say-CVB
 ‘“It is not probable that you painted it,” he said.’ (N)
- b. * *me huł bex kik-a Ø-iχ'i-n zoq'w e-s-me*
 you.SG yesterday gras mow-INF I-go-CVB be-RES-NEG
Ø-ese
 I-be.probable
 (You (masc.) probably did not go to mow the grass yesterday.)
- c. * *qema r-aq'e-n gom r-ese-me*
 rain(V) V-come-CVB be.NEG V-be.probable-NEG
 (It probably did not rain.)

There is one important difference between periphrastic verb forms with *-ese-* and those with the auxiliary ‘be’. The former, but not the latter, can take suffixes not used in main clauses. This is mostly the Conditional converb suffix. Thus, (493a, 493b) illustrate a common way of expressing realis conditional clauses: the lexical verb appears in some converb or participle form, and the auxiliary *-ese-* is marked with the Realis Conditional converb suffix. In such a case the possibilitive meaning disappears and the clause containing *-ese-* has only a realis conditional meaning.

- (493) a. [*debez hažat r-iqgo r-ese-yo-me*]
 you.SG.DAT need(V) V-happen.ICVB V-be.probable-COND-NEG
ʔaga božaraw-za-z toχχo sayyat
 relative faithful-OBL.PL-DAT give.PRS present
hisab-mo-χ'o
 supposition-OBL-SPR
 ‘If you do not need it, you give it to your relatives as a present.’ (N)
- b. [*y-eti-n y-ese-yo-me*] [*y-iγ-no*] *kur-o de!*
 II-want-CVB II-be.probable-COND-NEG II-take-CVB throw-IMP I
 ‘If you do not love me (fem.), take me and throw me away!’ (N)

Another possibility for *-ese-* is to be marked with the Intentional Future suffix. This form also does not occur in periphrastic tenses.

- (494) a. *obu Ø-aq'e-n Ø-es-an=e=m?*
 father I-come-CVB I-be.probable-INTFUT=Q=DOUBT
 ‘Did father possibly arrive?’

- b. *me magalu b-u:-s*
 you.SG.ERG bread(III) III-do-RES
b-es-an=e=m?
 III-be.probable-INTFUT=Q=DOUBT
 ‘Did you possibly make bread?’

8.2.3. Intentional

The Intentional modality is formed by adding the suffix *-aru* (or *-ru* for those verbs that lack the Infinitive) to the stem of the lexical verb plus an auxiliary. Diachronically the suffix is complex, consisting of the Infinitive suffix *-a* and the suffix *-ru*. The three copulas that are normally employed in the formation of periphrastic tenses function as auxiliaries. Thus, *-ru* plus the Present tense copula *goɬ* gives the Intentional Present (495a, 495b), *-ru* plus the Simple Past copula *zoq'wes* gives the Intentional Past (496c), and *-ru* plus the Unwitnessed Past copula *zoq'wen* gives the Intentional Unwitnessed Past (496b). In negative clauses the copula is negated in a fully regular way.

The Intentional modality is generally very rarely used, therefore all following examples were elicited. It describes actions and events that are intended or planned by their agents. One informant pointed out that *-iɬi* ‘similar’ can be used to reinforce the intentional meaning (495b), (497c).

- (495) a. *de devez hune r-oc'-er-aru goɬ*
 I you.SG.DAT way(V) V-cut-CAUS-INT be
 ‘I intend to cut you the way.’
 b. *nox-aru Ø-iɬi goɬ hago*
 come-INT I-similar be he
 ‘He intends to come.’ or ‘It looks as if he wants to come.’

Nevertheless, the Intentional modality can also be used for referring to events that are expected to happen in the immediate future which but cannot or only partially be controlled by the subject. For example, (496a) means that the woman will give birth very soon. Example (496b) means that the children are on their way to becoming healthy again - they will soon be healthy.

- (496) a. *hadu aqili xexbe r-uw-aru goɬ*
 this woman children HPL-do-INT be
 ‘The woman will soon give birth.’
 b. *xexbe saxɬezi b-iq-aru zoq'we-n*
 children convalesce HPL-become-INT be-UWPST

‘The children were about to convalesce.’

- c. *hayto-s obu Ø-uh-aru zoq^we-s-me*
 he.OBL-GEN1 father(I) I-die-INT be-PST-NEG
 ‘His father was not about to die.’

Therefore, the Intentional modality can also be used with non-human and even inanimate A arguments in an agent-like function (497a-497c).

- (497) a. *y^wero meši b-uw-aru goł*
 cow calf(III) III-do-INT be
 ‘The cow will soon give birth to a calf.’
- b. *łaci λ'oq'on b-iž-aru zoq^we-s*
 wind hat(III) III-take-INT be-PST
 ‘The wind could take away the hat.’
- c. *iši b-eq'-aru b-iłi goł*
 apple(III) III-ripen-INT III-similar be
 ‘The apples are almost ripe.’

With transitive verbs the Intentional modality changes the case marking of the agent from Ergative to Absolutive, (495a), (496a), (498a), leading to a type of biabsolutive construction (Section 17.10). The use of the Ergative to code the agent is ungrammatical (498b). As a result, transitive clauses contain two arguments in the Absolutive. In fact, semantically, the Intentional construction is similar to the general properties of biabsolutive constructions because generally both constructions are not used to encode specific events but rather to characterize actions and situations.

- (498) a. *hagbe eluz meczer neł-aru gom*
 they we.DAT money give-INT be.NEG
 ‘They do not intend to give us money.’
- b. **haytoy kayat cax-aru goł*
 he.ERG letter write-INT be
 (He intends to write a letter.)

The Intentional modality hardly ever occurs in texts. It seems that it can be used only with certain verbs and in certain contexts. As with all types of biabsolutive constructions, experiencer verbs are generally excluded from the Intentional modality (499) because experiencers are affected by some stimulus and thus normally lack intentions related to that stimulus.

- (499) * *diž / de essu y-ik-aru goł*
 I.DAT / I sister II-see-INT be
 (I want to see the sister.)

8.2.4. “Still not” modality

The “Still not” modality is formed with the help of the Masdar (Section 7.7.5.2) and a copula. It has very special semantics because it has negative meaning although the polarity of the copula is affirmative. The use of a negative copula is ungrammatical. The “Still not” modality occurs in independent main clauses with present time reference (8.2.4.1) or with past time reference (8.2.4.2, 8.2.4.3), and in dependent clauses (8.2.4.4). The occurrence of the Masdar in this modality is characteristic for Hinuq. Although the other West Tsezic languages Khwarshi and Tsez have a cognate Masdar, it is normally not employed in sentences such as the ones exemplified below.

8.2.4.1. “Still not” Present

The “Still not” Present is formed by a lexical verb with the Masdar suffix *-(a)nu* (see Section 7.7.5.2 for the Masdar) and optionally with the Present tense copula *goł*. According to my informants, the presence or absence of *goł* does not alternate the meaning.

The “Still not” Present, as well as both other “Still not” forms (Sections 8.2.4.2 and 8.2.4.3), has very special negative semantics because it refers to situations and events that are expected to happen but have still not happened. When examples like the following ones are translated into Russian, speakers use a negative clause with past time reference.

- (500) a. *bišun eg^wennu ked idu goł, xoddo-ho y-iλ'-anu*
 most small daughter(II) home be husband-ALOC II-go-MASD
(goł)
 (be)
 ‘The youngest daughter is still not married.’ (N)
- b. [Context: The king is expected to arrive]
xan žied Ø-aq'-anu (goł)
 khan(I) yet I-come-MSD (be)
 ‘The king has not arrived yet.’

- c. *buλe-be r-uw-anu, xemu gulu-za-λ'o λeš-o*
 house-PL NHPL-do-MSD stone horse-OBL.PL-SPR tear-ICVB
zoq'e-s
 be-PST
 'There were still no houses built; stones were brought on horses.' (N)

8.2.4.2. "Still not" Simple Past

The "Still not" Simple Past is formed by a lexical verb with the Masdar suffix *-(a)nu* plus *zoq'wes*, the Simple Past form of the copula. It cannot be formed with the negative form of the copula *zoq'wesme*.

The "Still not" Simple Past combines past time reference with the evidentiality value 'neutral' and negative polarity. It refers to events and situations that did not happen but are expected to happen. There are no examples of this verb form in my corpus, so the following sentences have been elicited.

- (501) a. *ži=qen hayło-y kak r-uw-anu zoq'wes*
 now=at.least he.OBL-ERG prayer(V) V-do-MSD be-PST
 'Even now he did not pray.'
- b. *obu-y hoboži=n eλna:r rede b-uw-anu*
 father-ERG now=and in.the.winter-LAT wood(III) III-do-MSD
zoq'wes
 be-PST
 'Until now father did not prepare wood for the winter.'

8.2.4.3. "Still not" Unwitnessed Past

The "Still not" Unwitnessed Past is formed by a lexical verb with the Masdar suffix *-nu* plus *zoq'wen*, the Unwitnessed Past form of the copula. This verb form is the unwitnessed counterpart of the "Still not" Simple Past. It refers to past events and situations that did not happen but are expected to happen. Again, the following examples are elicited.

- (502) a. *haw y-aq'-anu zoq'wen*
 she II-come-MSD be-UWPST
 'She did not come.'
- b. *ked-i y^woriš r-išer-anu zoq'wen*
 girl-ERG cow.PL NHPL-feed-MSD be-UWPST
 'The girl did not feed the cows.'

8.2.4.4. The “Still not” modality in dependent clauses

The Masdar alone can be used in clauses that function and look like relative clauses. In this function it also has negative meaning, describing situations that usually contradict the expectation of the hearer.

- (503) a. *dahaw šeχ'u k'ilikko y-ič-an de [k'ilik'-no šeχ'u*
 few clothes wash.ICVB II-be-INTFUT I wash-CVB clothes
ʔaq'-anu goʔoru-χ'o=ʔun]
 finish-MSD be.PTCP-SPR=AS
 ‘I (fem.) will continue washing a few clothes because are clothes that are still not finished.’
- b. *[de=n Ø-aq'-anu] moči=n λex^we-s-me Ceχ'o*
 I=and I-come-MSD place=and remain-PST-NEG Tsunta
 ‘No place remained in the Tsunta district where I (masc.) have not been.’ (N)

8.3. Evidentiality and mirativity

8.3.1. Introduction

Hinuq has a grammaticalized evidentiality system that comprises inflectional suffixes on verbs and two enclitics (Narrative and Quotative). This section gives an overview of this system, starting with verbal evidentiality (Section 8.3.2). In Section 8.3.3 the Narrative enclitic, which expresses reported evidentiality, is treated, and Section 8.3.4 gives an account of the Quotative enclitic as the marker of hearsay evidentiality. Additional information on lexical means of encoding evidentiality in Hinuq can be found in Forker (2013).

The verbal evidentiality system is fused with the tense system. It occurs in a great number of simple and periphrastic past tense and modality forms. It is marked in the same slot as other finite verbal, converbal, participial suffixes, or suffixes for non-indicative mood; marking for evidentiality is thus mutually exclusive with these. The grammatically marked evidentiality system of Hinuq can be classified as what Aikhenvald (2004: 25–29) calls a system with two choices that distinguishes *unwitnessed* (‘non-firsthand’) from *neutral* (‘everything else’) (see Khalilva (2011) for a different opinion). The unwitnessed forms are both formally and functionally more marked than the neutral past forms (see Forker (2012b) for an analysis of the Hinuq evidential systems in terms of markedness).

Hinuq does not have grammaticalized mirativity, but it has a complement construction with the verb *-aši-* ‘find’ that conveys mirative meaning. This construction is treated in Section 8.3.5 at the end of this chapter.

8.3.2. Evidentiality in the verbal paradigm

8.3.2.1. *Marking of evidentiality on the verb*

In the past tenses in Hinuq, evidentiality is obligatorily marked by means of the verbal suffixes. All past tense forms express either ‘neutral’ (i.e. not marked for evidentiality) or ‘unwitnessed’ (non-firsthand) as their evidentiality value. Polarity does not have any influence on the evidentiality, i.e. both affirmative and negative forms are equally marked for ‘neutral’ or ‘unwitnessed’. The use of these forms is not only governed by information source, but also by their relation to certain speech genres (e.g. transitional folk tales vs. reports of personal experience). Table 8.3.2.1 gives an overview of the relevant verbal forms:

Table 60. Evidentiality in the verbal paradigm

Neutral Past forms	Unwitnessed Past forms
Simple Past	Simple Unwitnessed Past
Compound Past	Compound Unwitnessed Past
Resultative Past	Resultative Unwitnessed Past
Pluperfect Past	Pluperfect Unwitnessed Past
Habitual Past	Habitual Unwitnessed Past
Compound Resultative Past	-
Intentional Past	Intentional Unwitnessed Past
“Still not” Past	“Still not” Unwitnessed Past

All neutral past forms except for the Compound Resultative past have the last verb of each verbal form marked with the suffix *-s*. In the Simple Past this is the lexical verb itself; in all other periphrastic verb forms this is the copula *zoq^wes*. Note that in questions the suffix *-s* is regularly replaced by an Interrogative suffix whose form depends on the segment to which it is added (Section 13.1.2.1). All unwitnessed past forms have the last verb form marked with the suffix *-n*. In the Simple Unwitnessed Past, this is the lexical verb; in all other verbal forms it is the copula *zoq^wen*. If the unwitnessed verb forms are negated, the negative Present tense copula *gom* follows.

8.3.2.2. *Semantics of verbal evidentiality*

Neutral past forms conventionally imply that the speaker was an eye-witness of the situation, or perceived it with the appropriate senses. This usually means that the speaker was present and saw the event. But under specific circumstances

the implication can be cancelled. They are mainly used in dialogs in natural conversation and in autobiographical narrations (504). In traditional narratives neutral past forms appear only in reported speech.

- (504) *de ʔaq'er-iš Hinuq iškola*
 I.ERG finish-PST Hinuq school
 'I finished the Hinuq school.' (N)

In contrast, all unwitnessed past forms indicate that the situation or event was not witnessed by the speaker. Unwitnessed past forms are used in traditional narratives such as fairy tales and legends (505). Under normal circumstance none of the unwitnessed past tenses can be used with first person but see Section 8.3.2.4 for exceptions.

- (505) *hes zoq'w e-n ʔadi*
 one be-UWPST crow
 'Once upon a time there was a crow.' (N)

Information acquired through reading or listening is coded by means of unwitnessed tenses. Information gained by watching a film or TV can be treated either as neutral or as unwitnessed. For example, my pear story corpus contains 16 glossed narratives that Hinuq speakers related after having seen the pear story film. Three speakers used neutral past tense forms in their narratives. Three other speakers used unwitnessed past tense forms, which are normally employed for narrating traditional fiction like legends and fairy tales.⁸⁰ When information has been obtained by seeing the traces or results of a prior event (506a, 506b), only the unwitnessed past forms can be used (see Section 8.3.2.4 below for two more examples).

- (506) a. [The husband tastes the soup and feels that it is very hot.]
baru-y ʔaši c'ac'aki caʔi-yo zoq'w e-n
 wife-ERG much pepper throw-ICVB be-UWPST
 'The wife added lots of pepper.'
- b. [The speaker comes home and sees the father's shoes in the corridor.]
obu idu-do Ø-aq'e-n
 father(I) home-DIR I-come-UWPST
 'The father came home.'

⁸⁰ The other speakers used the Simple Present or switched one or several times between different tenses. See Forker (2011a) for a detailed account of the use of the Hinuq evidentiality system for the expression of information obtained through the media.

Note that the verb *-eti-* ‘want’ is regularly used with the Unwitnessed Past suffix, but with present time reference and without any evidentiality value (see Section 8.3.2.5 for an example).

Example (507) is from a dialog in a fairy tale. It shows the alternating use of the Simple Past and the Simple Unwitnessed Past, indicating that one speaker speaks about her own experience, whereas the other speaker reports what a third party told him.

- (507) *“me [haw raq’i-mo-λ’o y-iži-ya]”=λen eλi-n*
 you.SG she bier-OBL-SPR II-take-LOC.PTCP=QUOT say-CVB
“łeža:n”=λen eλi-n. “łeža:s-me bet’erħan”=λen
 laugh-UWPST=QUOT say-UWPST laugh-PST-NEG husband=QUOT
eλi-n haħuy. “łeža:n”=λen eλi-n.
 say-UWPST she.ERG laugh-UWPST=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘You (apparently) laughed when she was taken on the bier, he said. (I) did not laugh, my husband, she said. You (apparently) laughed, he said.’
 (N)

Example (508) shows the alternation from unwitnessed past tenses to neutral past tenses. The first sentence still belongs to a general narration about life in former times, and the verb is in the Compound Unwitnessed Past. Then the speaker switches to a personal narration about events of her own life without stating that explicitly, as indicated by the use of the Simple Past.

- (508) *aλ-a q’uč’a r-u:ho zoq’e-n. q’uč’a-λ’o*
 village-IN oat.flour(V) V-do-ICVB be-UWPST oat.flour(V)-SPR
bet’erbaqi zoq’e-s, kabaxu at’-es
 life be-PST black flour-GEN1
 ‘In the village oat flour was made. We lived from oat flour, black flour.’
 (N)

Since the Simple Past and the Simple Unwitnessed Past are the most frequent tenses and since all neutral and all unwitnessed tenses respectively share the same properties with regard to evidentiality, in the following two sections predominantly examples from the Simple Past and from the Simple Unwitnessed Past are presented. For examples with all other neutral and unwitnessed tenses see Section 7.3.

8.3.2.3. Simple Past and neutral past tenses

The Simple Past is mainly used in dialogs when talking about past events witnessed by the speaker. For instance, (509a) is from a dialog describing the di-

rections of a place. (509b) is from a dialog about the holiday at the end of the month of Ramadan. All other neutral past tenses also occur in dialogs, including dialogs from narratives.

- (509) a. *hoboži ixī: λ'ere maždik-a-r Ø-aq'e-ye? Ø-aq'e-s.*
 now river.IN upwards mosque-IN-LAT I-come-Q I-come-PST
 'Now did you (masc.) go to the mosque upriver? I (masc.) went.' (S)
- b. *ella de hače=qen idu-za-r y-aq'e-s-me.*
 with.us I so.much=at.least home-OBL.PL-LAT II-come-PST-NEG
meži ʔoloqbe=λa maša.Allah bexna:s ʔezaʔan
 you.PL youth=TOP Masha'Allah HPL-go-PST sufficiently
 'At our place I (fem.) did not even go to so many houses. You men,
 Masha'Allah, went around a lot.' (N)

Neutral past tenses also occur when speakers tell stories from their own lives:

- (510) a. *haytu zaman-a-ʔ [iškolaza: učitel-be ʔezi*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT school.PL.IN teacher-PL suffice
b-iq-mez] kekir-iš [učitel=ʔun halt'ezi
 HPL-happen-CVB.NEG send-PST teacher=AS work
Ø-iq-ayaz]
 I-happen-PURP
 'At that time there were not enough teachers for the schools, (I) was
 sent to work as a teacher.' (N)
- b. *eli b-iλ'i-yo zoq'e-s geʔ ixī: obu-de-r*
 we HPL-go-ICVB be-PST down river.IN father-ALOC-LAT
 'We went to our father down at the river.' (N)

Even if the speaker was too young to remember the situation himself or herself because s/he took part in the event as a small child, neutral past tenses are used. The next two examples are from an autobiographical narration. Of course the speaker cannot actively remember his birth or the resettlement to Chechnya when he was one year old. Such events represent well-known facts mostly belonging to the personal knowledge sphere of the speaker. If in a sentence such as (511a) a speaker uses an unwitnessed past form this means that s/he she thought that s/he was born in another place or as the son of another man and then afterwards just discovered that s/he in fact was born in the village of Hinuq as the son of Mahama Zakaryaew.

- (511) a. *de Zakaryaew Maḥama-s uži Idris, Ø-u:-s Hinuq*
 I Zakaryaew Mahama-GEN1 son(t) Idris I-do-PST Hinuq
aλ-a
 village-IN
 ‘I was born in the village of Hinuq as the son of Mahama Zakaryaew.’
 (N)
- b. *q’ono quno uq’ira eḥa ḥeba-ɫ eli guči.b.u:-s*
 two twenty four.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT we resettle.HPL-PST
Čačan-λ’o-do Wedeni rayon [Erseni eḥi-yo goɫa]
 Chechnya-SPR-DIR Wedeni region Erseni say-ICVB be.PTCP
aλ-a
 village-IN
 ‘In the year 44 they resettled us to Chechnya, in the so called village
 Erseni in the Wedeni district.’ (N)

Note that previous analyses (Khalilva 2011) have considered these verbal forms as expressing firsthand evidentials and they have been termed ‘witnessed past’. However, the neutral past forms are used when speakers report events that they did not consciously experience themselves (511a-511b). They are also occasionally employed when speakers tell anecdotes from the lives of other people with whom they stand in a close personal relationship (e.g. relatives). These anecdotes describe events not witnessed by the speaker.

Furthermore, neutral past forms can also be used for conveying certain types of encyclopaedic knowledge of which speaker do not have firsthand information. In such a context neutral and unwitnessed forms are, in principle, both admissible. The use of unwitnessed forms highlights the second-hand source of the information whereas the use of the neutral past expresses that the described event is well-known knowledge belonging to the speaker’s general sphere of information (512).

- (512) *Lenin Ø-uhe-n / Ø-uhe-s ʔazal=no ʔač’ino bišon=no*
 Lenin(I) I-die-UWPST / I-die-PST 1000=and nine 100=and
qura uq’ira eḥa ḥeba-ɫ
 twenty.OBL four.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT
 ‘Lenin died in 1924.’

Neutral past tenses are also used when telling one’s own dreams because dreams are part of a personal experience and are described as a visual impression during sleep:

- (513) *žiqu nesa: diž bercinaw možu y-ike-s. de more-ł-edo*
 today at.night I.DAT beautiful dream(IV) IV-see-PST I sea-CONT-DIR
y-iλ'i-š hudul-za-de cadaq. k'ilik'do:s
 II-go-PST friend-OBL.PL-ALOC together bathe-PST
 'Tonight I dreamed a beautiful dream. I went to the sea together with
 friends. I took a bath.'

They are not used in telling fairy tales, etc. because this would suggest that the speaker has witnessed the event. The only possibility for using neutral past verb forms in fairy tales or legends is by adding the Narrative enclitic to it (Section 8.3.3). Neutral past tenses can be used with all persons. They are usually chosen when speakers are asked to translate sentences from Russian.

To sum up, the neutral past conveys information belonging to the personal knowledge sphere of the speaker. In the majority of cases the speaker was in fact a witness of the events in question, but firsthand evidentiality is just an implicature that arises when neutral past forms are used. It is not part of the meaning of these verbal forms and can therefore under the appropriate circumstances be cancelled.

8.3.2.4. Unwitnessed past tenses

The full semantic range of unwitnessed past tenses covers: (i) situations not seen or otherwise perceived, (ii) inferred information based on perceived results, and (iii) lack of participation and control on part of the speaker. The use of unwitnessed past forms does not imply that the speaker has doubts about the information source or does not trust it, but simply the s/he was not a conscious eyewitness of the reported information. If the speaker was not present at the situation, s/he might have obtained the relevant information through the words of others or by reading or other kinds of media. This is for instance the case with traditional narratives, fairy tales, and legends, which are always narrated with unwitnessed past tenses. For example, (514a) is the beginning of a well-known legend. Sentence (514b) is from a fairy tale.

- (514) a. *hoboži zoq'^we-n hes Ibrahim. hago Ibrahim hoboy yeme-λ'o-do*
 now be-UWPST one Ibrahim that Ibrahim then mill-SPR-DIR
Ø-iλ'i-n
 I-go-UWPST
 'There was one Ibrahim. This Ibrahim went to the mill.' (N)
- b. *aλ-a marč'ik'uł-es mix b-aq'e-n zoq'e-n*
 village-IN in.the.evening-GEN1 hour(III) III-come-CVB be-UWPST

‘In the village the evening time came.’ (N)

The unwitnessed tense forms are also used for the descriptions of other events that the speaker did not witness himself/herself. In (515a) the speaker talks about his grandfather whom he did not get to know. Example (515b) is from a narration about how people used to live in the past. Here the Compound Unwitnessed Past has been employed.

- (515) a. *hayi-š armi-t-es Ø-aq'e-n aλ-a-do*
 there-ABL1 army-CONT-ABL1 I-come-UWPST village-IN-DIR
 ‘From there, from the army he came to the village.’ (N)
- b. *Gruziya-t b-edo:-ho zoq'e-n, [...]*
 Georgia-CONT HPL-work-ICVB be-UWPST
[qazaq-za-zo cani-ža-ho b-iλ'i-n]
 Georgian-OBL.PL-GEN2 goat-OBL.PL-ILOC HPL-go-CVB
 ‘In Georgia they worked [...] looking after the Georgian’s goats.’ (N)

Furthermore, unwitnessed past tense forms are used for events and situations that have been inferred from the speaker on the basis of some result or other evidence. (516a) is from Dahl’s questionnaire and indicates an event not seen by the speaker. Similarly, in (516b) the speaker finds an empty packet of tea and concludes that somebody drank all the tea.

- (516) a. [Looking out of the window, seeing that the ground is wet]
qema r-aq'e-n
 rain(V) V-come-UWPST
 ‘It (apparently) rained.’
- b. *zawarka taq'e-n*
 tea finish-UWPST
 ‘(Apparently) the tea was finished.’ (N)

In clauses with the evidentiality value ‘unwitnessed’, first person singular and plural pronouns are usually excluded from being S and A arguments, but they are also excluded from being experiencers and in certain contexts Ps (517a), recipients, and possessors (517b).

- (517) a. Resultative Unwitnessed Past
**hazey eli zok'-iš zoq''w-e-n*
 they.ERG we beat-RES be-UWPST
 (They beat us.)

b. Compound Unwitnessed Past

**di q'imu r-iλλo zoq'we-n*
 I.GEN1 head V-ache.ICVB be-UWPST
 (My head is aching.)

Nevertheless, under exceptional circumstances unwitnessed past tense forms may be used with first person, namely when there is a 'lack of consciousness effect'. This means that the speaker was not a conscious witness of the event because he or she was unaware of what was really happening. A reason for this might be that he or she was drunk or otherwise absent-minded (518a). Likewise, in (518b) the speaker describes an event that happened in his childhood, about 50 years ago. He does not remember the event very well, and he lost almost consciousness when he was lying on the ground after falling from a high tree.

- (518) a. *eli ga:-s zoq'we-n eli hayto-s mašina*
 we drink-RES be-UWPST we.ERG he.OBL-GEN1 car(III)
b-ik'ek'-no
 III-steal-UWPST
 'We were drunk. We apparently stole his car (and we did not notice it.)'
- b. *[hibayi-š Ø-iλ'i-n c'ox-oru de] q'idi [huhel=no*
 there-ABL1 I-fall-CVB fall-PTCP.PST I down breath=and
šit'-no] λexwe-n de
 close-CVB remain-UWPST I
 'When I fell down from there I remained without breathing.' (N)

The 'lack of consciousness effect' with first person often leads to a mirative interpretation, i.e. the speaker is surprised about an event in which s/he took part unconsciously. For instance, in (519) Mulla Nasredin is amazed because he did not die although he fell down from a high tree

- (519) *[Malla Rasadan [Ø-uhe-s=λen Ø-iči-ya-s]*
 Mullah Nasredin(I) I-die-RES=QUOT I-sit-PTCP.LOC-ABL1
Ø-iči-ru Ø-ix-no], "de Ø-uhe-n zoq'we-n
 I-be-PTCP.PST I-get.up-UWPST I I-die-CVB be-CVB
gom=te"=λen eλi-n
 be.NEG=EMPH=QUOT say-CVB
 'Mullah Nasredin got up from the place where he was sitting and said, "Apparently I did not die."' (N)

Unwitnessed past tenses are also used when there is something mysterious and unexplainable in the event or situation, when the speaker assumes that some higher entity like God or the devil was involved. Thus, in (520a) the speaker relates an event that happened in his childhood where he almost died in an accident but then was luckily saved. He attributes his salvation to Allah. Example (520b) is part of a very similar story from another speaker. Likewise, in (520c) the speaker describes his talent of writing poems as given by Allah.

- (520) a. *hezzo-r gor-iš. y-iλ'i-š. diž qeba:-ho, de wah ni-do*
 back-LAT put-PST IV-go-PST I.DAT seem-PRS I wow where-DIR
de Ø-iλ'i-yo zoq'e-n?
 I I-go-ICVB be-UWPST
 'I (masc.) went back, then I think, ah, where did I apparently go?'
 (N)
- b. *hibayti-š=no de Allahli: c'unzi Ø-u:-n*
 there-ABL1=and I Allah.ERG save I-do-UWPST
 'And from there Allah also saved me.' (N)
- c. *Allahli: neλ-no diž hunar*
 Allah.ERG give-UWPST I.DAT ability
 'Allah gave me talent.' (N)

8.3.2.5. Verbal evidentiality in questions

Interrogative clauses have the same distinction between neutral and unwitnessed verb forms. In unwitnessed past tense interrogative clauses, an Interrogative enclitic is often used, which is frequently, but not necessarily attached to the finite verb. The neutral tense forms are not used in questions. Instead, the Simple Past suffix *-s* is replaced by an Interrogative suffix (*-i*, *-y*, *-(y)e*, or *-iye*). In all periphrastic neutral past forms, *zoq'wey* or *zoq'weye* is used. The Interrogative enclitic *=e* used, for instance, in question containing unwitnessed past or other tense forms, is a cognate of the interrogative suffixes. But the suffixes are obligatory and occur in a slot reserved for inflectional markers (before the negation suffix). Furthermore, they have allomorphs, which are mostly formally distinct from the interrogative enclitic. The enclitic, in contrast, is optional and may appear not only on the verb, but also on other constituents (see Section 13.1.2.1 for the Interrogative suffixes/enclitics and Chapter 28 for more information on questions).

As in declarative sentences, evidentiality is formally and functionally marked only with unwitnessed past tenses. All other tense forms conventionally imply,

though not express, that the speaker has first-hand knowledge of the reported event or situation. The use of the verbal forms in questions is based on the speaker's assumptions about the knowledge of the addressee. In other words, if the speaker assumes that the addressee knows the answer from first-hand knowledge, then s/he uses the Simple Past (521a). In contrast, if s/he assumes that the addressee was not present at the event in question, the Simple Unwitnessed Past or some other unwitnessed past tense form occurs (521b).

- (521) a. *ʔu-y r-uher-i had zok'i?*
 who-ERG V-break-Q this cup(V)
 'Who broke this cup?'
- b. *ʔu-y r-uher-no had zok'i?*
 who-ERG V-break-UWPST this cup(V)
 'Who broke this cup?'

In normal dialogs between Hinuq people, many questions are formed by using the Simple Past (522a). Similarly, dialogs in narratives that are otherwise told using unwitnessed past tense forms contain clauses in other past tenses such as the Compound Past (522b) or the Resultative Past if the speaker assumes that the addressee has direct knowledge .

- (522) a. *ažey goʔiš buʔe b-aši-ye? b-aši-š.*
 tree be.CVB house(III) III-find-Q III-find-PST
 'Did (you) find the house near the tree? I found it.' (S)
- b. *eser-no "me ni zoq'we-y? wallah, de pulanab*
 ask-UWPST you.SG where be-Q by.God I certain
daram-mo-ho Ø-iʔ'i-yo zoq'we-s."
 trade-OBL-ILOC I-go-ICVB be-PST
 '(He) asked: "Where have you been? By God, I (masc.) went trading."' (N)

But if the speaker assumes that the addressee does not have first-hand knowledge about the questioned situation or event, then an unwitnessed past tense form is employed (523a-523c).

- (523) a. *se deru r-iq-no, hago uži Ø-aši-n=e?*
 what how V-happen-UWPST that boy(I) I-find-UWPST=Q
 'What happened, did they find the boy?' (N)
- b. *hayʔoy buʔe b-u:n=e?*
 he.ERG house(III) III-do-UWPST=Q
 'Did he build the house?'

- c. $\lambda ex^w e-n=e?$ $go\dot{t}=e?$
 remain-UWPST=Q be=Q
 ‘Did (some tea bags) remain? Are there (some tea bags)?’ (N)

Consequently, in questions addressing the addressee directly, i.e. second person questions, unwitnessed past forms cannot be used:

- (524) a. * $me\dot{z}i$ $berten-mo-\dot{t}$ $zoq^w e-n=e?$
 you.PL wedding-OBL-CONT be-UWPST=Q
 (Have you been at the wedding?)
 b. * me $pur\dot{s}ina-be$ $r-u:-ho$ $zoq^w e-n=e?$
 you.SG.ERG chudu-PL NHPL-do-ICVB be-UWPST=Q
 (Did you prepare chudu?)

As mentioned above, with the verb *-eti-* ‘want’ the Simple Unwitnessed Past lacks the evidentiality value ‘unwitnessed’, and it has present time reference. Therefore, this verb normally occurs with first person (525). An explanation for this might be that with this verb the use of the auxiliary *go\dot{t}* ‘be’ in the present tense is possible. Thus, the lexical verb in the following sentence occurs in the Narrative converb form and not in the Simple Unwitnessed Past (but formally both suffixes are identical). Since the Narrative converb is not specified for evidentiality, the sentence (525) also lacks an evidentiality value and has not past time but present time reference.

- (525) $hibaw$ $kumak$ $b-eti-n$ $go\dot{t}$ $di\dot{z}$ $dew-qo-s$
 that help(III) III-want-CVB be I.DAT you.SG.OBL-AT-ABL I
 ‘It is this help that I want from you.’ (N)

But it is also possible to use one of the verbal forms with present time reference (e.g. the Simple Present) in order to convey present time reference. For past time reference one of the periphrastic verbal forms with past time reference or the Simple Past is used.

8.3.3. Evidentiality expressed through the Narrative enclitic

8.3.3.1. Introduction

The Narrative enclitic= λ (or = $e\lambda$ after consonants) is mostly used in traditional narration. Its provenience is not completely transparent, though it may originate from the verb *e\lambda i-* ‘say’. It is formally and functionally independent of the grammatical marking of evidentiality on verbs described in Section 8.3.2. The Narrative enclitic can occur in all verbal forms, including all neutral and unwitnessed

past tense forms, and it has scope over all these forms. The use of the narrative enclitic marks the sentence as based on hearsay or report (i.e. non-firsthand knowledge), but normally leaves the origin (i.e. the author) of the information unexpressed. Thus, it is similar to Russian particle *mol*. As with verbal evidentiality, using the Narrative enclitic does not imply that the speaker does not trust the information source.

8.3.3.2. Occurrences of the Narrative enclitic

The enclitic can appear on every sentence of a story, but often it appears only in the first introducing scene-setting sentence and has then the whole story in its scope. Such a use is especially common when only unwitnessed past tense forms are employed because the story is a fairy tale. Examples (526a) and (526b) illustrate traditional beginnings of fairy tales.

- (526) a. *zeq'we-n=eλ, zeq'we-n gom=eλ hes miskinaw Ø-²eži*
 be-UWPST=NARR be-CVB be.NEG=NARR one poor I-old
očordiyu rek'we
 old man(I)
 'Once upon a time there was a poor old, old man.' (N)
- b. *hes zoq'e-n=eλ b-eži, hes b-egey b-iți aλ*
 one be-UWPST=NARR III-big one III-small III-similar village(III)
 'Once upon a time there was one big and one small village.' (N)

The Narrative enclitic is usually added to the finite verb of the clause. But in principle it could also be added to any other constituent (527b, 527c). See also the examples (532a) and (535) below. However, when directly comparing (527a) with (527b) and (527c), the first example is judged as better than the other two.

- (527) a. *hago seda ixu-ho-r Ø-aq'e-n=eλ*
 he one.OBL river-ILOC-LAT I-come-UWPST=NARR
 'He came to one river.'
- b. *hago seda ixu-ho-r=eλ Ø-aq'e-n*
 he one.OBL river-ILOC-LAT=NARR I-come-UWPST
 'He came to one river.'
- c. *hago=λ seda ixu-ho-r Ø-aq'e-n*
 he=NARR one.OBL river-ILOC-LAT I-come-UWPST
 'He came to one river.'

It usually occurs on the last verb of the main clause, but it could also occur on a verb in a subordinate clause, e.g. on a converb:

- (528) [hado Ø-e²ži Ø-iq-nos=eλ] b-e²ži buλe b-ux
 he I-big I-become-ANT=NARR III-big house(III) III-buy
 ‘When he grows old, he will buy a big house.’

The enclitic cannot appear twice in one and the same clause (529b), or in one and the same complex sentence (529d). In example (526a) both copulas (*zeq*’^w*ene*λ and *zeq*’^w*en gome*λ) belong thus to separate clauses.

- (529) a. *haw hadi-r nox-iš=eλ*
 she here-LAT come-PST=NARR
 ‘She came here.’
- b. **haw hadi-r=eλ nox-iš=eλ*
 she here-LAT=NARR come-PST=NARR
 (She came here.)
- c. [*hago idu-r Ø-aq’e-nos*] *ked-i kayat cax-iš=eλ*
 he home-LAT I-come-ANT girl-ERG letter write-PST=NARR
 ‘Until he came home the girl wrote the letter.’
- d. * [*hago idu-r Ø-aq’e-nos=eλ*] *ked-i kayat*
 he home-LAT I-come-ANT=NARR girl-ERG letter
cax-iš=eλ
 write-PST=NARR
 (Until he came home the girl wrote the letter.)

Though the Narrative enclitic occurs predominantly with the Simple Past, all other verbal forms are also compatible with the meaning of this enclitic, including unwitnessed past tense forms (526b), (527a).

- (530) a. Compound Future
xan-i eλi-š zek [...] haw ked=no y-ič-a
 khan-ERG say-PST tomorrow that daughter(II)=and II-be-INF
goł=eλ pardala:
 be=NARR veranda.IN
 ‘The khan said that tomorrow there will be his daughter on the veranda.’ (N)
- b. General tense
hayłoy de-λ’o-r kayat cax=eλ
 he.ERG I.OBL-SPR-LAT letter write=NARR
 ‘He will write me a letter.’
- c. Resultative Present

hawsa?at hago Ø-ot'-iš goɫ=eλ
 now he I-lay-RES be=NARR
 'Now he is asleep.'

There is one important restriction on the occurrences of the Narrative enclitic: it usually cannot occur in clauses with first persons (Section 8.3.3.3).

8.3.3.3. Semantics of the Narrative enclitic

In my corpus, the Narrative enclitic appears most frequently in fairy tales, in clauses with the Simple Past. This seems to lead to a more vivid narration, similar to a historical present reading of present tense forms. At the same time the fictional character of the fairy tale is rendered explicit because despite the use of a neutral past tense form, the clause is overtly marked as conveying non-firsthand knowledge (531a). Similarly, the Narrative enclitic occurs in the description of anecdotes not witnessed by the speaker (531b).

- (531) a. *nartaw-i ?aža?ibtɪ r-u:-s=eλ, Ø-uλ'-iš=eλ*
 giant-ERG wonder(V) V-do-PST=NARR, I-be.afraid-PST=NARR
 'The giant wondered and got afraid.' (N)
- b. *seda zaman-a-ɫ r-aq'e-s-eλ hibay halharaw*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT V-ome-PST=NARR there flat
moča-zo ižho
 place.OBL-GEN2 avalanche(V)
 'One time there came an avalanche through a flat place.' (N)

According to my informants, in the narration of anecdotes the use of the Narrative enclitic in clauses with present time reference frequently leads to a past time reading, i.e. to a kind of historical present interpretation (532a, 531b). This is a way to make a past event more vivid. However, the interpretation of Simple Present clauses containing the Narrative enclitic as historical present is not mandatory, as can be seen in the elicited example (531c).

- (532) a. *hago ?oloqan=tow Ø-uhe-n. hayɫo obu-y es-o*
 he young=EMPH I-die-UWPST that.OBL father-ERG tell-ICVB
zoq'w'e-s di-žo=tow, iyo=n y-eg^wey=eλ goɫ
 be-PST I.OBL-GEN2=EMPH mother(II)=and II-small=NARR be
zones. hayɫo obu-s humer=qen=eλ
 REFL.SG.GEN1 that.OBL father-GEN1 face(III)=at.least=NARR
b-eq'i-yo gom
 III-know-ICVB be.NEG

‘He died young. The father told me, as for the mother, she is still young, but (he) does not even remember his father’s face.’ (N)⁸¹

- b. *goʃ=eʎ Ramalayew-es t'ek-be ʔarab mec-ro-ʎ'o.*
 be=NARR Ramalaev-GEN1 book-PL Arabic language-OBL-SPR
Kebura-ʃ [Ziyawudin=ʎen eʎi-yo goʃa] rek'u-ʎo
 Bezhta-CONT Zijavudin=QUOT say-ICVB be.PTCP man.OBL-AT
ʃono uq'ino t'ek hayʃo-s goʃ=eʎ
 three four book he.OBL-GEN1 be=NARR
 ‘Ramalaev had books in Arabic. A man from Bezhta called Zijavudin kept three or four of his books.’ (N)
- c. *Maħama-y kayat caxxo=ʎ*
 Mahama-ERG letter write.PRS=NARR
 ‘Mahama writes a letter.’

The Narrative enclitic can occur with second and third person. All my corpus examples are with third person (e.g. (531a), (531b), (532a), (531b), etc.). But second person examples can be elicited:

- (532) *meži buʎe b-u:-s=eʎ*
 you.PL.ERG house(III) III-do-PST=NARR
 ‘You built a house.’

But analogously to the unwitnessed past tense forms, the enclitic cannot normally occur with first person, a restriction that does not depend on the syntactic role of the first person argument. Of course, such a restriction is not surprising since we normally have first-hand knowledge of our own actions.

- (533) a. * *de hadi-r nox-iš=eʎ*
 I here-LAT come-PST=NARR
 (I came here.)

⁸¹ When I checked this sentence later on with the speaker, he changed it a little bit in order to facilitate the understanding:

- (i) *di-žo=tow obu-y es-o zoq'we-s. iyo=n*
 I.OBL-GEN2=EMPH father-ERG tell-ICVB be-PST mother(II)=and
y-egwey zoq'we-s=ʎen zones. hayʃo obu-s
 II-small be-PST=QUOT REFL.SG.GEN1 that.OBL father-GEN1
humer=qen=eʎ b-eq'i-yo zoq'we-s-me
 face(III)=at.least=NARR III-know-ICVB be-PST-NEG
 ‘My father told me, that his mother was also young, and he did not even remember his father’s face.’

- b. * *elu-z had ec'endiyu xabar toq-iš=eλ*
 we.OBL-DAT this new story hear-PST=NARR
 (We heard this news.)

As with unwitnessed past tenses, there are two contexts that allow canceling this rule. First, there is a 'lack of consciousness' effect if the speaker was not consciously taking part in the situation or event. In (534) the speaker described how he lost consciousness and how he almost died until somebody performed mouth-to-mouth resuscitation and saved his life. Afterwards that person informed the speaker about what had happened.

- (534) *hoboži [Aytalo-y hut-λ'o hut=no gor-no] [ħuħel λeše-n]*
 now Aytalo-ERG mouth-SPR mouth=and put-CVB breath tear-CVB
hibagoλ'o kur-iš=eλ de muši
 at.that.time throw-PST=NARR I.ERG breath
 'Aytalo put his mouth on my mouth, breathed and at that time I (also) breathed.' (N)

Second, in reported speech the enclitic can occur with first person if the speaker reports what somebody else said using the first person (535). However, this use of the Narrative enclitic is marginal. The following example was checked with other Hınıq speakers who accepted it, but evaluated it as a rather unordinary sentence. They suggested that the Narrative enclitic should be replaced by the Quotative enclitic.

- (535) *hoboži haytu Pat'imat-i=n eλi-yo "hibađu-ƣo-r=eλ*
 now that.OBL Patimat-ERG=and say-PRS this.OBL-AT-LAT=NARR
lataxu eλi eli"
 lataxa say we.ERG
 'Then Patimat said, this is what we call lataxu.' (N)

The Narrative enclitic can in principle occur in questions, although its use there is not very common, and there are no examples in my corpus. Thus, examples like (536a, 536b) are grammatical but very marginal, and they would be much more natural if the Narrative enclitics had been left out. When used with second person then they become completely ungrammatical (536c).

- (536) a. ? *ked-i se r-u:s ƣođ=eλ?*
 girl-ERG what V-do-RES be=NARR
 'What did the girl do?'

- b. ? *haytoy se r-u:-ho=λ?*
 he.ERG what V-do-PRS=NARR
 ‘What is he doing?’
- c. * *me se r-u:-ho=λ?*
 you.SG.ERG what V-do-PRS=NARR
 (What are you doing?)

8.3.4. Hearsay evidentiality with the Quotative enclitic

Reported or hearsay evidentiality is can occasionally be expressed by means of the Quotative enclitic =*λen*. The Quotative enclitic indicates that the speaker acquired his or her knowledge from the conversations of other people. It usually appears in clause-final position. The enclitic is multifunctional, marking not only hearsay evidentials and reported speech but also two types of subordinate clauses. The first two functions, hearsay evidentiality and reported speech, are not clearly separable from each other, though in the latter function the author of the quote is often stated explicitly (see Section 22.2.4 for more information on this enclitic and Chapter 23 for reported speech).

- (537) a. [*busurman din goʔa*] *bac’adaw kanʔi=λen Allahli:*
 moslem belief be.PTCP clean light=QUOT Allah.ERG
neλ-iš [...] insan-i-ž
 give=PST person-OBL-DAT
 ‘Allah gave to the humans the clean light of the Islamic religion, they say.’ (N)
- b. [Have you heard the news?]
xan Ø-aq’-o=λen
 khan(1) I-come-PRS=QUOT
 ‘The khan comes, they say.’

It is also common when reporting personal names of people, places, etc.:

- (538) *zoq’e-n aλ-a hes Malla Nasrudin=λen rek’we*
 be-UWPST village-IN one Mullah Nasrudin=QUOT man
 ‘There was in a village a man called Mullah Nasrudin.’ (N)

8.3.5. Mirativity

Hinuq cannot be said to have mirativity as an independent category of its grammar, but it has some conventionalized ways of expressing mirativity. One pos-

sibility is the combination of overt non-firsthand evidentiality markers such as unwitnessed past tenses (519) or the Narrative enclitic with first persons (534). In such a context the mirativity reading arises as a conventionalized implicature that resolves the interpretational conflict between non-firsthand evidentiality ('the speaker was not an eye-witness of the reported situation') and first person ('the speaker participated in the reported situation'). The second possibility is the use of the verb *-aši-* 'find' to express surprise (539a) and/or inferentiality (539b). Similar constructions with verbs such as 'find', 'come across' or 'discover' are attested in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages, e.g. Archi (Kibrik 1994) and Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 231–237), though in the latter language the construction has rather an inferential than a mirative interpretation. Syntactically, this can be realized as a parenthetical, where *-aši-* does not bear any syntactical relationship to the rest of the sentence (539a), or as a normal complement construction with *-aši-* as matrix verb (539b).

- (539) a. *seda zaman-a-ł had k'onc'u, y-aši-n diž,*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT that leg(IV) IV-find-UWPST I.DAT
y-ixer-no, gor-on, y-ił'i-yo gom
 IV-lift-CVB put-CONC IV-go-ICVB be.NEG
 'At one time, surprisingly, the leg that I lifted up, although I placed
 it down, it does not go.' (N)
- b. *rok'o gosme aže Ø-iłi Ø-aši-š me*
 root without tree I-similar I-find-PST you.SG
 'You (male) turned out to be like a tree without roots.' (N)

Chapter 9

Formation of verbs

Since the number of simple base verbs in Hinuq is not extremely high (about 270, see Section 7.2), many verbs are built by means of derivation, compounding, or occasionally reduplication. Among the verb formation procedures, causativization is clearly the most pervasive process, not only because of the extensively high number of causative verbs that can be formed on the base of the simple verbs but also because it has the most morphological devices. Following the typology of Haspelmath (1993b) and Nichols et al. (2004), Hinuq is a typical example of a “transitivizing language” that makes much use of valency increasing mechanisms and has many simplex intransitive verbs.

All processes that are used for the formation of new verbs or combinations containing verbs are presented in the following chapter.

9.1. Derivation, vowel alternation, and conversion

9.1.1. Introduction

Hinuq has some means of deriving verbs from nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and onomatopoeic expressions. The derivation of sound denoting verbs from onomatopoeic expressions is by far the most productive derivational process (9.1.3). All derived verbs have either a stem ending with *-ʎe* or they have stem-final *-a:*. Vowel alternation and conversion are not a productive means of verb formation in Hinuq. There are only a few examples (Section 9.1.4).

9.1.2. Derivation of verbs from nouns

There are a handful of verbs with stem final *-(y)a:* (i.e. conjugation class 4) that are derived from nouns, and occasionally from other parts of speech such as adverbs and adjectives. The nouns denote the result of the action denoted by the verbs. The verbs are all intransitive. At least some of the words, which served as the base for the derivation of the verbs are loans, e.g. *xabar*, *šak*.

(540)	<i>xabar</i> (III)	‘story’	<i>xabarya:-</i>	‘talk’
	<i>xomore</i> (III)	‘cough’	<i>xomora:-</i>	‘cough’
	<i>qor</i> (III)	‘steam’	<i>qorya:-</i>	‘boil’
	<i>xešra</i> (V)	‘rust’	<i>xešra:-</i>	‘rust’

<i>mesla</i> (v)	‘mildew’	<i>mesla:-</i>	‘mildew’
<i>šak</i> (adv.)	‘doubtfully’	<i>šakarya:-</i>	‘doubt’
<i>c'oq'q'u</i> (adj.)	‘sharp’	<i>c'oq'ya:-</i>	‘stitch’

- (541) *hago san=tow san xomorya:-s*
 he once=EMPH once cough-PST
 ‘He coughed once.’

9.1.3. Derivation of sound denoting verbs

Hinuq has a quite productive way of forming intransitive verbs expressing sounds from onomatopoeic expressions. The dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005) lists about 30 of these verbs. They have two different stem endings, *-a:-* and *-λe*, and the following root structures: $C_iV_jC_iV_jya:-/C_iV_jC_iV_jλe:-$, $CVC(y)a:-/CVCλe-$. All verbs have cognate nouns of gender v. These nouns are formed with the suffix *-ni*, which is regularly used for deriving nouns expressing sounds (see also Section 3.6.8). In the great majority of cases one and the same root allows for the derivation of both a verb ending in *-a:-* and a verb ending with *-λe*, although the verbs with the stem-final long vowel are more commonly used and easier to elicit than the verbs with the stem ending *-λe*.

(542) <i>bubuya:-/bubuλe-</i>	‘bellow’ (bull)	<i>bubuni</i>	‘bellowing’
<i>guguya:-/guguλe</i>	‘grumble’	<i>guguni</i>	‘grumbling’
<i>γuyuya:-/γuyuλe-</i>	‘rumble’	<i>γuyuni</i>	‘rumbling’
<i>zuzuya:-/zuzuλe-</i>	‘buzz’	<i>zuzuni</i>	‘buzzing’
<i>yeγya:-/yeγλe-</i>	‘grouse’	<i>yeγni</i>	‘grouching’
<i>žarya:-/žarλe-</i>	‘jingle’	<i>žarni</i>	‘jingling’
<i>q^wašya:-/q^wašλe-</i>	‘crunch’	<i>q^wašni</i>	‘crunching’
<i>xira:-/xirλe-</i>	‘snore’	<i>xir(a)ni</i>	‘snoring’
<i>k^wač'ya:-/k^wač'λe-</i>	‘whine’	<i>k^wač'ni</i>	‘whining’
<i>gura:-</i>	‘howl’	<i>gurani</i>	‘howling’
<i>ʔira:-</i>	‘bleat’	<i>ʔirani</i>	‘bleating’

The stem final *-λe* could originate from the verb *eλi-* ‘say’, as has been hypothesized by Comrie et al. (2008) for all Tsezic languages and by Khalilova (2009) for Khwarshi. Under this analysis *zuzuλe-* would have been formed from the periphrastic construction *zuzu eλi-* ‘zuzu say’. But *eλi-* belongs to conjugation class 2 (i.e. stem-final *-i*), whereas the sound denoting verbs belong to conjugation class 3 (stem-final *-e*). Furthermore, in Hinuq, in contrast to the East Tsezic languages Hunzib and Bezhta, all derived verbs are intransitive and have, for instance, a zero Imperative as typical for intransitive verbs (543b), whereas

*e*λ*i*- has the Imperative suffix *-o*, which is typical for transitive verbs (543c). In the Hinuq's closest relative Tsez, these verbs are also intransitive but have the Imperative suffix of transitive verbs.

- (543) a. *ɣ^we-be ħapya:-ho*
 dog-PL bark-PRS
 'Dogs bark.'
- b. *xixλe!*
 snore
 'Snore!'
- c. *hes keč eλ-o, [nič b-iq-mez]!*
 one song say-IMP shame(III) III-happen-PURP.NEG
 'Sing one song, do not be ashamed!' (lit. 'say a song') (N)

9.1.4. Vowel alternation and conversion

There is a small group of verbs belonging to conjugation class 3 (having stem-final *-e*) that have cognate nouns (gender V) usually denoting a relevant action nominal (more examples are given in Section 3.6.9). These words represent a kind of verb/noun conversion whereby the nominal suffix *-u* is replaced by the stem-final vowel *-e*, or vice versa. The direction of the alternation, if there is any direction, is unknown. The verbs are all transitive; the cognate action nominal functions repeatedly as their P argument (545).

- | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------|---|----------------|----------------|
| (544) | <i>qaλu</i> (V) | 'scream, call' | <i>qaλe-</i> | 'scream, call' |
| | <i>maq'λu</i> (V) | 'lighting' | <i>maq'λe-</i> | 'flash' |
| | <i>t'ošλu</i> (V) | 'weeding' | <i>t'ošλe-</i> | 'sow, grub up' |
| | <i>čokλu</i> (V) | 'water with leftovers
for the animals' | <i>čokλe-</i> | 'rinse' |

- (545) *hoboži=gozon [k'ox=gozon qaλu qaλe-nos] hado q'idi-r*
 then=TOP twice=ADD scream call-ANT he down-LAT
Ø-iλ'i-n
 I-fall-UWPST
 'Then after (the donkey) screamed for the second time, he fell down.'
 (N)

Hinuq has a bigger group of intransitive verbs denoting sounds that have the same stem ending *-λe* (9.1.3), though it is unclear whether there is any relation between both groups of verbs.

There are two verbs based on adjective-verb conversion (546). These verbs are extended intransitive verbs. Their valency frames are given in Section 16.3.4. Interestingly, both adjectives can also serve as the base for the regular derivation of intransitive/transitive verb pairs with *-t* and *-k*.⁸²

(546)	<i>-²ežiy</i>	‘big, old’	<i>-²eži-</i>	‘win’
	<i>-eg^wey</i>	‘small’	<i>-eg^we-</i>	‘lose’

9.2. Valency changing derivations

9.2.1. Introduction

Far more productive than deriving new verbs from nouns or onomatopoeic expressions is the derivation of verbs from adverbs/postpositions, adjectives, and especially from other verbs. In the case of verb-from-verb derivation, the new verb can, but does not have to differ in its valency frame from the base verb. Derivation of verbs from adverbs/postpositions and adjectives can of course not change the valency frame. But since the same suffixes are also used for the derivation of verbs from verbs (leading to a valency change), all processes are treated together in this section.

The derivational processes are very important for the formation of the Hinuq verbal lexicon. The number of underived base verbs is comparatively small, and therefore the major part of the verbal lexicon is built up by using one of the means presented in the following sections.

9.2.2. Causative verbs with *-r*

The suffix *-r* is added to the stem of verbs. If the stem ends in a consonant, the suffix has the form *-er*. It is extremely productive and may be added to almost all verbs (intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, experiencer verbs). Exceptions are detransitivized verbs (i.e. antipassive and potential verbs), the copula, and some (but not all) intransitive verbs ending with a long vowel. Many of the verbs with a stem-final long vowel (i.e. conjugation class 4) cannot take this suffix and form only analytic causative verbs with *tok’er-*, e.g. *-edo-* ‘work’, *qeba-* ‘seem’ and *-ihi-* ‘fight’. Verbs of the other three conjugation classes form causative verbs with *-r* very productively.

⁸² The respective derived verbs are:

- | | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| (ii) | <i>-²ežit-</i> | ‘be/become big, increase’ (intr.) | <i>-²ežik’-</i> | ‘make big, increase’ (tr.) |
| | <i>-eg^weł-</i> | ‘be/become small’ (intr.) | <i>-eg^wek’-</i> | ‘make small, reduce’ (tr.) |

The derived verb has at least two arguments. The semantic interpretation may vary according to the context between ordinary transitive meaning (547b), causation ('make someone do X, force someone to do X') (547a), permission, or even request. The suffix can be added twice to form a double causative. The second suffix is always *-er*.

- (547) a. *hayloy geɫ-er r-aq'e-r-iš karzina-ma-r*
 he.ERG down-LAT NHPL-come-CAUS-PST basket-IN-LAT
 'He brought (the pears) down into the basket.' (S)
- b. *iyoy-y Pat'imat-qo kayat cax-er-iš*
 mother-ERG Patimat-AT letter write-CAUS-PST
 'Mother made Patimat write the letter.'

Some examples of causativized verbs derived with *-r* are given below. For the syntax of causative constructions and more examples see Section 17.7.

9.2.2.1. Intransitive base

If the basic verb is intransitive (including extended intransitive verbs), then the derived verb is transitive. In fact, many frequently used transitive verbs in Hinuq are derived with *-r*.

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| (548) | <i>-aλ'i-</i> | 'talk' | <i>-aλ'ir-</i> | 'betray' |
| | <i>-eqe-</i> | 'cover oneself, incur' | <i>-eqer-</i> | 'bury' |
| | <i>-ix-</i> | 'get up, come up' | <i>-ixer-</i> | 'raise, lift up' |
| | <i>c'ox-</i> | 'enter, fall' | <i>c'oxer-</i> | 'stick into' |
| | <i>-eze-</i> | 'look at' | <i>-ezer-</i> | 'pay attention' |
| | <i>bera:-</i> | 'bleat' | <i>bera:r-</i> | 'make bleat' |
| | <i>-aq'e-</i> | 'come' | <i>-aq'er-</i> | 'put, bring' |

9.2.2.2. Transitive base

If the basic verb is transitive, then the derived verb is ditransitive. The basic verb may already have a causative suffix (*-r* or *-k'*), which leads to double causativization.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (549) | <i>ga:-</i> | 'drink' | <i>ga:r-</i> | 'make drink' |
| | <i>cax-</i> | 'write' | <i>caxer-</i> | 'make write' |
| | <i>-oc'-</i> | 'cut' | <i>-oc'er-</i> | 'make cut' |
| | <i>-aq'er-</i> | 'put, bring' | <i>-aq'erer-</i> | 'make put/bring' |
| | <i>-oč'ik'-</i> | 'cool' | <i>-oč'ik'er-</i> | 'make cool' |

9.2.2.3. *Ditransitive base*

If the basic verb is ditransitive (i.e. an extended transitive verb), then the resulting verb can, but does not have to have four arguments. That is, ditransitive verbs like ‘give’ normally have four arguments after causativization. But other extended transitive verbs like ‘beat’ or ‘take’, where often not all arguments overtly occur (i.e. they are mostly used with two overt arguments), mostly have only three overt arguments after causativization. Again, the basic verb can already be a derived causative verb, which leads to double causativization.

(550)	<i>toλ-/neλ-</i>	‘give’	<i>toλer-/neλer-</i>	‘make give’
	<i>-ik’-</i>	‘beat’	<i>-ik’er-</i>	‘make beat’
	<i>caλi-</i>	‘throw, shot’	<i>caλir-</i>	‘make throw/shot’
	<i>-iker-</i>	‘show’	<i>-ikerer-</i>	‘make show’

9.2.2.4. *Experiencer verb as base*

If the basic verb is an experiencer verb, then the derived verb is either transitive or ditransitive, depending on the lexeme that served as the base. For more examples see Section 17.7.3.3.

(551)	<i>šuλ’e-</i>	‘forget’	<i>šuλ’er-</i> (tr.)	‘forget’
	<i>-ike-</i>	‘see’	<i>-iker-</i> (ditr.)	‘show’

9.2.3. Causative verbs with *-k’*9.2.3.1. *Introduction*

The suffix *-k’* (*-ek’* after consonants) is added to the stems of adjectives, adverbials/postpositions, and a few verbs. In addition, there are a number of verbs derived with this suffix whose origin is unknown, i.e. the root is not a word in Hinuq. It is only productive with adjectives and adverbs/postpositions, and there are even a few examples of verbs derived from Avar adjectives. The resulting verbs are monotransitive, usually with a causative meaning (552a, 552b). They come in pairs with the intransitive member ending in *-ɬ* (Section 9.2.4).

(552)	a.	<i>[hibadu pečenie q’il-o-λ’o=n gor-no] xoxorek’-an</i>
		this biscuits board-OBL-SPR=and put-CVB pulverize-RED
		<i>xoxorek’ hadu</i>
		pulverize this
		‘You put the biscuits on a board and crush them.’ (N)

- b. *hało xan-i hacikko hado uži*
 this.OBL khan-ERG search.PRS this boy
 ‘The khan looks for the boy.’ (N)

Below, some examples of verbs derived with *-k*’ are given. For the syntax of causative constructions and more examples see Section 17.7.

9.2.3.2. Adjectives as base

Before adding the suffix *-k*’, adjectives must undergo some changes. Verbs derived from adjectives with geminates lose these geminates and have single consonants instead. Their final suffix *-u* is mostly replaced by *-ek*’, but occasionally also by *-ik*’. Adjectives containing the extension suffixes *-di/-du* (before the adjectival suffixes *-yu* and *-k’a*) lose /i/ and /u/ and also take *-ek*’. Adjectives with the suffix *-ru* lose the final vowel and take *-ek*’ as derivational suffixes. Adjectives of Avar origin lose the final suffix *-aw* and take *-ek*’.

(553)	<i>ceq’q’u</i>	‘sour’	<i>ceq’ek’-</i>	‘make sour’
	<i>-oč’č’u</i>	‘cold’	<i>-oč’ik’-</i>	‘cool’
	<i>aldiyu/alduk’a</i>	‘white’	<i>aldek’-</i>	‘whiten’
	<i>očordiyu/očorduk’a</i>	‘old’	<i>očordek’-</i>	‘make old’
	<i>-oxoru</i>	‘long’	<i>-oxorek’-</i>	‘make long’
	<i>xoxoru</i>	‘crumbly’	<i>xoxorek’-</i>	‘make crumbly’
	<i>tuturu</i>	‘dirty’	<i>tuturek’-</i>	‘make dirty’
	<i>č’uħaraw</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>č’uħarek’-</i>	‘embellish’
	<i>ħ’oħaw</i>	‘bitter’	<i>ħ’oħek’-</i>	‘make bitter’

9.2.3.3. Adverbs/postpositions as base

The majority of the spatial and a few temporal postpositions/adverbs can serve as the base for the derivation of verbs (see Section 11.2 for all verbs derived from spatial adverbs/postpositions).

(554)	<i>ʔaši</i>	‘much, many’	<i>ʔašik’-</i>	‘increase’, ‘enlarge’
	<i>dah(aw)</i>	‘few, little, less’	<i>dahek’-</i>	‘lessen, diminish’
	<i>igo</i>	‘near’	<i>igok’-</i>	‘approach’ (tr.)
	<i>geł</i>	‘down, under’	<i>gełek’-</i>	‘let down, lower’

9.2.3.4. Verbs as base

There are only five verbs that allow derivation by means of adding the suffix *-k'* to the stem, none of them having a stem-final long vowel. All base verbs as well as all derived verbs are transitive.

(555)	<i>-uqi-</i>	‘hide’	<i>-uqik’-</i>	‘hide’
	<i>-ixi-</i>	‘spread, wipe, rub’	<i>-ixik’-</i>	‘spread, wipe, rub’
	<i>-ayi-</i>	‘open’	<i>-ayik’-</i>	‘open a little’
	<i>-aqi-</i>	‘close’	<i>-aqik’-</i>	‘close a little’
	<i>-ux-</i>	‘take, keep’	<i>-uxek’-</i>	‘keep’

9.2.3.5. Unknown base

There are a number of transitive verbs ending in *-k'* that have intransitive counterparts ending in *-t* but whose root is unknown and does not exist as a word on its own in Hinuq, e.g. synchronically there is no word *ak(e)-* or *hac(i)-*.

(556)	<i>akek’-</i>	‘make tired’	<i>hacik’-</i>	‘search’
	<i>-ik’ek’-</i>	‘steal’	<i>-ič’ik’-</i>	‘pour out’ (tr.)

9.2.4. Inchoative and potential verbs

9.2.4.1. Introduction

The suffix *-t* (*-et* after consonants) is the counterpart of *-k'* since it derives intransitive verbs from the same parts of speech as *-k'* (adjectives, adverbs / postpositions, verbs, unknown base). It is only productive with adjectives and adverbs/postpositions. These intransitive verbs are used in ordinary intransitive sentences and always have an inchoative meaning (557a, 557b). For example, (557c) is an inchoative sentence. In order to say ‘The moon is white’, a normal copula construction with the adjective *aldiyu* ‘white’ must be used.

- (557) a. *hes Ø-²eži rek’u zoq’e-n, očordeŋ-tiš*
 one I-old man(I) be-UWPST grow.old-RES
 ‘There was one man, grown old.’ (N)
- b. *q’ono quno itra eŋa ŋeba-t posu=n*
 two twenty six.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT livestock=and
xalq’i=n ²ašiŋ-iš
 people=and increase-PST
 ‘In the year 1946 the number of livestock and people increased.’ (N)

- c. *buce aldeŧ-o*
 moon become.white-PRS
 ‘The moon becomes white.’ (not ‘The moon is white.’)

Furthermore, all verbs derived with *-ŧ* also have a potential reading depending on the case frame and the construction with which they are used. Thus, the verbs presented in Sections 9.2.4.2-9.2.4.4 have both an inchoative/intransitive meaning and a potential meaning, whereas the verbs presented in Section 9.2.4.5 have only a potential meaning. For example, *geŧeŧ-* can be used as a plain intransitive verb (558a) or as an extended intransitive verb in the potential construction (558b). Similarly, *-uqiŧ-* (Section 9.2.4.4) can occur in a normal intransitive clause (558c) or in a potential clause with an extended intransitive valency frame (558d). The syntax of the simple intransitive sentences derived with *-ŧ* and the syntax of the potential construction are described in Sections 17.5 and 17.2 respectively.

- (558) a. *de geŧeŧ-o gom*
 I go.down-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘I do not go down.’
- b. *diŧo hago geŧeŧ-o gom*
 I.AT he go.down-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘I cannot make him go.’ or ‘I cannot bring him down.’
- c. *hado uži Ø-uqiŧ-o č’aŧ-mo-ŧ-edo*
 this boy(I) I-hide-PRS high.grass-OBL-CONT-DIR
 ‘The boy hides in the high grass.’ (N)
- d. *diŧo magalu b-uqiŧ-o*
 I.AT bread(III) III-hide-PRS
 ‘I can hide the bread.’

9.2.4.2. Adjectives as base

Before adding the suffix *-ŧ*, adjectives must undergo the same changes that they undergo before adding *-k*’ (see 9.2.3.2 above).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|---------|-----------------|----------------|
| (559) | <i>ceq’q’u</i> | ‘sour’ | <i>ceq’eŧ-</i> | ‘become sour’ |
| | <i>-oč’č’u</i> | ‘cold’ | <i>-oč’iŧ-</i> | ‘become cold’ |
| | <i>aldu/alduk’a</i> | ‘white’ | <i>aldeŧ-</i> | ‘become white’ |
| | <i>očordiyu/očorduk’a</i> | ‘old’ | <i>očordeŧ-</i> | ‘become old’ |
| | <i>-oxoru</i> | ‘long’ | <i>-oxoreŧ-</i> | ‘become long’ |

<i>tuturu</i>	‘dirty’	<i>tutureŋ-</i>	‘become dirty’
<i>č’uħaraw</i>	‘beautiful’	<i>č’uħareŋ-</i>	‘become beautiful’
<i>λ’oʔaw</i>	‘bitter’	<i>λ’oʔeŋ-</i>	‘become bitter’

9.2.4.3. Adverbs/postpositions as base

Many spatial and a few temporal postpositions/adverbs can serve as the base for the derivation of verbs (see Section 11.2 for all verbs derived from spatial adverbs/postpositions).

(560)	<i>ʔaši</i>	‘much, many’	<i>ʔašiŋ-</i>	‘grow’
	<i>dah(aw)</i>	‘few, little, less’	<i>daheŋ-</i>	‘decrease, diminish’
	<i>igo</i>	‘near’	<i>igoŋ-</i>	‘approach’ (intr.)
	<i>geŋ</i>	‘down, under’	<i>geŋeŋ-</i>	‘go down’

9.2.4.4. Verbs as base and unknown base

Only two of the five verbs that can form transitive derived verbs with *-k*’ also allow the derivation of simple intransitive verbs with *-ŋ* (561). In addition, there are a number of verbs with an unknown base (562).

(561)	<i>-uqi-</i>	‘hide’ (tr.)	<i>-uqiŋ-</i>	‘hide’ (intr.)
	<i>-aŋi-</i>	‘open’ (tr.)	<i>-aŋiŋ-</i>	‘open’ (intr.)
(562)	<i>akeŋ-</i>	‘be/become tired’	<i>haciŋ-</i>	‘be found’
	<i>-ik’eŋ-</i>	‘get lost, disappear’	<i>-ič’iŋ-</i>	‘pour out’ (intr.)

9.2.4.5. Potential verbs

As already mentioned, the suffix *-ŋ* is used to derive verbs with a potential meaning (‘be able to do X’). In this function it can derive potential verbs from any verb and from adjectives and adverbs/postpositions. The potential agent appears either in the Absolutive if the original verb is intransitive, or in the AT-Essive if the original verb is transitive. For more information on potential constructions see Section 17.2.

(563)	<i>-ac’-</i>	‘eat’	<i>-ac’eŋ-</i>	‘be able to eat’
	<i>toλ-</i>	‘give’	<i>toλeŋ-</i>	‘be able to give’
	<i>-ux-</i>	‘take, keep’	<i>-uxeŋ-</i>	‘be able to take, keep’
	<i>-aq’e-</i>	‘come’	<i>-aq’eŋ-</i>	‘be able to come’

9.2.5. Antipassive verbs

Another valency-decreasing derivation is the application of the Antipassive suffixes *-li:* and *-do:*, which are added to the verbal stem. These suffixes are used to derive intransitive verbs from intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive verbs. This means that when the Antipassive suffixes are added to intransitive verbs, the valency frame does not change. Thus, one can argue that these derived verbs do not contain a true Antipassive morpheme, but rather a morpheme that has the same influence on the meaning and the same form as the Antipassive morpheme of transitive and ditransitive verbs. Derived Antipassive verbs belong to the conjugation class 4 (i.e. verbs with a stem-final long vowel).

Verbs with a consonantal stem ending and verbs with a stem ending in a short vowel (i.e. conjugation classes 1-3) take either *-li:* or *-do:* for the formation of the Antipassive, the precise distribution of the two suffixes being lexically restricted. Some examples are:

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| (564) | <i>cax-</i> | ‘write’ | <i>caxli:-</i> | ‘write repeatedly’ |
| | <i>k’ilik’-</i> | ‘wash’ (tr.) | <i>k’ilik’do:-</i> | ‘bathe, wash oneself’ |
| | <i>t’ot’er-</i> | ‘read, study’ (labile) | <i>t’ot’erdo:-</i> | ‘study’ (intr.) |
| (565) | <i>-aχi-</i> | ‘talk’ (intr.) | <i>-aχili:-</i> | ‘talk repeatedly’ |
| | <i>-aq^wi-</i> | ‘sew, stitch’ | <i>-aq^weli-</i> | ‘sew, stitch repeatedly’ |
| | <i>-iči-</i> | ‘be, stay’ | <i>-ičido:-</i> | ‘be repeatedly, stay’ |
| (566) | <i>-eze-</i> | ‘look at’ | <i>-ezeli:-</i> | ‘look around’ |
| | <i>-eχe-</i> | ‘plough’ | <i>-eχeli:-</i> | ‘plough repeatedly’ |
| | <i>k’oχe-</i> | ‘jump’ | <i>k’oχeli-</i> | ‘jump repeatedly’ |

Verbs having a stem-final long vowel take only *-li:* to form their Antipassive:

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| (567) | <i>-ex^wa:-</i> | ‘slaughter’ | <i>-ex^wali:-</i> | ‘slaughter repeatedly’ |
| | <i>xomora:-</i> | ‘cough’ | <i>xomorali:-</i> | ‘cough repeatedly’ |
| | <i>-ihi:-</i> | ‘fight’ | <i>-ihili:-</i> | ‘fight repeatedly’ |

Antipassive suffixes can be added to derived causative and derived intransitive verbs. The Antipassive suffix *-do:* can only be added to causative verbs with *-r* and to anticausative verbs. The same suffix is preferred with *-k’*-causative verbs, but I have found one verb ending with *-k’* that takes the Antipassive suffix *-li:*. Some examples are:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| (568) | <i>-eq’ir-</i> | ‘learn, get to know’ | <i>-eq’irdo:-</i> | ‘rummage (in)’ |
| | <i>paχer-</i> | ‘slide, glide’ (once) | <i>paχer-do:-</i> | ‘slide, glide repeatedly’ |
| | <i>hacik’-</i> | ‘search’ | <i>hacik’li:-</i> | ‘search repeatedly, a lot’ |

<i>-uxek'</i> -	'keep'	<i>-uxek'do:-</i>	'keep repeatedly'
<i>hozeł-</i>	'seperate' (intr.)	<i>hozełdo:-</i>	'seperate repeatedly'

The Antipassive deletes the P, which disappears and cannot be expressed in an oblique case. The Antipassive usually has iterative meaning. Occasionally the meaning of Antipassive verbs is more idiosyncratic, for instance *-eze-* 'look around', *-eq'irido:-* 'rummage (in)'. An example of an Antipassive in use can be found in (569). For the syntax of the Antipassive construction see Section 17.9.

- (569) *hoboži qaħe-li:ho zoq'e-n hayti teł-es gołiš ʔoloqbe*
 now shout-ANTIP-ICVB be-UWPST there in-ABL I be.CVB youth
 'The young people shouted from there inside.' (N)

9.2.6. Combinations of valency changing derivations

Transitivizing suffixes can be combined, but *-k'* must precede *-r*. Detransitivizing suffixes can also be combined, but *-ł* only allows *-do:* to be added. It is also possible to transitivize a verb first and then to detransitivize it, but the other direction is ungrammatical. That is, to add transitivizing suffixes to Antipassive verbs or to verbs formed with *-ł* is not allowed. All possible combinations are displayed in Table 61.

(570)	<i>-oč'č'u</i>	'cold'	<i>-oč'-ik'-er-</i>	'make cool'
	<i>ese-</i>	'tell, say'	<i>ese-r-eł-</i>	'be able to ask'
	<i>k'ilik'-</i>	'wash' (tr.)	<i>k'ilik'-do:-ł-</i>	'be able to wash oneself'

Table 61. Combinations of valency-changing derivation devices

	Transitivizing	Detransitivizing
Transitivizing	<i>-r + -er</i> <i>-k' + -er</i> <i>-k' + -er + -er</i> <i>tok' + -er</i> <i>tok' + -er + -er</i>	<i>-r + -do:</i> <i>-k' + -li:</i> <i>-k' + -do:</i> <i>-r + -eł</i>
Detransitivizing	#	<i>-ł + -do:</i> <i>-do: + -ł</i> <i>-li: + -ł</i>

9.3. Compounding and light verb constructions

9.3.1. Introduction

Hinuq has compound verbs consisting of two parts: a noun, an adverb / postposition, or a verb followed by a verb. The first word can be borrowed. The second word, the verb, is frequently one of the two light verbs *-iq-* ‘become, happen’ and *-u:-* ‘do, make’.

In addition to the compounds and light verb constructions presented in this section, Hinuq makes repeated use of serial verb constructions involving two juxtaposed verbs. In this section, only causative constructions with the verb *tok'(e)r-* are described (9.3.5). All other serial verb constructions are described in Chapter 25.

9.3.2. Light verb constructions with loans

The Hinuq verbs *-iq-* ‘become, happen’ and *-u:-* ‘do, make’ can combine with Avar or Russian loans, and all combinations with the intransitive verb *-iq-* are themselves intransitive and all combinations with the transitive verb *-u:-* are in turn also transitive. The compound transitive verbs formed with *-u:-* often have a causative meaning. The loan words are adverbs or verbs in their infinitive or occasionally their Masdar form. This means that verbal compounding is very extensively used. Nowadays especially Russian compounds are productively formed ad hoc whenever needed.

In compounds involving Russian verbs, usually (but not necessarily) intransitive Russian verbs combine with *-iq-*, and transitive Russian verbs combine with *-u:-*. But there are also exceptions to this tendency, e.g. the transitive Russian verb *sobirat'* cannot only be combined with the transitive verb *-u:-* but also with the intransitive light verb *-iq-*.

(571)	Hinuq	Translation	Russian	Translation
	<i>perežiwatsa -iq-</i>	‘worry’	<i>pereživat'sja</i> (intr.)	‘worry’
	<i>pastupat -iq-</i>	‘enter’	<i>postupat'</i> (intr.)	‘join’
	<i>sabirat -iq-</i>	‘unite’ (intr.)	<i>sobirat'</i> (tr.)	‘collect’
	<i>sabirat -u:-</i> ⁸³	‘collect’	<i>sobirat'</i> (tr.)	‘collect’
	<i>pamagat -u:-</i> ⁸⁴	‘help’	<i>pomogat'</i> (tr.)	‘help’

⁸³ Hinuq has another compound with a similar meaning based on the Avar verb *bak'arize* ‘collect, unite’, which in Hinuq became *bak'arzi -iq-* ‘collect, unite’ (intr.) and *bak'arzi -u:-* ‘collect’ (tr.).

⁸⁴ There is a compound verb containing an Avar loan *kumak* ‘help’; see the end of this section.

In general, the compounds formed with Avar verbs come in pairs (intransitive plus transitive verb). If the loan verb has a gender prefix in Avar, then it is frozen (*b-*, gender III, which includes all nouns besides male and female rationales). The Avar verb has either the form of an Infinitive or of a Masdar (in Avar), or it can be an adverb.⁸⁵ Sometimes the meaning changes a little. The last example is already a light verb construction in Avar.

(572)	Hinuq	Translation	Avar	Translation
	<i>biλ'izi -iq-/-u:-</i>	'divide'	<i>b/iλ'ize</i> (INF)	'divide'
	<i>bič'i -iq-⁸⁶</i>	'understand'	<i>b/ič'č'i</i> (MSD)	'understanding'
	<i>bič'i -u:-</i>	'explain'		
	<i>ħadur -iq-</i>	'be prepared'	<i>ħadur</i> (ADV)	'prepared',
	<i>ħadur -u:-</i>	'prepare'	'ready'	
	<i>behizi -iq-/-u:-</i>	'allow'	<i>b/eh/ize</i> (INF)	'be possible', 'be probable'
	<i>x^wasar -iq-/-u:-</i>	'free, rescue'	<i>xwasar</i>	'free, rescue'
			<i>ha-b/ize</i> (INF)	

Sometimes the loan undergoes phonological assimilation, or its shape is changed in some other way (e.g. by changing the vowel quality or dropping the Avar Infinitive suffix).⁸⁷

(573)	<i>kikzi -iq-</i>	'be able to keep'	<i>xiχ/ize</i> (INF)	'keep, feed'
	<i>kikzi -u:-</i>	'keep'		
	<i>ħalbikizi -iq-/-u:-</i>	'try, test'	<i>ħalbiχ/ize</i> (INF)	'experience'
	<i>q'ossi -iq-/-u:-</i>	'get lost, go astray'	<i>q'os/ine</i> (INF)	'get lost, go astray'
	<i>guči -iq-/-u:-</i>	'resettle'	<i>goč/ine</i> (INF)	'resettle, move'

A few Avar Infinitives combine only with *-iq-* or only with *-u:-*, e.g.

(574)	<i>k'^wezi -iq-</i>	'be able'	<i>k'^weze</i>	'be able'
	<i>badi -u:-</i>	'reproach'	<i>badi/b č'^wa/ze</i>	'reproach'
	<i>barkezi -u:-</i>	'congratulate'	<i>bark/ize</i>	'congratulate'

⁸⁵ There is one pair of verbs *kezi -iq- / -u:-* 'meet', where the first part *kezi*, although formally reminiscent of an Avar Infinitive, does not seem to be an Avar word. The origin of *kezi* is unknown.

⁸⁶ Alternatively the infinitive of the Avar verb is used, which is *bič'č'izi*.

⁸⁷ The literary standard Avar Infinitive suffix, *-(i)ze*, is *-(i)zi* in the dialect of Ancuq. This is the Avar dialect with whose speakers Hinuq people had and have the most intensive contact.

The compound verbs built with *-iq-* and *-u:-* have the following valency frames:

-iq-

- ABS (simple intransitive verbs), e.g. *žit -iq-* ‘live’ (from Russ. *žit* ’)
- ABS, SPR (psychological verbs), e.g. *boži -iq-* ‘believe’
- ABS, SPR.LAT (psychological verbs), e.g. *bixzi -iq-* ‘be afraid, be angry’
- ABS, DAT (experiencer verbs), e.g. *bič’i -iq-* ‘understand’
- ABS, complement clause, e.g. *behizi -iq-* ‘allow’
- AT, complement clause, e.g. *k’wēzi -iq-* ‘be able’

-u:-

- ERG, ABS (simple transitive verbs), e.g. *bak’arzi -u:-* ‘collect’
- ERG, ABS, SPR (causative psychological verbs), e.g. *boži -u:-* ‘make believe’

The gender prefix agrees with the Absolutive argument of the valency frame (575a-575d), or (in the case of *k’wēzi -iq-* ‘be able’) with the Absolutive argument of the embedded clause (long distance agreement, see Section 22.3).

- (575) a. *y-²ežinu essu-y [razi=n y-iq-no] toλxo*
 II-old sister(II)-ERG happy=and II-happen-CVB give.PRS
[eser-ho goła] yašik’
 ask-ICVB be.PTCP box
 ‘The old sister gives (him) happily the box which (he) asked for.’ (N)
- b. *ʔaga. ʔunt’araw šinaw [mesed mecxer toλ-no=n] razi*
 relative every gold money give-CVB=and happy
Ø-u:-s=eλ
 I-do-PST=NARR
 ‘(He) made every relative happy, giving gold and money.’ (N)
- c. *sasaqo bak’arzi b-iqqo hunar goliš kinawnigi*
 in.the.morning collect HPL-happen.PRS ability be.CVB altogether
ʔoloqan xalq’i
 young people
 ‘In the morning, all talented young men come together.’ (N)
- d. *haze xexza-y bak’arzi b-u:-s hayto-s*
 these.OBL child.PL.OBL-ERG collect III-do-PST he.OBL-GEN I
q’idi-š geni
 down-ABL I pear(III)
 ‘The children collected the pears from the ground.’ (S)

In Narrative converb clauses, the loan is often marked by the Coordinative enclitic (575a). Other enclitics may be added as well. In general, insertion of material between the loan word and the Hinuq light verb is rather uncommon, but possible, and there are a few examples in my corpus. Note in example (576c), which is from a poem, not only the patient appears between the auxiliary and the loan verb, but their order is also reversed. The auxiliary *-u:-* ‘do, make’ (but not *-iq-*) in these constructions can be causativized with *-r* like any other verb in a causative construction.

- (576) a. *hes ɣ^wede r-iχ'i-yo gom [rek^we Ø-uher-mez=no] [...]*
 one day(V) V-go-ICVB be.NEG man(I) I-kill-PURP.NEG=and
[χ^wahzi buχe-be r-u:-mez=no]
 explode house-PL NHPL-do-PURP.NEG=and
 ‘Not one day passes by without killing a man, without making houses explode.’ (N)
- b. *hesqen bažarizi žo r-iq-χ'os rek^we gom hago*
 nothing be.able thing(V) v-happen-HAB man be.NEG he
 ‘There is nothing that he is able to do.’ (N)
- c. *haze-y r-u:-ho q'imu c'unzi*
 they.OBL-ERG V-do-PRS head(V) save
 ‘They save their heads.’ (N)

In addition, there are some fixed noun-verb combinations with loan nouns that are similar to the compounds involving borrowed verbs or adverbs, but they contain nouns that have also been borrowed as nouns, i.e. they occur independently in noun phrases, can take case marking and modifiers, etc. The light verbs used in these combinations take the agreement prefix that is triggered by the noun, which, in all examples given in (578), is the prefix *b-* for gender III.

- (577) *kumak bu:-* ‘help’ (lit. ‘help do’)
žumru bu:- ‘live’ (lit. ‘life do’)
xal bux-/bu:- ‘pay attention, check’ (lit. ‘gaze take/do’)
dažba biq- ‘quarrel, dispute’ (intr.) (lit. ‘dispute happen’)
cim bix- ‘become angry’ (lit. ‘anger rise’)
- (578) *Ibrahim xal b-ux-no Ø-iči-yo haytu-qo*
 Ibrahim gaze(III) III-keep-CVB I-stand-PRS she.OBL-AT
 ‘Ibrahim keeps on looking at her.’ (N)

9.3.3. Compound verbs with adverbs/postpositions

Hinuq has a number of compound verbs that consist of an adverb/postposition (mostly *λ'ere*, but occasionally *q'idi*) and a following verb, and the complex yields an idiosyncratic meaning which is not predictable from the meaning of its parts. Other adverbs/postpositions besides these two are also regularly used together with certain verbs, but the resulting meaning is more or less predictable, e.g. *sot'i -uti-* 'turn around' (lit. 'around turn'), or *q'idi -iči-* 'sit' (lit. 'down be').

(579)	<i>λ'ere -aλ'i-</i>	'object'	(lit. 'upwards talk')
	<i>λ'ere -ičin</i> ⁸⁸	'be insistent, adamant'	(lit. 'upwards be.CVB')
	<i>λ'ere -utin</i>	'be insistent, adamant'	(lit. 'upwards turn.CVB')
	<i>λ'ere -ux-</i>	'promise'	(lit. 'upwards take, keep')
	<i>λ'eres -uči-</i>	'say sorry'	(lit. 'from upwards go down')
	<i>λ'eres -iy-</i>	'say sorry'	(lit. 'from upwards take away')
	<i>q'idi -iλ'i-</i>	'go by foot'	(lit. 'go down')

Compound verbs with adverbs/postpositions have one intonation contour as for instance serial verb constructions, but the unit between the adverb/postposition and the verb is not so tight. The adverb/postposition is not an argument of the verb, material can be inserted, and enclitics can be added to it. In fact, the adverb can even be left out in some cases, e.g. for *λ'eres -uči-*, the meaning 'say sorry' can also be obtained without the adverb.

The light verb in such compounds shows agreement with the Absolutive argument of its own clause, or with the Absolutive argument of the subordinate clause (long distance agreement, see Section 22.3). In the case of the verb *λ'eres -uti-* 'say sorry', the Absolutive argument is the addressee (580b).

- (580) a. [*nagaħ neλ-ome*] [*λ'ere Ø-aλ'i-mez*] *hezzo-r*
 if give-COND.NEG upwards I-talk-PURP.NEG back-LAT
Ø-uti!
 I-go.out
 'If she does not give it to you, go away without making a comment!'
 (N)
- b. *me* [*ʔayib b-u:-mez*] *λ'ere-s* *y-uti!*
 you.SG blame(III) III-do-PURP.NEG upwards-ABL I go-go.down
 'Without accepting blame, I ask you sorry!' (said to a woman) (N)

⁸⁸ Although this and the following compound are used as adverbs, they are formally verbs that head Narrative converb clauses.

9.3.4. Compounds with nouns

There are a number of noun-verb combinations involving native or loan nouns and Hinuq verbs (see also (577) above). Compounding with the noun *rok'we* 'heart' is especially productive. The meaning of these compounds is essentially predictable from the meaning of its parts. Examples are:

(581) <i>aṭu -ič'-</i>	'embrace'	(lit. 'embrace fill')
<i>ubay ese-</i>	'kiss'	(lit. 'kiss tell')
<i>qor b-iy-</i>	'boil'	(lit. 'steam bring out')
<i>yocu q'a:-</i>	'spit'	(lit. 'spittle throw out')
<i>muši kur-</i>	'breath'	(lit. 'breath throw away')
<i>axxa kur-</i>	'listen carefully'	(lit. 'ear throw')
<i>boṭiṭ'o -iṭ'i-</i>	'go hunting'	(lit. 'go onto the deer')
<i>rok'ṭ'o goṭ/-iči-</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on the heart be')
<i>rok'ṭ'o -ičir-</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on the heart put')
<i>rok'ṭ'o(r) -aq'e-</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on(to) the heart go')
<i>rok'ṭ'o(r) -aq'er-</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on(to) the heart bring')
<i>rok'ṭ'o -aši-</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on the heart find')
<i>rok'ṭ'o -ux-⁸⁹</i>	'remember'	(lit. 'on the heart take')
<i>rok'ṭ'os -iṭ'i-</i>	'forget'	(lit. 'from onto the heart go')

The unit noun-verb is not very tight and can be interrupted by other material, e.g. enclitics (582a, 582b). The noun may be modified by adjectives or pronouns. It may be replaced by a question word, just like any other nominal argument.

- (582) a. [*hayṭu ked-go aṭu=n b-ič'-no*] [*ubay=no ese-n*]
 that.OBL girl-AT embrace(III)=and III-fill-CVB kiss=and tell-CVB
 [...] *b-ik'eṭ-o gulu=n hago uži=n*
 HPL-disappear-PRS horse=and that boy=and
 'Embracing the girl, kissing her (...) the horse and the boy disappear.'
 (N)
- b. *hag=no diž rok'-ṭ'o=qen r-aq'-o zoq'we-s-me*
 that=and I.DAT heart.OBL-SPR=at.least V-come-ICVB be-PST-NEG
 'I do not remember that.' (N)
- c. *hago uži=n rok'-ṭ'o-s Ø-iṭ'i-yo obu-z=no*
 that boy=and heart.OBL-SPR-ABL I I-go-PRS father-DAT=and
ked-ez=no
 girl-DAT=and
 'The father and the girl forget the boy.' (N)

⁸⁹ This verb is only used in commands to an addressee.

The verbs that have agreement prefixes agree with the Absolutive argument. For all verbs with the meaning ‘remember’ and ‘forget’, this is the person or the object that is remembered or forgotten (582b, 582c). For the verbs *aļu -ič’* ‘embrace’ and *qor b-iγ-* ‘boil’, the agreement is triggered by the nouns that are part of the verbal compounds (582a), (583).

- (583) *ǝe-y qor b-iγ-iš*
 water-ERG steam(III) III-bring.out-PST
 ‘The water boiled.’

9.3.5. Causative constructions with the verb *tok’er-*

These are actually serial verb constructions consisting of a verbal stem followed by the verb *tok’er-*, which takes the inflectional suffixes (see Section 25 for more information on serial verb constructions). The verb *tok’er-* does not occur independently, and its origin as well as its precise meaning in isolation is unknown.⁹⁰ It is itself a derived causative verb. The simple form *tok’-* and the double causative form *tok’(e)rer-* also exist but they do not occur in my corpus and are not spontaneously used by the speakers. All serial verbs are at least transitive. Almost exclusively verbs with a stem-final long vowel (including derived Antipassive verbs) have causative forms with *tok’er-*. The original verbs can be intransitive or transitive. However, it seems that the use of *tok’er-* is not restricted to verbs. Example (585b) shows a construction containing an interjection.

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| (584) | <i>qorya:-</i> | ‘boil’ (intr.) | <i>qorya: tok’er-</i> | ‘boil’ (tr.) |
| | <i>-edo:-</i> | ‘work’ (intr.) | <i>-edo: tok’er-</i> | ‘make work’ |
| | <i>-ihi:-</i> | ‘fight’ (intr.) | <i>-ihi: tok’er-</i> | ‘make fight’ |
| | <i>caxli:-</i> | ‘write repeatedly’ | <i>caxli: tok’er-</i> | ‘make write |
| | | (ANTIP) | | repeatedly’ |
| | <i>k’ilik’-</i> | ‘wash’ (tr.) | <i>k’ilik’ tok’er-</i> | ‘make wash’ |
| | <i>-aǝi-</i> | ‘talk’ (intr.) | <i>-aǝi- tok’er-</i> | ‘make talk’ |

- (585) a. *hoboy hezzo ǝe=n qorya: tok’er*
 then then water=and boil force
 ‘After that you also make the water boil.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži [raq’dalǝi=n r-iq-no] wayda tok’er-ho goł*
 now dryness(V)=and V-happen-CVB oh force-ICVB be
 ‘When the dryness happens, it is hard.’ (lit. ‘people were forced to groan’) (N)

⁹⁰ The West Tsezic language Bezhta has a similar verb, *tok’-al*, which is also used in analytic causative constructions (Zaira Khalilova, p.c.).

As characteristic for serial verb constructions, both verbs are tightly united and cannot be separated by other material (586), nor can their order be changed.

- (586) * *iyoy obu łeža: t'uberaw saʔat-ma tok'er-iš*
 mother-ERG father laugh whole hour-IN force-PST
 (Mother made father laugh for a whole hour.)

9.4. Partial reduplication

Partial reduplication of verbs is not very frequent in Hinuq. The dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005) lists a few examples, which have been checked. According to my informants, partial reduplication is only allowed with a restricted number of verbs. In all examples, the first *CVC* segment of the verb is reduplicated, and the copy preceded the base. The semantics of these verbs is usually iterative, but occasionally the reduplicated form expresses a fast action. For more information on reduplication see 2.4.8.

- (587) *-iy -iy-* 'take fast' *-iy-* 'take'
-ac' -ac'- 'eat fast' *-ac'-* 'eat'
caq' caq'ir- 'make bump repeatedly' *caq'ir-* 'make bump'
-at' -at'er- 'hit repeatedly/strongly' *-at'er-* 'hit'

- (588) a. [*k^wezey kek^we-yo*] *mecxer b-aq'e*, [*rore xet' xet'i-yo*]
 hand itch-COND money(III) III-come foot jerk jerk-COND
hune-ho Ø-aq'e, [*malu kek^we-yo*] *xu r-aši*
 way-ILOC I-come nose itch-COND meat(V) V-get
 'If the hand is itching, you get money; if the foot is jerking you must go; if the nose is itching, you get meat.' (N)
- b. *hagoλ'o-šid hayło-z* [*t'ot'er t'ot'er-ho goła*] [...]
 at.that.time-on he.OBL-DAT read read-ICVB be.PTCP
q'urʔan ħadis [...] *y-eq'i-yo zoq'e-s*
 Koran(IV), Hadith(IV) IV-know-ICVB be-PST
 'From that time on he knew (everything), he read and read the Koran, the Hadiths.' (N)

9.5. Repetition

9.5.1. Repetition in independent main clauses

The repetition of lexemes, especially verbs, is a common stylistic device in Hinuq. The reduplication of converbs that are used for the formation of pe-

riphrastic tenses in independent main clauses is fairly widespread. Occasionally simple verb forms are also repeated. Repetition in independent clauses follows basically two patterns: (i) repetition with the Emphatic enclitic =*tow*, and (ii) repetition with the suffix -*an(no)*. The first pattern occurs mainly with periphrastic verb forms, but it is also possible with simple verbal forms. The first verb of a periphrastic verb form, which is often a converb, is simply repeated and marked with =*tow* (589). The Emphatic enclitic =*tow* is normally used for emphasis, repetition, and extended duration and =*tow* is added to various parts of speech, not only to verbs (see Section 13.1.1.2 for more information on the functions of =*tow*).

- (589) *hesʎa ked y-iči-yo=tow y-iči-yo zoq'e-n*
 other girl(II) II-be-ICVB=EMPH II-be-ICVB be-UWPST
čeq-za-qo=tow čeq-za-qo [rede inahzek'u-be
 forest-OBL.PL-AT=EMPH forest-OBL.PL-AT wood mushroom-PL
r-ut'o]
 NHPL-collect-ICVB
 'The other girl was always in the forests collecting wood and mushrooms.' (N)

This pattern often occurs in combination with the progressive auxiliary -*iči*- in order to express situations that extend over a long period of time and consist of lots of single repeated events (590a), or in order to express events that have an exceedingly extensive duration (590b). In the same way, repetition with =*tow* in combination with progressive aspect occurs in adverbial clauses (Section 9.5.2).

- (590) a. [*haʎo-z roži=tow rok'-ʎ'o r-iči-me-ʎ'o]*
 he.OBL-DAT word(V)=EMPH heart.OBL-SPR V-be-NEG-SIM
Ø-a:ho=tow Ø-a:ho Ø-iči-yo zoq'e-n hado hapiz
 I-yell-ICVB=EMPH I-yell-ICVB I-be-ICVB be-UWPST this Hapiz
ʎumar essu
 Umar brother
 'When he could not keep the words on his mind (i.e. he forgot them), brother Hapiz Umar was crying and crying all the time.' (N)
- b. *me Ø-ot'-no=tow Ø-ot'-no Ø-iči-yo*
 you.SG I-lay-CVB=EMPH I-lay-CVB I-be-PRS
 'You (masc.) are constantly sleeping.' (N)

A third variant of =*tow*-repetition occurs with the Simple Unwitnessed Past. Here the lexical verb is repeated and then marked with the Infinitive plus =*tow*

and precedes the Simple Unwitnessed Past form. This kind of repetition expresses emphasis.

- (591) a. *hoboži t'ok'aw c'areṭ-a=tow c'areṭ-no gom*
 now anymore wake.up-INF=EMPH wake.up-CVB be.NEG
 '(She) did not wake up anymore.' (N)
- b. [*hibayru b-iḫ'i-n saʔat q'ono saʔat*] *Malla Nasrudin*
 so III-go-CVB hour two hour(III) Mullah Nasrudin(I)
Ø-aq'-a=tow Ø-aq'e-n gom
 I-come-INF=EMPH I-come-CVB be.NEG
 'So one hour went by, two hours, and Mulla Nasrudin did not come back.' (N)

The second repetition pattern makes use of the suffix *-an(no)*, the same suffix which is also used for the reduplicated Narrative converb (Section 7.7.2.5). This suffix is added to the repeated verb, which precedes the simple verb form bearing the tense-aspect-mood suffix. The simple verb can be in the General tense (592a, 592b) and thus not bear any overt tense-aspect-mood marker, or it can be marked with other tense suffixes, e.g. Simple Present (592c) or Simple Past (592d). Though this construction bears some formal similarities with adverbial clauses containing the reduplicated Narrative converb, the syntax and the function of these two constructions are divergent: in examples (592a-593) the verbal complex with the reduplicated Narrative converb suffix is finite and thus heading a main clause. Furthermore, this construction conveys emphasis, intensity and sometimes iteration of the action. Adverbial clauses with the reduplicated Narrative converb do not carry such a meaning.

- (592) a. *izadu kefir ṭek'er-an(no) ṭek'er got' rocima*
 this kefir mix-RED mix pour sieve.IN
 'This kefir you mix and pour into a sieve.' (N)
- b. [*hibadu pečenie q'ilo-ḫ'o=n gor-no*] *xoxorek'-an*
 this biscuits board.OBL-SPR=and put-CVB crush-RED
xoxorek' hadu
 crush this
 'These biscuits you put on a board and crush them.' (N)
- c. *yey-an yey-o, simindi idu-do y-iqqo*
 grind-RED grind-PRS, corn(IV) home-DIR IV-bring.PRS
 'They grind the corn and bring it home.' (N)

- d. *hago Ø-aq'e-s haytu-zo=tow beɣe-r.*
 he I-come-PST she.OBL-GEN2=EMPH house.IN-LAT
Ø-aq'-an Ø-aq'e-s, b-ik'-iš hobo
 I-come-RED I-come-PST III-kick-PST leg(III)
 'He came to her house. He came and kicked with the leg.'

If the predicate is periphrastic, then only the first verb, that is, the lexical verb, is repeated and marked with *-an(no)*; it precedes the periphrastic verb form (593). Repetition with *-an(no)* expresses emphasis and intensity, and occasionally repeated uniform actions (592a, 592b).

- (593) *ʔisalla iyo taraw haytu-qo-r eɣ-an eɣi-yo zoq'e-s-me*
 Isalla mother besides she.OBL-LAT say-RED say-ICVB be-PST-NEG
ɣuyqen
 nobody.ERG
 'Nobody called her anything other than mother Isalla.' (N)

9.5.2. Repetition in adverbial clauses

Though the Reduplicated Narrative converb is certainly the most frequent variant of repetition in adverbial clauses (Section 7.7.2.5), it is not the only one. Another variant consists of Simultaneous converb clauses expressing events or situations with an exceptionally high repetition and long duration; that is, they refer to states that extend over a long period of time and consist of a constant repetition of one and the same action or event. These clauses are formed with the progressive auxiliary *-iči-* 'be' marked with the First Simultaneous converb suffix and a repeated lexical verb referring to the action in question. The lexical verb is marked with the Narrative converb suffix and is completely repeated, and the first of the two lexical verbs additionally takes the enclitic *=tow*.

- (594) a. [*b-aɣ'ir-no=tow b-aɣ'ir-no ahlu Ø-iči-ɣ'o*]
 HPL-betray-CVB=EMPH HPL-betray-CVB folk I-be-SIM
aɣ-a-zo ahlu-mo-s hayto-ɣ'o-r cim
 village-OBL-GEN2 folk-OBL-GEN1 he.OBL-SPR-LAT anger(III)
b-ix-no
 III-spread-UWPST
 'Because (Mulla Nasrudin) constantly betrayed people, the people of the village were angry about him.' (N)

- b. [*axir-λ'o-do Ø-a:n=tow Ø-a:n [...] hado Ø-iči-λ'o]*
 end-SPR-DIR I-cry-CVB=EMPH I-cry-CVB he I-be-SIM
Allahli: kekir-no hało-de-r moλa-t
 Allah.ERG send-UWPST he.OBL-ALOC-LAT sleep.OBL-CONT
malaik-be
 angel-PL

‘In the end, since he was crying and crying all the time, Allah sent angels to him in his sleep.’ (N)

Another possibility is illustrated in example (595), where the Local participle is preceded by a stem form or General tense form of the same verb. This construction also conveys repetition of the respective action.

- (595) [*hago Ø-iλ'i Ø-iλ'i-ya*] “*zurmaqan-be eli=n [deče*
 he I-go I-go-PTCP.LOC zurna.player-PL we.GEN1=and how.many
b-eti-yon] goł”=*λen eλi-n*
 HPL-want-CONC be=QUOT say-CVB

‘Everywhere where he was going, they said, “We have as many zurna players as you want.”’ (N)

A further variant of lexeme repetition in converb clauses is the combination of an affirmative and a negative verb form of the same lexical verb. This affirmative-negative combination refers to situations and events that are not completely brought to the end or not realized the way they should be realized. They consist for instance of a combination of the Narrative converb plus the negative Purposive converb (596a, 596b) or of the Infinitive plus =*tow* and the negative Simultaneous converb (596c), which are both added to the same lexical verb.

- (596) a. “*wa ?alaykum as-salam*”=*λen toq-no toq-mez*
 and alaykum as-salam=QUOT hear-ICVB hear-PURP.NEG
salam b-uti-r-iš=eλ zurmaqan-i
 greeting(III) III-turn-CAUS-PST=NARR zurna.player-ERG
 ‘The Zurna player said, almost inaudibly, “Wa aleykum as-salam” to respond to the greeting.’ (N)
- b. *Pat'imat [y^wero t'ot'-no t'ot'-mez] halt'o-ledo*
 Patimat cow milk-CVB milk-PURP.NEG work.OBL-CONT.DIR
y-iλ'i-š
 II-go-PST
 ‘Patimat milked the cow without milking (i.e. she did not milk the cow completely) and went to work.’

- c. [hado uži Ø-aš-a=tow Ø-aši-me-λ'o] xan-i hukmu
 this boy I-find-INF=TOW I-find-NEG-SIM khan-ERG decision(III)
 b-u:-ho
 III-do-PRS
 'Because they do not find the boy, the khan makes a decision.' (N)

Chapter 10

Adverbs

10.1. Introduction

Adverbs do not form a homogenous word class in Hinuq. They are nevertheless treated here together for convenience. Most adverbs are derived from adjectives, nouns, numerals, or verbs. Other adverbs, especially manner adverbs, have been borrowed. This chapter offers a detailed description of adverbs in Hinuq, treating spatial (10.2), temporal (10.3), and manner (10.4) adverbs in separate sections. Section 10.5 gives an overview of the formation and the borrowing of adverbs.

10.2. Spatial adverbs

Hinuq has an extensive number of spatial adverbs. Most of them are based on (i) postpositions, (ii) nouns, (iii) pronouns, (iv) WH-words, (v) numerals and quantifiers, or (vi) verbs. However, the origin of several spatial adverbs is unknown. Spatial adverbs express location and direction.

10.2.1. Spatial adverbs with opaque origin

Hinuq has a number of spatial adverbs whose origin is unknown. Some of them have an unmarked form and can attach further case suffixes. Others already come with a case suffix or what seems to be a case suffix. Some, but not all of these adverbs can take various spatial case suffixes. The most frequent of these adverbs are presented in Table 62. The last column of this table indicates the semantic value of the adverb. Adverbs can have the value ‘location’, which means that the adverbs can be used in an answer to a question such as ‘Where are you?’. Or adverbs can have the value ‘direction’, which means that they only indicate direction and their bare forms are used in answers to questions like ‘Where do you go?’. All case-marked adverbs only express direction.

10.2.1.1. *wili* ‘in Georgia’

The origin of this adverb is unknown. The neighboring languages Tsez and Bezhta have cognates (e.g. Tsez *wila*[?], *wula*[?], or *hula*[?]; depending on the dialect, see Khalilov 1999; Bezhta *weli*, Khalilov 1995).

Table 62. Spatial adverbs with opaque origin

	Translation	Value	ABL1	ABL2	LAT	DIR
<i>wili</i>	‘in Georgia’	location	<i>wili-š</i>	<i>wili-zo</i>	<i>wili-r</i>	<i>wili-do</i>
<i>idu</i>	‘at home’	location	<i>idu-s</i>	<i>idu-zo</i>	<i>idu-r</i>	<i>idu-do</i>
<i>q’idi</i>	‘down’	location	<i>q’idi-š</i>	<i>q’idi-žo</i>	<i>q’idi-r</i>	<i>q’idi-do</i>
<i>tošid</i>	‘up’	direction	#	#	#	<i>tošid-do</i>
<i>toho</i>	‘there’	location	<i>toho-s</i>	<i>toho-zo</i>	<i>toho-r</i>	<i>toho-do</i>
<i>toho-noho</i>	‘here and there’	location	<i>toho(s)-noho-s</i>	<i>toho(zo)-noho-zo</i>	<i>toho(r)-noho-r</i>	<i>toho(do)-noho-do</i>
<i>meqi</i>	‘far’	location	<i>meqi-š</i>	<i>meqi-žo</i>	<i>meqi-r</i>	<i>meqi-do</i>
<i>bito</i>	‘away’	direction	#	<i>bito-zo</i>	#	<i>bito-do</i>

- (597) *wili-r* *b-iλ’i-n* *aλa-r* *nox-no* *raq’uca*
 in.Georgia-LAT HPL-go-CVB village.IN-LAT come-CVB hunger
b-uhe-n ...
 HPL-die-CVB
 ‘We went to Georgia, came to the village, died from hunger ...’ (N)

10.2.1.2. *idu* ‘(at) home’

The precise source of the adverb *idu* is unclear. It is probably nominal in origin because it is occasionally used as a noun with the meaning ‘house’. Sporadically one finds plural forms created by adding the oblique plural suffix for nouns (598b).

- (598) a. *idu-s* *hado maqo-do* *Ø-ułi-yo* *zoq’we-n*
 home-ABL1 he outside-DIR I-go.out-PRS be-UWPST
 ‘He did not go outside.’ (N)
 b. *idu-za-do* *b-iλ’i-yo* *žiw.žiw-de-r*
 home-OBL.PL-DIR HPL-go-PRS every-ALOC-LAT
 ‘(We) go home to everyone.’ (N)

10.2.1.3. *q’idi* ‘down’

The adverb *q’idi* expresses only location. If further spatial case suffixes are added, *q’idi* can also express direction. This adverb is mostly used together with three verbs. With *-iči-* ‘be, stay’, it yields the meaning ‘sit’. With *-iλ’i-* ‘go’, the

meaning is ‘go by foot’. The third verb that frequently occurs with this adverb is *-uṭi-* ‘go out’, ‘enter’, ‘begin’, but then *q’idi* must take some directional suffix. For example, *q’idi-r uṭi!* means ‘Come down!’. However, *q’idi* also occurs with other verbs.

- (599) *hayṭoy eḵi-yo di-qo-r, “ey ked q’idi=n y-iči!”*
 he.ERG say-PRS I.OBL-AT-LAT hey girl(II) down=and II-sit
 ‘He says to me, “Hey girl, sit down!”’ (N)

10.2.1.4. *tošid, šidhor(er)* ‘up’

Both of these adverbs are complex and contain the enclitic *šid* ‘up’, ‘on’. The first adverb *tošid* often occurs in combination with the adverb *geṭ* ‘down’ to express the meaning ‘from down ... to up ...’, and takes exclusively the directional suffix *-do*. Both adverbs only express direction.

- (600) a. *hago rek’we geṭ tošid aḵ-a-do nox-o zoq’we-n*
 that man down up village-IN-DIR come-ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘The man went from down (somewhere) up to the village.’ (N)
- b. *eli šid-ho-r b-ixxo zoq’we-s*
 we upwards-ILOC-LAT HPL-raise.ICVB be-PST
 ‘We were going upwards.’

10.2.1.5. *toho* ‘there’ and *toho-noho* ‘everywhere’

There are two adverbs with a similar structure, *toho* ‘there’ and *toho-noho*⁹¹ ‘here and there’, ‘everywhere’. Diachronically, the second syllable of these adverbs represents the ILOC-Essive suffix. The first syllable does not exist as an independent word. Both adverbs only have locational meaning when no directional suffixes are added. There is a further adverb derived from *toho*, namely *tohobito* ‘on the other side’.

- (601) a. *hago Ø-oḵex-no pureṭ=bito hago toho-do Ø-ox-o*
 he I-appear-CVB near=TRANS he there-DIR I-leave-PRS
 ‘He passes by and goes away there.’ (S)
- b. *sadaq b-aq’-o goṭa toho-zo-noho-zo sadaq*
 all HPL-come-ICVB be.PTCP there-ABL2-RED-ABL2 all
hayṭo-de rešt’izi b-iqqo zoq’we-s goṭ
 he.OBL-ALOC stop HPL-happen.ICVB be-RES be

⁹¹ The second part of this adverb never occurs independently.

‘All (people) who were coming from everywhere, they were staying at his place.’ (N)

10.2.1.6. *meqi* ‘far, further, away’

This adverb expresses only location. In order to express direction, the appropriate suffixes must be added.

- (602) *meži q^wena qura metra: meqi b-et’e!*
 you.PL two.OBL twenty.OBL meter.IN away HPL-divide
 ‘You go 40 meters away from me!’ (N)

10.2.1.7. *bito(ho)* ‘away, there’ and *bito-dino* ‘here and there’

There is a group of three spatial adverbs formed from *bito*. The adverb *bito* itself only has the directional meaning ‘away’ (603a). By adding the ILOC-Essive it also acquires locational meaning ‘there’ (603b). But *bito* occurs predominantly as a phonologically bound enclitic with the meaning ‘through’ as can be seen in a number of examples in this section (601a), (612), (613), (610). For more details about this function of *bito*, see Section 3.5.31. Furthermore, two temporal adverbs can be formed from it: *bitogozon* ‘again’ and *bitoyλ’o* ‘another time’.

- (603) a. *bito Ø-iλ’i!*
 away I-go
 Go away! (said to a man)
- b. *buλe bito-ho goł*
 house there-ILOC be
 ‘The house is over there.’

10.2.1.8. *y^wat’małer* ‘face down, prone’

This adverb has both locational and directional meaning. It is diachronically complex, *-łer* represents the CONT-Lative suffix, but synchronically there is no word **y^wat’ma*. It cannot take other case suffixes.

- (604) *uži y^wat’małer c’ox-iš*
 boy face.down fall-PST
 ‘The boy fell face down.’

10.2.2. Spatial adverbs that correspond to postpositions

All 14 spatial postpositions described in Section 11.2 also serve an adverbial function.⁹² Three of them, *purho*, *puret*, and *λ'oq'war* are diachronically derived from nouns. When inflected for spatial case, the adverbs then have the paradigms given in Tables 63 and 64. The line 'value' refers to the meaning of the adverbs if they are in the Essive case form, i.e. whether they express location or direction. The paradigms are basically identical to the paradigms these words have as postpositions, but for *λ'iyō* and *hezzo*, there are a few differences: *λ'iyō* used as a postposition cannot take case suffixes at all, but in the adverbial function it can. *hezzo* takes ABL1, ABL2, and LAT suffixes in postpositional function, but ABL2, LAT, and DIR suffixes in adverbial function.

Table 63. Spatial adverbs based on postpositions (Part 1)

	'in(side)'	'under'	'on'	'around'	'next'
Value	location	location / location	location	direction, manner ⁹³	location / location
Essive	<i>teɬ</i>	<i>geɬ / geλ</i>	<i>λ'ere</i>	<i>sot'i</i>	<i>purho / pureɬ</i>
ABL1	<i>teɬ-es</i>	<i>geɬ-es / geλ-es</i>	<i>λ'ere-s</i>	#	<i>purho-s / pureɬ-es</i>
ABL2	<i>teɬ-zo</i>	<i>geɬ-zo / geλ-zo</i>	<i>λ'ere-zo</i>	#	<i>purho-zo / pureɬ-zo</i>
LAT	<i>teɬ-er</i>	<i>geɬ-er / geλ-er</i>	<i>λ'ere-r</i>	<i>sot'i-r</i>	<i>purho-r / pureɬ-er</i>
DIR	<i>teɬ-e-do</i>	<i>geɬ-e-do / geλ-e-do</i>	<i>λ'ere-do</i>	#	<i>purho-do / pureɬ-e-do</i>

Every adverb can form at least the Lative, but Ablative and Directional show some gaps. For the adverb *hezzo-r*, the corresponding unmarked form *hezzo* has only the temporal 'then, after' (605) and no spatial meaning, and is therefore not listed here. The adverb *aldoyo* also has temporal meaning; it can be translated as 'formerly, before' (see 10.3 below for the temporal adverbs). For the adverb *dandi-r*, the corresponding stem form *dandi* occurs only in a metaphorical sense, e.g. *dandi-ut-* 'stand against (somebody)'. The adverb *λ'ere* not only has spatial meaning, but also occurs in various phrases with abstract meaning (608b). Besides the adverbs listed in the Tables 63 and 64, there is one more adverb that also occurs as a postposition but never takes case suffixes in any of its functions. This is *λ'oq'war* 'against, in front of' (Section 10.2.2.12).

⁹² For the verbs derived from these postpositions/adverbs, see the Section on spatial postpositions 11.2.

⁹³ This refers to the verb 'go around' (*sot'i exna:-*). It is noteworthy that for the locational equivalent 'stand around', the Lative must be added, e.g. *sot'ir goɬ*.

Table 64. Spatial adverbs based on postpositions (Part 2)

	‘down’	‘near’	‘after, beyond’	‘in front of, before’	‘towards against’	‘in the middle’
Value	direction	location, direction	#	location, direction	#	location
Essive	<i>λ'iyō</i>	<i>igo</i>	#	<i>aldoyo</i>	(<i>dandir</i>)	<i>-oλλo</i>
ABL1	<i>λ'iyō-s</i>	<i>igo-s</i>	#	<i>aldoyō-s</i>	#	<i>-oλλo-s</i>
ABL2	<i>λ'iyō-zo</i>	<i>igo-zo</i>	<i>hezzo-zo</i>	<i>aldoyō-zo</i>	#	<i>-oλλo-zo</i>
LAT	<i>λ'iyō-r</i>	<i>igo-r</i>	<i>hezzo-r</i>	<i>aldoyō-r</i>	<i>dandi-r</i>	<i>-oλλo-r</i>
DIR	<i>λ'iyō-do</i>	<i>igo-do</i>	<i>hezzo-do</i>	<i>aldoyō-do</i>	#	<i>-oλλo-do</i>

The following examples illustrate all spatial adverbs related to postpositions in context.

10.2.2.1. *teł* ‘inside’

- (605) *hezzo y-iλ'i-n haw qartay teł-er*
 then II-go-UWPST that witch(II) in-LAT
 ‘Then the witch went inside.’ (N)

10.2.2.2. *geł* ‘down, below’

- (606) *hoboži b-aq'e-n zeru geł-zo*
 now III-come-UWPST fox(III) down-ABL2
 ‘Now the fox came from below.’ (N)

10.2.2.3. *geλ* ‘down’, ‘below’

- (607) [*karzina geλ-er=no kekir-no*] [...] *hado rek'^we Ø-ixxo*
 basket down-LAT=and bring-CVB this man(I) I-raise.PRS
ažey-λ'o-do
 tree-SPR-DIR
 ‘The man brings the basket down [...] and climbs up the tree.’ (S)

10.2.2.4. *λ'ere* 'up'

This adverb not only has spatial meaning (608a) but also occurs in more abstract contexts (608b).

- (608) a. [*k'oλe-n λ'ere-r=no*] *zer-i* [*y^wadi*
 jump-CVB upwards-LAT=and fox.OBL-ERG crow(III)
b-ašir-no] *b-acco*
 III-catch-CVB III-eat.PRS
 'Jumping upwards, the fox catches the crow and eats it.' (N)
- b. *λ'ere-s Ø-uži di-žo žayib-mo-za-λ'o-s!*
 up-ABL1 I-go.down I.OBL-GEN2 blame-OBL-OBL.PL-SPR-ABL1
 'Forgive me!'

10.2.2.5. *sot'i* 'around'; *aldoyo* 'back'; *hezzor* 'back'

- (609) *ze aldoyo hezzor lida-za-λ'o-r sot'i sot'i*
 bear(III) forward back paw.OBL-OBL.PL-SPR-LAT around around
b-ut-ayaz b-uži-š=eλ
 III-turn-PURP III-begin-PST=NARR
 'The bear began to turn around and around, forwards and backwards.'
 (N)

10.2.2.6. *purho/pureŕ* 'next'

These adverbs with approximately the same meaning are both formed from the noun *pur* 'flank of hill'. The form *purho* represents the ILOC-Essive, and *pureŕ*, the CONT-Essive.

- (610) *pureŕ=bito Ø-iλ'i-š uži k'onk'a-λ'o*
 near=TRANS I-go-PST boy(1) bike-SPR
 'A boy on a bike went by.' (S)

10.2.2.7. *λ'iyο* 'down'

This adverb means not only 'down' but also 'in(to) the city' because the city is in the lowlands. In its plain form it can express both location and direction.

- (611) *Malla Rasadan λ'iyο Ø-iži-yo raŕadli:*
 Mullah Nasredin(1) down I-take-PRS sea.ERG
 'Mullah Nasredin is taken down by the sea.' (N)

10.2.2.8. *igo* ‘near’

- (612) *can=no b-ux-no rek’^we Ø-iλ’i-yo goł igo=bito*
 goat(III)=and III-keep-CVB man(I) I-go-ICVB be near=TRANS
 ‘And a man with a goat is going by.’ (S)

10.2.2.9. *hezzor* ‘back’

- (613) *hoboži somoray=no eλi-yo hezzo=bito*
 now some.ERG=and say-PRS beyond=TRANS
 ‘And some speak behind my back (about me).’ (N)

10.2.2.10. *dandir* ‘towards’

- (614) *xexbe dandir b-iλ’i-š*
 children towards HPL-go-PST
 ‘The children approached.’

10.2.2.11. *-oλλo* ‘in the middle’

This is the only spatial adverb that can take agreement prefixes. In a construction like ‘X is in the middle of Y’, the noun denoting X usually has the Absolutive case and can trigger agreement on the adverb (615a). If there is no X, then Y is in the Absolutive case, and the agreement is triggered by Y (615b). In that case, *-oλλo* resembles more an adjective agreeing with its head noun.⁹⁴

- (615) a. *r-oλλo aλ-a-ł zoq’^we-n łe=n*
 V-in.the.middle village-OBL-CONT be-UWPST water(V)=and
 ‘And in the middle of the village there was water.’ (N)
- b. *hibayłi λ’ere Ø-iči-yo hado uži r-oλλo y^wede*
 there upwards I-sit-PRS this boy(I) V-in.the.middle day(V)
r-iq’ił-oλ’or
 V-approach-POST
 ‘There upwards the boy sits until the middle of the day comes.’ (N)

In addition to the literal meaning *-oλλo* is also used together with the verb *-ike-* ‘see’ to express the concept ‘divide’.

⁹⁴ By adding the particle *demu* to *-oλλo*, it is possible to form the adjective ‘middle’.

- (616) *bołił'o b-ił'i-ł'o se r-aši-yon hagze-y sadaqer-no*
 hunting HPL-go-SIM what V-find-CONC they.OBL-ERG unify-CVB
r-iq'e-n r-ołło r-ik-o zoq'w e-n
 V-bring-CVB V-in.the.middle V-see-ICVB be-UWPST
 'When they went hunting, whatever they got, they brought it together
 and divided it in the middle.' (N)

10.2.2.12. *ł'oq'war* 'against, towards, in front of'

This adverb is derived from the noun *ł'oq'wo* 'forehead' by adding the Lative suffix to the oblique stem. No other adverbs are formed from the base noun. The adverb *ł'oq'war* not only has a spatial meaning but also a more abstract meaning (617b).

- (617) a. [*hoboy hado uži Ø-oxe-nos*] *ł'oq'ar kezi.y.iq-o y-eg^wey=gon*
 then this boy I-leave-ANT towards meet.II-PRS II-small=TOP
hes ked hayło=če=tow
 one girl(II) he.OBL=EQ=EMPH
 'After the boy leaves, he meets a girl about his age.' (S)
- b. *Cez-a-s ahlu sadaq zoq'w e-n ł'oq'ar C'unt'a*
 Tsez-OBL-GEN1 folk all be-UWPST against Tsunta
 'All Tsez people were against Tsunta.' (N)

10.2.3. Spatial adverbs from nominals

There are two ways of forming spatial adverbs from nominals, inflection and derivation. Inflection by means of spatial cases is by far more frequent than derivation. The adverbs formed like this show various degrees of grammaticalization. Reduplication is another method for forming new adverbs from nouns. Because it is found with all sorts of adverbs, it will be treated at the end of this chapter in Section 10.5.

10.2.3.1. Spatial adverbs based on inflected nouns

The spatial adverbs that originate from nouns with spatial case suffixes and that cannot be used as postpositions are presented in Table 65. In addition, two of the adverbs related to postpositions are also diachronically of nominal origin (*purho/pureł* 'next' and *ł'oq'war* 'against, towards, in front of'). They are described in Section 10.2.2 together with all other adverbs related to postpositions.

Table 65. Spatial adverbs derived from nouns

	‘in the hands’	‘outside’	‘on the way’	‘on the side’	‘hunting’
Value	location, direction	location	location	#	location, direction
Essive	<i>k^wa:</i>	<i>maqo</i>	<i>huni</i>	#	<i>boʔiʔ'o</i>
ABL1	<i>k^wa:-s</i>	<i>maqo-s</i>	<i>huni-š</i>	<i>puʔ'o-s</i>	<i>boʔiʔ'o-s</i>
ABL2	<i>k^wa:-zo</i>	<i>maqo-zo</i>	<i>huni-žo</i>	<i>puʔ'o-zo</i>	#
LAT	<i>k^wa:-r</i>	<i>maqo-r</i>	<i>huni-r</i>	<i>puʔ'o-r</i>	<i>boʔiʔ'o-r</i>
DIR	<i>k^wa:-do</i>	<i>maqo-do</i>	<i>huni-do</i>	<i>puʔ'o-do</i>	#

k^wa: ‘in the hand’

This adverb is perhaps an old petrified IN-Essive form of an older form of the noun *k^wezey* ‘hand’.

- (618) *had xexbe b-aq'-o tohobito k^wa:*
 these children HPL-come-PRS on.the.other.side in.the.hand
geni-be=n hadbe=n
 pear-PL=and these=and
 ‘The children walk by with the pears in their hands.’ (S)

maqo ‘outside’

Historically, this adverb seems to be an AT-Essive form of *maʔa* ‘threshold’. For another example see the sentence in (598a).

- (619) *hayʔu ked-i maqo hayʔu k'et'-ez muži b-u:-ho*
 that.OBL girl-ERG outside that.OBL cat.OBL-DAT bed(III) III-make-PRS
 ‘The girl makes a bed for the cat outside.’ (N)

hunir ‘towards’, *huni*, *huneho* ‘on the way’

All three adverbs are formed by adverbializing the noun *hune* ‘way’ by adding the IN-Lative suffix (*hunir*), the IN-Essive (*huni*), or the ILOC-Essive (*huneho*).⁹⁵

- (620) a. *hayʔo-z hunir k'oʔe-n Ø-aq'-o Ø-eg^wey ʔeno*
 he.OBL-DAT towards jump-CVB I-come-PRS I-small five
ʔebu y-aq'e-s uži
 year(IV) IV-come-RES boy(I)
 ‘The five year old son comes towards him.’ (N)

⁹⁵ The noun *hune* has two oblique stems, *hun-* and *hune*. In contrast, the adverb has the conventionalized stem *huni* and the stem *hune*.

- b. *hezzo hagze-y r-u:-n biša huneho*
 then they.OBL-ERG V-make-UWPST food(v) on.the.way
b-iλ'-a
 HPL-go-INF
 'Then they prepared food for the way.' (N)

puλ'o 'sidewards'

This adverb is derived from the noun *pu* 'side' by adding the SPR-Essive suffix.

- (621) *buqilč'a-do puλ'o me Ø-iλ'-a Ø-aq'-o*
 evening-DIR sidewards you.SG I-go-INF I-must-IMP
hagze-de-r hay
 they.OBL-ALOC-LAT there
 'You (masc.) must go to them in the direction of the evening side of the sun.' (N)

bofiλ'o 'hunting'

This adverb is derived from the noun *bofi* 'deer' by adding the SPR-Essive suffix. It describes not only the hunting of deer but also various other kinds of animals or objects that can be gathered.

- (622) *hagze-ł teł-es q'ono Ø-iλi-n bofiλ'o*
 they.OBL-CONT in-GEN1 two I-go-UWPST hunting
 'Two of them went hunting.' (N)

10.2.3.2. Spatial adverbs derived from nouns

Hinuq has two spatial adverbs derived from nouns by means other than adding case suffixes. Both adverbs are formed by adding the suffix *-cuλer* to a body part expression: *q'imu-cuλer* 'head over heels' (from *q'imu* 'head') and *ax-cuλer* 'on one's back' (from *ax* 'belly'). The precise meaning of *-cuλer* is unclear. It is not found in any other words. The first of these adverbs, *q'imu-cuλer*, has not only spatial meaning but also the more abstract meaning 'the other way around' (623a). None of these adverbs can undergo additional inflection for case.

- (623) a. *me had q'imucuλer r-u:-n*
 you.SG.ERG this head.over.heels V-make-UWPST
 'You did this the other way around.'
- b. *ʔali axcuλer Ø-ot'-iš goł beq-de*
 Ali belly.upside I-lie-RES be sun.OBL-ALOC
 'Ali is lying on his back under the sun.'

10.2.4. Spatial adverbs derived from verbs

Two Narrative converb forms and one Past participle of verbs have adverbs as their translational equivalents in English. They straightforwardly function as spatial adverbs because converbs and participles occur regularly as heads of adverbial clauses. Some examples are listed below. none of the adverbs can take further spatial case suffixes.

(624)	<i>λ'erek</i> ⁹⁶	'get up'	<i>λ'erekno</i>	'up, astride'
	<i>geṭek</i> -	'go down'	<i>geṭekno</i>	'low'
	<i>-iči</i> -	'be, stand'	<i>b-iči-ru</i>	'vertically'

- (625) a. *hoboži [Ø-oxe-ya] hayto-de dandir y-aq'-o*
 now I-leave-PTCP.LOC he.OBL-ALOC towards II-come-PRS
hes=gozon ked λ'erekno k'onk'a-λ'o=n
 one=TOP girl(II) astride bike-SPR=and
 'Now while he is leaving, another girl also riding a bike comes towards him.' (S)
- b. *[Ø-iči-ru=n Ø-ix-no] aλ-a-zo*
 I-stand-PTCP.PST=and I-get.up-CVB village-OBL-GEN2
raʔal-ʔi-go čeq-i-do Ø-iλ'i-yo hago
 edge-ABST-AT forest-IN-DIR I-go-PRS he
 'He stands up (lit. gets up in a vertical position) and goes to the forest at the edge of the village.' (N)

10.2.5. Spatial adverbs derived from adjectives

Two spatial adverbs are derived from adjectives, namely *k^wet'zoλ'o* 'to the right' (from *k^wet'es* 'right' by adding the SPR-Essive to the oblique form of the adjective) and *koč'omiλ'o* 'to the left' (from *koč'omiš* 'left' by adding the SPR-Essive to the root).⁹⁷ Both adjectives can take further case suffixes: LAT *k^wet'zoλ'o-r*; *koč'omiλ'o-r*, ABL1 *k^wet'zoλ'o-s*, *koč'omiλ'o-s*, ABL2 *k^wet'zoλ'o-zo*, *koč'omiλ'o-zo*, and DIR *k^wet'zoλ'o-do*, *koč'omiλ'o-do*.

⁹⁶ This verb and the next verb are both derived from the postpositions/adverbs *λ'ere* 'on' and *geṭ* 'under'. See Section 11.2 for verbs derived from adverbs/postpositions.

⁹⁷ The adjectives are probably also derived because they both have the Genitive suffix that is frequently used for the derivation of adjectives from nouns or adverbs. However, synchronically the words that served as base for their derivation are not identifiable.

- (626) *koč'omiλ'o-s k^wet'zoλ'o-r y-uti!*
 to.the.left-ABL I to.the.right-LAT II-turn
 'Turn from left to right!' (said to a woman)

10.2.6. Spatial adverbs based on demonstrative pronouns

Hinuq has six series of deictic spatial adverbs that parallel the six series of demonstrative pronouns from which they are derived (Section 5.2). Consequently, they are semantically similar to the pronouns. Three series denote proximity; the other three denote distance.

Adverbs of the first series (e.g. *hadi*, etc. and *hayi*, etc.) are a kind of default spatial adverb that occurs with the highest frequency. Adverbs of the second series usually occur if the location in question has been directly mentioned previously or is clear from the context (i.e. anaphorically and exaphorically). The third series is generally only used with a pointing gesture indicating the reference point (i.e. deictically). For example, *sentece* (628d) has been uttered while the speaker was pointing in the direction of the grave. However, the adverbs from the other two series can also be used when pointing at some place. It is not easy to define the differences in meaning among the available forms belonging to one and the same series. In fact, sometimes it seems that there is no salient difference, but the speakers like to play with all the possible forms.

The second and the fourth adverb of each series has been derived with help of the postposition/adverb *teʃ* 'in(side)'. Where *teʃ* has been added to the Absolute stem of a pronoun ending with /d/, the final voiced stop is usually devoiced or deleted. This concerns only pronouns expressing proximity.

The second and the third series of adverbs denoting proximity as well as adverbs denoting distance have long variants. These variants, however, have been elicited since they occur very infrequently in natural texts and speech.

In contrast to the demonstrative pronouns from which the spatial adverbs are derived, the adverbs do not show agreement for gender or number. But they can be inflected for the full paradigm of spatial cases (see Tables 66 and 67). All spatial adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns express both location and direction. In addition to the use as spatial adverbs, the first adverbs of each series (*hadi*, *hibadi*, *izadi*, *hayi*, *hibayi*, and *izayi*) can also be used as manner adjectives/adverbs with the meaning 'such' (Section 10.4.2).

10.2.6.1. Proximate location ‘here’

The three series of adverbs expressing proximate location are:

1. Series, derived from *had* ‘this.ABS’, *haʔ-* ‘this.OBL’

hadi *ha(di)teʔ* *haʔi* *haʔiteʔ*

2. Series, derived from *hiba(ha)d* ‘this.ABS’, *hiba(ha)ʔ-* ‘this.OBL’

*hibadi*⁹⁸ *hiba(di)teʔ* *hibaʔi* *hibaʔiteʔ*

3. Series, derived from *iza(ha)d* ‘this.ABS’, *iza(ha)ʔ-* ‘this.OBL’

*izadi*⁹⁹ *iza(di)teʔ* *izaʔi* *izaʔiteʔ*

The forms are not equally frequent. My corpus contains over one hundred occurrences of *hadi*, about ten examples of *hateʔ* and *hibadi*, and a few examples of *izadi*. Other forms have been elicited. A few examples of adverbs from all three series are given below. Table 66 shows the paradigm of five adverbs. Like the paradigms in this table, all other paradigms are also fully regular.

- (627) a. *hadi-žo b-iʔ'i-yo hagbe ʔ'adal=ʔen aʔa-r*
 here-ABL2 HPL-go-PRS they Tladal=QUOT village.IN-LAT
 ‘From here they go to the village of Tladal.’ (N)
- b. *hateʔ hayʔo-z eli=tow aqili=n toʔ-no*
 here he.OBL-DAT we.GEN1=EMPH woman=and give-UWPST
 ‘Here (he) brought him a wife from us.’ (N)
- c. [*hibadi-r b-aq'er-ho*] *nawuti toʔʔo zoq''we-s*
 here-LAT III-bring-ICVB petroleum(III) sell.ICVB be-PST
 ‘They brought petroleum here and sold it.’ (N)
- d. *hayʔuy=no eʔi-yo, “ey Rabiʔat”=ʔen eʔi-yo, “nox izadi!”*
 she.ERG=and say-PRS eh Rabiʔat=QUOT say-PRS come here
 ‘And she says, “Eh, Rabiʔat, come here!”’ (N)

⁹⁸ There are long variants of this and all other adverbs of this series: *hiba-ha-di*, *hiba-ha-(di)teʔ*, *hiba-ha-ʔi*, and *hiba-ha-ʔiteʔ*.

⁹⁹ There are long variants of this and all other adverbs of this series: *iza-ha-di*, *iza-ha-(di)teʔ*, *iza-ha-ʔi*, and *iza-ha-ʔiteʔ*.

Table 66. Spatial adverbs expressing proximate location

Essive	<i>hadi</i>	<i>hałi</i>	<i>hateł</i>	<i>hibadi</i>	<i>izadi</i>
First Ablative	<i>hadi-š</i>	<i>hałi-š</i>	<i>hateł-e-s</i>	<i>hibadi-š</i>	<i>izadi-š</i>
Second Ablative	<i>hadi-žo</i>	<i>hałi-žo</i>	<i>hateł-zo</i>	<i>hibadi-žo</i>	<i>izadi-žo</i>
Lative	<i>hadi-r</i>	<i>hałi-r</i>	<i>hateł-r</i>	<i>hibadi-r</i>	<i>izadi-r</i>
Directional	<i>hadi-do</i>	<i>hałi-do</i>	<i>hateł-e-do</i>	<i>hibadi-do</i>	<i>izadi-do</i>

10.2.6.2. Distant location ‘there’

The three series of adverbs expressing proximate location are:

1. Series, derived from *haył-* ‘that.OBL’

hayi *hayteł* *hayłi* *hayłiteł*

2. Series, derived from *hiba(ha)ył-* ‘that.OBL’

*hibayi*¹⁰⁰ *hibayteł* *hibayłi* *hibayłiteł*

3. Series, derived from *iza(ha)ył-* ‘that.OBL’

*izayi*¹⁰¹ *izayteł* *izayłi* *izayłiteł*

Again, not all forms are equally frequent. The forms from the first series are by far the most frequent ones, especially *hayi* (about 200 occurrences) and *hayłi* (about 130 occurrences). In every series, the adverbs not containing the adverb/postposition *teł* (i.e. the first form and the third form) have the highest numbers of occurrences. The case formation is completely regular (Table 67). The final vowel /i/ in the adverbs *hayi*, *hibayi*, and *izayi* is very short and almost imperceptible. It triggers, however, palatalization when adding the First and Second Ablative suffixes.¹⁰² The following examples illustrate some of the adverbs:

- (628) a. *hayi-do hadi-do razi.iq-no* \emptyset -*exna:ho zoq*’^w*e-s=eł*
 there-DIR here-DIR be.pleased(I)-CVB I-go-ICVB be-PST=NARR
 ‘Pleased he went here and there.’ (N)

¹⁰⁰There are long variants of this and all other adverbs of this series: *hiba-ha-yi*, *hiba-ha-yteł*, *hiba-ha-yłi*, and *hiba-ha-yłiteł*.

¹⁰¹There are long variants of this and all other adverbs of this series: *iza-ha-yi*, *iza-ha-yteł*, *iza-ha-yłi*, and *iza-ha-yłiteł*.

¹⁰²Only the vowel /i/, but not the semivowel /y/, triggers palatalization; see Section 2.4.5

- b. *hapiz žumar essu Ø-iλ 'i-yo Yq'o-do hayti*
 Hapiz Umar brother(I) I-go-PRS Yqo-DIR there
qazaq-za-t-er Ø-aq'-o, haytiteł
 Georgian-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT I-come-PRS there
qazaq-za-de-r
 Georgian-OBL.PL-ALOC-LAT
 'Brother Hapiz Umar goes there to the Georgians; he comes there to the Georgians.' (N)
- c. *hibayti-š=no de Allahli: Ø-ik'ek'-iš*
 there-ABL1=and I Allah.ERG I-steal-PST
 'And from there Allah saved me.' (lit. stole me) (N)
- d. *husen haži-š sud=no goł izayi geł*
 Husseyn Gadzhi-GEN1 grave=and be there down
 'And Husseyn Gadzhi's grave is down there.' (N)

Table 67. Spatial adverbs expressing distality

Essive	<i>hayi</i>	<i>hayti</i>	<i>hayteł</i>	<i>hibayi</i>	<i>izayi</i>
First Ablative	<i>hayi-š</i>	<i>hayti-š</i>	<i>hayteł-e-s</i>	<i>hibayi-š</i>	<i>izayi-š</i>
Second Ablative	<i>hayi-žo</i>	<i>hayti-žo</i>	<i>hayteł-zo</i>	<i>hibayi-žo</i>	<i>izayi-žo</i>
Lative	<i>hayi-r</i>	<i>hayti-r</i>	<i>hayteł-e-r</i>	<i>hibayi-r</i>	<i>izayi-r</i>
Directional	<i>hayi-do</i>	<i>hayti-do</i>	<i>hayteł-e-do</i>	<i>hibayi-do</i>	<i>izayi-do</i>

10.2.7. Indefinite spatial adverbs

Hinuq has a range of indefinite pro-forms with spatial meaning. Some of them are derived by adding various enclitics or a converb to the question word *ni* 'where' and only have locational meaning. By adding further directional suffixes they also acquire directional meaning (see Section 5.6.2 for more details on indefinite pro-forms).

- (629) *niλa, nidi* 'somewhere' *ni -iqon(o)* 'anywhere'
niqen 'nowhere' *nin* 'everywhere'

- (630) "*Hinuq b-iłi žama?at ni=qen gom*"=λen
 Hinuq HPL-similar society(HPL) where=at.least be.NEG=QUOT
eλi-n
 say-CVB

‘They say that nowhere is there a community similar to the Hinuq (community).’ (N)

More spatial adverbs can be formed from the oblique stems of numerals (below exemplified for the numerals ‘one’ to ‘three’; but all other numerals can function as a base as well) and from the quantifier *č’ek’k’u* ‘all’. All adverbs contain the spatial suffix *-yo*, which does not belong to the usual spatial paradigm and whose precise function is unclear (see Section 3.5.30 for more details). The adverbs formed from numerals have specific meaning; the other adverbs have nonspecific meaning. The adverbs ending with *-yo* can all take spatial case suffixes, e.g. ABL1 *se-da-yo-s*, ABL2 *se-da-yo-zo*, LAT *se-da-yo-r*, and DIR *se-da-yo-do*.

- | | | | | |
|-------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------|
| (631) | <i>se-da-yo</i> | ‘in the place’ | <i>č’ek’k’u-za-yo</i> | ‘everywhere’ |
| | <i>q’wena-yo</i> | ‘in two places’ | <i>se-da-yo=qen</i> | ‘nowhere’ |
| | <i>łora-yo</i> | ‘in three places’ | <i>č’ek’k’u-za-yo=qen</i> | ‘nowhere’ |

- (632) a. *Ø-eze-n* *łił’-qo-r-no* *meca-qo-r=no*,
 I-look-CVB finger-AT-LAT=and forearm.OBL-AT-LAT=and
q’ila-qo-r=no, *łora-yo=n* *hag*
 shoulder.OBL-AT-LAT=and in.the.three.places=and that
laq=no *r-ike-n* ...
 wound(V)=and V-see-CVB
 ‘He looked at the finger, at the forearm, and at the shoulder, and he saw the wounds in the three places, ...’ (N)
- b. *se-da-yo-s=qen* *raq* *b-eg^we-b²eži-n* *gom*
 in.one.place-ABL1=at.least side(III) III-lose-III-win-CVB be.NEG
 ‘No side won or lose.’ (N)

10.3. Temporal adverbs and other temporal expressions

Temporal adverbs in Hinuq are mostly inflected nouns, pronouns, or adverbs that are marked with a spatial suffix. For time points, usually some combination of the Essive is used; depending on the lexeme it can be the SPR-Essive, the AT-Essive, the IN-Essive, or the CONT-Essive. Some lexemes allow for more than one suffix depending on the construction, e.g. *łebu* ‘year’ can take both the IN-Essive as in *šibaw łeba*: ‘every year’ and the CONT-Essive as in *yaq’eł’ozo łebał* ‘next year’ (lit. ‘in the coming year’). In addition, a few lexemes use the Locative suffix *-yo*, e.g. *sebedo-yo* ‘in autumn’. For time periods, either the IN-Essive or the SPR-Lative is used (10.3.6). Finally, the beginning of a period is

expressed with combinations containing the First Ablative or with the enclitic *šid*; endpoints are conveyed with combinations of the Lative or the Directional (10.3.9).

A few temporal adverbs are diachronically clearly compounds, e.g. *hawsaʔat* ‘now’ (lit. ‘that hour’), *sa-qu* ‘one day’, and probably also *ži-qu* ‘today’ and *ži-λbi* ‘this year’. The first element, *ži*, seems to be a kind of deictic temporal expression with the meaning ‘this’; *qu* means ‘day’ in the closely related language Tsez, and *λbi* is cognate with *λebu* ‘year’. More information about the formation of adverbs is given in Section 10.5.

10.3.1. Time-of-day adverbs

Adverbs that express various time periods during the day are mostly derived from nouns referring to the same period but exceptionally also from verbs or adjectives. Some of these adverbs are of unknown origin; some are loans. Almost all of these adverbs have a spatial case suffix, mostly *-λ'o* (SPR-Essive) or *-ł* (CONT-Essive) but also *-qo* (AT-Essive) or *-V:* (IN-Essive).

(633)	Adverb	Translation	Origin
	<i>qešiλ'o</i>	‘at dawn’	<i>qeš-</i> ‘become bright’
	<i>qaħtiqo/qaħtiλ'o</i>	‘at dawn’	<i>qaħti</i> ‘dawn’ from Avar <i>qaħ</i> ‘white’
	<i>sasaqo/hasaqo</i>	‘in the morning’	<i>sassu</i> ‘dark’
	<i>λibuλ'o</i>	‘in the morning’	<i>λibu</i> ‘morning’
	<i>nosod</i>	‘at noon’	
	<i>nosošid</i>	‘in the afternoon’	
	<i>nesa:</i>	‘in the evening’	
	<i>marč'ik'uł</i>	‘in the evening’	<i>marč'ik'u</i> ‘evening’ from Avar <i>mark'ač'uł</i>
	<i>buqlič'ał</i>	‘at dusk’	<i>buq</i> ‘sun’
	<i>bogoleł</i>	‘at night’	<i>bogole</i> ‘night’, from Avar <i>bogoli</i> ‘night-’
	<i>neši</i>	‘at night’	related to <i>nesa:</i> ‘night’

10.3.2. Clock

The time is expressed by adding the SPR-Essive to the oblique stem of the numeral. For phrases like ‘half past X’ (lit. ‘half to X+1’), the adjective *b-oλλoku* ‘half’ is added. It takes the agreement prefix for gender III, the gender of the noun *saʔat* ‘hour’.

- (634) a. *de hasaqa iṭra-λ'o y-ix-λ'os goṭ*
 I in.the.morning six.OBL-SPR II-get.up-HAB be
 'I (fem.) get up at six o'clock in the morning.'
- b. *ṭora-λ'o b-oλλoku*
 three-OBL-SPR III-half
 'half past two'

Questions and answers relating to the clock can be formulated in the following manner:

- (635) a. *saṭat somo t'ubazi b-iq-no? / saṭat*
 hour(III) how.much be.fulfilled III-happen-UWPST / hour
somo-ra-λ'o goṭ?
 how.much-OBL-SPR be
 'What's the time?'
- b. *[ʔač'ino t'ubazi b-iq-a] oc'eno ṭeno minut*
 nine be.fulfilled III-happen-INF ten five minute
λex^we-n
 remain-UWPST
 'It is 15 minutes to 9.'
- c. *saṭat somo-ra-λ'o eli dandeṭ-a goṭ? iṭra-λ'o [oc'eno*
 hour how.much-OBL-SPR we unite-INF be six.OBL-SPR ten
ṭeno minut goṭa].
 five minute be.PTCP
 'When will we meet? At 6:15.'

10.3.3. Days of the week and names for months

Although the expressions for the days of the week and the names for months are not adverbials, they are treated in this section for conceptual reasons. For the days of the week, Hinuq has borrowed the names from Avar (636). The noun *anλ'i* 'week' is also an Avar loan.

- | | | | | |
|-------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
| (636) | <i>it'ni</i> | 'Monday' | <i>ruzman</i> | 'Friday' |
| | <i>talat</i> | 'Tuesday' | <i>šamat</i> | 'Saturday' |
| | <i>arbaʔ</i> | 'Wednesday' | <i>hat'an</i> | 'Sunday' |
| | <i>xamiz</i> | 'Thursday' | | |

However, the younger generation do not use these names anymore but replaces them with the Russian words (637).

- (637) *panedelnik-λ'o / it'ni-λ'o de čeq-i-do Ø-iλ'i*
 Monday-SPR / Monday-SPR I forest-IN-DIR I-go
 'On Monday I (masc.) will go to the forest.'

For months Hinuq uses the Russian names, e.g. *yanwar* 'January' (638). There is a Hinuq word *buce* meaning both 'moon' and 'month'. The Arabic names for the Muslim months are not used except for the month of Ramadan, which is called *ramazan*.

- (638) *yanwar-λ'o diqo qu λebu t'ubazi y-iqqo*
 January-SPR I.AT twenty year(IV) be.fulfilled IV-happen.PRS
 'In January I will turn 20 years old.'

10.3.4. Seasonal adverbs

Seasonal adverbs are formed from nouns by adding various spatial case suffixes. All adverbs can be further declined with directional suffixes.

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------|
| (639) | <i>ix</i> 'spring' | <i>ixdaqo/ixdaλ'o</i> (AT/SR-Essive) | 'in spring' |
| | <i>at'oni</i> 'summer' | <i>at'ona:</i> (IN-Essive) | 'in summer' |
| | <i>sebe</i> 'autumn' | <i>sebedoγo</i> (LOC) | 'in autumn' |
| | <i>eλni</i> 'winter' | <i>eλna:</i> (IN-Essive) | 'in winter' |

- (640) a. *eλna:-s* *at'ona:-r*
 in.winter-ABL I in.summer-LAT
 'from winter till (the beginning of) summer'
- b. *sebedoγo-do*
 in.autumn-DIR
 'until autumn'

10.3.5. Dates

Dates and year specifications are expressed by means of the CONT-Essive. Some or all of the numbers that immediately precede the year may but do not have to be in their oblique form, e.g. in the following example, the last number *oλno* 'seven' may be replaced by the oblique stem *oλra* (see Section 12.2 for more details on the formation of cardinal numbers). However, for expressions like 'on that day, on the third day', etc. that lack the date, not only the CONT-Essive but also (predominantly) the SPR-Essive is used (641c).

- (641) a. *hezzo ʔazal=no ʔač'ino bišon=no q'ono qu=no oc'eno oλno*
 then 1.000=and nine 100=and two twenty=and ten seven
eλa λeb-a-ʔ guči.b.u:s obratno aλa-do
 ORD year.OBL-CONT resettle.HPL-PST back village.IN-DIR
 'In the year 1957 they resettled us back in the village.' (N)
- b. *qu-ra ʔač'ira eλa dekabre-ʔ*
 twenty-OBL nine.OBL ORD December.OBL-CONT
 'at the 29th of December'
- c. *bitoγλ'o γ^wed-λ'o r-iq ax*
 next.time day.OBL-SPR V-happen cheese(V)
 'On the next day it will be cheese.' (N)

10.3.6. Time spans

Temporal expressions like 'for/during an hour, for/during a month', etc. are formed by adding the IN-Essive to the time expression.

- (642) *hayłoy b-iži-n ʔono λebu=n ʔora bece: kiki-n*
 he.ERG III-take-CVB three year=and three.OBL month.IN feed-UWPST
 'He took him and fed him for three years and three months.' (N)

However, it seems that the preference for the IN-Essive when expressing 'for/in X' is only a tendency; other spatial case suffixes such as the SPR-Essive (643a) and sporadically the CONT-Essive (643b) can also be used. The following two examples are from the same story as (642) above. Note that all three sentences employ a different case marker for communicating approximately the same content.

- (643) a. *ʔora=gozo λeba-λ'o-r b-iži-n hayłoy*
 three.OBL=ADD year.OBL-SPR-LAT III-take-UWPST he.ERG
ʔora=gozo λeba-λ'o-r kiki-n
 three.OBL=ADD year.OBL-SPR-LAT feed-UWPST
 'He took it again for three years. And he fed it again for three years.'
 (N)
- b. *[žin b-iži-n] de kik-o ʔora λeba-ʔ žin*
 again III-take-CVB I feed-IMP three.OBL year.OBL-CONT again
 'Take me again and feed me for three years.' (N)

There are a number of ways of expressing concepts like ‘in/after one hour, in/after two weeks’. One possibility is the use of the SPR marker plus the Second Ablative (644a), the Translative enclitic =*bito* (644b), or the Lative (644c).

- (644) a. *somora-di* *λeba-λ'o-zo* *eli* *y-eg^wennu*
 some.OBL-INDEF year.OBL-SPR-ABL2 we.GEN1 II-small
ked *y-ič-a* *goł bercinaw*
 daughter(II) II-be-INF be beautiful
 ‘In some years our small daughter will be beautiful.’
- b. *seda* *q^wena* *γ^wed-λ'o=bito* *Ø-iλ'i-n* *hado*
 one.OBL two.OBL day.OBL-SPR=TRANS I-go-UWPST this
xoddo *močo-λ'o* *Ø-ez-a*
 husband(I) field.OBL-SPR I-look-INF
 ‘After one, two days, the husband went to look at the field.’ (N)
- c. *b-oλλoku sa?at-mo-λ'o-r* *had=no* *haduraw*,
 III-half hour(III)-OBL-SPR-LAT these=and prepared
r-exir-a *r-aq'o* *gom*
 NHPL-cook-INF NHPL-must-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘In/after half an hour it is prepared; you do not need to cook it.’ (N)

There is an alternative way of expressing these concepts with the help of adverbial clauses headed by the Narrative converb (645a) or the Simple Anterior converb (645b) of the verb *-iλ'i-* ‘go’ plus optionally the postposition/adverb *hezzo* ‘after’.

- (645) a. *hoboži uryezi* *Ø-iq-no* *Ø-eg^wennu essu*
 now think I-happen-UWPST I-small brother(I)
[b-oλλo zaman b-iλ'i-n]
 III-in.the.middle time(III) III-go-CVB
 ‘After some time, the youngest brother reflected.’ (N)
- b. [*hezzo quno λebu y-iλ'i-nos*] *y-aq'e-n* *hadu haytu*
 then twenty year(IV) IV-go-ANT II-come-UWPST she that.OBL
aλ-a-r
 village-IN-LAT
 ‘After twenty years passed by, she came to the village.’ (N)

Expressions with the meaning ‘since X’ are formed by adding the enclitic =*šid* ‘on, upwards’ to X, where X can be any temporal expression (e.g. a temporal adverb, a noun marked by some spatial case, etc.). Other examples are *žiqu=šid* ‘from today on’ (today=on), *hago-λ'o=šid* ‘from that time one’ (that-SPR=on), or *-eg^wey-λ'o=šid* ‘from childhood on’ (small-SPR=on).

- (646) *hezzo q'ono ʔazal=no uq'ino eʔa ʔeba-ʔ'o=ʂid de Ø-edo:-ho*
 then two 1.000=and four ORD year.OBL-SPR=on I I-work-PRS
adwokat-ʔun
 advocate-AS
 'Since the year 2004, I (masc.) have worked as a lawyer.' (N)

10.3.7. Deictic temporal adverbs

Deictic temporal adverbs expressing relative time in days and years are given below. The noun phrase governed by the postposition/adverb *aldoʔo* 'before, ago' can be in the Absolutive or in the IN-Essive (cf. Section 11.3.1 for more examples). In addition to the idiomatic terms listed in (647), *aldoʔo* can also be used for regularly formed phrases such as 'one/two day(s)/year(s) ago', analogous to 'three days/years ago'. For conveying a phrase like 'in/after X', where X is a deictic temporal adverb, there is no uniform construction (see also Section 10.3.5).

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| (647) <i>ʔora ʔ^wede/ʔono ʔ^wede aldoʔo</i> | 'three days ago' |
| <i>huʔoʔ'oy</i> | 'the day before yesterday' |
| <i>huʔ</i> | 'yesterday' |
| <i>ʒiqu</i> | 'today' |
| <i>zek</i> | 'tomorrow' |
| <i>zekes xecen, ʒeʒo</i> | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| <i>ʔora ʔ^wedʔ'or</i> | 'in/after three days' |
|
 | |
| <i>ʔora ʔeba/ʔono ʔebu aldoʔo</i> | 'three years ago' |
| <i>eʔ'iyooʔ'oy</i> | 'two years ago' |
| <i>eʔ'i</i> | 'last year' |
| <i>ʒiʔbi</i> | 'this year' |
| <i>yaq'eʔ'ozo ʔebaʔ</i> | 'in the next year' |
| <i>k'oxey, q'^wena ʔebaʔ'or</i> | 'in two years' |
| <i>ʔoxey, ʔora ʔebaʔ'or</i> | 'in three years' |

Some other deictic temporal adverbs are listed below in (648). Two of them, namely *hezzo* and *aldoʔo*, also have spatial meanings ('back' and 'forward', respectively) and occur as postpositions. See Section 11.2 and Section 10.2.2 for details. Example sentences with these adverbs can be found in (645a) and (645b) above.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------|
| (648) <i>q'arʔ'o</i> | 'early' | <i>ardel</i> | 'anciently' |
| <i>hagoʔ'o</i> | 'at that time' | <i>hawsaʔat</i> | 'now' |

<i>žuqun</i>	‘right now’	<i>hoboži</i>	‘now’
<i>hezzo</i>	‘after, then’	<i>aldoyo</i>	‘before, ago’

10.3.8. Frequency

Hinuq has a number of adverbs expressing frequency. They are mostly morphologically complex and employ various means; examples are the Coordinative enclitic =*n* (e.g. *nete=n* ‘when =and’), the enclitic =*qen* ‘at least’ (e.g. *saqu=qen* ‘once=at.least’; when used in negative clauses means ‘not at least once’, i.e. ‘never’), or reduplication and spatial cases (e.g. *zama-zamana-ł* ‘RED-time.IN-CONT’). Constructions involving numbers (‘X times’) are either formed by a specialized numeral expression or by the oblique numeral stem followed by the noun *hune* ‘way’ to which the ILOC-Essive is added. One example is given below (650), another can be found in (643a).

(649)	<i>biton, žin</i>	‘again’	<i>neten</i>	‘always’
	<i>saquqen</i>	‘never’	<i>neteqen</i>	‘never’
	<i>somoraxdi</i>	‘often’	<i>zama-zamanał</i>	‘from time to time’
	<i>seda zamanał</i>	‘once upon a time’	<i>saqu</i>	‘one day, once’
	<i>y^wedes</i>	‘daily’	<i>šibaw λeba:</i>	‘every year’
	<i>oc’era huneho</i>	‘ten times’		

- (650) [*saqu k’al-mo-zo* *becē:* *Ø-iš-no* *ga:-n*] *hago*
 one.day fasting-OBL-GEN2 month.IN I-eat-CVB drink-CVB he
godek’an-i-r *Ø-aq’e-s*
 godekan-IN-LAT I-come-PST
 ‘One day during the month of fasting, he came drunk to the godekan.’
 (N)

10.3.9. Time intervals

Some of the temporal adverbs have restricted spatial case paradigms for the expression of time intervals with ‘from, since’, and ‘until’. The beginning of a period (‘from’) can be expressed by the First Ablative (e.g. *nesa:-s*) or by means of the enclitic =*šid* (e.g. *eλ’na=šid*) with approximately the same meaning. Usually with one and the same word, both methods are possible. The endpoint (‘until’) is conveyed either by a complex suffix containing the Directional (e.g. the SPR-Directional in *ixda-λ’o-do*) or by a complex suffix containing the Lative (e.g. the ILOC-Lative in *nesa:-ho-r*). There is a slight difference in meaning between the

use of the Lative and the Directional: the Directional expresses the more general meaning ‘until X’, whereas the use of the Lative yields phrases like ‘until the beginning of X, exactly until X’. However, this difference is very subtle and best noticeable when directly confronting two expressions, as the last two examples of the list below show.

- (651) *ponedelnik*λ’*ošid pyatnica*λ’*or* ‘from Monday till Friday’
*e*λ’*našid at’ona:r* ‘from winter till summer’
nesa:s sasaqodo ‘from evening till morning’
nesa:hor ‘until evening’
*ixda*λ’*or* ‘until the beginning of spring’
*ixda*λ’*odo* ‘until spring’
- (652) *hasaqo* *b-i*λ’*i-n* *nesa:ho-r* *hezzo*
in.the.morning HPL-go-CVB evening-ALOC-LAT then
b-aq’-o *zoq’we-s*
HPL-come-ICVB be-PST
‘In the morning they went away and came back before the evening.’ (N)

10.4. Manner adverbs

10.4.1. Various native manner adverbs

Hinuq has several native manner adverbs. Some of them are of verbal origin, e.g. *-eq’imez* represents the negative purposive converb of the verb *-eq’i-* ‘know’. Two of the native Hinuq manner adverbs are derived from adjectives by deletion of the adjectival ending *-iy*, namely *-eg* and *gaq* (see Section 6.2.1 for a detailed description of both adjectives). All adverbs that have agreement prefixes agree with the Absolutive argument of their clause (654b, 654c). These manner adverbs are not used as adjectives.

- (653) *ye**ye* ‘slowly’ *-o*λ*o, ko*λ*e* ‘fast’
-eq’imez ‘accidentally’ *qilo* ‘false’
-eg ‘well’ *gaq* ‘bad’
- (654) a. *Allah hay*λ*uy se=tow* *r-u:ho, had hiba*č*e ko*λ*e*
Allah she.ERG what=EMPH V-do-PRS this so.much fast
*λaq’er-ho=*λ*en*
end-PRS=QUOT
‘Allah, what is she doing that it (the hay) ends so fast?’ (N)

- b. *r-eg'imez ked-es k^wezey c'ox-iš=eλ q'ili-mo-λ'o*
 V-accidentally girl-GEN1 hand(V) fall-PST=NARR drum-OBL-SPR
 'The girl's hand fell accidentally onto the drum.' (N)
- c. *hadu besdal ked y-eg zoq'^we-n*
 this orphan girl(II) II-well be-UWPST
 'The orphan girl lived well.' (N)

10.4.2. Manner adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

Hinuq has a great number of native manner adverbs that are based on demonstrative pronouns but do not distinguish gender or number (see Section 5.2.4 for all words that can be formed from the roots of demonstrative pronouns).¹⁰³ Their semantics differ in the same way as the demonstrative pronouns from which they are derived.¹⁰⁴ This means that they distinguish a proximate variant from a distal variant and occur in three series. The first series is a kind of default series with no specialized meaning. The second series is used when referring to situations and events mentioned immediately before. The third series mainly occurs with pointing gestures and is not attested in my corpus.

Six manner adverbs/adjectives with the meaning 'so, such' are formally identical to six spatial adverbs (see Section 10.2.6). These expressions modify either adjectives (656a) or nouns (656b), i.e. they function like degree adverbs or like manner adjectives. Note that for each of the six adverbs given in (655) there is a variant which has an additional *-yu* at the end, e.g. *hadiyu, hayu* (from *hayi-yu*).

(655)	Proximity	Distality
1. Series	<i>hadi</i>	<i>hayi</i>
2. Series	<i>hiba(ha)di</i>	<i>hiba(ha)yi</i>
3. Series	<i>iza(ha)di</i>	<i>iza(ha)yi</i>

- (656) a. *hibay saxawataw zoq'e-s goł hago Ø-²ežinnu habib haži*
 so generous be-RES be that I-old Habib Gadzhi
obu
 father(I)
 'So generous was he, the old Habib Gadzhi father.' (N)
- b. *izadi qod-be gołiš žo r-iči had*
 such hole-PL be.PTCP thing(V) V-become this
 'This becomes a thing with such holes.' (N)

¹⁰³Just as the demonstrative pronouns, some of them have a short and a long variant.

¹⁰⁴As with the demonstrative pronouns, these differences are not directly perceived by my informants.

Another six manner adverbs with the meaning ‘so, like this/that’ are derived from the demonstrative pronouns by means of the suffix *-ru*. These adverbs differ greatly in their frequency: in my material, *hibayru* has by far the most occurrences. There is also an interrogative pro-form containing *-ru*: *deru* ‘how’ (see Section 5.5.9 for an example).

- (657)
- | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|--------------------|
| | ‘like this’ | ‘like that’ |
| 1. Series | <i>hadiru</i> | <i>hayru</i> |
| 2. Series | <i>hiba(ha)diru</i> | <i>hiba(ha)yru</i> |
| 3. Series | <i>iza(ha)diru</i> | <i>iza(ha)yru</i> |
- (658) a. *hibayru q’ayda-λ’o ?umru b-u:-ho*
 like.that manner-SPR life(III) III-do-PRS
 ‘In that way (they) live.’ (N)
- b. “*di ked hibadiru y-eg goł*”=*λen eλi-n*
 I.GEN1 daughter(II) like.this II-well be=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘In this manner, my daughter lives well,” he said.’ (N)

10.4.3. Borrowed manner adverbs

Hinuq has many manner adverbs that are loans from Avar. They occur in both ways in which they also occur in Avar, namely with or without the Avar adverbial suffix *-go*.

- (659)
- | | | | |
|---------------|--------------|----------------------------|---------------|
| <i>bałgo</i> | ‘secretly’ | <i>č’ago/č’agu</i> | ‘alive’ |
| <i>č’ogo</i> | ‘empty’ | <i>meq’e/meq’sa/meq’ca</i> | ‘false’ |
| <i>mut’i?</i> | ‘obediently’ | <i>bercingo</i> | ‘beautifully’ |
- (660) a. *č’ogo b-aši-yo goła beλe:*
 empty III-find-ICVB be.PTCP house(III).IN
 ‘in the house that (he) found empty’ (N)
- b. “[*raład-li-ł-er kur-ho goła*] *hado č’ago*
 sea-OBL-CONT-LAT throw-ICVB be.PTCP he alive
λex^we-s”=*λen*
 remain-PST=QUOT
 “‘He who was thrown into the sea, stayed alive,” they said.’ (N)

10.4.4. Quantity and degree adverbs

Hinuq has a number of quantity and degree adverbs that can modify adjectives or other adverbs. Some of them are listed below. They always precede the ad-

jectives and adverbs they modify. Any other order is ungrammatical. Many of them are Avar loans, e.g. *c'aq'* or *dah(aw)*. The first two, *ič'č'a* and *bišun*, are used in superlative constructions of adjectives (Section 6.10, Section 26.1.2). In addition to the adverbs given in (661), Hinuq has three degree adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns plus the Equative enclitic =*če*; these modify adjectives, nouns, or clauses, namely *hače*, *hiba(ha)če* and *iza(ha)če* 'so much'. There are also interrogative pronoun with the same enclitic *deče* 'How much?' (see Section 5.5.5 for an example). The degree adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns do not distinguish proximity from distality, but they occur in all three series with the meaning belonging to the series (see Section 5.2.4 for demonstrative pronouns and all expressions derived from them).

(661)	<i>ič'č'a</i>	'very, most'	<i>bišun</i>	'most'
	<i>c'aq'</i>	'very'	<i>kutakalda</i>	'very, strongly'
	<i>ʔezaʔan</i>	'much, very'	<i>dah(aw)</i>	'few, less, little'

- (662) a. *hoboži eli Čačan-λ'o zoq'ʷe-s q'ede, ʔezaʔan b-egiy*
 now we Chechnya-SPR be-PST IRR very III-good
ruq'a.raq'i=n b-iči gołi
 being(III)=and III-be be.IRR
 'If we were now in Chechnya, we would live very well.' (N)
- b. *dahaw aldoɣo y-aq'e-s ʔurus-ho-r t'ek*
 few before IV-come-PST Russian-ILOC-LAT book(IV)
 'A little earlier a book in Russian came out.' (N)
- c. *izače b-ʔeži t'as=no b-ux*
 this.much III-big bowl(III)=and III-take
 '(You) also take a bowl of this size.' (N)

10.5. Formation and borrowing of adverbs

There is no unique way of forming adverbs, but rather they are formed in many different ways. Some adverbs are monomorphemic, e.g. *meqi* 'far', *zek* 'tomorrow', *hozo* 'separately', *šeger* 'crookedly, awry', and *gohor* 'deeply'.

A number of Hinuq adverbs are synchronically clearly inflected words, but the base does not exist as a separate word in Hinuq, e.g. *to-ho* 'there' (to-ILOC), *gilu-λ'o-s* 'suddenly, unexpectedly' (gilu-SR-ABL1).

Other adverbs are formed from verbs by using either the General tense/verbal stem (e.g. *-uq'er* 'directly, straight', from *-uq'er-* 'straighten'), or a non-finite verb form. Non-finite verb forms on which adverbs are based are: (i) the Narrative converb (e.g. *qaλen* 'loudly', from *qaλe-* 'shout'), (ii) the negative Purposive

converb (e.g. *-ičimez* ‘uninterruptedly’, from *-iči-* ‘stop’), or (iii) the Past participle (e.g. *-aceyoruče* ‘in defiance’, from *-ace-* ‘be annoyed’ plus Past participle suffix and Equative enclitic =*če*).

Some adverbs have cognate adjectives or are derived from adjectives, e.g. *-oxore* ‘long’, (adj. *-oxoru*), *gaq* ‘badly’ (adj. *gaqiy*). In a few instances, the SPR-Essive suffix is used for the derivation, e.g. *kekλ’o* ‘lightly’ (adj. *kekku*), *osaλ’o* ‘up, highly’ (adj. *ossu*), and *ec’endiyuλ’o* ‘newly’ (adj. *ec’endiyu*). But other spatial suffixes can be used as well, e.g. *sasaqo* ‘in the morning’ (from *sassu* ‘dark’ plus AT-Essive), *č’ek’k’uzayo* ‘everywhere’ (from *č’ek’k’u* ‘all’ plus OBL.PL and the spatial suffix *-yo*).

Some adjectives and adverbs are identical in their form, e.g. *ʔaši* ‘much, many, often’:

- (663) a. *ardel elu-de ʔaši šayt’an-be zoq’e-s=λen*
 formerly we.OBL-ALOC many devil-PL be-PST=QUOT
 ‘I heard that in former times there were many devils in our place.’
 (N)
- b. *hago ʔaši xomorya:ho zoq’e-s*
 he often cough-ICVB be-PST
 ‘He often coughed.’
- c. *haw ʔaši r-iλ-iš*
 she much V-ache-PST
 ‘She was very ill.’

Other adjectives belonging to this class are *ʔezaʔan*, *c’aq’*, both meaning ‘much, very’, *ʔuraw* ‘much, often’, and *dah(aw)* ‘few, less, little’. All of the adverbs that allow an adjectival use belong to the class of quantity and degree adverbs. Except for *ʔaši*, they are all Avar loans.

A number of adverbs are of nominal origin (Section 10.2.3). They arise by inflection and derivation, although inflection is by far the most frequent mechanism. Examples of inflected nouns that have been lexicalized as adverbs are for instance *maqo* ‘outside’ (*maʔa* ‘threshold’ plus AT-Essive), *ɣ^wedes* ‘daily’ (from *ɣ^wede* ‘day’ plus IN-Ablative), and *rok’λ’os* ‘by heart’ (from *rok’e* ‘heart’ plus SPR-Ablative). Derived adverbs with a nominal base are rare. Examples are *q’imu-cuλ’er* ‘head over heels’ (from *q’imu* ‘head’) and *roressu* ‘barefoot’ (from *rore* ‘foot’).

Most postpositions can be used adverbially. Therefore, many spatial adverbs (Section 10.2.2) and three non-spatial adverbs, *q’^wec’e* ‘together, with’, *sadaq/cadaq* ‘together, with’, and *req’un* ‘in accordance, accordingly to’ are identical with postpositions. But the adverbial use and the postpositional use can

differ from each other. For instance, *q'wec'e* can be translated as 'with' when used as a postposition (Section 11.3.5). When used as an adverb it can mean 'altogether':

- (664) *haytoy r-ič'-er-iš* *tono q'oc'e*
 he.ERG NPL-fill-CAUS-PST three altogether
 'Altogether he filled three (baskets).' (S)

A number of adverbs are formed from WH-words, e.g. *ni=qen* (from *ni* 'where' plus the enclitic *=qen* 'at least'), *neten* 'always' (from *nete* 'when' plus the Coordinative enclitic), and *somo-ra-x-di* 'several times' (lit. how.much-OBL-MULT-INDEF).

Another source for adverbs is demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *hagoλ'o* and *hibagoλ'o* 'at that time' (from *hago*, *hibago* 'that' plus SPR-Essive).¹⁰⁵ In particular, a group of deictic spatial adverbs is based on pronouns (10.2.6). Likewise, a number of manner adverbs (10.4.2) and of quantity/degree adverbs (10.4.4) are formed by using demonstrative pronouns.

In some instances adverbs can be formed from other adverbs, e.g. *bito=n* 'again' (from *bito* 'there' by adding the Coordinative enclitic), *bitoyλ'o* 'next time' (from *bito* plus SPR-Essive), and *saquqen* 'never' (*saqu* 'once' plus the enclitic *=qen*).

Other origins of adverbs are numbers, e.g. *seda-γo* 'in one place' (*seda* 'one.OBL' and the spatial suffix *-γo*), *uq'iraλ'or* 'at a gallop' (from the oblique form of the numeral 'four', *uq'ira* 'four.OBL', and the SPR-Lative), and many frequency adverbs. One adverb seems to be based on what was originally an onomatopoeic expression, namely *t'at'ala* 'one after the other, in a row'.

Sometimes whole phrases headed by a converb function as adverbials, e.g. *zek-es xece-n* 'the day after tomorrow', (lit. 'tomorrow-GEN1 let-CVB'). Finally, several adverbs are formed by reduplication of nouns or adverbs, e.g. *moč-moča*: 'here and there' (from *moči* 'place' plus IN-Essive), *zama-zamanał* 'from time to time' (from *zaman* 'time' plus CONT-Essive), *hoz-hozu* 'separately' (from *hozu* 'separately'), and *hez-hezzo* 'then' (from *hezzo* 'then'). The meaning is either distributive, as in the first two examples, or more emphatic, as in the last two examples (*hez-hezzo* is later than *hezzo*) (see Section 2.4.8 for more examples of reduplication).

Many adverbs are Avar loans. Only rarely do they belong to the spatial or temporal domain, e.g. *dandi* 'against, just' (Avar *dande*) and *marč'ik'uł* 'in the evening' (Avar *mark'ač'uł*). The majority of borrowed adverbs are manner adverbs (10.4.3) and quantity/degree adverbs (10.4.4). Nowadays, Russian adverbs

¹⁰⁵Interestingly, the Absolutive stems and not the oblique stems served as the base for the formation of the adverbs

are also used in Hinuq speech. Among the most frequent are *begom* ‘running’ and *uže* ‘already’.

Chapter 11

Postpositions

11.1. Introduction

Hinuq only has postpositions, no prepositions. All postpositions govern the case of their argument (665). Most postpositions govern spatial cases, the ALOC-Essive being the most frequent one. Postpositions that are nominal in origin often govern the Second Genitive case (11.4.3).

- (665) *karawat-mo-λ=no iškap-mo-λ=no geł[?] aši gebu goł*
 bed-OBL-SUB=and cupboard-OBL-SUB=and under much dust be
 ‘Under the bed and under the cupboard, there is much dust.’

Postpositions are easily distinguished from case markers. For distinguishing spatial cases from postpositions Friedman (1992) lists some criteria that are applicable to Hinuq: (i) Nouns with spatial case marking can be followed by postpositions (665). (ii) Several postpositions govern more than one case, e.g. *teł* ‘in(side)’, *sot’i* ‘around’, and *igo* ‘near’ (cf. Tables 68 and 69). (iii) Constructions with postpositions and their semantically related spatial cases can have different meanings (666a, 666b).

- (666) a. *[hibału beλe: goła] im-mo-qo sot’i-r*
 this.OBL house.IN be.PTCP column-OBL-AT around-LAT
[debez γ^wede r-aq’e-yλ’o] hes hobo b-ik’-o!
 you.SG.DAT trouble(V) V-come-SIM one leg(III) III-beat-IMP
 ‘When you are in trouble, beat one leg around the column which is in the house!’ (N)
- b. *“haw b-exe-s goł im-mo-qo”=λen eλi-yo*
 that III-hang-RES be column-OBL-AT=QUOT say-PRS
 ‘‘It has been hung on the column,’’ he says.’ (N)

(iv) Some spatial cases can have non-spatial meanings that are not available for their semantically related postpositions (667a, 667b). In addition, postpositions are phonologically independent of the noun they follow. The noun itself is case marked and can also host additional enclitics such as the Coordinative enclitic =*n* (665).

- (667) a. *q'ono qura uq'ira eɣa ɣeba-ɬ (*teɬ) eli*
 two twenty.OBL four.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT (*in) we
guči.b.u:-s Čačan-ɣ'o-do
 resettle.HPL-PST Chechnya-SPR-DIR
 'In the year 1944, we were resettled to Chechnya.'
- b. *di-ɣ'o (*ɣ'ere) ce goɬ Madina*
 I.OBL-SPR on name be Madina
 'My name is Madina.'

Sometimes it can be hard to distinguish postpositions from adverbs because most postpositions can be used adverbially (i.e. without a governed noun phrase), and they can take spatial case suffixes. Therefore, it is difficult to determine which cases are governed by the postpositions. For example, the majority of the spatial postpositions govern the ILOC- and the ALOC-Essive cases. But it could be that some examples of apparent postpositional phrases are in fact adverbial uses of the postpositions. Occasionally, there are sentences where a postposition seems to precede the noun it governs (818a), but because of the homophony of many postpositions and adverbs, these examples can always be interpreted as containing an adverb, not a postposition.

- (668) *Inliho ɣ'ere x^win-ɣ'o goɬa neši nesa-s kak*
 Inliho on mountain-SPR be.PTCP at.night evening-GEN I prayer(V)
r-u:-ho hayɬoy
 V-do-PRS he.ERG
 'In Inliho up on the mountain he says his evening prayer.' (N)

Some of the postpositions are clearly synchronically complex, e.g. *purho* 'near, next' (from *pur-ho* 'mountain.edge-ILOC') and *ɣ'oq^war* 'in front of' (from *ɣ^woq'o* 'forehead' and the IN-Lative case), and some others seem to contain the suffix of the case that they govern, e.g. *geɣ* 'down, under' and *teɬ* 'in(side)'. But the origin of most postpositions, e.g. *sot'i* 'around' or *q^wec'e* 'with' is unknown. A few postpositions, especially non-spatial ones, have been borrowed from Avar.

According to their semantics, postpositions can be divided into two groups that have (i) predominantly spatial meaning (11.2), and (ii) only non-spatial meaning (11.3). Because spatial and non-spatial postpositions differ from each other, they are treated separately. In addition to the words listed here as postpositions, one inflected noun and two non-finite verb forms exist that can be used as postpositions with abstract meaning. They will be treated at the end of this chapter in Section 11.4.

11.2. Spatial postpositions

Postpositions that can express spatial relations are presented in Tables 68 and 69. All of the postpositions listed in the tables can take spatial case suffixes. In addition, there is the postposition $\lambda'oq'$ 'war' 'in front of', which cannot be case-marked further. All spatial postpositions, including $\lambda'oq'$ 'war', can be used as adverbs. The majority of the postpositions can serve as a base for the derivation of intransitive and transitive verbs that express motion in the direction which the postposition expresses, e.g. from *igo* 'near, next' the verbs *igoł-* 'approach' (intr.), and *igok'-* (tr.) can be derived.

Table 68. Spatial postpositions (Part 1)

	'in(side)'	'under'	'on'	'around'	'next'
ABS	<i>teł</i>	<i>geł / geł</i>	$\lambda'ere$	<i>sot'i</i>	<i>purho / pureł</i>
ABL1	<i>teł-es</i>	<i>geł-es / geł-es</i>	$\lambda'ere-s$	#	<i>purho-s / pureł-es</i>
ABL2	<i>teł-zo</i>	<i>geł-zo / geł-zo</i>	$\lambda'ere-zo$	#	<i>purho-zo / pureł-zo</i>
LAT	<i>teł-er</i>	<i>geł-er / geł-er</i>	$\lambda'ere-r$	<i>sot'i-r</i>	<i>purho-r / purł-er</i>
DIR	<i>teł-edo</i>	<i>geł-edo / geł-edo</i>	$\lambda'ere-do$	#	<i>purho-do / purł-edo</i>
Verbs	no	yes / yes	yes	yes	yes / no
Case	CONT, IN	SUB, CONT	SPR	AT, ALOC, ILOC	ALOC, ILOC

Table 69. Spatial postpositions (Part 2)

	'near'	'after, behind'	'in front of, before'	'towards'	'in the middle, between'
ABS	<i>igo</i>	<i>hezzo</i>	<i>aldoyo</i>	<i>dandi</i>	<i>-ołło</i>
ABL1	<i>igo-s</i>	<i>hezzo-s</i>	<i>aldoyo-s</i>	#	<i>-ołło-s</i>
ABL2	<i>igo-zo</i>	<i>hezzo-zo</i>	<i>aldoyo-zo</i>	#	<i>-ołło-zo</i>
LAT	<i>igo-r</i>	<i>hezzo-r</i>	<i>aldoyo-r</i>	<i>dandi-r</i>	<i>-ołło-r</i>
DIR	<i>igo-do</i>	#	<i>aldoyo-do</i>	#	<i>-ołło-do</i>
Verbs	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Case	ILOC, ALOC	CONT, ALOC ILOC	CONT, ALOC ILOC	ILOC, ALOC	CONT, IN, ALOC, ILOC

The meanings of a number of spatial postpositions are similar to the meanings of some spatial case suffixes expressing location. The semantic relationship between postpositions and location suffixes is summarized in (669); some postpositions are associated with more than one spatial case:

(669) Postposition	Spatial case	Meaning of the spatial case
<i>teʃ</i> ‘in(side)’	-ʃ (CONT)	‘in an amorphous mass’
	-V/- <i>ma</i> (IN)	‘in a container’
<i>geʃ/geʃ</i> ‘under’	-ʃ (SUB)	‘under any kind of object’
<i>ʃ’ere</i> ‘on’	-ʃ’o (SPR)	‘on any kind of object’
<i>purho, pureʃ</i> ‘next’	- <i>de</i> (ALOC)	‘at an animate location’
	- <i>ho</i> (ILOC)	‘at an inanimate location’
<i>igo</i> ‘near’	- <i>de</i> (ALOC)	‘at an animate location’
	- <i>ho</i> (ILOC)	‘at an inanimate location’

The spatial cases alone are sufficient to express location and direction. If they are accompanied by postpositions, the meaning of the phrase usually becomes more specific (see also examples (666a, 666b) above). Thus, in (670a) the IN-Essive is in its usual function used. If the postposition *-oʃʃo* follows the noun than the meaning gets more specific, i.e. ‘in the middle of’ (670b).

- (670) a. *huʃ diʒ hago kezi.iq-iʃ bazali:*
 yesterday I.DAT he meet.I-PST market.IN
 ‘Yesterday I met him at the market.’
- b. [*bazali: Ø-oʃʃo=n Ø-iči-n*] *haʃo-y qaʃe-n*
 market.IN I-in.the.middle=and I-stand-CVB he.OBL-ERG call-CVB
eʃi-yo
 say-PRS
 ‘Standing in the middle of the market he shouts.’ (N)

If the meaning of the postposition is very similar to the meaning of a spatial case (this concerns all the postpositions listed above, i.e. *teʃ*, *geʃ/geʃ*, *ʃ’ere*, *purho/pureʃ*, and *igo*), then postpositional phrases and nouns marked only by a spatial case suffix without any postposition also have a very similar meaning. For instance, (671a) and (671b) have pretty much the same meaning, but (671b) is more easily interpreted as ‘on the top of the mountain’ than is (671a). The semantics of the noun itself (i.e. location and located object) also plays a role. That means, a tree is usually located on a mountain or on the top of the mountain; thus, in (671b) the postposition helps the second interpretation to be retrieved more easily. In contrast, a cloud is usually over a mountain; therefore, in (671c) the postposition *ʃ’ere* is interpreted as ‘over’ rather than as ‘on’ or ‘on top’.

See Forker (2012c) for a more detailed account of the co-occurrence of spatial postpositions and spatial cases in Hinuq.

- (671) a. *hayʔi x^win-ʔ'o* *goʔ hes aže*
 there mountain-SPR be one tree
 ‘On the mountain there is one tree.’, but also ‘On the top of the mountain there is a tree.’ (N)
- b. *hayʔi x^win-ʔ'o* *ʔ'ere goʔ hes aže*
 there mountain-SPR on be one tree
 ‘On the top of the mountain there is one tree.’, but also ‘On the the mountain there is a tree.’
- c. *as xun-ʔ'o* *ʔ'ere goʔ*
 cloud mountain-SPR on be
 ‘There is a cloud over the mountain.’ (S)

The postpositions mostly govern the Essive case; that is, the governed noun only takes a location suffix without any additional directional suffix (665), (671a), (670b). Very occasionally the governed noun may also have an additional directional suffix, e.g. for the Lative (672). But examples such as the following may also be explained by the adverbial use of postpositions.

- (672) *hago xan haʔo-de-r* *dandi oc'era huneho q'uwataw*
 that khan he.OBL-ALOC-LAT against ten.OBL times strong
armi=n xalq'i=n goʔ hayʔo-s
 army=and people=and be he.OBL-GEN I
 ‘That khan has soldiers and people ten times stronger against him.’ (N)

If the postpositional phrase expresses a direction, then the postposition can take further directional case suffixes, whereas the governed noun only has the appropriate locational suffix (673).

- (673) *hibay ʔe-yi-ʔ(*-er)* *tet'er kur xok'o*
 there water-OBL-CONT(-LAT) into.LAT throw khinkal
 ‘There into the water you throw the khinkal.’ (N)

11.2.1. *tet* ‘in(side)’

This postposition governs the CONT-Essive case or the IN-Essive case depending on the object which serves as location. If the location is inside of an amorphous mass, then the CONT-Essive is used (674a) (see Section 3.5.8 for the meaning

of the CONT-Essive). In the case of location in a container-like object, the IN-Essive occurs on the noun (674b). With groups of people, the postposition can be translated as ‘among’ (674c).

- (674) a. *haytu ɬe-yi-ɬ teɬ mesed-li-š*
 that.OBL water-OBL-CONT inside gold-OBL-GEN I
besur-be=n
 fish.OBL-PL=and
 ‘... and golden fish in the water’ (N)
- b. *haɬo sumka-ma teɬ xemu gor-ono hado ɬax-a*
 this.OBL bag-IN inside stone put-CONC this tear.up-INF
gom
 be.NEG
 ‘Even if you put a stone into this bag, it will not tear up.’
- c. *hagze-ɬ teɬ-es bišun Ø-eg^wey essu zoq^we-n*
 they.OBL-CONT in-ABL I most I-small brother(I) be-UWPST
yoɬu.koka
 cinderello
 ‘The youngest brother of them was a slacker.’ (N)

The last segment of *teɬ* is identical to the marker of the CONT-Essive case *-ɬ*. The postposition can be case-marked (674c), and it can also be used adverbially (Section 10.2.2.1).

11.2.2. *geɬ/geɬ* ‘under’

This postposition is very specific in its meaning, and it governs two cases, namely the SUB-Essive (675a) and the CONT-Essive (675b). It has two forms with the same meaning that occur in free variation, though the form *geɬ* is more frequent.

- (675) a. *k^wet'-o-ɬ geɬ q'ili=n gor-iš=eɬ*
 sheaf-OBL-SUB under drum=and put-PST=NARR
 ‘(He) put the drum under the sheaf.’ (N)
- b. *istoli-ɬ geɬ q'ure goɬ*
 table-CONT under chair be
 ‘The chair is under the table.’

The last segment of *geɬ* is identical with the marker of the CONT-Essive case *-ɬ*, whereas the last segment of *geɬ* is identical with the marker of the SUB-Essive case *-ɬ*. The postposition can be case-marked, and it can also be used

adverbially (Section 10.2.2.2). The derived verbs are *geʔet-/geʔet-* ‘decrease, go/come down’ and *geʔek’-/geʔek’-* ‘let down, lower’.

11.2.3. *ʔ’ere* ‘on’

This postposition governs the SPR-Essive case (676a). Because the SPR-Essive has a number of non-spatial uses (Section 3.5.16), the postposition is frequently found in phrases with non-spatial meanings (676b, 676c). The postposition *ʔ’ere* can be case-marked (676c) and used as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.4). There is only one derived verb *ʔ’erek-* ‘sit on’.

- (676) a. *boboru saʒ yoʔu.koka-ʔ’o ʔ’ere c’ox-iʒ=eʔ*
 hot pan cinderello-SPR on fall-PST=NARR
 ‘The hot pan fell on Cinderello.’ (N)
- b. *hago bac’adaw wali rek’^we zoq’^we-s [hago=n din-mo-ʔ’o*
 he clean saint man be-PST he=and belief-OBL-SPR
ʔ’ere-n Ø-iči-n]
 on=and I-be-CVB
 ‘He was a clean, saintly man, and he was religious.’ (N)
- c. *q’urʔan-mo-ʔ’o ʔ’ere-s, ʔelmu-ʔ’o ʔ’ere-s haze-s*
 Koran-OBL-SPR on-ABL1 science-SPR on-ABL1 they.OBL-GEN1
zoq’^we-n baħs
 be-UWPST discussion
 ‘They discussed the Koran, religion (lit. science).’ (N)

11.2.4. *sot’i* ‘around’

The postposition *sot’i* governs the AT-Essive (677a) and the ILOC-Essive (677b) with inanimate nouns and the ALOC-Essive with animate nouns (677c). It can be case marked (677c). However, far more frequent is the use of *sot’i* as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.5). The verb derived from *sot’i* is *sot’ir-* ‘turn’.

- (677) a. *[haʔo uʒi: maħla-qo sot’i=n k’oʔ-er-no] [...],*
 this.OBL boy.ERG street-AT around=and run-CAUS-CVB
hayʔu ked-zo ʔiʔ’-qo-s kiči=n b-uxxo
 that.OBL girl-GEN2 finger-AT-ABL1 ring(III)=and III-take.PRS
 ‘The boy makes (the horse) run around the yard [...] and takes the ring from the girl’s finger.’ (N)

- b. *beʎe-ho sot'i-r de aže-be r-eʎe-s*
 house.OBL-ILOC around-LAT I.ERG tree-PL NHPL-plough-PST
 'I planted trees around the house.'
- c. *nuc-o-s yi-š ix-be elu-de*
 honey.OBL-GEN1 milk-GEN1 river.OBL-PL we.OBL-ALOC
sot'i-r
 around-LAT
 'rivers of honey and milk around us' (N)

11.2.5. *purho/pureʔ* 'next to, on the side'

This postposition is synchronically derived from the word *pur* 'flank of mountain' by adding the ILOC-Essive (*pur-ho*) suffix or the CONT-Essive (*pur-e-ʔ*) to it, but it has become lexicalized as a postposition. The postposition *purho/pureʔ* governs the ALOC-Essive with animate nouns (678a) and the ILOC-Essive with inanimate nouns (678b). It can be case marked (678c) and also occurs as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.6). In the postpositional function, *purho* is far more frequent than *pureʔ*. Only from *purho* can verbs be derived, namely *purhoʔ-* 'come next to' and *purhok'-* 'make/bring next to one's side'.

- (678) a. [*de č'agu goʔ q'ede, de-de purho=no nox-no*] *di*
 I alive be IRR I.OBL-ALOC next=and come-UWPST I.GEN1
omoq'i b-uher-me goʔi meži=ʎen
 donkey(III) III-kill-NEG be.IRR you.PL.ERG=QUOT
 'If I were alive and you came next to me, you would not have killed my donkey' (N)
- b. *haʔo čanaqan-i zonzo ažey-ho pureʔ y-aʎi-yo*
 this.OBL hunter-ERG REFL.SG.GEN2 tree-ILOC next IV-open-PRS
hag yašik'
 that box(IV)
 'The hunter opens the box next to his tree.'
- c. *meži di-de purho-s b-uʔi-yom*
 you.PL I.OBL-ALOC next-ABL1 HPL-go.out-PROH
 'Do not go away from me.' (N)

11.2.6. *igo* 'near'

With animate nouns this postposition governs the ALOC-Essive (679a), whereas with inanimate nouns it governs the ILOC-Essive (6b). This postposition can take

case suffixes (679b), and it can be used as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.8). There are two verbs derived from this postposition, *igo*←- ‘approach’ (intr.) and *igok*’- ‘approach’ (tr.).

- (679) a. [*haytu-de igo gor-no hag šeλ'u=n*] *hādo uži*
 she.OBL-ALOC near put-CVB that clothes=and this boy(I)
ažey-ho-do Ø-iλ'i-yo
 tree-ILOC-DIR I-go-PRS
 ‘After putting the clothes next to her, the boy goes to a tree.’ (N)
- b. [*seda=gen hayti goła*] *rek'u-qo k'wēzi*
 one.OBL=at.least there be.PTCP man.OBL-AT be.able
b-iqqo gom pardala-ho igo-r gulu
 III-happen.ICVB be.NEG veranda-ILOC near-LAT horse(III)
b-aq'er-ayaz
 III-bring-PURP
 ‘Not one of the men there was able to bring his horse near the veranda.’ (N)

11.2.7. *hezzo* ‘behind’

The word *hezzo* is mostly used as a temporal adverb with the meaning ‘then’ (Section 10.3.7). When used as a postposition, *hezzo* governs the CONT-Essive, the ALOC-Essive case (680b), and the ILOC-Essive..

- (680) a. *Muḥamad ḥaži obu k'oλ-o haze q'ono*
 Mohamed Gadzhi father jump-PRS these.OBL two
rek'u-ł hezzo
 man.OBL-CONT after
 ‘Father Mohamed Gadzhi runs after/behind the two men.’ (N)
- b. *eli sadaq-za-de hezzo-r λex^we-s*
 we all-OBL.PL-ALOC behind-LAT remain-PST
 ‘We remained behind all.’

Frequently, the postposition has the spatial meaning ‘beyond’ or ‘behind’ (680a, 680b), but it can also acquire a more temporal reading, as illustrated in example (681a). In combination with verbs of motion, *hezzo* expresses purpose (681b). The postposition can take case suffixes (680b) and serves as the base for two derived verbs: *hezzo*←- ‘move behind/back’ and *hezzok*’- ‘put back’.

- (681) a. *sedī.sed-eḥ hezzo b-uxxo zoq^we-s nawuti*
 REC.OBL-CONT after III-buy.PRS be-PST petroleum(III)
 ‘One after the other was buying petroleum.’ (N)
- b. *de c’udaki-ya-ḥ hezzo Ø-iḥ’i-š*
 I raspberry-OBL-CONT after I-go-PST
 ‘I (masc.) went for raspberries.’

11.2.8. *aldoḡo* ‘in front of’

The postposition *aldoḡo* can be used with three cases leading always to the spatial meaning ‘in front of’, namely the CONT-Essive (682a), the ALOC-Essive (682b), and the ILOC-Essive (682c). It also occurs with the temporal meaning ‘ago, before’ (11.3.1). The postposition can be case-marked (682c) and functions as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.5). There are two verbs derived from this postposition: *aldoḡoḥ-* ‘move forward, advance’ (intr.) and *aldoḡok-* ‘move forward’ (tr.).

- (682) a. *hayḥu raq’i-mo-ḥ aldoḡo=bito r-iḥ’i-yo sadaq bayraq*
 that.OBL bier-OBL-CONT in.front=TRANS V-go-PRS all flag(V)
r-iḥi
 V-similar
 ‘All (things) go in front of the bier like a flag.’ (N)
- b. *hayḥoy [b-ux-an=no b-ux-no] gor-no sadaq*
 he.ERG III-take-RED=and III-take-CVB put-UWPST all
obu-s maʔišat hayḥu-de aldoḡo
 father-GEN1 property(III) she.OBL-ALOC in.front
 ‘He took all his father’s property and put it in front of her.’ (N)
- c. *xan-i-žo beḣe-ho aldoḡo-r b-aq’-a goḥ*
 khan-OBL-GEN2 house.OBL-ILOC in.front-LAT III-come-INF be
oc’eno q’ono gulu
 ten two horse(III)
 ‘Twelve horses will come in front of the khan’s palace.’

11.2.9. *dandi* ‘towards, against’

This postposition, an Avar loan word, governs the ILOC-Essive with inanimate nouns (683a) and the ALOC-Essive with animate nouns (683b, 683c). It can have a clear spatial meaning (683b), but more abstract interpretations, as for instance

‘against’, are also possible (683b). When employed as an adverbial, *dandi* has both temporal and spatial meaning (Section 10.2.2.10). This postposition can take case markers (683b) and serve as the base for two derived verbs: *dandet-* ‘unite’ (intr.) and *dandek’-* ‘make near’ (tr.).

- (683) a. *kawu-mo-ho dandi-r=no Ø-iλ'i-n yoλu.koka*
 gate-OBL-ILOC towards-LAT=and I-go-CVB cinderello
zeru-λ'o-r qaλ-a Ø-ułi-š=eλ
 fox-SPR-LAT call-INF I-begin-PST=NARR
 ‘Cinderello went towards the gate and began to shout at the fox.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži Ø-oxe-ya hayło-de dandi-r y-aq'-o*
 then I-leave-PTCP.LOC he.OBL-ALOC against-LAT II-come-PRS
hes=gozon ked
 one=TOP girl(II)
 ‘Then while leaving, a girl comes towards him.’ (S)
- c. *baγarzi Ø-iqgo hadze-de dandi Ø-ihiz-ž hado*
 move I-happen.PRS they.OBL-ALOC against I-fight-PURP he
 ‘He moves in order to fight against them.’ (N)

11.2.10. λ'woq'ar ‘in front of, towards’

This postposition is based on the noun λ'woq'o ‘forehead’ marked with the IN-Lative case. Because it contains, at least diachronically, a case marker, λ'woq'ar cannot take additional case markers. The postposition governs the ALOC-Essive (684a), the ILOC-Essive (684b), or the Second Genitive case (684c). The use of the Second Genitive case seems natural if one thinks of the postpositional phrase as a phrase expressing possession. That is, λ'woq'ar hayłozo can also be translated as ‘towards his forehead’, in which case the pronoun must be marked with the second Genitive because the head noun carries already an oblique case suffix. Maybe this explains why the order of adposition and noun is reversed in (684c). Although the most frequent word order in Genitive phrases is Genitive-noun, the reverse order is relatively common. In fact, the standard order in genitive phrases, genitive-noun, would also be possible in (684c). In contrast, in postpositional phrases, the reverse order seems to be excluded. In sum, λ'woq'ar seems to be in the middle of a process of grammaticalization from a case-marked noun to an adposition.

- (684) a. *[haʎo-de ʎ'oq'ar goʎa]* *seda nartaw-es*
 he.OBL-ALOC in.front.of be.PTCP one.OBL giant-GEN1
hači b-aq'e-s=eʎ
 sneezing(III) III-come-PST=NARR
 'One giant who sat in front of him sneezed.' (N)
- b. *maždik-ho ʎ'ʷoq'ar*
 mosque-ILOC in.front.of
 'in front of the mosque'
- c. *xexbe b-aq'-o hay biton=gozon ʎ'oq'ar*
 children HPL-come-PRS there again=TOP in.front.of
hayʎo-zo
 he.OBL-GEN2
 'The children come there again, towards him.' (S)

The postposition *ʎ'ʷoq'ar* can also be used as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.12).

11.2.11. *-oʎʎo* 'in the middle of, between'

This postposition governs five cases, depending on the semantics of the governed noun. With animate nouns, it governs the ALOC-Essive (685a), (686), and with inanimate nouns, the ILOC-Essive. With all kinds of nouns (i.e. animate and inanimate), it also governs the CONT-Essive (685b) and the IN-Essive (670b). The postposition can be case marked, or it can function as an adverb (Section 10.2.2.11).

- (685) a. *haw y-iʎ'i-š obu-de=n essu-de=n y-oʎʎo*
 she II-go-PST father-ALOC=and brother-ALOC=and II-between
 'She went between father and brother.'
- b. *q'ač'i-za-ʎ Ø-oʎʎo c'oxer-iš=eʎ,*
 timber.OBL-OBL.PL-CONT I-in.the.middle stick-PST=NARR
šiširi-š=eʎ
 thrust-PST=NARR
 '(The wind) stuck him into the timber.' (N)

The only postposition that takes agreement suffixes is *-oʎʎo*. The agreement is usually with the Absolutive argument of the clause that *-oʎʎo* belongs to (685b, 685a). But very infrequently the postposition agrees with the noun that it governs. Thus, in (686) the HPL agreement of the postposition is triggered by the governed pronoun 'we'. In this example *-oʎʎo* seems to function like an adjective that agrees with its head noun.

- (686) *hes bahadur=no Ø-oλex-iš elu-de b-oλxo*
 one knight(I)=and I-appear-PST we.OBL-ALOC HPL-in.the.middle
goła guh-λ'o-r
 be.PTCP hill-SPR-LAT
 'And one knight appeared on a hill that was in the middle of us.' (N)

11.3. Non-spatial postpositions

Hinuq has six non-spatial postpositions; four of them are loans from Avar. In contrast to the spatial postpositions, non-spatial postpositions are never case-marked, do not serve as the base for derived verbs, and not all of them can be used adverbially. Table 70 gives an overview of the non-spatial postpositions.

Table 70. Non-spatial postpositions

	'ago'	'accordingly'	'because'	'because'	'with'
	<i>aldoyo</i>	<i>req'un / req'udin</i>	<i>ʔolo</i>	<i>sababʔun / sabawʔun</i>	<i>q'wec'e / sadaq / cadaq</i>
Case	Absolutive	SPR-Essive	-ʔi (+ʒo)	Absolutive	ALOC-Essive
other			-λi		
Adverb	yes	yes	no	no	yes

11.3.1. *aldoyo* 'ago'

When the postposition *aldoyo* occurs with its temporal meaning, it governs the Absolutive case. Additionally, *aldoyo* serves as an adverb with the meaning 'before' or 'formerly' (Section 10.3.7). When marked with the Genitive, it can function as a temporal adjective (*aldoyos* 'old'). The spatial use of the postposition *aldoyo* is described in 11.2.8 above.

- (687) a. *q'ono ywede aldoyo Pat'imat Derbent-λ'o-s y-aq'e-s*
 two day before Patimat(II) Derbent-SPR-ABL 1 II-come-PST
 'Two days ago Patimat came back from Derbent.'
- b. *λebu aldoyo [k'ilik'do:yλ'o] hag zoq'e-s r-oč'č'u*
 year before bath-SIM that be-PST V-cold
 'One year ago when (I) swam (in this lake), it was cold.'

11.3.2. *req'un/req'udin* 'accordingly to'

This postposition is an Avar loanword. As in other Tsezic languages (e.g. Khwarshi, Bezhta), *req'un/req'udin* governs the SPR-Essive case. It can be used adverbially, e.g. *req'un žumru b-uw-a* 'live in accordance' (lit. 'in.accordance life(III) III-do-INF').

- (688) a. *[hagze-y eži-yo goła]* *xabar-λ'o req'un diž*
 they.OBL-ERG say-ICVB be.PTCP story-SPR accordingly I.DAT
mumpažat b-iq-iš
 profit(III) III-happen-PST
 'In accordance with the story that they told, I made profit.' (N)
- b. *[haytoy es-o goła]* *xabali-λ'o req'udin*
 he.ERG tell-ICVB be.PTCP story.OBL-SPR in.accordance.with
eli xalq'i ʔaši zoq'w e-n t'ot'r-iš
 we.GEN1 people much be-UWPST read-RES
 'In accordance with his story, our people were very educated.'

11.3.3. *žolo* 'because of'

This postposition does not govern a case, but requires the complement noun phrase to be marked by the Abstract suffix *-ži* plus optionally the Second Genitive/Ablative suffix (689a). Alternatively, the Purposive suffix *-ži* appears on the complement noun phrase (689b). The postposition is an Avar loan and cannot occur as adverb.

- (689) a. *xexza-ži žolo eli ała-do nox-iš*
 child.OBL.PL-ABST because.of we village.IN-DIR come-PST
 'Because of the child/the children, we came to the village.'
- b. *[de y-uhe-yλ'o]* *nox me sud-a-ho-r*
 I II-die-SIM come you.SG grave-OBL-ILOC-LAT
[dew-ži žolo b-u:λ'os] *žazab toq-ayaz*
 you.SG.OBL-PURP because.of III-do-HAB torment(III) hear-PURP
 'When I (fem.) die, come to the grave in order to hear the torment made because of you.' (N)

11.3.4. *sababłun/sabawłun* 'because of'

The variants *sababłun* and *sabawłun* occur in free variation. Diachronically, they are derived by adding the suffix *-łun* to the noun *sabab/sabaw* 'reason'. The

postpositions (as well as their parts) are again loans from Avar. As in Avar, they both govern the Absolutive case and cannot be used adverbially.

- (690) a. *meži sabawłun de og-ru-λ q'imu gor-me*
 you.PL because.of I.ERG ax-OBL-SUB head put-NEG
 'I do not put my head under the ax because of you.' (N)
- b. *q'iliqan-i ese-s=eλ [ʎeno ɣuruš sababłun*
 drummer-ERG tell-PST=NARR five rouble because.of
b-iqqo gołaj daʎba-roži-łi-žo
 III-happen.ICVB be.PTCP controversy-word-ABST-GEN2
 'The drummer told about the controversy that happened because of
 five roubles.' (N)

11.3.5. *q'wec'e/q'oc'e* 'with'

The postposition *q'wec'e/q'oc'e* governs the ALOC-Essive case (691a, 691b). It also occurs as an adverb with the meaning 'all together' (Section 10.5) and serves as the base for a derived noun *q'oc'eres* 'what is eaten together with bread' (e.g. milk, cheese). According to my informants, there is no difference in meaning between *q'wec'e* and the postposition *sadaq/cadaq* (11.3.6), but the latter postposition occurs more frequently.

- (691) a. *hado Ø-eg^wennu essu hagze-de q'wec'e Ø-ił'i-yo*
 this I-small brother(I) they.OBL-ALOC with I-go-ICVB
gom
 be.NEG
 'The youngest brother does not go with them.' (N)
- b. *hayłoy ʎumru b-u:-ho zoq'e-n obu-de q'oc'e*
 he.ERG life(III) III-do-ICVB be-PST father-ALOC with
 'He lived together with his father.' (N)

11.3.6. *sadaq/cadaq* 'with'

These postpositions represent loans from Avar. They occur in free variation, but *sadaq* is far more frequent. When used as postposition, they govern the ALOC-Essive case (692a, 692a). But this use is rare because they function predominantly as adjectival quantifiers with the meaning 'all' (example (682b), see also Section 12.9.1). They can also be used as an adverb with the meaning 'together, all together'.

- (692) a. [haʎo ʔumar-i q'uya-za-de cadaq č'egen moʎe-yʎ'o]
 this.OBL Umar-ERG other-OBL.PL-ALOC with Koran teach-SIM
 haʎo-z hesqen roži r-iči-yo zoq'^we-n gom
 he.OBL-DAT nothing word(V) V-be-ICVB be-CVB be.NEG
 rok'-ʎ'o
 heart.OBL-SPR
 'While Umar together with the others studied the Koran, he did not
 remember even one word by heart.' (N)
- b. zeru hardezi b-iq-iš=eʎ "zonde cadaq
 fox beg(III) III-happen-PST=NARR REFL.SG.ALOC with
 ʎe''=ʎen
 let's.go=QUOT
 'The fox begged to go with him.' (N)

11.4. Expressions that serve as postpositions

Hinuq has two deverbal and one denominal expression that are postpositions. The deverbal postpositions are derived from non-finite verb forms and govern the same case as the verbs do. The denominal postposition is a case-marked noun. It governs the Second Genitive case because structurally a phrase of the form 'noun-postposition' represents a Genitive phrase. The governed noun is the Genitive modifier of a head noun, which is in an oblique case.

11.4.1. *gosme* 'without'

Diachronically, this postposition represents the negated Resultative participle form of the verb 'be' (Section 7.8.3.3). This explains why the noun that *gosme* refers to is in the Absolutive case (693a, 693b).

- (693) a. *pikru=tow gosme Ø-iʎ'i-yo de*
 thought=EMPH without I-go-PRS I
 'I (masc.) go without thoughts.' (N)
- b. *ʎay gosme rek'^we - kanʎi gosme čiraq*
 knowledge without man - light without lamp
 'A person without knowledge is like a lamp without light.' (N)

11.4.2. *xecen* ‘except’

The noun phrase that *xecen* governs must be in the Absolutive case because *xecen* is originally the Narrative converb of the verb *xece-* ‘let’, and the noun phrase is its direct object. Since *xecen* is a Narrative converb, it can occur in an adverbial function (for more information on the Narrative converb see Section 7.7.2.8).

- (694) *magalu xece-n hayʎuy č'ek'k'u r-ux-iš*
 bread let-CVB she.ERG all V-buy-PST
 ‘Except for bread, she bought everything.’

11.4.3. *moča:* ‘instead’

The IN-Essive form of the noun *moči* ‘place’ can be used to convey the meaning ‘instead of X’ where X must be in the Second Genitive case (see Section 26.3 for more information on this construction). In addition, the word *moča:* occurs in an adverbial function denoting spatial location.

- (695) a. *iyoy xok'o-zo moča: čorpa r-u:s*
 mother-ERG khinkal-GEN2 place.IN soup(V) V-make-PST
 ‘Mother made khinkal instead of soup.’
 b. *Ø-iš-anu-zo moča: hayʎoy čaj ga:s*
 I-eat-MSD-GEN2 place.IN he.ERG tee drink-PST
 ‘Instead of eating, he drank tea.’

Chapter 12

Numerals and other quantifiers

12.1. Introduction

Hinuq numerals are adjective-like. They can be used attributively and nominally, and they distinguish a direct from an oblique stem. Hinuq has cardinal (12.2), ordinal (12.5), collective (12.6), multiplicative (12.7), and distributive numerals (12.8).

The quantifiers ‘all’ and ‘every’ also behave like adjectives and are thus treated in this chapter. The quantifier ‘half’ is a morphologically a noun but is nevertheless briefly described here together with the other two quantifiers.

12.2. Cardinal numerals

Cardinal numbers have a direct and an oblique stem. As with adjectives, the oblique stem is used if they modify a noun in an oblique case, or if the number has been substantivized. When the cardinal numbers are used attributively, the counted noun is always singular.

The cardinal numbers from one to ten are shown below. The numeral ‘one’ has a suppletive oblique stem. The oblique stem of the numeral ‘two’ shows labialization, whereas in the direct stem the labialization has been lost.¹⁰⁶ The numbers from three to ten show all the same suffix, *-no*, which is replaced by *-ra* in the oblique form. In the numeral ‘two’, only the final vowel /o/ is replaced by /a/.¹⁰⁷

(696)	Direct stem	Oblique stem
1	<i>hes</i>	<i>seda</i>
2	<i>q'ono</i>	<i>q''^wena</i>
3	<i>ʔono</i>	<i>ʔora</i>
4	<i>uq'ino</i>	<i>uq'ira</i>
5	<i>ʔeno</i>	<i>ʔera</i>
6	<i>iʔno</i>	<i>iʔra</i>
7	<i>oʂno</i>	<i>oʂra</i>

¹⁰⁶Another West Tsezic language, Khwarshi, also preserved the labialization in the direct form. The change from /C^we/ to /Co/ also happens with other words (Section 2.2.3).

¹⁰⁷The suffix *-ra* also occurs as the oblique singular marker with three nouns and one interrogative pro-form (Section 3.2).

8	<i>beχno</i>	<i>beχra</i>
9	<i>ʒač'ino</i>	<i>ʒač'ira</i>
10	<i>oc'eno</i>	<i>oc'era</i>

- (697) a. *b-aq'-o* *hagbe ʎono=n* *xexbe* *toho=bito*
 HPL-come-PRS those three=and children there=TRANS
 'These three children come on the other side.' (S)
- b. *hayʎo* *xan-i* *b-aq'er-ho* *hadze-de-r* *oc'era*
 that.OBL khan-ERG HPL-bring-PRS they.OBL-ALOC-LAT ten.OBL
hune-ho *ʔaši* *armi*
 way-ILOC much army(HPL)
 'The khan brings an army ten times bigger than their (army).' (N)

If the numerals are substantivized, case suffixes are added to the oblique stem. The numerals 'one' and 'two' undergo deletion of the final *-a* of the oblique stem before case suffixes are added. Since in this way their substantivized stems end with a consonant, epenthetic vowels are inserted before case suffixes consisting of a single consonant. If the case suffix of a substantivized numeral from three to nine has a *CVC* form, then the oblique stem suffix *-ra* may be optionally shortened to *-r* (698b).

Table 71. Case paradigm of cardinal numerals

	1	2	3
Absolutive	<i>hes</i>	<i>q'ono</i>	<i>ʎono</i>
Oblique stem	<i>seda</i>	<i>q'wena</i>	<i>ʎora</i>
Ergative	<i>sed-i</i>	<i>q'wen-i</i>	<i>ʎora-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>sed-es</i>	<i>q'wen-es</i>	<i>ʎora-s</i>
Second Genitive	<i>sed-zo</i>	<i>q'wen-zo</i>	<i>ʎora-zo</i>
Dative	<i>sed-ez</i>	<i>q'wen-ez</i>	<i>ʎora-z</i>
Instrumental	<i>sed-ed</i>	<i>q'wen-ed</i>	<i>ʎora-d</i>
CONT-Essive	<i>sed-eʔ</i>	<i>q'wen-eʔ</i>	<i>ʎora-ʔ</i>
AT-Essive	<i>sed-qo</i>	<i>q'wen-qo</i>	<i>ʎora-qo</i>

- (698) a. *seda* *uži:* *haze-z,* *ʎora-z=no* *geni-be*
 one.OBL boy.ERG these.OBL-DAT three.OBL-DAT=and pear-PL
neχ-no
 give-UWPST
 'One boy gave pears to them, to the three (boys).' (S)

- b. *ʃor(a)-ʃ-es* *q^wena uži:* *r-ux-iš* *mašina-be*
 three.OBL-CONT-ABL1 two.OBL boy.ERG NPL-buy-PST car-PL
 ‘Two out of three boys bought cars.’

The cardinal numbers from 11 to 19 are formed by simply juxtaposing ‘ten’ and ‘one’, ‘two’, etc. For the oblique stem, at least the unit is, but usually both numerals are, in the oblique form (700a). If the numerals are substantivized, then only the units take case suffixes (700b).

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| (699) | Direct stem | Oblique stem |
| 11 | <i>oc'eno hes</i> | <i>oc'era seda</i> |
| 12 | <i>oc'eno q'ono</i> | <i>oc'era q^wena</i> |
| 13 | <i>oc'eno ʃono</i> | <i>oc'era ʃora</i> |
| 14 | <i>oc'eno uq'ino</i> | <i>oc'era uq'ira</i> |
| 15 | <i>oc'eno ʃeno</i> | <i>oc'era ʃera</i> |
| 16 | <i>oc'eno iʃno</i> | <i>oc'era iʃra</i> |
| 17 | <i>oc'eno oʃno</i> | <i>oc'era oʃra</i> |
| 18 | <i>oc'eno beʃno</i> | <i>oc'era beʃra</i> |
| 19 | <i>oc'eno ʔač'ino</i> | <i>oc'era ʔač'ira</i> |
- (700) a. *oc'era, oc'era ʃera* *minut-ma r-exir-an* *r-exir-no* ...
 ten.OBL ten.OBL five.OBL minute-IN V-cook-RED V-cook-CVB
 ‘cooking it for ten, fifteen minutes ...’ (N)
- b. [*q'idi hagbe r-iči-ʃ'o*] *oc'era sedi* *q^wec'e r-ixxo*
 down they HPL-sit-SIM ten.OBL one.ERG together V-take.off.PRS
ʃeʃ'u, sedi hozu r-ixxo ʃeʃ'u
 clothes(V) one.ERG separately V-take.off.PRS clothes(V)
 ‘When they sit down, eleven take of (their) clothes together; one separately takes of (her) clothes.’ (N)

The Hinuq numeral system from 20 to 99 is vigesimal; *qu* ‘twenty’ is the base to which =*no* must be added. It is preceded by the multiplier and followed by *oc'eno* ‘ten’ if the remainder cannot be divided by 20. For the oblique form, there does not seem to be a uniform rule. For some speakers, all numerals must be in the oblique form as in the list below. For other speakers, all but the first numeral take the oblique form, e.g. 70 *ʃono qura oc'era*. The only rules seem to be that (i) the last number must be in the oblique form, and (ii) if one of the numerals appears in the oblique form, then all numerals to the right must also appear in the oblique form.

(701)	Direct stem		Oblique stem
20	<i>qu</i>		<i>qura</i>
30	<i>quno oc'eno</i>	(=20+10)	<i>qura oc'era</i>
40	<i>q'ono quno</i>	(=2x20)	<i>q''wena qura</i>
50	<i>q'ono quno oc'eno</i>	(=2x20+10)	<i>q''wena qura oc'era</i>
60	<i>ʔono quno</i>	...	<i>ʔora qura</i>
70	<i>ʔono quno oc'eno</i>		<i>ʔora qura oc'era</i>
80	<i>uq'ino quno</i>		<i>uq'ira qura</i>
90	<i>uq'ino quno oc'eno</i>		<i>uq'ira qura oc'era</i>

The numerals between the tens are formed by coordinating the tens with the numerals from one to nine. Again the oblique stem can differ from speaker to speaker. In the list below, all numerals take the oblique form. For other speakers, all but the first numeral take the oblique form, e.g. 41 *q'ono qura seda*. However, usually only the last number of compound numerals appears in the oblique form (703c).

(702)	Direct stem	Oblique stem
31	<i>quno oc'eno hes</i>	<i>qura oc'era seda</i>
42	<i>q'ono quno q'ono</i>	<i>q''wena qura q''wena</i>
53	<i>q'ono quno oc'eno ʔono</i>	<i>q''wena qura oc'era ʔora</i>

- (703) a. *elo aλ-a kinawnigi zoq''we-s goʔ quno oc'eno iʔno*
 we.GEN2 village-IN altogether be-RES be twenty ten six
xozyaystwo
 household
 'In our village were altogether 36 households.' (N)
- b. *hadbe ʔora qura metra: meqi b-etto*
 these three.OBL twenty.OBL meter.IN further HPL-burst.PRS
 'They go 60 meters away.' (N)
- c. *[k'al y-ux-no] b-ič-a b-aq'e-λ'os goʔ bece;*
 fasting(IV) IV-keep-CVB HPL-be-INF HPL-must-HAB be month.IN
quno oc'era ʔ''wed-λ'o
 twenty ten.OBL day.OBL-SPR
 'We must keep fasting for one month, at 30 days.' (N)

If substantivized, the case suffix is again added to the oblique stem of the last numeral. The other numerals can but do not have to appear in the oblique form.

- (704) *q'wena qura oc'era ʎora-y magalu b-u:-ho*
 two.OBL twenty.OBL ten.OBL three.OBL-ERG bread(III) III-make-PRS
 'Fifty three make bread.'

For 100 there is a native word, *bišon*, to which in compound numerals the conjunction *-no* is added. Its oblique stem is *bišonra* or more frequently *bišora* (after sonorant deletion), as illustrated in example (706). The word for 1 000 *ʎazal* is ultimately a Persian loan. In compound numerals it becomes *ʎazalno* or *ʎazano*. Its oblique stem is *ʎazala*. Above 1 000 there are only loans from Russian, which lack an oblique stem.

- (705) 100 *bišon*
 200 *q'ono bišon*
 1 000 *ʎazal*
 50 000 *q'ono quno oc'eno ʎazal*
 400 000 *uq'ino bišon ʎazal*
 1 000 000 *milyon*
 1 000 000 000 *milyard*
- (706) *hayʎoy qaʎ-o zodi-žo armi-qo-r "meži bišora*
 he.ERG call-PRS REFL.PL.OBL-GEN2 army-AT-LAT you.PL 100.OBL
metra-ma meqi b-et'e!"
 meter-IN further HPL-burst
 'He calls his army; you go 100 meters further away!' (N)

Some examples of compound numerals:

- (707) a. *q'ono bišon=no ʎono qu=no oc'eno iʎno*
 two hundred=and three twenty=and ten six
 'two hundred seventy six'
 (= 2 x 100 + 3 x 20 + 10 + 6 = 276)
- b. *ʎazal=no q'ono bišon=no qu=no oc'eno uq'ino*
 thousand=and two hundred=and twenty=and ten four
 'one thousand two hundred thirty four'
 (= 1 000 + 2 x 100 + 20 + 10 + 4 = 1234)
- c. *ʎono qu=no oc'eno q'ono ʎazal=no ʎač'ino*
 three twenty=and ten two thousand=and nine
bišon=no qu=no oc'eno ʎeno
 hundred=and twenty=and ten five
 = 'seventy two thousand nine hundred thirty five'
 ([3 x 20 + 10 + 2] x 1 000 + 9 x 100 + 20 + 10 + 5 = 72 935)

If complex compound numerals consisting of many separate words are substantivized or used as attributes of nouns in oblique cases, speakers prefer not to have all numerals in the oblique form (708a). This is, however, only a tendency, not a strict rule. In principle, all numerals can appear in their oblique form (708b).

- (708) a. *oλno bišon=no qura oc'era ʔač'ira-y magalu*
 seven hundred=and twenty.OBL ten.OBL nine.OBL bread(III)
b-u:-s
 III-make-PST
 '739 made bread.'
- b. *oλra bišora qura oc'era ʔač'ira-y magalu*
 seven.OBL hundred.OBL twenty.OBL ten.OBL nine.OBL bread(III)
b-u:-s
 III-make-PST
 '739 made bread.'

12.3. Fractions

Fractions where the numerator is 2 are expressed with the word *-oλλoku* 'half'. *-oλλoku* is a relational noun with a gender prefix whose agreement is triggered by the noun it refers to, even if this noun is not in the Absolutive case. For some more information about *-oλλoku*, see Section 12.9.3 below. The first fraction, 'one and a half', is an exception.

- 1.5 *-oλλoku č'ek'k'u* (lit. 'half complete')
- 3.5 *ʔono=n -oλλoku* (lit. 'three=and half')
- 7.5 *oλno=n -oλλoku* (lit. 'seven=and half')

- (709) a. *hag=no ʔek'er y-oλλoku kilogram waqi-mo-s*
 that=and mix IV-half kilo(IV) walnut-OBL-GEN1
 'And mix that with half a kilo of walnuts.' (N)
- b. *q'ono y-oλλoku ʔebu hayʔi t'ot'r-an t'ot'er-no*
 two IV-half year(IV) there study-RED study-CVB
 'studying there for two and a half years...' (N)
- c. *r-oλλoku nesa:-s zaman b-aq'e-n*
 V-half evening(V).OBL-GEN1 time(III) III-come-UWPST
 'Then came midnight.' (N)

For other fractions, there is a construction with the noun *but'a* 'part' and the narrative converb form of the verb *-u:-* 'do, make'. The agreement of the converb varies according to the noun which is modified with the fraction.

- (710) a. *ʎono but'a=n y-u:-n hes but'a kiy-a-s*
 three part=and IV-do-CVB one part blueberry(IV)-OBL-GEN1
 'one third of the blueberries'
- b. *uq'ino but'a=n b-u:-n ʎono but'a iši-š*
 four part=and III-do-CVB three part apple(III)-GEN1
 'three fourths of an apple'
- c. *dew-de dandi-r de oc'eno but'a b-u:-n*
 you.SG.OBL-ALOC against-LAT I.ERG ten part HPL-do-CVB
hes but'a armi b-iq'e-s goł
 one part army(HPL) HPL-bring-RES be
 'Against you I have brought one tenth of my army.' (N)

12.4. Other numeral expressions

There is a word for twins *q'w-e-łaxa* which is formed by adding the suffix *-łaxa* to what seems to be a short form of the oblique stem of 2. School grades are expressed by simple cardinal numerals, e.g.

- (711) *se q'imat debe-z r-aši? uq'ino r-aši-š.*
 what grade(V) you.SG.OBL-DAT V-get.Q four V-get-PST
 'What grade did you get? I got a four.'

Age is expressed by cardinal numbers. The objects whose age is communicated is marked with the AT-Essive case (712a, 712b), which is used to express temporary possession (Section 3.5.20). If the indication of the age is not exact, but the object is younger or older, then the object is the copula subject in the Absolutive case and the copula clause contains the respective predicate ('young' or 'old') plus the age, and the measuring unit is in the spatial case that is used for comparison, the ALOC-Lative, (712c).

- (712) a. *di-žo obu-qo goł q'ono quno ʎač'ino ɣebu*
 I.OBL-GEN2 father-AT be two twenty nine year
 'My father is 49 years old.'
- b. *haytu-qo ʎono qu ɣebu y-aq'-o*
 she.OBL-AT three twenty year(IV) IV-come-PRS
 'She will soon be 60 years old.'

- c. *haw oc'era q'wena-de-r y-eg^wey goł*
 she ten.OBL two.OBL-ALOC-LAT II-small be
 'She is younger than 12 (years).'

Approximate numeral expressions are formed by adding the Equative enclitic =*če* to the numeral (713a) (see Section 26.1.4 for more details on equative constructions with =*če*). But the use of this enclitic is by no means obligatory. Juxtaposition of two or more minimally different numbers is enough (713b).

- (713) a. *hay zoq^we-s oc'eno łeno=če rek^we*
 there be-PST ten five=EQ man
 'There were about ten or fifteen men.'
- b. *eł-o q'ono łono roži!*
 say-IMP two three word
 'Say two, three words!'

In schools, arithmetic is taught in Russian. There are various ways of expressing the four basic arithmetic operations in Hinuq, but they can differ from speaker to speaker; thus, the following examples are illustrative, but not exhaustive. The verbs for 'multiply' and 'divide' are loans from Avar.

- (714) a. [*sed-ł'o-r kunno q'ono*] *r-iqqo łono*
 one.OBL-SPR-LAT throw.CVB two V-become.PRS three
 '1 + 2 = 3' (lit. 'Having thrown 2 on 1 it becomes 3.')
- b. [*bełra-ł'o-s r-iγ-no iłno*] *łex^w-o q'ono*
 eight.OBL-SPR-ABL1 v-take-CVB six remain-PRS two
 '8 - 6 = 2' (lit. 'After taking away 6 from 8 remains 2.')
- c. *uq'ino ł'abizi r-uw-o łera-ł r-aq'e qu*
 four multiply V-do-IMP five.OBL-SUB V-come twenty
 '4 x 5 = 20' (lit. 'Multiply 4 under 5, it comes 20.')
- d. [*bełno bił'izi r-u:-yo*] *uq'ira-z łex^w-o q'ono*
 eight divide V-do-COND four.OBL-DAT remain-PRS two
 '8 : 4 = 2' (lit. 'If (you) divide 8 for 4, remains 2.')

12.5. Ordinal numerals

There are two ways of forming ordinal numerals. By far the more common way is by means of the word *eł-a* ('say-INF'), which follows the numeral. Only the numeral 'first' has the suppletive form *ič'č'a aldoγos*, whereby *ič'č'a* is a degree adverb with the meaning 'very', and *aldoγos* is an adjective derived from

the adverb/postposition *aldoɣo* ‘before, forward, in front’. In addition to the native word for ‘first’ the Avar loans *t’occebesew/t’occebeseb* and *awalaw* are also used.

(715)	1 st	<i>ič’č’a aldoɣos</i>
	2 nd	<i>q’ono eɣa</i>
	3 rd	<i>ɣono eɣa</i>
	4 th	<i>uq’ino eɣa</i>
	45 th	<i>q’ono quno ɣeno eɣa</i>
	100 th	<i>bišon eɣa</i>
	1 000 th	<i>ʔazal eɣa</i>
	1 268 th	<i>ʔazano q’ono bišonno ɣono quno beɣno eɣa</i>
	1 000 000 th	<i>milyon eɣa</i>

- (716) a. *hayɣiteɣ ɣusen ɣaži: b-ux-no t’occebesew*
 therein Hussein Gadži.ERG III-take-UWPST first
moči
 place(III)
 ‘There Hussein Gadži got the first place.’ (N)
- b. *oc’eno q’ono eɣa uži Ø-aq’e-s*
 ten two ORD boy(I) I-come-PST
 ‘The twelfth boy came.’

If the ordinal numbers modify nouns in oblique cases, they usually take the oblique form (717a, 717b). However, many speakers employ the oblique form only with the numeral that immediately precedes the ordinal marker *eɣa* (717c), or they do not use oblique stems at all.

- (717) a. *q’wena eɣa ɣw ed-ɣ’o Ø-iɣ’-a Ø-aq’-o*
 two.OBL ORD day.OBL-SPR I-go-INF I-must-PRS
Ø-oɣɣo-s-ɣa-ni essu
 I-in.the.middle-GEN I-MOD-ATT brother(I)
 ‘On the second day the middle brother must go.’ (N)
- b. *uq’ira qura seda eɣa ɣeba-ɣ Hinuq*
 four.OBL twenty.OBL one.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT Hinuq
r-ay-i-š horɣ’oqeb iškola
 V-open-PST middle school(V)
 ‘In the year (19)81 they opened the middle school in Hinuq.’ (N)

- c. *q'ono quno uq'ira eħa ħeba-† eli guči.b.u:-s*
 two twenty four.OBL ORD year.OBL-CONT we resettle.HPL-PST
Čačan-ħ'o-do
 Chechnya-SPR-DIR
 'In the year (19)44 we were resettled to Chechnya.' (N)

Ordinal numbers can be substantivized. The case endings are added to the ordinal marker (718b). If the numeral 'first' is substantivized, the adjective *aldoγos* appears in its oblique stem and takes the case suffixes. A partial paradigm of 'first' and 'second' is given in Table 72.

Table 72. Case paradigm of ordinal numerals

	'First'	'Second'
Absolute	<i>ič'č'a aldoγos</i>	<i>q'ono eħa</i>
Ergative	<i>ič'č'a aldoγozo-y</i>	<i>q'ono eħa-y</i>
First Genitive	<i>ič'č'a aldoγozo-s</i>	<i>q'ono eħa-s</i>
Second Genitive	<i>ič'č'a aldoγozo-zo</i>	<i>q'ono eħa-zo</i>
Dative	<i>ič'č'a aldoγozo-z</i>	<i>q'ono eħa-z</i>

- (718) a. *ħaħo-y caħi-yo, ħes bullet k'oħ-o gom, q'ono eħa*
 he.OBL-ERG shut-PRS one bullet fly-ICVB be.NEG two ORD
caħi-yo, k'oħ-o gom
 shut-PRS fly-ICVB be.NEG
 'He shoots one bullet. It does not come out; (he) shoots the second.
 It does not come out.' (N)
- b. *ħora eħa-z magalu b-eti-n*
 three.OBL ORD-DAT bread(III) III-want-UWPST
 'The third wants bread.'

There is a second method of forming ordinal numerals in Hinuq, namely by adding the First Genitive suffix to the direct stem, e.g. *q'onos* 'second', *ħonos* 'third', *uq'in* 'fourth', etc. This method seems to be very restricted in its application. It cannot be applied to the numeral 'one'. There are no occurrences in my corpus and I only have a few elicited examples. In all examples, the ordinal numerals could be replaced by the usual ordinal numerals given in (715).

- (719) a. *ħonos γ^wede go† de šahali-r Ø-aq'e-mez*
 third day be I town.IN-LAT I-come-NEG.PURP
 'It is the third day without me going (masc.) to the town.'

- b. *oc'eno-s anλ'i goł de dew-go Ø-eze-n*
 ten-GEN I week be I you.SG.OBL-AT I-look-UWPST
 'It is the tenth week that I (masc.) wait for you.'
- c. *uq'ino-s gulu b-uti-š di-qo redo-s*
 four-GEN I horse(III) III-turn-PST I.OBL-AT wood.OBL-GEN I
 'I made the fourth horse make a turn (loaded) with wood.'

12.6. Collective numerals

Collective numerals are formed from cardinal numerals by means of adding the Coordinative enclitic =*n*, e.g. *q'ono-n* 'both', *łono-n* 'all three', etc. They are usually preceded by nouns or pronouns, though the reverse order is also possible. For example, in (720a) *hadbe q'onon* could be replaced by *q'onon hadbe*.

- (720) a. *hadbe q'ono=n razi b-iqqo xodbaru-łi*
 these two=and happy HLP-become.PRS married.couple-ABST
r-uw-ayaz
 V-do-PURP
 'They both agreed to marry.' (N)
- b. *haw=no y-ux-no maqo-do Ø-ułi-n hago, haze*
 she=and II-take-CVB outside-DIR I-go.out-UWPST he, these.OBL
ołra=n essu-de-r b-ił'i-n
 seven.OBL=and brother-ALOC-LAT HPL-go-UWPST
 'Then he took her and went outside, and they went to the seven brothers.' (N)

Collective numerals can be in the oblique form if the modified noun does not have the Absolutive case (720b). Similarly, they can be case marked in the same way as ordinal numerals (721a, 721b). If they are used without a noun or pronoun, the Emphatic enclitic follows the Coordinative enclitic (721c).

- (721) a. [*Ø-aq'er-no dibira=n*] *haze q''en-es=no gor-ho*
 I-bring-CVB mullah(1)=and they.OBL two.OBL-GEN I=and put-PRS
mahar
 marriage
 'They brought the mullah, and he wedded both.' (N)
- b. *eli łora-z=no magalu b-eti-yo*
 we three.OBL-DAT=and bread(III) III-want-PRS
 'The three of us want bread.'

- c. *uq'ino=n=tow b-aq'e-s-me idu-r*
 four=and=EMPH HPL-come-PST-NEG home-LAT
 'All four did not come home.'

12.7. Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed in two different ways. The first way is completely regular: the noun *hune* 'way' marked by the ILOC-Essive follows the numeral in the oblique form (723a). The second possibility is by adding the multiplicative suffix *-x* to the oblique stem of the numeral (723b). Only multiplicative numerals for the numbers from 1 to 3 are idiosyncratically formed (723c). The suffix *-x* also occurs in the temporal adverbs *somo-ra-x* 'how often', *somo-ra-x-di* 'often' (lit. how.much-OBL-MULT-INDEF), *k'oxey* 'in/after two years', and *ɬoxey* 'in/after three years'.

(722)	once	<i>seda huneho</i>	<i>san</i>
	twice	<i>q'^wena huneho</i>	<i>k'ox</i>
	three times	<i>ɬora huneho</i>	<i>ɬox</i>
	four times	<i>uq'ira huneho</i>	<i>uq'irax</i>
	five times	<i>ɬera huneho</i>	<i>ɬerax</i>
	twelve times	<i>oc'era q'^wena huneho</i>	<i>oc'era q'^wenax</i>
	fifty times	<i>q'^wena qura oc'era huneho</i>	<i>q'^wena qura oc'erax</i>
	a hundred times	<i>bišora huneho</i>	<i>bišo(n)rax</i>
	a thousand times	<i>ʔazala huneho</i>	<i>ʔazalax</i>

- (723) a. *seda huneho t'ot'er-iš=eλ, k'ox t'ot'er-iš=eλ,*
 one.OBL times count-PST=NARR twice count-PST=NARR
ɬox t'ot'er-iš=eλ
 three.times count-PST=NARR
 '(He) counted once, he counted twice, he counted three times.' (N)
- b. *hayɬo-λ'o oλrax xomore b-aq'e-s*
 he.OBL-SPR seven.times cough(III) III-come-PST
 'He coughed seven times.'
- c. *de dew-de-r ɬoxey y-aq'-an*
 I you.SG.OBL-ILOC-LAT after.three.years II-come-INTFUT
 'I (fem.) will come to you after three years.'

One way of forming ordinal multiplicative numerals is by inserting the ordinal marker *eλa* between the last numeral and the multiplicative marker *huneho*.

All numerals occur with their oblique stems. To say ‘for the first time’ usually the phrase *ič’č’a aldoyo* ‘very before’ is employed.

However, more commonly the multiplicative numerals formed with the suffix *-x* appear in the First Genitive/Ablative case, e.g. *k’oxes*. They can be followed by the ordinal marker, e.g. *k’oxes eħa* (725a). But it is also possible to add the ordinal marker directly to the multiplicative numeral, e.g. *k’ox eħa* (725b).

(724)	first time	<i>t’occebesew eħa huneho</i>	<i>sanes eħa</i>
	second time	<i>q’^wena eħa huneho</i>	<i>k’ox(es) eħa</i>
	third time	<i>ħora eħa huneho</i>	<i>ħox(es) eħa</i>
	fifth time	<i>ħera eħa huneho</i>	<i>ħerax(es) eħa</i>
	fifteenth time	<i>oc’era ħera eħa huneho</i>	<i>oc’era ħerax(es) eħa</i>
	hundredth time	<i>biħora eħa huneho</i>	<i>biħorax(es)</i>
	thousandth time	<i>ħazala eħa huneho</i>	<i>ħazalax(es)</i>

- (725) a. *hil-no b-ac’-no, k’ox-es eħa hil-no b-ac’-no,*
 bite-CVB III-eat-UWPST twice-GEN I ORD bite-CVB III-eat-UWPST
hibay=tow q’idi-r y-iħ’i-n haw
 there=EMPH down-LAT II-fall-UWPST she
 ‘She took a bite and ate, a second time she took a bite and ate, and so she fell down.’ (N)
- b. *ħox eħa zeri eħi-n “sedayo beħe aq’^we*
 three.times ORD fox.ERG say-UWPST in.one.place house.IN mice
goħ’
 be
 ‘For the third time the fox said “In one place, in a house there is a mice.”’ (N)

12.8. Distributive numerals

There are two different ways of forming distributive numerals in Hinuq. The first method is to add the ILOC-Essive suffix *-ho* to the direct stem of the numeral. The second method is reduplication. Mostly the first syllable (*CV*) is reduplicated, but it is also possible to reduplicate the first *CVC* or *CVCV* segment. The copy always precedes the base (see Section 2.4.8 for more information on reduplication). Numerals with a root that is longer than *CV* can have several reduplicated forms that occur in free variation, e.g. *oc’eno* ‘ten’ has several variants of distributive numerals: *o-oc’eno*, *oc’-oc’eno*, and *oc’e-oc’eno* can be formed from the root *oc’e-*.

In addition, both methods (i.e. reduplication and the use of the ILOC-Essive suffix) can be combined, as shown in the fourth column in (726). In compound numerals, only the last numeral undergoes reduplication and/or takes case affixes. In an attributive use at least the last numeral appears in the oblique stem (727a).

(726)	1 each	<i>hesso</i>	<i>he-hes/he(s)-hesso</i>	<i>he-hesso</i>
	2 each	<i>q'onoho</i>	<i>q'o-q'ono</i>	<i>q'o-q'onoho</i>
	3 each	<i>ʔonoho</i>	<i>ʔo-ʔono</i>	<i>ʔo-ʔonoho</i>
	12 each	<i>oc'eno q'onoho</i>	<i>oc'eno q'o-q'ono</i>	<i>oc'eno q'o-q'ono</i>
	50 each	<i>q'ono quno</i>	<i>q'ono quno</i>	<i>q'ono quno</i>
		<i>oc'eno</i>	<i>oc'-oc'eno</i>	<i>oc'e-oc'eno</i>
	100 each	<i>bišonho</i>	<i>bišo-bišon</i>	<i>biš(o)-bišonho</i>
	1000 each	<i>ʔazalho</i>	<i>ʔaza-ʔazal</i>	<i>ʔaza-ʔazalho</i>

- (727) a. *o-oc'era rek'u-y rede b-u:-ho zoq'w e-s*
 RED-ten.OBL man.OBL-ERG wood(III) III-do-ICVB be-PST
 'The ten men each prepared the wood.'
- b. *eli q'ono-ho b-iλ'i-yo zoq'w e-s qaca-λ'o*
 we two-ILOC HPL-go-ICVB be-PST wood-SPR
 'We both each went for wood.'

Case suffixes are preferably added to the distributive numerals formed by means of reduplication (728a, 728b). But distributive numerals derived by adding the ILOC-Essive can also take case suffixes, which are added before the ILOC-Essive marker (728c).

- (728) a. *sed-sedi heresi es-o zoq'w e-s*
 RED-one.ERG heresy tell-ICVB be-PST
 'Individual (people) told lies.'
- b. *eli ʔo-ʔora-y mos b-aλi-š*
 we.ERG RED-three.OBL-ERG broom(III) III-sweep-PST
 'We three each cleaned.'
- c. *eli q'w eni-ho magalu b-u:-s*
 we.ERG two.ERG-ILOC bread(III) III-do-PST
 'We two each made bread.'

12.9. Other quantifiers

12.9.1. The universal quantifiers *sadaq/cadaq* and *č'ek'k'u* 'all'

The quantifiers *sadaq/cadaq* 'all' and *č'ek'k'u* 'all' behave like adjectives. They are mostly used with count nouns in the plural (729a, 729b) and with mass nouns (729c), but occasionally they even occur with count nouns in the singular (729d). In (729d) *geni* can be replaced by *geni-be* 'pear-PL' without altering the meaning of the clause.

- (729) a. *idu-r b-aq'e-s=eλ č'ek'k'u nartaw-be*
 home-LAT HPL-come-PST=NARR all giant-PL
 'All giants came home.' (N)
- b. [*sadaq kayat-be=n r-iγ-no*] *šogra-do r-uxir*
 all paper-PL=and NHPL-take-CVB pot.IN-DIR NHPL-pour.out
 'After taking away all papers, pour (them) into a pot.' (N)
- c. *cadaq / č'ek'k'u ahlu*
 all / all people
 'all people'
- d. [*karzina-ma-s goła*] *č'ek'k'u geni q'idi-r b-osso*
 basket-IN-ABL1 be.PTCP all pear(III) down-LAT III-fall.PRS
 'All pears fall out of the basket.' (S)

But usually with count nouns in the singular, the meaning is 'whole':

- (730) a. *sadaq xabar=no ese-n haze oλra=n essu-qa*
 all story=and tell-UWPST these.OBL seven.OBL=and brother-AT
hałuy
 she.ERG
 'She told the seven brothers the whole story.' (N)
- b. *cadaq gadi=tow r-ux-ayaz r-eti-n*
 all barrel(V)=EMPH V-take-PURP V-want-UWPST
 '(I) wanted to take the whole barrel.' (N)

The quantifiers can be substantivized and then mean 'everybody' (731a). When used as nouns they can take case suffixes (731b, 731c). Interestingly, when used without case suffixes, they cannot be marked for plural, e.g. there is no such form as **č'ek'k'u-be* 'all-PL'. In contrast, when marked with case suffixes, they must take the oblique plural marker *-za* before adding the cases and are thus overtly marked for plural.

- (731) a. *č'ek'k'u / cadaq b-iλ'i-š*
 all / all HPL-come-PST
 'All came.'
- b. *č'ek'k'u-za-y ʔažaʔibʔi r-u:-ho*
 all-OBL.PL-ERG wonder(V) V-do-PRS
 'All are wondering.' (N)
- c. *sadaq-za-ʔ-es ʔora uži-ž r-aši-š ʔeno*
 all-OBL.PL-CONT-ABL1 three.OBL boy-DAT V-get-PST five
 'Three out of all boys got a five.'

The substantivized quantifiers alone cannot express the meaning 'everything'. In order to get this meaning, the head noun *žo* 'thing' must follow them, e.g. *č'ek'k'u žo* 'everything' or *sadaq žo* (732).

- (732) "*hoboži me sadaq žo=n hadur r-uw-o!*"=λen
 now you.SG.ERG all thing(V)=and prepared V-do-IMP=QUOT
eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 '“Now you prepare everything!” (he) said.' (N)

Quantifier floating is possible with these quantifiers, i.e. they may also follow the noun phrase that they determine (733a, 733b). But the quantifier *cadaq/sadaq* also occurs as an adverb/postposition with the meaning 'together' (see Section 11.3.6), and in the case of quantifier float it can be interpreted as having this meaning. Thus, if *č'ek'k'u* in (733b) is replaced by *sadaq*, the translation would rather be 'The women washed together the clothes.'

- (733) a. *elu-s buλe-be sadaq r-ek'w'er-iš zoq'e-s*
 we.OBL-GEN1 house-PL all NHPL-burn-RES be-PST
 'All our houses were burned down.' (N)
- b. *aqila-y č'ek'k'u šeλ'u k'ilik'-iš*
 woman.OBL-ERG all clothes wash-PST
 'All women washed clothes.'

With pronouns, floating is the only possibility (734a, 734b). The quantifiers cannot precede the pronouns (734c).

- (734) a. *hadbe sadaq k'oλ-o ʔalazan-i-do*
 these all jump-PRS lake-IN-DIR
 'They all jump into the lake.' (N)

- b. *meži č'ek'k'u-za-z toq-iyē xabar?*
 you.PL all-OBL.PL-DAT hear-Q story
 'Did you all hear the story?'
- c. * *č'ek'k'u-za-z meži toq-iyē xabar?*
 all-OBL.PL-DAT you.PL hear-Q story
 (Did you all hear the story?)

Note that the case marking in these phrases appears only once, namely on the quantifier (735a). Attaching case suffixes to the pronoun as well as to the quantifier is ungrammatical (735b), i.e. the pronoun in such examples functions as determiner to the quantifier, which represents the head noun.

- (735) a. *haze č'ek'k'u-za-y had t'ek t'ot'er-iš*
 these.OBL all-OBL.PL-ERG this book read-PST
 'They all read this book.'
- b. * *hazey č'ek'k'u-za-y had t'ek t'ot'er-iš*
 these.ERG all-OBL.PL-ERG this book read-PST
 (They all read this book.)

12.9.2. The universal quantifiers *šibaw/šinaw/šinab* and *žiw-žiw* 'every'

All the quantifiers with the meaning 'every' are loans from Avar. They have the Avar adjectival suffix and behave like adjectives in Hinuq. They usually precede the noun phrase, which is a singular count noun (736a). However, when used with pronouns, they follow the pronoun (736b).

- (736) a. *de zek=tow [r-ik-o goła] šinaw žo*
 I.ERG tomorrow=EMPH V-see-ICVB be.PTCP every thing(V)
dewzo iyo-obu-qo es-a goł
 you.SG.GEN2 mother-father-AT tell-INF be
 'Tomorrow I will tell everything that I saw to your parents.' (N)
- b. *hezzo hayloy haze-z žiw.žiw hesso-t'a geni toλ-iš*
 then he.ERG they.OBL-DAT every some-DIST pear give-PST
 'Then he gave each of them some pears.' (S)

The only examples of substantivization that I found in my corpus are formed with *žiw-žiw*, and they have the meaning 'everybody' (737). For another example see Section 6.3.

- (737) *mecxer b-aq'e-s žiw.žiw-ez*
 money(III) III-com-PST every-DAT
 'Money came for everybody.' (N)

12.9.3. The quantifier *-oλλoku* 'half'

The quantifier *-oλλoku* 'half' is formally a noun derived from the adverbial/post-position *-oλλo* 'in the middle, between'. (Section 10.2.2.11, Section 11.2.11). It preserves the agreement prefix of its derivational base and agrees with its head noun in a kind of appositional phrase (738a). The quantifier can be used on its own, and the agreement prefix then expresses the gender of its referent. For instance, if the speaker has a referent in mind that belongs to gender III, the prefix *b-* must be used. If the referent belongs to gender V, then *r-* must be used (738b), etc.

- (738) a. *teł-er got' y-oλλoku stakan łe-yi-š*
 into-LAT pour IV-half glass(IV) water-OBL-GEN I
 'Pour half a glass of water into it.' (N)
- b. *neλ diž b-oλλoku / r-oλλoku!*
 give I.DAT III-half / V-half
 'Give me the half!'

Chapter 13

Minor parts of speech

Hinuq has the following minor parts of speech: enclitics, particles/conjunctions, and interjections/exclamations. Without entering deeply into the theoretical debates concerning whether there are such parts of speech like enclitics and particles, I will use the following operational definitions: enclitics are phonologically bound and serve grammatical and/or pragmatic function. Particles and conjunctions are short invariant words that serve a grammatical function. Interjections and exclamations are short invariant words that express emotions and sentiments.

However, the line between enclitics and particles, and also between suffixes and enclitics is not always easy to draw. Therefore, in this chapter I also treat a few morphemes that are more similar to suffixes than to enclitics, but due to their functional complexity do not fit into the previous chapters.

13.1. Enclitics

Hinuq only has enclitics, no proclitics. There are more than a dozen of these items, which are partially very frequent and partially rarely used. The lexical items to which I refer with the term ‘enclitics’ are phonologically dependent on the preceding word but are semantically independent units. They can regularly be added to more than only one part of speech (i.e. lack of host selectivity) and are usually not part of inflectional and/or derivational paradigms. Enclitics must respect the restrictions on syllable structure; therefore, a few of them have allomorphs. There are no arbitrary gaps in host-enclitic combinations and no semantic idiosyncrasy. Enclitics can attach to material already containing enclitics. In general, Hinuq enclitics fulfill the criteria given by Zwicky & Pullum (1983) for cliticity. Nevertheless, there are a few morphemes analyzed in this section on enclitics that are borderline cases because they do not satisfy all the criteria.

According to their functions, I propose the following coarse classification of Hinuq enclitics and more suffix-like morphemes into three types:

1. Enclitics with a pragmatic function manipulating the information structuring of clauses and expressing emphasis. To this type belong: =gozo/=gozon/=gon, =tow, =čo, =te, =xa, and =m.
2. Enclitics and suffixes with a grammatical function. To this type belong the interrogative enclitics/suffixes and =če, -či, =tun, -yu, =xen, -ti, -li, -ni,

$-\lambda i$ and $=e\lambda$. The last of them, the Narrative enclitic $=e\lambda$, is not further analyzed in this chapter, but in 8.3.3, together with other ways of expressing evidentiality.

3. Multifunctional enclitics with both a pragmatic and a grammatical function. To this type belong $=qen$, $=\lambda a$, and $=n$.

It was impossible to identify an underlying function for the enclitics $=gozo/ =gozon/ =gon$, $=\lambda a$, $=tow$, and $=\check{c}e$. Therefore, they have multiple glossings according to their respective functions.

Hinuq also has two lexical items that are somewhere between enclitics and particles: $(=)bito$ and $(=)\check{s}id$. They are sometimes phonologically bound and sometimes occur independently. Both items serve the function of spatial adverbs and are thus described in Chapter 10 together with other adverbials.

13.1.1. Enclitics manipulating the information structure

13.1.1.1. *The enclitics =gozo/=gon/=gozon*

These enclitics represent a group of formally and functionally closely related enclitics. From a formal point of view, at least $=gozon$ is morphologically complex consisting of $=gozo$ plus $=n$ (homophonous with the Coordinative enclitic). The three enclitics do not occur equally frequently in my corpus: the total number of occurrences of $=gon$ and $=gozon$ is about four times as high as the total number of occurrences of $=gozo$. Probably as a consequence of the relatively infrequent use of $=gozo$, not all of the functions are attested for this enclitic in my corpus. However, they can be elicited. In addition, speakers generally show a preference for one of the two more frequent enclitics.

The enclitics are added to nominal expressions (nouns, pronouns, and WH-words), to numerals, to adjectives, to temporal, and spatial adverbs. They almost exclusively follow the first constituent of a clause, which can be one word only or a phrase, i.e. they appear in the second position of the clause. But when expressing repetition or addition, they can show up in the middle of the clause (745b, 745c).

The enclitics have a number of different but related functions. I analyze four functions as basic from which the other functions can be implied. The basic semantic domains that $=gon$, $=gozo$, and $=gozon$ express are topic, addition, contrast, and ‘even’ (extreme). The derived functions are topic change, repetition, and free choice. Topic change follows from the topic marking function plus the contrastive meaning. Addition is a special case of repetition whereby an identical item is added. And free choice refers to all elements in a domain, including the

most extreme one. Of course there is also a cognitive relation between the basic meanings of this clitic group. For example, topical referents have been established in the previous discourse, so they can serve as a reference point to which other referents are added or with which other referents are contrasted.

Since it was impossible to establish one underlying function or meaning for all uses of =*gon*, =*gozo*, and =*gozon*, I chose three different glossings that indicate the respective function: TOP for topic and contrastive topic, ADD for repetition and addition, and =*even* for the ‘even’-meaning.

Topic and contrastive topic

The enclitics mark new topical referents that have been introduced in the preceding discourse; they have often been introduced in the clause immediately before and are important for the following discourse. Thus, the preceding clause is often a presentational sentence (739c). These referents are frequently S or A arguments, but they may also be modifiers describing local settings or other topicalized non-core arguments.

- (739) a. *hoboži aq’^we kezi.b.iq-no. aq’^we-y=gozon ełi-n ...*
 now mouse(III) meet.III-UWPST mouse-ERG=TOP say-UWPST
 ‘(He) met a mouse and the mouse said ...’ (N)
- b. [*geł k’al-ma Ø-aq’e-ył’o*] *hayłi=gon [r-ux-no] r-eq’ir-ho*
 down canyon-IN I-come-SIM there=TOP V-take-CVB V-try-PRS
hało-y. k’oł-o had patron
 he.OBL-ERG fly-PRS this bullet(V)
 ‘When he comes down into the canyon, right there he takes a bullet and tries it and shoots it.’ (N)
- c. *q’idi-r c’ox-no balalayka. “hadu=gon*
 down-LAT fall-UWPST babalayka this=TOP
łine-z=łen diž?” ełi-n hayło uži:
 what.OBL-DAT=QUOT I.DAT say-UWPST that.OBL boy.ERG
 ‘A balalaika fell down. “Why this for me?” said the boy.’ (N)

The enclitics are also used to indicate topic change, especially if topics that are in S or A function repeatedly alter. Thus, they occur in particular in speech situations where two or more people have a conversation and the speakers alter continuously (740a, 740b).

- (740) a. [The friend asked Malla Rasadan: What is your crow for?]

Malla Rasadan-i=gozo eʃi-n “*hadu di šayix*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG=TOP say-UWPST this I.GEN I saint
goʃ”=*ʃen*
 be=QUOT

‘And then Malla Rasadan answered, “It is my sheikh.”’ (N)

- b. [The father asked the daughter how much she loved him.]

haʃu ked-i=gon eʃi-n, [...] “*čiyο=če Ø-eti*”=*ʃen*
 this.OBL girl-ERG=TOP say-UWPST salt=EQ I-like=QUOT
eʃi-n. hado=gon bixzin.iq-no
 say-CVB he=TOP be.angry.I-UWPST

‘The girl said [...], “Like the salt.” He got angry.’ (N)

Not only alternating dialog partners are marked with the enclitics but also other referents acting alternately or situations that are contrasted with each other (741a). Sometimes the referents are not even topical but rather are newly introduced (741b).

- (741) a. [The children take the hat and give it to him.]

hayʃo uži:=gozon iši-be=n toʃʃo, geni-be=n
 that.OBL boy.ERG=TOP apple-PL=and give.PRS pear-PL=and
toʃʃo haze-z
 give.PRS they.OBL-DAT

‘And the boy (in contrast) gives apples to them, pears.’ (S)

- b. *idu qizan haq’u zoq’e-s, maqo=gon posu zoq’e-s*
 home family family be-PST outside=TOP livestock be-PST

‘The family was at home; the livestock was outside.’ (N)

Due to the topic marking function of the enclitics, they cannot occur on the WH-word in an interrogative clause or on the patient in a biabsolutive construction. WH-words in questions are always in focus, thus they cannot be marked with a topicalizing enclitic. And the patient in the biabsolutive construction cannot be explicitly topicalized because the construction requires the agent to be topic of the clause (see 17.10 for more information on this construction).

- (742) * *obu moči=gon/=gozon/=gozo b-eʃ-o goʃ*
 father field(III)=TOP/=TOP/=TOP III-plough-ICVB be
 (Father is ploughing the field.)

Repetition and addition

The second semantic field that the enclitics *=gon/=gozo/=gozon* cover is repetition and addition. When they are added to temporal adverbs such as *hoboži*

‘now’, *hezzo* ‘then’, and *hoboy* ‘then’, which usually occur in sentence-initial position, they indicate the repetition of the event/situation described by the following clause.

- (743) *hoboži=gozo k'oλe-n idu-r; hoboži=gozo noc-qo*
 now=ADD run-UWPST home-LAT now=ADD louse-AT
y-eze-n hadu
 II-look-UWPST she
 ‘Again she ran home; again she looked for the louse.’ (N)

With the same function, they also occur on frequency adverbs based on numerals (e.g. *san=gozo(n)/san=gon* ‘once again’, from *san* ‘once’; see also (744a)), or other expressions like adjectives (744b) or nouns (744c). The expression to which the enclitics are added are in their scope, i.e. if they refer to a time span, then it is the time span which is repeated.

- (744) a. *k'ox eλa=gon Ø-iλ'i-n haytu ked-de-r*
 twice ORD=ADD I-go-UWPST that.OBL girl-ALOC-LAT
 ‘A second time he went to the girl.’ (N)
- b. *ec'endiyu=gozon eluλ'o r-uw-a r-aq'e-s buλe-be*
 new=ADD we.SPR NHPL-do-INF NHPL-must-PST house-PL
 ‘Again we had to build new houses.’ (N)
- c. *λeba-λ'o-r=gozon kinawnigi hayto baru-zo*
 year.OBL-SPR-LAT=ADD altogether that.OBL wife-GEN2
obu-s sihirti hafo uži: r-eq'ir-no
 father-GEN1 slyness(V) this.OBL boy.ERG V-learn-UWPST
 ‘For one more year the boy learned the tricks of his wife’s father.’
 (N)

They are lexicalized in two frequency adverbs *žigozo(n)/žigon* ‘again’ (although *ži* does not exist as an independent word but does occur in a number of other temporal adverbs and has a deictic meaning; see Section 10.3.8) and *biton=gozo(n)/bito=gozo(n)* ‘again’ (though *bito* means ‘there’ when it occurs as an independent word, and it indicates the Translative when it is added to a noun).

The enclitics indicate not only a (more or less) identical repetition of some situation or referent but also the addition of a fact or situation to an already described situation. In this case, the added situation is not simply a copy of the previous situation but belongs somehow to the previous situation.

- (745) a. *hayte*†=*gozon k'onk'a-λ'o Ø-iλ'i-n hes uži*
 there=ADD bike-SPR I-go-UWPST one boy(I)
 'Furthermore/moreover a boy came (there) on a bike.' (S)
- b. *hoboži Hinuq aλ-a-łi q'uya=gon se es-an*
 now Hinuq village-OBL-ABST other=ADD what tell-INTFUT
mežu-qo de
 you.PL.OBL-AT I.ERG
 'Now what else will I tell you about the village of Hinuq.' (N)
- c. *obu-s essu hes=gon c'uyaw zoq'w'e-s Zaynab=λen*
 father-GEN1 brother one=ADD female be-PST Zaynab=QUOT
 'Father had yet another sister called Zainab.' (N)

The functions of 'repetition' and 'addition' are of course conceptually very similar and thus not clearly differentiable from each other. For instance, the lexeme *hes=gozo(n)/hes=gon* means 'one more' (from the numeral *hes* 'one'), and it can indicate an exact repetition or addition of another referent. Similarly, *q'uya=gozo(n)/q'uya=gon* 'another one more' (from *q'uya* 'other' 'another') can mean repetition or addition.

Even

The third meaning cluster of this clitic group indicates the extreme of some domain. This can be translated into English with 'even X', and the expression X that is in the scope of the particle is the last item in some domain that is expected for the predicate to be true. Note, however, that the domain of the enclitics may include not only the expression to which they are added but also some other expressions. This results from the second position where the enclitics usually appear. For example, in (746a) the scope of =*gozon* is the whole noun phrase *hado uži* 'this son', not only the demonstrative pronoun.

- (746) a. *hado=gozon uži Ø-iλ'i-ye?*
 this=even son(I) I-go-Q
 'Even this son went away?'
- b. *"Allah, mezza=gon simildi gom"=λen de eλi-yo*
 Allah at.your.place=even corn be.NEG=QUOT I.ERG say-PRS
 "'Allah, even at your place there is no corn,'" I say.' (N)

The 'even'-function of =*gon/=gozo/=gozon* can be combined with a conditional meaning rendering a concessive meaning 'even if' or 'although'. In such clauses, the verbal head is a concessive converb, and the clause is in contrast with some expectation. In (747) it is the trigger of the expectation that is marked with

the enclitic =gozon, i.e. small villages are not expected to have many educated inhabitants.

- (747) *b-eg^wey=gozon b-iq-on elo aλ-a-s*
 III-small=even III-happen-CONC we.GEN2 village-OBL-GEN1
eλ-a behezi.r.iq ²aši goł t'ot'er-iš xalq'i
 say-INF allow.V much be learn-RES people
 ‘Although our village is small, one can say that there are many educated people.’

With the adverb *dahaw*, the ‘even’-meaning of these enclitics is lexicalized and can be translated with ‘even more’. If another adverb or adjective with the meaning X follows, then the whole expression means ‘even more X’:

- (748) a. *nartaw dahaw=gon ʔaža ʔibłezi Ø-iq-iš=eλ*
 giant few=even wonder I-become-PST=NARR
 ‘The giant wondered even more.’ (N)
 b. *“ha, had dahaw=gozon r-egi”=λen eλi-n hało*
 ha this few=even V-good=QUOT say-UWPST this.OBL
xoddo-y
 husband-ERG
 ‘“Ha, this is even better,” said the husband.’ (N)

Another nuance of the ‘even’-meaning of the enclitics is the free choice meaning similar to free choice pronouns of the ‘ever’-series (Section 5.6.3). In this function, the enclitics also indicate the extreme, i.e. it is possible to choose any item from some domain, even the most extreme item. The verb in the clause that contains the enclitic is usually the Concessive converb (749a, 749b), but it can also be in the Irrealis mood indicated with the particle *q'ede* (749c).

- (749) a. *[de se=gozo eλi-yon] me [debez*
 I.ERG what=even say-CONC you.SG.ERG you.SG.DAT
y-eti-yo goła] ked-qo-s k^wezey r-iγ-om!
 II-want-ICVB be.PTCP girl(II)-AT-ABL1 hand(V) V-take-PROH
 ‘Whatever I say, do not take away the hand from your beloved girl!’
 (N)
 b. *[se=gon sumka-ma teł gor-on] sumka λax-a gom*
 what=even bag-IN inside put-CONC bag tear.up-INF be.NEG
 ‘Whatever you put in the bag, it will not tear up.’

- c. [xemza-qo=gon Ø-ece-s q'ede] diž q'ono x^win
 stone.OBL.PL-AT=even I-tie-PST IRR I.DAT two pasture(IV)
 y-ič'-ače beλ' r-aši-yo zoq'^we-s
 IV-fill-TERM sheep(NHPL) V-get-ICVB be-PST
 'If ever you had tied me to stones, I would have gotten about two
 pastures full of sheep.' (N)

13.1.1.2. The Emphatic enclitic =tow

This is one of the most frequent enclitics in Hinuq. In my corpus there are over 300 occurrences. This enclitic can be added to all parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, WH-words, adverbs, adjectives, verbs, particles etc. It is always the last segment of a word, i.e. it is never followed by another enclitic or particle. Enclitics with a similar functional range are found in the other Tsezic languages, in Avar, and in the Andic languages.

Despite the high number of occurrences, it is not easy to precisely describe the function of this enclitic. It expresses emphasis in a number of different ways or contexts: full reduplication, reflexivization, identity, temporal expressions, WH-words, etc. Sometimes it is added to expressions that are contrasted with some previously mentioned expressions.

This enclitic occurs on the first occurrence of a fully reduplicated word, mostly a verb (750c), but occasionally also some other part of speech such as a noun (750a, 750b) or an adverb (750d). Sometimes reduplication with =tow refers to repetitive situations that occur again and again (750b, 750c). But often the reduplicated expression marked with =tow simply highlights some important expression in the clause (750d). For more examples of reduplicated verbs to which =tow is added see Section 9.5.

- (750) a. "uq'ira xexza-s iyo goł"=λen eλi-n "łono
 four.OBL child.OBL.PL-GEN1 mother be=QUOT say-CVB three
 uq'ino λeba-ł muži-λ'o=tow muži-λ'o"
 four year.OBL-CONT mattress-SPR=EMPH mattress-SPR
 '(Our) mother of four children is already ill for three, four years.'
 (lit. 'lays on the bed') (N)
- b. hoboži hayti-š haw besdal ked y-ičir-ho zoq'e-n
 now there-ABL1 that orphan girl(II) II-force-ICVB be-UWPST
 hagze-y čeq-i=tow čeq-i. rede
 they.OBL-ERG forest-IN=EMPH forest-IN wood(III)
 b-iq'e-n=tow b-iq'e-n
 III-bring-UWPST=EMPH III-bring-UWPST

‘They sent the orphan girl again and again into the forest; (she) brought wood.’ (N)

- c. *he, me* *ʔabdal Ø-ot'-no=tow* *Ø-ot'-no muži:=n*
 hey you.SG fool I-lay-CVB=EMPH I-lay-CVB mattress.IN=and
Ø-iči-n
 I-be-UWPST

‘Hey, you fool; you lay and lay on the bed.’ (N)

- d. *q'ono=n y^wede yoriš-a-ho=n* *kekir-iš quqe=tow*
 two=and day cow.PL-OBL-ILOC=and send-PST hungry=EMPH
quqe
 hungry

‘And two days (you) sent me hungry to look after the cows.’ (N)

Another meaning that =*tow* recurrently conveys is similar to the emphatic use of reflexive pronouns. In this function, =*tow* follows nouns or pronouns (personal pronouns for first and second person, reflexive pronouns for third person) and can be translated with ‘self’ into English. Sometimes the referent to which =*tow* is added is contrasted with some referent that had been mentioned before (751c).

- (751) a. *di=tow* *oλno xexbe goł ʔono ked=no* *uq'ino*
 I.GEN1=SELF seven children be three daughter=and four
uži=n
 son=and

‘I myself have seven children, three daughters and four sons.’ (N)

- b. “*hayru r-ese-yo*”=λen *eλi-yo sudi-ya-y*
 so V-be.probable-COND=QUOT say-PRS judge-OBL-ERG
kupec-go-r “*me=tow ʔayibiyaw goł*”=λen
 merchant-AT-LAT you.SG=SELF guilty be=QUOT

“‘If it is like this,’ says the judge to the merchant, ‘then you yourself are guilty.’” (N)

- c. [First the merchant’s wife looked at the donkey.]
kupec-i zoni=tow *Ø-iλ'i-n xal* *b-u-i-ho*
 merchant-ERG REFL.SG.ERG=SELF I-go-CVB gaze(III) III-do-PRS

‘The merchant himself goes and takes a look.’ (N)

- d. [One hunter shot at a bird, but only a feather came down.]

ħaži: caħi-n mihna=tow b-aq'er-no geł
 Gadzhi.ERG throw-CVB bird(III)=SELF III-bring-UWPST down
q'idi-r
 down-LAT

‘Gadzhi shot and brought the bird itself down.’ (N)

When =*tow* is encliticized to demonstrative pronouns or to adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns, then it expresses identity and can be translated with ‘very same’. This function is similar to the reflexive emphatic meaning. Hinuq is not the only language where reflexive expressions can convey emphasis and identity; similar multifunctional reflexive words exist in many other languages such as English *x-self* and Turkish *kendi* (König & Siemund 2005).

- (752) a. *hayteł=no hibayi=tow ked y-aši-yo*
 there=and such=SELF girl(II) II-find-PRS
 ‘And there (he) finds the very same girl.’ (N)
- b. *hibagbe=tow meleci b-aq'-o*
 those=SELF police(HPL) HPL-come-prs
 ‘The very same policemen come.’ (N)

Often the enclitic =*tow* appears on temporal expressions. These expressions may be genuine adverbs and nouns used adverbially, but they may also be temporal converbial clauses. The adverbial to which =*tow* is added is particularly emphasized and occasionally contrasted (753b).

- (753) a. *giluħ'os=tow de rore gor-iš bikore-ħ'o*
 suddenly=EMPH I foot put-PST snake-SPR
 ‘Suddenly I stepped on a snake.’
- b. [Will you go to Makhachkala tomorrow?]
gom. de žiqu=tow Ø-iħ'i-yo Maħačqala-ħ'o-do
 be.NEG I today=EMPH I-go-PRS Makhachkala-SPR-DIR
 ‘I go TODAY to Makhachkala.’

When =*tow* occurs in temporal adverbial clauses, it is added to the head of the clause, i.e. the converb. It often marks the Immediate Anterior converb (754a), the Local participle (when it is used temporally), and the Posterior converb, but it also marks other converbs that occur in temporal adverbial clauses, e.g. the negative Purposive converb (754b).

- (754) a. [*haʎo-y hobo b-ik'-orun=tow*] *ʎ'ere=bito r-os-no*
 he.OBL-ERG leg(III) III-beat-IMANT=EMPH on=TRANS V-fall-CVB
haʎo-ʎ'o-r b-aq'-o t'as
 he.OBL-SPR-LAT III-come-PRS bowl(III)
 'As soon as he beat the leg (against the column), from above a bowl
 falls down on him.' (N)
- b. [*b-oʎʎo zaman b-iʎ'i-mez=tow*] *xan Ø-uhe-n*
 III-middle time(III) III-go-PURP.NEG=EMPH khan(I) I-die-UWPST
 'After some time the khan died.' (N)

The enclitic =*tow* repeatedly follows various WH-words (*what, who, why, which, how much, etc.*).

- (755) a. *urʎezi Ø-iq-no hado uži se=tow r-uw-an*
 think I-happen-UWPST this boy(I) what=EMPH V-do-INTFUT
 'The boy thought what to do.' (N)
- b. "*sira=tow hadu q'ono bat'iyaw iši*
 why=EMPH this two other apple(III)
b-oʎex-no?"=ʎen eʎi-n
 III-appear-UWPST=QUOT say-UWPST
 "'Why did two different apples appear?'" he said.' (N)

However, many occurrences of =*tow* do not fall into any of the contexts described up to now. Thus, =*tow* is often used to emphasize and call attention to some expression in a clause. For instance, in (756a) the fact is stressed that it is possible to simply take the fresh cheese and cut it into pieces and salt it and eat it without doing anything further to it. Similarly, in (756b) the speaker emphasizes that his grandfather died very young. Again, some examples express not simply emphasis but explicit contrast (756d).

- (756) a. [*debez r-eti-yo*] *ec'endiyu=tow*
 you.SG.DAT NHPL-want-COND fresh=EMPH
rocima-s=tow met'ru-be r-uw-a ...
 sieve.IN-ABL I=EMPH piece-PL NHPL-do-INF
 'If you like to make pieces, fresh, directly from the sieve ...' (N)
- b. *hago ʎoloqan=tow Ø-uhe-n*
 he young=EMPH I-die-UWPST
 'He died YOUNG.' (N)
- c. [Finally the woman agreed to meet with the young mullah.]

hago c'aq'=*tow razi Ø-iq-no*
 he very=EMPH happy I-become-UWPST

'He was VERY happy.' (N)

- d. *b-²ežiy zahmataw halt'i di devez gom.*
 III-big difficult work(III) I.GEN I you.SG.DAT be.NEG

b-eg^wey=tow su?al goł devez
 III-small=EMPH question be you.SG.DAT

'My task for you is not big and difficult. The question for you is SMALL.' (N)

In sum, the overall function of =*tow* is the expression of emphasis and contrast. It highlights linguistic items that contradict the expectations of the hearer. These items are often in contrast with some previously established items in the discourse. For instance, in most situations agent and patient are not identical, thus agent = patient can be taken as a default expectation of speakers. If, as in reflexive constructions, the agent and the patient are identical, then the default expectation is contradicted. Therefore, the patient, especially in those cases where there are no specialized reflexive pronouns, is marked with the emphatic enclitic. The enclitic also marks contrast outside from reflexive constructions (753b) (756d). Similarly, the emphatic use of the reflexive enclitic often in combination with reflexive pronouns implies that the marked items contradicts some expectations and contrasts the marked item with other items often explicitly mentioned before or implicitly present in the discourse. The expression of identity ('this very same X, and not any other') has a similar function, namely the correction of hearer expectations. From the contrastive function =*tow* has developed a general emphatic and intensifying meaning, thus functioning as a general focus marker. It can be encliticized to focalized items, e.g. WH-pronouns (755a, 755b).

13.1.1.3. The Emphatic enclitic =*čo*

This enclitic is mostly added to verbs in the Imperative, the Optative, to verbs in interrogative clauses, and to interjections/exclamations like *še* 'let's go!', but it does not occur in main declarative clauses. It has the meaning 'still, however, yet, already' and puts special emphasis on the command or on the question. The addressee is strongly required to fulfill the command or to answer the question. I have found only a handful of occurrences of =*čo* in my corpus.

- (757) a. *maduhal'i-ža-qo-r nox=čo me, uži*
 neighbourhood-OBL-PL-AT-LAT come=EMPH you.SG boy
 'Come to the neighbors, boy!' (N)

- b. “*ha, b-iker-o=čo!*”=*χen eχi-n hayłoy*
 ha III-show-IMP=EMPH=QUOT say-UWPST he.ERG
 ‘“Hey, show it!” he said.’ (N)
- c. *Ahmad=no haw hayło-de tu zoq’e-y=čo?*
 Ahmat=and that he.OBL-ALOC who be-Q=EMPH
 ‘Ahmat, and who was with him?’ (N)
- d. *r-ič’-no hagbe=n ... karzina-be eχi-yo*
 NHPL-fill-CVB those=and basket-PL say-ICVB
gom=e=čo? se eχi-yo elu-ho-r?
 be.NEG=Q=EMPH what say-PRS we.OBL-ILOC-LAT
 ‘filling the baskets ... we do not say so? What do we say?’ (S)

The enclitic can also occur on other verb forms such as the Simultaneous converb and the Conditional converb. In (758a) the use of =*čo* indicates that the speaker is very unsatisfied with the situation (i.e. ‘Is it not enough that it is cold? Why must it also be windy?!’). Although (758b) represents a conditional converb clause, it can be used alone with the meaning of a question like ‘Can Mahama go home?’.

- (758) a. *r-oč’ił-a r-oč’ił-o, łaci=n r-iq-oł’o=čo?!*
 V-be.cold-INF V-be.cold-PRS wind(V)=and V-happen-SIM=EMPH
 ‘It is cold and in addition also windy.’
- b. *Mahama idu-do Ø-ił’i-yo=čo?!*
 Mahama(1) home-DIR I-go-COND=EMPH
 ‘And what if Mahama goes home?’

13.1.1.4. The enclitic =*łe*

This enclitic appears mostly on the last word of a verbal predicate, but it also occurs on other parts of speech such as nouns or pronouns. The nouns and pronouns can be in the absolutive case (759a), but they can also be in their oblique form. For instance, the noun *sumka* ‘bag’ has an oblique stem that is identical in form to the direct stem. However, in (759e) the oblique stem has been used because the possessive pronoun appears with the Second Genitive and not with the First Genitive (which is reserved for possessees in the absolutive). This property is surprising; normally, only case suffixes require that modifiers of nouns bearing case suffixes must be in their oblique forms. However, the semantics of =*łe* and its possibility to occur attached to finite verbs is not typical for case suffixes.

Since there are only a handful of occurrences of this enclitic in my corpus, its function is not completely clear to me. It can be translated with ‘in fact, indeed’ or ‘really’ and indicates that some situation became real, often against the expectations of the speaker. The use of this enclitic also conveys emphasis. It appears only in clauses containing reported speech. Probably because the enclitic refers to situations as a whole, it is added to the predicate of the clause. If it appears on a constituent, then its referent triggered some surprise in the speaker (759a).

- (759) a. “*wah, hadu boc’e=ɬe zoq^we-n hadi*”=λen eλi-n
 wow this wolf=really be-UWPST here=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“Ah, there is in fact a wolf here,” he said.’ (N)
- b. *me Ø-aq’e-me=ɬe de eλi-yono*
 you.SG I-come-NEG=really I.ERG say-CONC
 ‘You (masc.) really did not come, although I called you.’
- c. “*de Ø-uhe-n zoq^we-n gom=ɬe*”=λen eλi-n
 I I-die-CVB be-CVB be.NEG=really=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“I (masc.) really did not die,” he said.’ (N)
- d. “*me-n b-ex^wa:-ho=ɬe, de se=tow*
 you.SG=and III-slaughter-PRS=really I.ERG what=EMPH
r-uw-an”=λen eλi-n
 V-do-INTFUT=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“(The stepmother) will in fact also slaughter you, what will I do,” she said.’ (N)
- e. *di-žo sumka=ɬe debe da?ba goɬ?*
 I.OBL-GEN2 bag=really you.SG.GEN1 dispute be
 ‘Are you disputing about my bag?’

There is one word, *žiɬe*, consisting of the deictic part *ži*, that does not occur on its own in Hinuq but is part of a number of adverbs plus the enclitic *-ɬe*. This word means ‘otherwise’ (760). As with the enclitic, *žiɬe* only occurs in examples that represent reported speech.

- (760) *kekir-o haw olbo! žiɬe me Ø-uher-a goɬ*
 let-IMP that dove otherwise you.SG I-kill-INF be
 ‘Let the dove go, otherwise I will kill you.’ (N)

13.1.1.5. The Emphatic enclitic =xa

This enclitic is an Avar loan. According to the Avar grammar it has an emphatic function (Alekseev & Ataev 1998: 65). Although there are more than 50 occur-

rences of =*xa* in my corpus, I was not able to ascertain any specific function. It seems to merely have an emphatic meaning and often indicates the emotional involvement of the speaker. The enclitic only occurs in transcriptions of audio recordings of texts, especially in dialogues, but never in formulaic traditional narration or in elicitation. It occurs practically on all parts of speech: verbs, nouns, pronouns, WH-words, adjectives, and adverbs; but verbs are evidently the preferred host. It can appear on various positions in the clause, but since it prefers the verb, and verbs predominantly come in clause final position, =*xa* is often found at the end of the clause.

- (761) a. [The boy went away, taking his bike.]
hezzo=xā xexbe b-aq'e-s hayto rek'u-de
 then=EMPH children HPL-come-PST that.OBL man.OBL-ALOC
 'Then the children came to that man.' (S)
- b. [Talking about the characteristics that a poet must have]
aʔsi ʔasiyaw q'uya-de-r c'ik'araw hayto-s
 terribly terrible other-ALOC-LAT big he.OBL-GEN I
roλ'i b-ič-a b-aq'-o=xā
 love(III) III-be-INF III-must-PRS=EMPH
 'His love must be terribly, terribly bigger than (the love of) others.'
 (N)
- c. *seda zaman-a-ł hažatxan-ma-s Ø-aq'e-n*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT toilet-IN-ABL I I-come-CVB
gom=xā hado
 be.NEG=EMPH he
 'At one time he did not come back from the toilet.' [Because he was killed, as was discovered afterwards.] (N)
- d. *hado Ø-iši-yo=xā Ø-iši-yo [Ø-aχ^wi-λ'or]*
 he I-eat-PRS=EMPH I-eat-PRS I-eat.one's.fill-POST
 'He eats, eats until he is completely full.' (N)

There are two contexts in which =*xa* often occurs, namely in rhetorical questions or answers to rhetorical questions (762a) and on verbs of speech (762b).

- (762) a. "*ʔi r-ič-a r-aq'-o, di=xā*"=λen
 whose NHPL-be-INF NHPL-must-PRS I.GEN I=EMPH=QUOT
eλi-š=eλ paxruṭi-λ'o q'iliqan-i
 say-PST=NARR pride-SPR drummer-ERG
 "'Whose must they be, mine (of course)," said the drummer with pride.' (N)

- b. *b-iλ'i-yo b-aq'-o Tbilisi-r, Kalaki=λen*
 HPL-go-ICVB HPL-come-PRS Tbilisi.IN-LAT Kalaki=QUOT
eλi=xa eli
 say=EMPH we.ERG
 '(They) go and come to Tbilisi; we call it Kalaki.' (N)

13.1.1.6. The enclitic expressing doubt =*m*

This enclitic has the form =*m* or =*yem* when it is added to vowels, and it is =*em* when added to consonants. It typically follows verbs but also occurs on WH-words. The enclitic expresses doubt, uncertainty, and lack of confidence and predominantly occurs in what seem to be interrogative main clauses and embedded interrogative clauses (complement clauses). It is not found in declarative main clauses. Note, however, that the precise illocutionary force of these clauses is not completely clear. Examples that seem to function as questions such as (763b) have been elicited and thus lack a context. In this sentence as well as in sentences with embedded questions (764b) the verbs bearing =*m* have the Simple Past suffix -*s* and not the interrogative form which obligatorily replaces -*s* in main interrogative clauses and normally also in embedded interrogative clauses (cf. Section 13.1.2.1). Thus, from a morphosyntactic point of view these sentences do not represent questions.

If the enclitic follows the Intentional Future suffix, the usual restriction of this tense to the first person is cancelled; in other words, verbs in the Intentional Future can also have S or A arguments that are, for example, third person. Similarly, the predicate restriction that normally excluded experiencer verbs and other verbs with non-canonical agents from taking the Intentional Future suffix is cancelled when the verbs occur in a question and are marked with =*m*.

- (763) a. *de Ø-uλλo haytoγ diž beši*
 I be.afraid.PRS he.ERG I.DAT fist(III)
b-ik'-an=em=λen
 III-beat-INTFUT=DOUBT=QUOT
 'I am afraid that he (really) wants to beat me with his fist.'
- b. *haw y-edo:-s=em?*
 she II-work-PST=DOUBT
 'Did she (really) work?'

When =*m* follows a WH-word, its focus is precisely this WH-word, i.e. it emphasizes the WH-word similar to the emphatic meaning of *ever*, e.g.

- (764) a. “*haw nete=yem y-uh-an*”=*λen eλi-n*
 she when=DOUBT II-die-INTFUT=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“When will she ever die,” (she) said.’ (N)
- b. [*hado Ø-aq’e-ymeλ’o*] “*se=yem r-iq-iš*”=*λen,*
 he I-come-SIM.NEG what-=DOUBT V-happen-PST=QUOT
maqo-r b-ułi-š=eλ nartaw-be
 outside-LAT HPL-go.out-PST=NARR giant-PL
 ‘When he did not come, the giants went outside (to see) what happened to him.’ (N)

13.1.2. Enclitics with grammatical function

13.1.2.1. Interrogative enclitics and suffixes

The interrogative enclitics and suffixes are *=(y)e*, *-i*, *-y*, *-(y)e*, and *-iye*. With all parts of speech apart from verbs and with all verb forms¹⁰⁸ apart from the General tense and the Simple Past, only the enclitic *=(y)e* is used. The use of the interrogative enclitic is optional. It has a uniform phonological shape. It occurs on the constituent that represents the focus of the question which is often the verb, but it can also be another expression, including modifiers in noun phrases. Important is only that non-verbal clitic hosts precede the finite verb, because to encliticize *=(y)e* to an item following the verb is ungrammatical. The interrogative enclitic can, in principle, occur in every interrogative clause. Examples of enclitic-host combinations are given in (765).

- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (765) | <i>goł=e</i> | ‘be=Q’ | <i>-aši-n=e</i> | ‘find-UWPST=Q’ |
| | <i>gom=e</i> | ‘be.NEG=Q’ | <i>-uher-an=e</i> | ‘kill-INTFUT=Q’ |
| | <i>se=ye</i> | ‘what=Q’ | <i>ołra=ye</i> | ‘seven.OBL=Q’ |
| | <i>ubay=e</i> | ‘kiss=Q’ | <i>zek=e</i> | ‘tomorrow=Q’ |

The interrogative enclitic predominantly appears on the verb, but in principle they can appear on any part of speech including WH-words, which is not surprising since they represent the focus of WH-questions. Since it is possible to have multiple foci in one clause, there can be more than one interrogative en-

¹⁰⁸There is a further minor restriction. Verbs with a stem-final consonant cannot take an interrogative enclitic in the Simple Unwitnessed Past. Their stem ends in a consonant and they take the Simple Unwitnessed Past suffix *=no*, but from this it is impossible to form an interrogative form because **-uher-no-ye* and **-uher-n-e* are ungrammatical. These verbs mark interrogative clauses in the Simple Unwitnessed Past only by intonation.

clitic in one clause. More information on interrogative clauses and examples can be found in Chapter 28.

In addition to the enclitic there are interrogative suffixes. These suffixes are most probably cognates of the interrogative enclitic, but they are nevertheless distinct from it. First, they are obligatorily used in all neutral past tenses. Neutral past tenses are normally marked with the suffix *-s*. But in interrogative clauses this suffix is obligatorily replaced by one of the interrogative suffixes. Which of the suffixes is used depends partially on the phonological shape of the segment to which they are attached and partially on the emphasis, i.e. sometimes two different enclitics are possible, e.g. *razi b-iq-i?* and *razi b-iq-íye?* ‘Were you (plural) happy?’ (‘happy HPL-be-Q’), or *zoq ’^we-y?* and *zoq ’^we-ye?* (‘be-Q?’). The longer suffix is more emphatic than the shorter. Generally, *-i*, *-e*, and *-íye* are used after verb stems that end with a consonant, and *-y* and *-ye* after vowels. In other words, the suffixes belong to the morphological paradigm of verbs. Furthermore, the suffixes have much more allomorphic variants than the enclitic. Third, the suffixes simply express interrogative ilocutionary force and not necessarily the focus of the question. Therefore, a clause containing an interrogative suffix may contain a further interrogative enclitic.

Interrogative clauses in the General tense and interrogative clauses in the Simple Past may, in principle, contain the same word form for verbs with stem final /e/ or a stem-final long vowel. For the affirmative polarity, the interrogative forms distinguish a long from a short form, as has been mentioned above. The long forms are more emphatic and somewhat more frequent than the short forms. Interrogative forms with negative polarity are only built from the short form. The affirmative and negative interrogative forms for the General tense and the Simple Past are as follows:

(766)	General tense affirmative	Simple Past affirmative	Translation
	<i>-iq-é</i>	<i>-iq-í, -iq-íye</i>	‘happen’
	<i>-aq ’é-ye, (-aq ’é-y)</i>	<i>-aq ’é-y, -aq ’é-ye</i>	‘come’
	<i>-iǰ ’í:</i>	<i>-iǰ ’í:, -iǰ ’í-ye</i>	‘go’
	<i>-ú: -ye, (-ú: -y)</i>	<i>-ú: -y, -ú: -ye</i>	‘do’
(767)	General tense affirmative	Simple Past affirmative	Translation
	<i>-iq-mé</i>	<i>-iq-í-me</i>	‘happen’
	<i>-aq ’e-mé</i>	<i>-aq ’é-y-me</i>	‘come’
	<i>-iǰ ’i-mé</i>	<i>-iǰ ’í:-me</i>	‘go’
	<i>-u:-mé</i>	<i>-ú:-y-me</i>	‘do’

The allomorphs *-i* and *-e* (i.e. consisting of a single vowel) trigger stress on the preceding syllable. The allomorphs *-y* and *-ye* trigger stress on the preceding vowel. In the disyllabic allomorph, *-íye*, the stress falls on the first syllable.

13.1.2.2. The Equative enclitic =*če*

The enclitic =*če* can be added to all major parts of speech, e.g. nouns, pronouns, WH-words, numerals, or verbs. If the enclitic is added to numerals, the numerals may but do not have to appear in their bare root form. The enclitic has two basic meanings: the equative (‘about, similar, like’) and the terminative (‘until’) meaning. The equative meaning is found in simple equative constructions whereby two items are equated with each other and the standard of comparison (Y in a phrase like ‘X is like Y’) is marked with =*če* (768). Another type of comparison in which =*če* is used is the ‘the Xer the Yer’ construction. For more details and examples of both equative constructions see 26.1.4. The equative meaning of =*če* has also been lexicalized in one WH-word *deče* ‘how much’ and three quantitative adverbs *hače*, *hiba(ha)če*, and *iza(ha)če* ‘so much’ (Section 10.4.4).

- (768) “*debez deče de Ø-eti*”=*χen eχi-n* [...] “*čiyο=če*
 you.SG.DAT how.much I I-want=QUOT say-CVB salt=EQ
Ø-eti”=*χen eχi-n*
 I-want=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘How much do you love me?’” he asked. [...] “‘Like the salt.’” she said.’
 (N)

The second meaning of =*če* (or rather -*če*) is terminative. When added to the Infinitive -*a* or to the stem (in the case of those verbs that lack an Infinitive) it is used to form the Terminative converb (Section 7.7.2.2). But -*če* can also be added to the Past participle in order to convey the meaning ‘until’ (769b).

- (769) a. [*q’idi-r Ø-iχ’-ače*] *qoccaχ’o-n* *k’oχe-s*, [*eχ^wada-χ*
 down-LAT I-fall-TERM dance.OBL-SPR=and jump-PST sweat-SUB
Ø-eq-ače] *keč’-no qaχe-s*
 I-cover.oneself-TERM song=and call-PST
 ‘(I) danced until I fell down, I sang songs until I was covered with
 sweat.’ (N)
- b. *kuc-be r-u*, *gor, kuc-be r-u*, *gor [debez sadaq*
 form-PL NHPL-do put form-PL NHPL-do put you.SG.DAT all
paket-ma-s *χaq’e-yoru-če*
 package-IN-ABL1 finish-PTCP.PST-TERM
 ‘You make pieces and put them, make pieces and put them until your
 entire packages end.’ (N)

It is not clear how the two meanings of =*če* (Equative enclitic) and -*če* (Terminative suffix) relate to each other. It is, in principle, possible to posit two independent morphemes that happen to have the same phonological shape: an enclitic

with the equative function and another more suffix-like morpheme that is used for verbal inflection.

13.1.2.3. *The suffix -či*

This suffix always appears on the Conditional converb in a clause that also contains a WH-word. Due to this restriction it is analyzed as a suffix. However, since it does not really fit into the paradigm of inflectional suffixes of verbs and its semantics and pragmatics is closer to some enclitics described in this section than to inflectional suffixes it is treated here. The clause containing *-či* seems to express irrealis mood, a kind of extreme situation that has not become reality at the moment of speaking, but may become real in the future. The WH-pronoun refers to the referent or situation in question whose realization or appearance is under discussion. These sentences may be used as threats (770a, 770b) whereby the speaker threatens the hearer with an action that the hearer probably doubts the speaker is able to fulfill. The sentences may also articulate rhetorical questions expressing strong doubts about the future realization of a certain situation (770c).

- (770) a. *“b-iči, b-iči de koχ'er-an mežu-z”=χen*
 HPL-stop HPL-stop I.ERG be.able-INTFUT you.PL.OBL-DAT=QUOT
eχi-š=eχ q'iliqan-i, “deru=če koχ'er-o-či”
 say-PST=NARR drummer-ERG how=EQ be.able-COND-IRR
 “‘Wait, wait, I will show you what I am able (to do) to you, and how I will show you,’ said the drummer.’ (N)
- b. *Ø-ez-an deru me k'oχe-li-yo-či /*
 I-look-INTFUT how you.SG run-ANTIP-COND-IRR /
qaχe-li:yo-či
 CALL-ANTIP-COND-IRR
 ‘I (masc.) will see how you will run / cry.’
- c. *(χe elu-de q'wec'e Ø-ez-ayaz) lu hayi uži*
 (let's.go we.OBL-ALOC together I-look-PURP) who such boy
Ø-iq-o-či q'wena eχa etaž-ma-s
 I-become-COND-IRR two.OBL ORD floor-IN-ABL I
xan-i-žo ked-qo-s kiči b-iγ-χ'os
 khan-OBL-GEN2 daughter-AT-ABL I ring(III) III-take-HAB
 ‘(Come with us to see) who will be the boy that takes away the ring from the khan’s daughter on the second floor.’ (N)

13.1.2.4. The enclitic =*ɬun*

This enclitic is an Avar loan. For Avar, Alekseev (2003) states that the enclitic stems from a formerly independent verb **ɬ-ize* ‘become-INF’ and *ɬun* represents the past tense converb form of that verb. The same enclitic can be found in other Tsezic languages (e.g. Khwarshi =*ɬun*/=*ɬin*, (Khalilova 2009: 257–258), Bezhta and Tsez =*ɬun*). Cognates exist also in Andic languages such as Akhvakh, Karata or Godoberi. Creissels (2010a) analyzes the cognate Akhvakh suffix as a recently grammaticalized case marker expressing the meaning of a temporary state of being. For Hinuq such an analysis seems doubtful since the enclitic not only attaches to the absolutive stem (in contrast to all other cases, which are added to the oblique stem) and nouns marked with the enclitic are not treated as having an oblique case marker (as can be seen by the use of the possessor in the first genitive case, example (771c)). Furthermore, =*ɬun* can follow case-marked nouns (772b).

The enclitic occurs mostly on nouns in the Absolutive, but also on nouns in oblique cases, on pronouns, adjectives, and on participles. Clauses containing =*ɬun* can be translated with ‘as’ in English and describe meanings like ‘to act as X’ or ‘to consider as X’, whereby X is marked with =*ɬun*.

By far the most frequent use of this enclitic is to convey professions of people (771a, 771b). In this function the word denoting the profession is in the Absolutive case marked by =*ɬun*, and the verb often has the meaning ‘work’. But not only professions, other social functions such as kinship relations may also be expressed by means of =*ɬun* (771c).

- (771) a. *muʔalim=ɬun ɬalt'ezi y-iq-o iškola:*
 teacher=as work II-happen-PRS school.IN
 ‘She works as a teacher in the school.’ (N)
- b. *hagoʁ'o dibir=ɬun zoq'we-s ʔabdula=ɬen Ø-eži rek'we*
 at.that.time mullah=as be-PST Abdullah=QUOT old man(I)
 ‘At that time an old man called Abdullah was the mullah.’ (N)
- c. “*hago di Ø-egennu essu=ɬun Ø-iči-ɬo!*”=ɬen *eɬi-yo*
 he I.GEN1 I-young brother=as I-be-OPT=QUOT say-PRS
 ‘“May he be my younger brother!” says (the snake).’ (N)

However, not only nouns denoting social functions but also other expressions can be marked with =*ɬun* (772a, 772b).

- (772) a. *sud-mo-y Malla Rasadan bit'araw=ɬun Ø-u:-ho*
 court-OBL-ERG Mullah Nasredin right=as I-do-PRS

‘The court gives Mullah Nasrudin right.’ (lit. ‘makes him as the one who is right’) (N)

- b. *maxsara-mo-z haze-y=no maxsara-mo-λ'o=ɬun žawab*
 joke-OBL-DAT they.OBL-ERG=and joke-OBL-SPR=as answer
toλλo zoq'we-n
 give.ICVB be-UWPST

‘To a joke they answered with another joke (lit. gave the answer as a joke).’ (N)

All three examples of my corpus where =*ɬun* occurs on verbs represent Resultative participles. In two examples the Resultative participle marked with =*ɬun* is a complement of the verb *rik'zi -u-* ‘respect, count’. It is also possible to add the enclitic to the Past participle to which the SPR-Essive has been suffixed leading to a causal semantics (773c).

- (773) a. *aldoyos hes su?al debe t'ubazi*
 first one question(III) you.SG.GEN I be.fulfilled
b-iq-iš=ɬun rik'zi.r.u:
 III-happen-RES=as respect.V

‘The first question you can count as fulfilled.’ (N)

- b. [*deče=gozon devez žo r-eq'i-yon*] *me Ø-iči*
 how.much-even you.SG.DAT thing(V) V-know-CONC you.SG be
r-eq'i-š-me=ɬun!
 V-know-RES-NEG=as

‘How ever many things you know, be as if you would not know them!’ (N)

- c. [*a²ši iše y-iq-oru-λ'o-ɬun*] *hayto-qo*
 much snow(IV) IV-happen-PTCP.PST-SPR=as he.OBL-AT
awariya b-iq-iš
 accident(III) III-happen-PST

‘Because of the heavy snowfall he had an accident.’

13.1.2.5. The Vocative suffix -yu

The Vocative suffix -yu (-iyu after consonants) occurs only with two nouns, *uži-yu* ‘boy-VOC’ and *ked-bi-ža-yu* ‘girl-PL-OBL.PL-VOC. For all other nouns and for proper names the Absolutive case is used in vocative function. As can be seen with the second noun ‘girls’, the suffix is added to the oblique stem of nouns. Thus, it behaves as other case suffixes and can be said to belong to the

case paradigm of Hinuq nouns, though due to its very restricted use it is rather a non-canonical case. It has not only a vocative meaning but expresses also affectionateness and endearment. In my corpus there are only two occurrences (774). The Hinuq Vocative has a cognate suffix in Khwarshi, but not in any other related languages.

- (774) *nox di-ho ked-iyu!*
 come I.OBL-ILOC girl-VOC
 ‘Marry me, girl!’ (N)

13.1.2.6. The Quotative enclitic =*λen*

This enclitic (together with the Coordinative enclitic) represents one of the most frequent items used in Hinuq speech. Diachronically, it most probably represents some converbal form of the verb *eλi-* ‘say, speak’, with which it primarily occurs. However, the synchronic Narrative converb form of *eλi-* is *eλi-n*.

The enclitic marks reported speech and mostly occurs together with verbs of speech. It usually appears on the last word of the clause representing the speech act (775a), but occasionally it can occur more than once, on the last word and on some other word (often the first word) belonging to the same clause (775b). It can occur on all parts of speech: nouns, pronouns, proper names, WH-words, adjectives, adverbs, etc., but it prefers verbs which usually appear in clause-final position. Reported speech constructions are described in more detail in Chapter 23. Furthermore, the Quotative enclitic is also used when explicitly mentioning names of people, places or things (745c) and it occasionally marks hearsay evidentiality (Section 8.3.4).

- (775) a. *“sira me hayru wed r-u:-ho?”=λen*
 why you.SG.ERG so matter(V) V-do-PRS=QUOT
waʔza b-u:-s hayto-qo-r
 reminding(III) III-do-PST he.OBL-AT-LAT
 “‘Why do you do such things?’ (the mullah) asked him.’ (N)
- b. *haʔu očordiyu aqila-y=gon “me”=λen eλi-yo*
 this.OBL old woman.OBL-ERG=TOP you.SG=QUOT say-PRS
“aλaza-r=no Ø-exna:n”=λen eλi-yo
 village.PL.IN-LAT=and I-go-UWPST=QUOT say-PRS
 “‘You (masc.)’ the old woman says, “went to the villages.” (N)

Another context in which the Quotative enclitic is used are complement clauses of cognition verbs and other psych verbs, e.g. *-eq’i-* ‘know’, *c’aʔ-* ‘get to

know’, *uryezi -iq-* ‘think’, *qeba:-* ‘seem’, etc. Complements marked with =*λen* must be headed by those verb forms that usually occur in independent main clauses. In (776) the complement construction occurs in a reported speech context such that there are two Quotative enclitics in two subsequent verbs. See 22.2.4 for further information on this type of complement clause.

- (776) *Malla Rasadan-i eλi-yo “hadu omoq`i di*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG say-PRS this donkey(III) I.GEN I
gom”=λen “hadu diž xisibu:-n”=λen
 be.NEG=QUOT this I.DAT change.III-UWPST=QUOT
“qeba:-ho”=λen
 seem-PRS=QUOT
 ‘Mullah Nasredin says: “This donkey is not mine. I think (somebody) changed it.”’ (N)

A third context in which the Quotation enclitic is used are complements expressing intentions with no overt complement-taking verb. In these constructions the verb in the clause that refers to the intended action, which is the only overt verb in the construction, is often but not necessarily in the Intentional future; but it can also be in the General tense or in the Compound Future. This tense-aspect-mood form is frequently used for the expression of intended future actions. Verbless complement constructions are analyzed in Section 22.2.4.7. In such complement constructions, the interrogative enclitic must appear on the verb, it cannot be attached to another constituent.

- (777) [*q`idi-r Ø-iči-n*] *san zoq`e-s hes=tow hes*
 down-LAT I-sit-CVB once be-PST one=EMPH one
b-ux-an=λen
 III-take-INTFUT=QUOT
 ‘He came down and wanted to take exactly one (pear).’ (S)

13.1.2.7. The Abstract suffix *-i*

The Abstract suffix has been borrowed from Avar. It is also found in other Tsezic languages, but with a smaller functional range. In Hinuq, the Abstract suffix has six different functions: (i) formation of abstract nouns, (ii) marking complements of verbs of cognition, (iii) marking the topic of a conversation or narration, (iv) marking X in phrases like ‘X turns into Y’, (v) marking of nominals that are governed by the postposition *ʒolo* ‘because of’, and (vi) formation of a simultaneous converb. The first three functions and probably also the fourth function are

related because they all involve abstract nominals, either as genuine parts of the nominal lexicon, or in a more theoretical sense (complements can be analyzed as nominalized propositions that occur in a position where nouns usually occur; the topic of a narration is an abstract object). It might be that for the fifth function a subordinate clause is transformed into a nominal that serves as the background for the main clause action, but this construction lacks the formal properties of nouns (e.g. case marking). Due to the nature of its functions (i.e. derivation, nominal and verbal inflection) and to the fact that its position is fixed for each function it must be treated as a multifunctional suffix. Furthermore, for the functions (iii), (iv) and (v) *-ti* requires the noun to appear in its oblique form and modifiers of the nominal bearing the suffix must appear in their oblique form. In other words, it behaves as a case suffix.

The first function of the suffix *-ti* is to derive abstract nouns that mostly belong to gender V, and occasionally to gender III. Nouns and adverbs are mainly used as the base for the derivation, whereby often the base itself is already an Avar loan; this means that probably the word as a whole has been borrowed into Hinuq. Examples are *bercin-ti* ‘beauty’ (from the adverb *bercin* ‘beautifully’), *bečeti* ‘richness’ (from *bečed* ‘richly’), *ʒažaʒibti* ‘astonishment, wonder’ (from *ʒažaʒib* ‘astonished, puzzled’), and *xan-ti* ‘kingdom’ (from the noun *xan* ‘khan, king’). For more examples see Section 3.6.1.

The second function of this suffix is to mark the complements of verbs of knowledge, e.g. *-eq'i-* ‘know’, *c'ał-* ‘get to know’, and *bič'i-iq-* ‘understand’, and occasionally also of *-biker-* ‘show’ (778). Complements bearing are of the ‘fact type’ (i.e. they refer to the fact that something takes or took place).

- (778) *dižo essu-z r-eq'i-yo [ʔe r-oč'č'u goʔiš-ti]*
 I.GEN2 brother-DAT V-know-PRS water V-cold be.CVB-ABST
 ‘My brother knows that the water is cold.’

If the complement taking verb has an agreement prefix, it can, but need not, agree with the complement clause as a whole and thus take the prefix *r-* for gender V, just like the majority of the abstract nouns derived with this enclitic. Alternatively it agrees with the Absolutive argument of the complement clause (long distance agreement). Complement constructions formed with the Abstract suffix are described in more detail in Section 22.2.3.

Third, *-ti* marks the topic of a conversation, narration, or written document. As mentioned above, if the suffix is added to a noun or pronoun in this function, it must appear in its oblique form. Occasionally in this function the Second Genitive/Ablative suffix may follow the Abstract suffix, without changing the meaning of the noun phrase (779c).

- (779) a. *iyo-qo=n obu-qo=n zon-ŋi xabar*
 mother-AT=and father-AT=and REFL.SG.OBL-ABST story(III)
b-u:-yom!
 III-do-PROH
 ‘Do not talk to my mother and my father about me!’ (N)
- b. *Malla Nasrudin-ŋi marha-be ʔaši goŋ*
 Mullah Nasrudin-ABST story(III)-PL much be
 ‘There are many stories about Mullah Nasredin.’ (N)
- c. *q’orol aqila-qo=n hayŋu ked-i zonzo*
 widow woman.OBL-AT=and that.OBL girl-ERG REFL.SG.GEN2
xoddo-ŋi-žo cadaq žo es-o
 husband-ABST-GEN2 all thing tell-PRS
 ‘The girl tells the widow everything about her husband.’ (N)
- d. *hayŋo hapiz ŋumar essu-ŋi ese-s*
 that.OBL Hapiz Umar brother-ABST tell-PST
 ‘I talked about Hapiz Umar.’ (N)

Fourth, the Abstract suffix is used in a construction with the meaning ‘X becomes Y’ to mark X, which must be in its oblique form. As already shown with the topic-of-conversation function, the Abstract suffix can be followed by the Second Genitive/Ablative marker without influencing the meaning here as well.

- (780) a. *haŋu ked-i zon-ŋi b-u:-ho arxi,*
 this.OBL girl-ERG REFL.SG.OBL-ABST III-do-PRS ditch(III)
gulu-za-ŋi r-u:-ho ŋe
 horse-OBL.PL-ABST V-do-PRS water(V)
 ‘The girl turns herself into a ditch and the horses into the water.’ (N)
- b. *“ilbis b-iq-iš goŋ dewzo*
 devil(III) III-become-PST be you.SG.GEN2
ked-ŋi-žo”=ŋen eŋi-n
 daughter-ABST-GEN2=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“Your daughter transformed into a devil,” he said.’ (N)
- c. *hoboži sadaq hag ŋek’dexer ŋek’dexer, roto r-iq*
 now all that mix mix dough(V) V-become
hayŋu-ŋi-žo
 that.OBL-ABST-GEN2
 ‘Now mix all that and it turns into dough.’ (N)

Fifth, nouns that are governed by the postposition *ʔolo* ‘because of’ must appear in their oblique form plus the Abstract suffix and optionally the Second Genitive/Ablative suffix. For examples see 11.3.3.

Finally, the Abstract suffix is added to the Infinitive or directly to the verbal stem in order to form a converb with simultaneous meaning (Section 7.7.2.3).

13.1.2.8. The suffix *-li*

The suffix *-li* is used for the formation of types of relative clauses: (i) relative clauses formed with the Infinitive to which *-li* is added (781a). Only this type of relative clause is the use of *-li* obligatory. (ii) Relative clauses formed with the General participle whereby *-li* is added to the participle of the copula, *goʔa* (781b). (iii) Relative clauses formed with the Habitual participle and the suffix *-ʔa* (see Section 13.1.3.2 for more information on *-ʔa*); here *-li* follows *-ʔa* (781c). In (ii) and (iii) the use of *-li* is optional and does not seem to cause any change in the meaning. There are other types of relative clauses that do not make use of the relativizer *-li*.

- (781) a. *mesed-li-š b-ič'-a-li torpa*
 gold-OBL-GEN I III-fill-INF-REL bag(III)
 ‘a bag filled with gold’ (N)
- b. *huʔ [hayʔoy t'ot'er-ho {goʔa / goʔa-li}] t'ek*
 yesterday he.ERG read-ICVB be.PTCP / be.PTCP-REL book(IV)
iyo-y y-ux-iš
 mother-ERG IV-buy-PST
 ‘The mother bought the book that he read yesterday.’
- c. *de t'ot'er-ʔos-ʔa-li uniwersitet goʔ Maħačqala-ʔ'o*
 I learn-HAB-MOD-REL university be Makhachkala-SPR
 ‘The university where I will study is in Makhachkala.’

In relative clauses lacking a nucleus, *-li* is followed by the appropriate case suffixes (782a, 782b).¹⁰⁹

- (782) a. *eli koli ʔex^w-a-li-qo-r b-aʔ'i-š*
 we Koli remain-INF-REL-AT-LAT HPL-talk-PST
 ‘We talked to the one who remained in the canyon Koli.’

¹⁰⁹I use the term ‘nucleus’ as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term ‘head’ to refer to the relativized argument.

- b. *neλ diž Ø-²eži-yo {goła-s / goła-li-š}*
 give I.DAT I-win-ICVB be.PTCP-GEN I / be.PTCP-REL-GEN I
sayyat!
 present
 ‘Give me the winner’s present!’

13.1.2.9. The Attributive suffix *-ni*

This suffix occurs on words in attributive and nominal function. It is mainly found on borrowed adjectives (783a) and derived adjectives, e.g. derived adjectives with *-k’a*, *demu*, *-damu*, *-t’u* (783b). It is never found on underived native adjectives.

- (783) a. *hezzodoy [nox-an nox-no] haw miskinaw-ni ked*
 then come-RED come-CVB that poor-ATT girl(II)
y-iži-n hayloy
 II-take-UWPST he.ERG
 ‘Then he came and took the poor girl with him.’ (N)
- b. *Ø-egunnk’a-ni essu-y eser-no gaqinnu-k’a-ni*
 I-good.ADJ-ATT brother-ERG ask-UWPST bad-ADJ-ATT
essu-qo ...
 brother-AT
 ‘The good brother asked the bad brother ...’ (N)

It occurs also after other words functioning as attributes or nouns such as the participle of the copula, the General participle (784a), and the Past participle (784b). These participles occur in relative clauses with or without nucleus.

- (784) a. *hoboži [hago Ø-aq’-o goła-ni] mix-λ’o ...*
 now he I-come-ICVB be.PTCP-ATT time-SPR
 ‘now, at the time when he came ...’ (N)
- b. *[hayło-z bič’i b-iq-omeru-ni]*
 he.OBL-DAT understanding III-happen-PTCP.PST.NEG-ATT
problema eli zek absudit b-uw-a goł
 problem(III) we.ERG tomorrow discuss III-do-INF be
 ‘The problem that he did not understand we will discuss tomorrow.’

Furthermore, it often follows the suffix *-λa*, which has a function similar to *-ni*, i.e. it forms attributes (Section 13.1.3.2). It also occurs in nominalized possessive (i.e.) genitive pronoun if they occur in the position of absolutive arguments (e.g. as direct object). An example can be found in (793c) below.

- (785) a. [*geni b-ut'e-λ'os-λa-ni rek''we q'idi-r*
 pear(III) III-collect-HAB-MOD-ATT man(I) down-LAT
Ø-uti-nos] hayto-z r-ike-s
 I-go.down-ANT he.OBL-DAT V-see-PST
 'When the pear-gathering man came down, he saw it.' (S)
- b. *hoboy hado ogorod-ma-s-λa-ni rek'u q'idi-r*
 then this garden-IN-ABL1-MOD-ATT man(I) down-LAT
Ø-uti-n
 I-go.down-UWPST
 'Then the man from the garden came down.' (S)
- c. *r-iči-λo č'e-λ'o-s-λa-ni goł*
 V-be-OPT fire-SPR-ABL1-MOD-ATT be
 'Be it (i.e. the drink) directly from the fire.' (N)

The attributes formed with *-ni* can also occur as nominals and then take case suffixes (786a). All word forms that have the suffix *-ni* seem to be definite in meaning. They often co-occur with demonstrative pronouns used as determiners (783a).

- (786) a. *x^win-λ'o q'ono gulu goł ossu=n λopu=n. de bex*
 mountain-SPR two horse be high=and low=and I.ERG gras
toλ-an ossu-k'a-ni-ž
 give-INTFUT high-ADJ-ATT-DAT
 'On the mountain there are two horses, a high one and a low one. I will give the high one grass.'
- b. *“žiqu demu-ni-de-r łora but'a[?]aši armi*
 today PRT-ATT-ALOC-LAT three.OBL part much army(HPL)
b-iq'-an''-λen eλi-š hayto xan-i
 HPL-bring-INTFUT=QUOT say-PST that.OBL khan-ERG
 'That khan said that he will bring an army that is one third bigger than today's (army).' (N)

13.1.2.10. The Purposive suffix *-λi*

This suffix expresses purpose or reason and can be translated with 'in order to'. Verbs marked with the Masdar plus *-λi* have essentially the same meaning as Purposive converbs. Furthermore, the postposition *ʔolo* 'because of' requires its complements to be marked either with *-λi*, because these complements state the reason for some action or situation, or with the Abstract suffix plus, optionally,

the First Genitive/Ablative suffix (13.1.2.7). The suffix *-λi* is added to the oblique form of nouns and pronouns. Thus, alternatively the suffix could be treated as a further case marker.

- (787) a. *hasaqo=n nesa:~no diž Ø-ik-anu-λi*
 in.the.morning=and in.the.evening=and I.DAT I-see-MSD-PURP
maduhalʔi-ža-qo-r nox-čo me, uži
 neighbourhood-OBL.PL-AT-LAT I-come=EMPH you.SG boy
 ‘In order to see you in the morning and in the evening, come to the neighbors, boy!’ (N)
- b. [Why should I not show my abilities?]
dew-ʔ-edo hayʔo-s pikru xisi
 you.SG.OBL-CONT-DIR he.OBL-GEN I thought(III) change
b-iq-mez b-ič-anu-λi
 III-happen-PURP.NEG III-be-MSD-PURP
 ‘In order not to change his thoughts towards you.’ (N)
- c. *de hadi goʔ halt’i b-uw-anu-λi*
 I here be work(III) III-do-MSD-PURP
 ‘I am here in order to work.’
- d. [*de y-uhe-yλ’o*] *nox me sud-a-ho-r*
 I II-die-SIM come you.SG grave.yard-OBL-ILOC-LAT
 [*dew-λi ʔolo b-u-λ’os ʔazab toq-ayaz*]
 you.SG.OBL-PURP because.of III-do-HAB torment(III) hear-PURP
 ‘When I (fem.) die come to the grave to hear the torment made because of you.’ (N)

13.1.3. Multifunctional enclitics

13.1.3.1. The enclitic =*qen*

This enclitic is added to all parts of speech: adverbs, nouns, pronouns, numerals, verbs. It has no special position in the clause, but rather it appears on the expression over which it has scope. It follows the Equative enclitic, but can also be followed by the Narrative enclitic.

The basic meaning of this enclitic is ‘at least’, i.e. it is similar to an existential quantifier, but the item to which it is encliticized is a kind of lowest extreme. That means, it can well be that the item is the only one in the domain in question. For example, (788a) is from a story where a daughter prepared food for her father, but he did not want to eat anything because it was not tasty. Thus, the domain is

all sorts of food, and honey can be claimed to be a kind of extreme because it is very tasty and a delicacy reserved for the best guests.

- (788) a. *nuce=gen r-ac'-o!*"=*λen eλi-n*
 honey(V)=at.least V-eat-IMP=QUOT say-UWPST
 "‘Eat at least the honey!’ she said.’ (N)
- b. *“debez žumru-ŧ Ø-iλ'i-n čan gosme saqu=gen*
 you.SG.DAT life-CONT I-go-CVB hunt without once=at.least
kekir-iye?”=λen eλi-yo
 let-Q=QUOT say-PRS
 "‘Did you (masc.) at least once in your life go hunting without hunt-
 ing anything?’ he says.’ (N)
- c. *dahaw=gen elu-z=no neλ-a r-aq'e*
 few=at.least we.OBL.DAT=and give-INF V-must
 'At least a little bit you must give also to us.' (N)

Occasionally, the enclitic can mean ‘even’, which also indicates an extreme but at the same time means that there must be other items in the relevant domain. However, the ‘even’-interpretation is only available if the ‘at least’ interpretation is ruled out for pragmatic reasons. Thus, in (789b) it would be strange to say ‘at least now’ because that would imply that throughout the 40 years before now the speaker did not remember the poem, which is not true.

- (789) a. *di-žo essu-y hibad=gen t'ek t'ot'er-iš*
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG this=even book read-PST
 ‘My brother read even this book.’
- b. *hawsa?at=gen [q'ono qu λebu y-iλ'i-yono] [...] diž haw*
 now=even two twenty year(IV) IV-go-CONC I.DAT that
keč' rok'λ'o b-iči-yo
 song(III) heart.SPR III-be-PRS
 ‘Even now although 40 years passed by I remember that poem.’ (N)

If the enclitic appears in a negative context because the verb is negated, then the compositional meaning behaves as one would expect, i.e. ‘not at least X’ = ‘not even X’ or ‘no X’. That is, WH-words marked with =*gen* are actually negative indefinite pronouns, e.g. *tu=gen* ‘nobody’, is literally ‘who=at.least’ (790a). These pronouns are described in Section 5.6.3. When the enclitic is added to the numeral ‘one’, the result is the negative quantifier ‘none’ (790b).

- (790) a. *ni=gen y-oxore λex^w-o gom*
 where=at.least II-long remain-ICVB be.NEG

‘She stays nowhere.’ (N)

- b. *me seda=qen rek'u-z Ø-eq'-a gom*
 you.SG one.OBL=at.least man.OBL-DAT I-know-INF be.NEG
 ‘No man will recognize you (masc.).’ (N)

But =*qen* is not only added to WH-words or numerals in negative clauses; it can also occur on the same parts of speech on which it occurs in affirmative clauses, e.g. personal pronouns (791a), nouns (791b), adverbs, and even on the verb (791c). The negative verb can be in the declarative mood, but also in some other mood (prohibitive, interrogative, conditional, etc.).

- (791) a. *diž=qen gom moči q'idi b-ot'=xen ełi-n*
 I.DAT=at.least be.NEG place down HPL-lay=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘‘I have not even a place for myself to lie down (on the floor),’’ she said.’ (N)
- b. *‘‘hadi-r t'ut'=qen b-exna:s gom’’=xen*
 here-LAT fly(III)=at.least III-go-RES be.NEG=QUOT
 ‘Not even a fly comes here.’ (N)
- c. *haytu-qo b-ac'er-a=qen b-ac'er-ho zoq'e-n gom*
 she.OBL-AT III-feed-INF=at.least III-feed-ICVB be-CVB be.NEG
 y^we-y
 dog-ERG
 ‘The dog did not even allow her to eat (the apple).’ (N)

Note that it is possible to have the negative verb in the superordinate clause and =*qen* in the subordinate clause, but this leads to a negative interpretation of the item marked with =*qen*. See Section 5.6.3 for an example.

13.1.3.2. The enclitic/suffix -*ła*

This enclitic/suffix can be added to various parts of speech, and it has three different functions: topicalizing, formation of indefinite pronouns, and together with -*ni* (Section 13.1.2.9), formation of definite nominals and nominal attributes. Because in the first function =*ła* can be encliticized to various parts of speech and follows derivational and inflectional suffixes, it is treated as an enclitic. In the second function, however, -*ła* behaves rather like a derivational suffix because it is followed by inflectional (case) suffixes. In the third function -*ła* shows exactly the same behavior as the other attributive suffixes -*ni* and -*li* and is therefore, just as them, treated as a suffix. The glossing follows the analysis, i.e. according to the functions the identity sign or the hyphen appear in the gloss.

For the first function, the expression of topics, =*λa* is added to the item it has scope over. That can be nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, etc.

- (792) a. “*de=λa bečedaw rek’u-zo berten-mo-za-ł-er*
 I=TOP rich man.OBL-GEN2 wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT
kezi.iq-iš”=*λen ese-s=eλ q’iliqan-i*
 meet.I-PST=QUOT tell-PST=NARR drummer-ERG
 ‘‘As for me, I went to weddings of rich people,’’ said the drummer.’
 (N)
- b. *eli q’ono=n armi hoboži=λa λore-ł-er*
 we.GEN1 two=and army(HPL) now=TOP fight-CONT-LAT
b-ułi-yo goła ...
 HPL-begin-ICVB be.PTCP
 ‘at that very moment when our two armies began to fight ...’ (N)
- c. *obu-s essu=λa diž Ø-eq’i-yo gom [...]*
 father-GEN1 sibling=TOP I.DAT I-know-ICVB be.NEG
obu-s essu hes=gon c’uyaw zoq’w e-s Zaynab=λen,
 father-GEN1 sibling one=ADD female be-PST Zaynab=QUOT
haw=λa y-eq’i-yo gom
 she=TOP II-know-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘As for my father’s brother, I do not know him [...], father’s other
 sister was called Zaynab, I do not know her.’ (N)
- d. *elu-z hago bahadur Ø-ašir-a-λa [...] haył*
 we.OBL-DAT that knight(I) I-catch-INF=TOP that.OBL
uži-žo gulu-zo hunar-mo-y oqondek’-iš
 boy-GEN2 horse-GEN2 ability-OBL-ERG make.imperceptible-RES
zeq’w e-s eli
 be-PST we
 ‘As for catching the boy, [...] the talent of the boy’s horse made us
 unconscious.’ (N)

Second, the suffix *-λa* is added to WH-words in order to derive indefinite pronouns, e.g. *łu-λa* ‘somebody’ (lit. ‘who-INDEF’). More indefinite pronouns and examples are given in Section 5.6.2. When added to the numeral ‘one’ *hes*, the resulting meaning is more idiosyncratic: *hes-λa* ‘other, next’.

Finally, preceding the attributive suffixes *-ni* and *-li*, this suffix is added to modifiers of nouns. These modifiers may be adjectives (underived and derived from nouns, adverbs, etc.) or participles (Resultative participle, Habitual participle) as well as case marked nouns (see Section 13.1.2.9 and 13.1.2.8 for examples). The modifiers occur predominantly as attributes to overt head nouns.

However, the head noun may be absent, in which case they are used as nouns and can take case suffixes.

- (793) a. *zek=gozon Ø-aq'e=χen=e hago uži kabaxu*
 tomorrow=ADD I-come=QUOT=Q that boy(I) black
gulu-χ'o-s-χa-ni?
 horse-SPR-ABL I-MOD-ATT
 'Will the boy on the black horse come tomorrow again?' (N)
- b. *hoboži eser-no y-oχχo-s-χa-ni ked-go*
 now ask-UWPST II-in.the.middle-GEN I-MOD-ATT girl-AT
 'Now (he) asked the middle daughter.' (N)
- c. *oʔo, di-χa-ni neχ!*
 no I.GEN I-MOD-ATT give
 'No, give me mine!' (N)

13.1.3.3. The Coordinative enclitic =n

This enclitic has the form =n when added to vowels and =no when added to consonants. It can be added to all parts of speech and has many different but closely related functions that are centered around the two main functions, coordination and continuous topic marking/addition. Due to this relative functional homogeneity, I always gloss it with 'and'.

Coordinative enclitics with pretty much the same range of functions can be found in several languages from the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. Nichols & Peterson (2010) provide a survey that contains data from Chechen, Ingush, Bagwalal, Godoberi, Avar, and the Tsezic languages. They show that at least for the chaining function in Ingush the enclitic is a type 5 enclitic in terms of Klavans (1985): it is positioned with respect to the last element (the verb) in its domain (the clause), which is the verb ('final'), but it occurs before that element ('before'), and it is an enclitic (see also Peterson (2001) for a detailed analysis of Ingush). However, in Hinuq the constraints on placing this enclitic are less strict. Although there is a strong tendency to attach the enclitic to the first preverbal word, this tendency is not a strict rule.

Coordination

The Coordinative enclitic is used for the coordination of noun phrases, which can be simple nouns, pronouns, etc. (794). In a coordinative phrase every item must be marked with =n. Coordination of noun phrases is treated in more detail in Section 19.2. Furthermore, the simple numerals 2–9 also make use of a suffix

=*n*, which may be, at least etymologically, related to the Coordinative enclitic, e.g. *to=no* ‘three’ (the oblique stem is *to-ra*). In addition, it is used for the formation of compound numerals and collective numerals, e.g. *q’ono=n* ‘both’ (lit. ‘two=and’). See Chapter 12 for numerals.

- (794) *hes zoq’e-n iyo=n obu=n ked=no uži=n*
 one be-UWPST mother=and father=and daughter=and son=and
 ‘Once upon a time there was a mother, a father, a daughter, and a son.’
 (N)

‘Also’

When used in narration =*n* can be translated with ‘also’. The items to which =*n* is added are understood as being not the only referents in the relevant domain. Usually one or more other referents have already been mentioned. In other words, the Coordination enclitic functions as a so-called ‘focus sensitive particle’.¹¹⁰ Such particles entail the corresponding sentence without particle and presuppose the existence of a set of alternative and that at least for one alternative the corresponding sentence is also true (König 1991: 62). For instance, in (795a) the father had already taught his son-in-law already many tricks. Now, in addition his wife also teaches him tricks.

- (795) a. *baru-y=no moŋ-o hayto-qo sihirŋi*
 wife-ERG=and teach-PRS he.OBL-AT slyness
 ‘And the wife also teaches him tricks.’ (N)
- b. *“hibadu iši=n b-iž-o!”=ŋen eŋi-n*
 this apple(III)=and III-take-IMP=QUOT say-UWPST
 “*haytu-z*”
 she.OBL-DAT
 “‘And also take this apple for her!’ she said.’ (N)
- c. [First the stepmother sent her stepdaughter to the forest, then her own daughter.]
hoboy [haytu-z=no xižina b-u:-n] haw=no xece-n
 then she.OBL-DAT=and hut(III) III-do-CVB she=and let-UWPST
hibayru=tow
 so=EMPH

¹¹⁰This refers to the definition of ‘focus’ in formal semantics as involving a set of alternatives. It must be distinguished from other definitions of focus (cf. Lambrecht 1994). Elements that are ‘focused’ in the formal semantic sense can be both topics and foci in the sense of Lambrecht (1994).

‘Then (they) also made for her a hut, and left her there in the same manner.’ (N)

- d. *q'wena eʎa ɣw ed-ʎ'o=n hado Ø-aq'e-ɣʎ'o ...*
 two.OBL ORD day.OBL-SPR=and he I-come-SIM
 ‘and also on the second day when he came home ...’ (N)

Sometimes the meaning of =*n* in such contexts is more emphatic, similar to English ‘even’, i.e. the relevant referent is not only understood to be not the only one, but to also be the least expected one. This is not surprising since many languages have only one lexical item with both an ‘and’ and an ‘even’ meaning (König 1991: 68). In the following example the speaker talks about a church that was built long ago.

- (796) [*elu-de q'oc'e r-u:ho goʎa-ni*]
 we.OBL-ALOC together V-do-ICVB be.PTCP-DEF
Ancuza-s saq'dari hawsaʔat=no č'agu goʎ
 Ancuq.OBL.PL-GEN1 church(V) now=and alive be
 ‘The church that we built together with the people from Ancuq exists even now.’ (N)

One important aspect of this function of =*n* is its use in clause chaining in narration, predominantly in Narrative converb clauses. The enclitic is usually added to the lexical item that immediately precedes the Narrative converb. This can be a core argument, a nominal modifier, an adverb, the first part of a compound verb, etc. Core arguments marked with =*n* are in the great majority of cases direct object of transitive verbs. If the verb with the Narrative converb suffix is intransitive, then it is usually not its S argument that is marked with =*n*, but some modifier, because these clauses often lack an overt S. Many of these chained clauses can be translated with ‘and’ into English. The syntax of converb constructions is analyzed in Chapter 21. The Narrative and the Reduplicated Narrative converb are described in Sections 7.7.2.8 and 7.7.2.5.

- (797) a. *hayʎoy [magalu=n b-ac'-no] ʎe ga:ho*
 he.ERG bread(III)=and III-eat-CVB water drink-PRS
 ‘He eats bread and drinks water.’
- b. *hoboži hago [q'ačazi=n Ø-iq-no] [omoq'i-ʎ'o roq'=no*
 now he prepare=and I-happen-CVB donkey-SPR load=and
gor-no] aʎ-a-do Ø-iʎ'i-n
 put-CVB village-IN-DIR I-go-UWPST
 ‘He prepared himself, put the load on the donkey, and went to the village.’ (N)

- c. “*hado obu*”=*λen eλi-n* “*as-a-do*=*n Ø-ix-no*
 this father=QUOT say-CVB sky-IN-DIR=and I-get.up-CVB
 [*r-iλ-an=no r-iλ-no*] *Ø-uhe-s*”=*λen eλi-n*
 V-ache-RED=and V-ache-CVB I-die-PST=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘The father rose up into the sky, got hurt, and died,’ she said.’ (N)

The chained clauses often but do not necessarily share the S, A or some other argument. If they do not share these arguments, then the core arguments can be overtly expressed in the converb clauses:

- (798) *had=no r-iči-n q’uya=gozo sira r-u:-s?*=*λen eλi-n*
 this=and V-be-CVB other=ADD why V-do-PST=QUOT say-UWPST
hało λerba-y baru-qo-r
 this.OBL guest-ERG wife-AT-LAT
 “‘Given this, why did you make additional other (food)?’ said the guest to his wife.’ (N)

However, neither the occurrence of an item marked with =*n* in converb clauses nor the position of this item immediately before the converb is obligatory. Though these are strong tendencies, they can be violated. Sometimes the marked item follows the converb (799a), or very occasionally there is other material between the marked item and the converb (799b), (800a). There are also quite a number of converb clauses that lack the Coordinative enclitic, because the converb clause consists only of the predicate, or those that lack the enclitic although they contain arguments or modifiers that could function as hosts (799a).

- (799) a. [*k’oλe-n λ’ere-r=no*] *zer-i* [*ɣ^wadi b-ašir-no*]
 jump-CVB up-LAT=and fox.OBL-ERG crow(III) III-catch-CVB
b-acco
 III-eat.PRS
 ‘The fox jumps upwards, catches the crow, and eats it.’ (N)
 b. [*haw=no cadaq geni b-uxir-no*] *san=gon Ø-ix-iš*
 that=and all pear(III) III-pour.out-CVB once=ADD I-get.up-PST
hago ažey-λ’o-do
 he tree-SPR-DIR
 ‘He poured all those pears out and once again got up the tree.’ (S)

Occasionally more than one item in the converb clause takes the Coordinative enclitic. In (800a) both the direct object *karzina* ‘basket’ and the spatial adjunct *welik* ‘bike’ bear =*n*. In (800b) the direct object of the compound verb *q’ačazi -u:-* ‘prepare’ and the first part of the verb itself are marked with =*n*.

- (800) a. *haze-y [geni=n bak'arzi b-u:-n] [karzina=n*
 they.OBL-ERG pear(III)=and collect III-do-CVB basket=*n*
welik-λ'o=n gor-no] hado uži kekir-ho
 bike-SPR=*n* put-CVB this boy send-PRS
 'They collect the pears, put the basket on the bike and send him
 away.' (S)
- b. *saqu Malla Rasadan [omoq'i=n q'ačazi=n b-u:-n]*
 once Mullah Nasredin donkey(III)=and prepare=*n* and III-do-CVB
Ø-iλ'i-n čeq-i-do qaca-λ'o-r
 I-go-UWPST forest-IN-DIR wood-SPR-LAT
 'Once Mullah Nasredin prepared the donkey and went into the forest
 for firewood.' (N)

Other converbs apart from the Narrative converb do not mark arguments or modifiers of their clauses with =*n*. The only exception is the negative Purposive converb, which in negative clauses functions as the counterpart of the Narrative converb:

- (801) *de [žo=n r-ike-mez] Ø-ot'-no muži: Ø-iči-yo*
 I thing=*n* v-see-PURP.NEG I-lay-CVB mattress.IN I-be-PRS
 'I (masc.) lay in the bed without seeing anything.' (N)

The Narrative converb has a reduplicated variant that expresses only anteriority (Section 7.7.2.5). This converb consists of two identical verb stems, the first is marked with *-an* and the second with the Narrative converb suffix. The reduplication suffix *-an* is often followed by the Coordinative enclitic (802a, 802b). Nichols & Peterson (2010) describe a similar reduplication pattern in chaining clauses for Ingush. However, in Ingush the reduplication is obligatory in chaining clauses that do not contain a host for the coordinative enclitic. In contrast, in Hinuq reduplicated Narrative converb clauses often lack =*n(o)* on the reduplicated verb, or they may contain arguments that are potential hosts for the Coordinative enclitic, but lack it nevertheless (802b). In other words, the reduplication is not caused by the need for a clitic host.

- (802) a. *[Ø-uł-an=no Ø-ułi-n] hałoy t'ot'er-ho "hes,*
 I-go.down-RED=*n* and I-go.down.CVB he.ERG count-PRS one
q'ono"=λen eλi-n
 two=QUOT say-CVB
 'After coming down he counts, saying one, two.' (S)

- b. [haw b-ux-an=no b-ux-no] haylo uži-qo-r
 that III-take-RED=and III-take-CVB that.OBL boy-AT-LAT
 eʁi-n ...
 say-UWPST
 ‘(She) took it and said to the boy ...’ (N)

Information structure

Coordination enclitics such as Hinuq =*n* with a similar range of functions (e.g. phrase and clausal coordination, expression of ‘also’ and ‘even’, formation of indefinite pronouns and concessive converbs) are a very common feature of Nakh-Daghestanian languages. With regard to their contribution to the information structure, researchers have advanced two opposing opinions. Polinsky & Potsdam (2001), who investigate Hinuq’s closest relative Tsez claim that the Tsez Coordinative enclitic =*n* is a topic marker. In contrast, Nichols & Peterson (2010) in their survey of Nakh, Avar, Andic and Tsezic languages analyze coordinative enclitics as emphatic and/or contrastive focus markers.

For Hinuq it seems that none of the two approaches is completely true. Some of the occurrences of =*n* are compatible with the topic approach, e.g. (795c). Others look more like focus (796). There are also corpus examples where =*n* appears on contrastive topics. An extended discussion of this issue can be found in Belyaev & Forker (In preparation).

Word formation

The Coordinative enclitic is also a means for the formation of indefinite pronouns and a few converbs. Universal indefinite pronouns are regularly formed by adding =*n* to a WH-word, e.g. *ni*=*n* ‘everywhere’ (lit. ‘where=and’). If these universal indefinite pronouns occur in clauses headed by a negative verb, then they have the meaning of negative indefinite pronouns (Section 5.6.3).

The Concessive converb is formed by adding the Coordinative enclitic to the Conditional converb, e.g. *-aq’e-yo*=*n* ‘although he comes’ which literally means ‘come-COND=and’. This may readily be explained by the meaning of both the Conditional converb (‘if’) and the Coordinative enclitic (‘also, even’), which combined gives ‘also if/ even if’ = ‘although’. In fact, crosslinguistically, concessive clauses are frequently composed of conditional clauses plus some item with the meaning ‘and’ or ‘even’ (König 1991: 85).

Finally, the Immediate Anterior converb (‘as soon as’) is formed by adding the coordinative enclitic to the Past participle suffix (Section 7.7.2.7).

13.2. Particles and conjunctions

13.2.1. General remarks on particles and conjunctions

Particles are invariable words not belonging to one of the major parts of speech with an exclusively grammatical function. Hinuq has two particles. The first is the Irrealis particle *q'ede*, which is only used in clauses with the Irrealis Conditional mood (Section 7.6.5). The second particle is *demu* (13.2.2).

Hinuq has a small number of conjunctions. The most important conjunction is the Coordinative enclitic *=n*, whose function is analyzed in Section 13.1.3.3. Another coordinative conjunction is *-exa ... -exa* 'sometimes ... sometimes' showing agreement with the absolutive argument of its clause (803a) or it takes the prefix *r-* for default agreement (803b). It can be fully reduplicated and has then the meaning 'often'.

- (803) a. *b-exa* *hagbe b-exa* *eli x'^winλ'o-r*
HPL-sometimes they HPL-sometimes we mountain-SPR-LAT
b-exna:-s
HPL-go-PST
'Sometimes they, sometimes we went on the mountain.'
- b. *magalu b-ac'-no* *r-exa* *obu-y* *r-exa*
bread(III) III-eat-UWPST V-sometimes father-ERG V-sometimes
essu-y
brother-ERG
'Sometimes father, sometimes brother ate the bread.'

Other conjunctions are the disjunctions *ya*, *yagi*, and *yaħuni* 'or, either', the contrastive or adversative conjunction *amma* 'but', and the conditional conjunction *nagaħ* 'if'. All these conjunctions are Avar loans. Note however that Hinuq uses converbs and participles for subordination; therefore, special subordinators or complementizers are not needed. The only true subordinator *nagaħ* is hardly ever used (Section 7.7.2.10). Conjunction constructions are treated in Section 19.3.1. Younger speakers occasionally use the Russian conjunctions *i* 'and', *ili* 'or', *no* 'but', *esli* 'if', and the complementizer *čto* 'that', especially if they are asked to translate from Russian into Hinuq.

13.2.2. The particle *demu*

The particle *demu* has two basic functions. First, it is used for the formation of adjectives from adverbs. A list of examples can be found in Section 6.7.1.5. In this function it is often followed by the definiteness marker *-ni* (see Section

13.1.2.9 for *-ni*). The most frequent adjective formed with the help of this particle is ‘middle’ (804).

- (804) *b-oλλo-demu* *q'ay-mo-λ'o* *elu-zo*
 III-in.the.middle-PRT enclosure(III)-OBL-SPR we.OBL-GEN2
duniyal-mo-λ'o-r; *y-oλλo* *y-iλ'i-yo* *ixu=n* *goł*
 earth-OBL-SPR-LAT IV-in.the.middle IV-go-PRS river(IV)=and be
 ‘In the middle of the enclosure, on our earth, in the middle goes also a river.’ (N)

The second function of *demu* is to occur in non-canonical comparative constructions. In such constructions it is used to form expression that denote qualities and function as the standard of comparison. These expressions may be adjectives (805), adverbs or clauses. The particle *demu* takes the case suffix *-der* (ALOC-Lative) whose function it is to mark the standard of comparison. More examples can be found in Section 26.1.1.2.

- (805) *Šamil bečedaw demu-de-r* *ʔaq'ilaw goł*
 Šamil rich PRT-ALOC-LAT intelligent be
 ‘Šamil is more intelligent than rich.’

The particle is a phonologically free word, but in the adjective *-oλλodemu* ‘middle’ it has been lexicalized, and the result is one word, i.e. *-oλλo* and *demu* are usually not interrupted by a pause.

13.3. Interjections and exclamations

In my corpus of Hinuq about 20 interjections and exclamations occur, but there may well be more which are not contained in my corpus due to the fact that the corpus contains mostly narratives. All interjections and exclamations occur mainly or exclusively in spoken language, i.e. in dialogs and in reported speech, with or without accompanying verbs of speech. They are typically placed at the beginning of a clause or in an elliptical clause without a verb.

There are three interjections with a kind of logical meaning: *heλ'e* ‘therefore, right, really’, *aha* ‘yes’, and *o?o* ‘no’. In answers to polar questions the interjections *aha* and *o?o* are occasionally used, but more often the copulas occur, or the lexical verb from the question is simply repeated in the answer with the appropriate polarity (see Chapter 28 for interrogative constructions). The use of both particles is straightforward. However, *o?o* is predominantly used when contradicting some command or statement.

- (806) a. *debe komnata goʔ=e? aha.*
 you.SG.GEN1 room be=Q yes
 ‘Do you have a room? Yes.’
- b. [Do you know my brother?]
aha, diž Ø-ike-s hago λebu y-iλ'i-nos
 yes I.DAT I-see-PST he year(IV) IV-go-ANT
 ‘Yes, I saw him a year ago.’
- c. “*oʔo, b-eti-yo gom*”=λen eλi-n
 no III-want-ICVB be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“No, I do not want it,” she said.’ (N)
- d. “*oʔo, me b-ix*”=λen ze-yi-qo-r boc'-i
 no you.SG III-get.up=QUOT bear-OBL-AT-LAT wolf.OBL-ERG
eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 ‘“No, you get up,” said the wolf to the bear.’ (N)

The function of *heλ'e* is more complex. It can be used to conjoin two independent main clauses whereby usually the first refers to some situation that caused the situation described in the second clause. In this function, *heλ'e* can be translated with ‘therefore’ (807a, 807b). However, it is also possible to have first the description of a situation resulting from the situation described in the clause containing *heλ'e*. In those clauses, *heλ'e* is roughly equivalent to English ‘because’ (807c).

- (807) a. *diž hago kezi.iq-iš zoq'e-s, heλ'e diž hago Ø-eq'i-yo*
 I.DAT he meet.I-RES be-PST therefore I.DAT he I-know-PRS
 ‘I met him, so I know him.’
- b. [A speaker explains in some sentences the origin of his clan.]
heλ'e elu-qo-r hawsaʔat izadiru maxsara
 therefore we.OBL-AT-LAT now like.this joke
ħisab-mo-λ'o Laybe eλi-λ'os goʔ
 supposition-OBL-LAT Laghbe say-HAB be
 ‘That is why now we are called like this Laghbe, as a joke.’ (N)
- c. *hago ʔisa Ø-a-i-ho zoq'e-n [...], heλ'e hes trusik*
 that Isa(I) I-cry-ICVB be-UWPST because one underpants
taraw xece-s gom
 besides let-RES be.NEG
 ‘Isa was crying [...] because they left him only the underpants.’ (N)

Furthermore, *heλ'e* can mean 'right' (808). Although there are no very clear occurrences in my corpus, I came across many examples when I was working with my informants. When I asked them polar questions that turned out to be true, they responded with *heλ'e*.

- (808) *Ø-iči, heλ'e=n, ič'č'a y-egennu ked-de-r* *Ø-iλ'-an*
 I-stop right=and very II-young girl(II)-ALOC-LAT I-go-INTFUT
 'Right, wait, I will go to my youngest daughter.' (N)

Similarly, *heλ'e* can express tag-like questions. When used in rhetorical questions it stresses the fact that the hearer already knows the answer to that question (809b, 809c).

- (809) a. *iyō goł=e heλ'e debe?*
 mother be=Q right you.SG.GEN I
 'You have a mother, don't you?' (N)
- b. *hibayru goła sasaqos mix b-aq'-o gom=e*
 so be.PTCP morning time(III) III-come-ICVB be.NEG=Q
heλ'e hało-z?
 right he.OBL-DAT
 'In this manner, the morning comes for him, doesn't it?' (N)
- c. [The speaker already told a story why she once remained hungry.]
hoboži λex^w-o gom=e de quqa, heλ'e?
 now remain-ICVB be.NEG=Q I hungry right
 'So I remained hungry, didn't I?' (N)

In addition, Hinuq has a number of interjections and exclamations that do not serve a logical function. The interjection *λe* 'Let's go!', 'Come!' occurs in predicate function in main and embedded clauses. Such clauses do not contain any other verbal predicate.

- (810) a. *λe elu-de q'^wec'e Ø-ez-ayaz*
 let's.go we.OBL-ALOC together I-look-PURP
 'Come with us in order to have a look!' (N)
- b. *zeru hardezi b-iq-iš=eλ "zonde cadaq*
 fox(III) beg III-happen-PST=NARR REFL.SG.ALOC together
λe''=λen
 let's.go=QUOT
 'The fox begged to go together with him.' (N)

There are three deictic interjections *hale* ‘well, here is, this is’, *ho* and *ha* ‘here is, this is’. *Hale* is used when showing something (811a), to attract the attention of the addressee. *Ho* and *ha* are used when giving something to somebody, as a command to take it (811b).

- (811) a. *hale, haduraw ax hibadu goʔ*
 well prepared cheese this be
 ‘Well, this is prepared cheese.’ (N)
- b. “*ho, devez hadu iši*”=*χen eχi-n*
 here you.SG.DAT this apple=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘Here is this apple for you,’ she said.’ (N)

Hinuq has a number of interjections that mainly introduce commands and orders and therefore occur before clauses in the Imperative, e.g. *ey, ha, he, le* meaning ‘hey, eh, ha’, but also *haxar* ‘well, so’:

- (812) a. *le, ʔoloq-be, xec-o!*
 hey young-PL let-IMP
 ‘Hey guys, stop it!’ (N)
- b. “*haxar, [mihi=n r-iq’e-n] nox!*”=*χen eχi-n*
 well tail(V)=and V-bring-CVB come=QUOT say-CVB
 “‘Well, bring the tail and come!’ he said.’ (N)

Then there are some interjections and exclamations that do not fit the above categories: *ʔela* ‘enough’ (e.g. used when getting too much tea or food), *wah* ‘wow’ expressing surprise or shock and occasionally disdain and mock, *wele* ‘attention, look’, used in warnings, and *way* ‘woe’ expressing anxiety and concern:

- (813) a. “*wah, had se r-iq-i?*”=*χen eχi-n*
 wow this what v-happen-Q=QUOT say-CVB
 “‘Wow, what happened?’ (he) said.’ (N)
- b. “*way, di uži goʔ=e hadi?*”=*χen eχi-n*
 woe I.GEN1 boy be=Q here=QUOT say-CVB
 “‘Woe is my boy here?’ she said.’ (N)

Finally, there are a few loans, the most frequent being *wallah* ‘By God!’ (from Arabic) and *daway* ‘Let us!’ (from Russian):

- (814) *wallah, de pulanab daram-mo-ho Ø-iχ’i-yo zoq’we-s*
 by.God I certain trade-OBL-ILOC I-go-ICVB be-PST
 ‘By God, I (masc.) certainly went trading.’ (N)

Chapter 14

Names for places and people(s)

In this chapter names for places (e.g. villages, towns, districts, states), people and ethnicities, and some microtoponyms of places around the village of Hinuq are treated. Additional such expressions can be found in the dictionary by Khalilov & Isakov (2005). All place names can take the suffixes of all directional cases (Lative, First and Second Ablative, Directional) but only one or two locational suffixes, which are lexically determined. In the tables below mostly only Directional case forms are presented because the other cases can be regularly obtained.

Table 73 gives an overview of the names for villages, towns, and the respective inhabitants. Most of the names for villages and towns have a stem that is identical with the citation form. However, there are a few such toponyms where the citation form differs from the stem: both *Hinuq* and *Ancuq* have a AT-Essive suffix that has been shortened to /q/ as the last segment of their citation form. This ending is deleted when the words that refer to the peoples or to the languages are formed. The oblique stem for *Kidiro* is *Kidili-*.¹¹¹

The column with the headings ‘Where’ and ‘Where to?’ give the forms that are used in answers to these questions. This means that the ‘where’ column contains Essive case forms and ‘where to?’ contains directional case forms. All other spatial case forms can be easily obtained from them. The column ‘people’ lists names for the people in the plural, e.g. *Newobe* ‘Mokoks, people from Mokok’. For villages and small towns in the vicinity of Hinuq whose inhabitants mostly belong to one single ethnic group, these names are formed from the oblique stem plus the plural suffix *-be* or *-ze*. Only Hinuq and Ancuq, which for their stem form delete the final AT-Essive suffix of the citation form, take the suffix *-ze*.¹¹² For all other place names, the attributive form is preferred plus the head noun *ahlu* ‘people’, but the regular plural suffix *-be* can also be employed. The last column ‘attributive form’ lists those words that are used when modifying nouns like *ahlu* or *xalq’i* ‘people, folk’ or *mec* ‘language’, e.g. *Kidiližas mec* ‘the language of Kidiro. For those toponyms that form people’s names with *-be* or *-ze*, in the attributive form these suffixes are replaced by the oblique plural marker for nominals *-za*. All other place names have the attributive form derived

¹¹¹Diachronically this form may perhaps be due to an oblique stem marker *-li* that has been added to the final /r/ of the citation form after deleting /o/, since stem-final /r/ plus *-li* regularly becomes stem-final *-li*.

¹¹²This suffix also occurs in the plural forms of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *hagze-* ‘those.OBL’ (Section 5.2).

Table 73. Villages and towns

Translation	Stem	Citation form	Where?	Where to?	People	Attributive
Hinuq	<i>Hinu-</i>	<i>Hinuq</i>	<i>Hinuqo</i>	<i>Hinuqodo, Hinuqor</i>	<i>Hinuqaw</i> (SG), <i>Hinuze</i> (PL)	<i>Hinuzas /</i>
Bezhta	<i>Kebura</i>	<i>Kebura</i>	<i>Keburat</i>	<i>Keburatedo</i>	<i>Keburabe</i>	<i>Keburas</i>
Tladal	<i>ʔ'adal</i>	<i>ʔ'adal</i>	<i>ʔ'adali</i>	<i>ʔ'adalir, ʔ'adalido</i>	<i>ʔ'adal(i)be</i>	<i>ʔ'adalizas</i>
Kidiro	<i>Kidili-</i>	<i>Kidiro</i>	<i>Kidili</i>	<i>Kidilir, Kidilido</i>	<i>Kidilibe</i>	<i>Kidilizas</i>
Mokok	<i>Newo</i>	<i>Newo</i>	<i>Newo</i>	<i>Newor, Newodo</i>	<i>Newobe</i>	<i>Newozas</i>
Ancuq	<i>Ancu-</i>	<i>Ancuq</i>	<i>Ancuq</i>	<i>Ancuqer, Ancuqodo</i>	<i>Ancuqaw</i> (SG), <i>Ancuze</i> (PL)	<i>Ancuzas</i>
Makhachkala	<i>Maħačqala</i>	<i>Maħačqala</i>	<i>Maħačqalaħ'o</i>	<i>Maħačqalaħ'or</i>	<i>Maħačqalabe /</i>	<i>Maħačqalas /</i>
Kizljar	<i>Kizlyar</i>	<i>Kizlyar</i>	<i>Kizlyareħ</i>	<i>Maħačqalaħ'odo</i>	<i>Maħačqalaħ'os ahlu</i>	<i>Maħačqalaħ'os</i>
Šamxal	<i>Šamxal</i>	<i>Šamxal</i>	<i>Šamxalħ'o</i>	<i>Kizlyareħer,</i> <i>Kizlyareħedo</i>	<i>Kizlyarbe /</i> <i>Kizlyarħ'os ahlu</i>	<i>Kizlyares /</i> <i>Kizlyarħ'os</i>
Monastirskoe	<i>Monastirski</i>	<i>Monastirski</i>	<i>Monastirskiħ'o</i>	<i>Šamxalħ'or,</i> <i>Šamxalħ'odo</i>	<i>Šamxalbe</i> <i>Šamxalħ'os ahlu</i>	<i>Šamxalħ'os</i>
Moscow	<i>Maskwa</i>	<i>Maskwa</i>	<i>Maskwaħ'o,</i> <i>Maskwaħ</i>	<i>Monastirskiħ'or,</i> <i>Monastirskiħ'odo</i>	<i>Monastirskibe /</i> <i>Monastirskiħ'os ahlu</i>	<i>Monastirskiħ'os</i>
				<i>Maskwaħ'or,</i> <i>Maskwaħ'odo</i>	<i>Maskwabe</i> <i>Maskwaħ'os ahlu</i>	<i>Maskwas /</i> <i>Maskwaħ'os</i>

either from the citation form or from the Essive form by means of adding the First Genitive/Ablative suffix *-s*.

In (815a)-(815c) a few examples of the expressions in use are given.

- (815) a. *hayi-š hezzo ʔono quno oc'era q'wena eʔa*
 there-ABL1 then three twenty ten.OBL two.OBL ORD
ʔeba-ʔ de Ø-aq'e-s Hinuqo-do zawuč-ʔun
 year.OBL-CONT I I-come-PST Hinuq.AT-DIR head.teacher-AS
 'From there I (masc.) came to Hinuq as a head teacher in the year (19)70.' (N)
- b. *Kebura-ʔ-es eli gulu-ʔ'o r-iq'-o zoq'we-s*
 Bezhta-CONT-ABL1 we.ERG horse-SPR V-bring-ICVB be-PST
at'
 wheat(V)
 'From Bezhta we brought wheat on horses.' (N)
- c. *somo sapar b-u:-y me*
 how.much journey(III) III-do-Q you.SG.ERG
Maħačqala-ʔ'o-r?
 Makhachkala-SPR-LAT
 'How many journeys did you make to Makhachkala?' (N)

Table 74 lists a few names for districts and states. For 'Georgia' there are two expressions referring to the geographical place, whereby *wili* is an adverb (Section 10.2.1.1) that has only spatial meaning and cannot serve as the citation form. For answering the 'where' question in reference to a geographical area (e.g. district, state, region, etc.), either the SPR-Essive or the CONT-Essive is used. An example is given in (816a). All adjectives that are correlated with the names of states or state-like areas have cognate adjectives that are Avar loans. These adjectives may occur as attributes to head nouns and they refer to single male persons, e.g. *ʔurusaw* 'Russian'. However, in many fixed expressions with head nouns such as 'people, folk, society' or 'language' the attributive form is used.

- (816) a. *Gruziya-ʔ hayʔu zaman-a-ʔ carica, xan zoq'we-n*
 Georgia-CONT that.OBL time-OBL-CONT queen khan be-UWPST
Tamar
 Tamar
 'In Georgia there was at that time the queen Tamar.' (N)

¹¹³Actually this word means Tsez region/place. Because many Tsez people live in the Tsunta district it is also used to refer to this district.

Table 74. Districts and states

Translation	Stem	Where?	Where to?	People	Attributive	Adjective
Tsunta district Chechnya	C'unt'a Čaćan-	C'unt'a, CeX'o, ¹¹³ ČaćanX'o, Čaćani	C'unt'ado ČaćanX'or, ČaćanX'odo, Čaćanir, Čaćanido	C'untabe/Ceze Čaćan(aw)be	CeX'os, Cezas Čaćanzas	# Čaćanaw
Georgia	Gruziya	Gruziyał, wili	Gruziyałer, wilir, wilito	Qazaqbe	Qazaq(zas)	Gurziyaw
Azerbaijan	Azerbažan	Azerbažaneł, AzerbažanX'o	Azerbažanełer, AzerbažanX'odo, AzerbažanX'or	Azerbažan(aw)be	Azerbažanes	Azerbažanaw
Russia Arabia	ǧurus- ǧarab-	Rasiyał ǧarabustaneł	Rasiyałedo ǧarabiyatedo	ǧurus(aw)be ǧarab(iyaw)be	ǧurus, ǧurusas ǧarab	ǧurusaw ǧarabiyaw

- b. *qazaq-za-zo* *aqilay* *b-oxer-no*
 Georgian-OBL.PL-GEN2 woman.PL.ERG HPL-drive.away-UWPST
 ‘The Georgian women drove (us) away.’ (N)
- c. “*ʔurus-a-s* *maħ=no* *b-iq’e-n* *Ø-aq’e-s*
 Russian-OBL-GEN1 smell(III)=and III-bring-CVB I-come-PST
hadi-do”=*χen*
 here-DIR=QUOT
 ‘You (masc.) came here and brought Russian smell.’ (N)
- d. *hago zoq^we-n* *ʔurus*
 he be-UWPST Russian
 ‘He was Russian.’ (N)

Names for ethnic groups and peoples living in Daghestan are displayed in Table 75. Most of them are formed from a stem by means of adding the plural suffix *-be* for the Absolutive. Only the names for the Tsez and the Andi people differ because they are formed with the suffix *-ze*, the same suffix which is also used for the Hinuq and the Ancuq people (see Table 73 above). The stem itself can usually be used as an attributive form, but it is also possible to add the oblique plural suffix *-za* plus the Genitive in order to derive an attributive form. Yet a third possibility is the use of the Avar loan adjectives. The adjectives can also refer to single persons.

Table 75. Ethnic groups in Daghestan

Translation	Stem	Attributive	People	Adjective
Tsez	<i>ce-</i>	<i>cezas</i>	<i>ceze</i>	#
Avar	<i>maʔarul-</i>	<i>maʔarul</i>	<i>maʔarulbe</i>	<i>maʔarulaw</i>
Andi	<i>ʔandi-</i>	<i>ʔandi(zas)</i>	<i>ʔandize / ʔandisawbe</i>	<i>ʔandisaw</i>
Lak	<i>lak-</i>	<i>lak(zas)</i>	<i>lakbe</i>	<i>lakaw</i>
Lezgian	<i>lezgi-</i>	<i>lezgin</i>	<i>lezginbe</i>	<i>lezginaw</i>
Dargi	<i>dargi-</i>	<i>dargin(zas)</i>	<i>darginbe</i>	<i>darginaw</i>
Kumyk	<i>ʔaraʔ-</i>	<i>ʔaraʔ(zas)</i>	<i>ʔaraʔbe</i>	<i>ʔaraʔaw</i>
Jewish	<i>ʔuhut’-</i>	<i>ʔuhut’(zas)</i>	<i>ʔuhut’be</i>	<i>ʔuhut’aw</i>

- (817) a. *ʔelmu moʔ-o* *Daʔistan-eʔ* *bat’i-bat’iyaw*
 science teach-PRS Daghestan-CONT RED-different
milat-mo-za-qo *maʔarul-za-qo, lezgin-za-qo*
 nation-OBL-OBL.PL-AT Avar-OBL.PL-AT Lezgin-OBL.PL-AT

dargin-za-qo *ɬaraʔ-za-qo* *q'uy-q'uya*
 Dargin-OBL.PL-AT Kumyk-OBL.PL-AT other-OBL.PL-AT
milat-mo-qo
 nation-OBL-AT

‘In Daghestan, science is taught to various nations, to the Avars, to the Lezgians, to the Dargi, to the Kumyk, and to other nations.’ (N)

- b. “*wallah eli Cez-a-y* *Kidili-ža-y* *q'warid*
 by.God! we Tsez-OBL-ERG Kidiro.OBL-OBL.PL-ERG sad
b-u:-ho *raɬ'-mo-za-ɬi* *žo-yla-ɬi*”=ɬen
 HPL-do-PRS earth-OBL-OBL.PL-ABST thing-OBL-ABST=QUOT
eɬi-n
 say-CVB

“‘By God, Tsez people and people from Kidiro make us trouble because of land,’ he said.’ (N)

A few names for places in the immediate surroundings of Hinuq are given in Table 76. A more extensive list of microtoponyms can be found in the dictionary (Khalilov & Isakov 2005: 553–555). Most of these place names end in a spatial case suffix which can be any of the locational suffixes besides the ALOC-Essive. Which suffix actually occurs depends on the lexeme. There is a tendency for microtoponyms that refer to places on mountains to end in the SPR-Essive, or for microtoponyms referring to canyons to end with the IN-Essive, but this is not a strict rule. Almost all toponyms lack a simple citation form the only exception being ‘koro’, the name of a canyon near Hinuq and at the same time the Hinuq word for ‘canyon’. Instead, they take the Ablative suffix and occur as a modifier of the word *moči* ‘place’.

- (818) a. *Muḥamad haži obu san Ø-iɬ'i-n inliho-do*
 Mohamed Gadzhi father once I-go-UWPST Inliho-DIR
 ‘Once Mohamed Gadzhi went to Inliho.’ (N)
- b. *izayɬi koli teɬ, koli teɬer b-aq'e-yɬ'o geɬ=bito*
 there Koli inside Koli inside.LAT HPL-come-SIM down=TRANS
noxxo zoq'e-n
 come.ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘There inside the canyon Koli, when they came into the canyon Koli, they went down through it.’ (N)

Table 76. Some microtoponyms

Translation	Description	Citation	Where?	Where to?	From where?
Inliho	valley in the direction of Georgia	<i>inlihos moči</i>	<i>inliho</i>	<i>inlihodo</i>	<i>inlihos</i>
Koli	a canyon	<i>koro</i>	<i>koli</i>	<i>kolido</i>	<i>koliš</i>
Qoqtlo	a canyon	<i>qoqλ'os moči</i>	<i>qoqλ'o</i>	<i>qoqλ'odo</i>	<i>qoqλ'os</i>
Bar	hayfield	<i>bares moči</i>	<i>bar, bari</i>	<i>baredo</i>	<i>bares</i>
Icho	place near the mill	<i>iččos moči</i>	<i>iččo</i>	<i>iččodo</i>	<i>iččos</i>
Soraqo	hayfield at the margin of the village	<i>soraqos moči</i>	<i>soraqo</i>	<i>soraqodo</i>	<i>soraqos</i>
Ladeti	hayfield near the rocks	<i>tadešes moči</i>	<i>tadeš</i>	<i>tadešedo</i>	<i>tadešes</i>
Q'eq'aqo	mountain pasture	<i>q'eq'aqos moči</i>	<i>q'eq'aqo</i>	<i>q'eq'aqodo</i>	<i>q'eq'aqos</i>
Ghwanazal	forest	<i>y^w anazates moči</i>	<i>y^w anazat</i>	<i>y^w anazatedo</i>	<i>y^w anazates</i>
Hezhuho	hayfield	<i>hezuhos moči</i>	<i>hezuhō</i>	<i>hezuhodo</i>	<i>hezuhos</i>

Chapter 15

Agreement

15.1. Introduction

Hinuq has three agreement categories: gender, number, and case (Absolutive vs. oblique cases), but only gender and number play an important role in the syntax of the language. As most Nakh-Daghestanian languages, it does not have person agreement. The parts of speech that show agreement to various degrees are verbs, adjectives, postpositions/adverbs, all demonstrative pronouns, and numerals. In the following subsections all types of agreement are analyzed in more detail.

15.2. Gender and number agreement

15.2.1. Introduction

Hinuq nouns distinguish five genders and singular vs. plural. About one third of the simple underived verbs, nine adjectives (see Section 6.9 for the list), one postposition/adverb, three adverbs, and all demonstrative pronouns show gender/number agreement.

Gender/number agreement takes the form of root-initial affixation with the exception of demonstrative pronouns. The relevant prefixes are given in the upper part of Table 77. Note that feminine nouns in the plural can trigger the agreement prefix *b-* and the agreement prefix *r-* agreement. Only verbs, adjectives, and postpositions/adverbs beginning with a vowel can take the prefixes, but not all of the vowel-initial verbs, adjectives, and adverbs/postpositions show agreement. In fact, the only part of speech where agreement is widespread is verbs.

The prefixes conflate gender and number agreement since the prefixes for singular and plural differ for almost all genders. They do not show allomorphy or allophony. The prefix for nouns of gender I in the singular is zero. In the glosses the genders are indicated by the Roman numerals I-V (for the singular). In the plural the distinction is between human plural (HPL) and non-human plural (NHPL). For more information on the category of gender see Chapter 4.

15.2.2. Gender/number agreement in noun phrases

Only nine native Hinuq adjectives and all forms derived from these adjectives show agreement with the head noun, independently of the case of the noun. An

Table 77. Agreement prefixes and some demonstrative pronouns

	Human noun phrases		Non-human noun phrases		
	I	II	III	IV	V
Singular	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>b-</i>	<i>y-</i>	<i>r-</i>
Plural	<i>b-</i>	<i>b-/r-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>r-</i>
Absolutive singular	<i>hado</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>hadu</i>	<i>had</i>	<i>had</i>
Oblique singular	<i>hało</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>	<i>hału</i>
Absolutive plural	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>	<i>had(be)</i>
Oblique plural	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>	<i>ha(d)ze</i>

example of an agreeing adjective in an attributive function can be found in (820).

- (819) *Ø-eg^wey uži* ‘small boy’ *b-eg^wey uži-be* ‘small boys’
y-eg^wey ked ‘small girl’ *b-eg^wey ked-bi/* ‘small girls’
 r-eg^wey ked-bi
b-eg^wey k’et’u ‘small cat’ *r-eg^wey k’et’-be* ‘small cats’
y-eg^wey t’ek ‘small book’ *r-eg^wey t’ek-be* ‘small books’
r-eg^wey t’oq ‘small knife’ *r-eg^wey t’oq-be* ‘small knives’
- (820) [*at’=no q’uq’e-n*] [*hibayłu-s r-u:-n r-eg^wey*
flour=and knead-CVB that.OBL-GEN1 NHPL-do-CVB NHPL-small
magalu-be=n] ...
bread-PL=and
‘kneading the flour, making small breads out of it, ...’ (N)

In a predicative function, these adjectives agree with the subject of the clause (821a). When used nominally the adjectives with agreement prefixes express the gender and the number of their referents through the agreement prefixes (821b). For more examples and a list of all adjectives that have agreement prefixes see Section 6.9.

- (821) a. *łe r-oč’č’u goł*
water(V) V-cold be
‘The water is cold.’
- b. *hayłoy b-²ežinnu-za-qo-r ełi-n ...*
he.ERG HPL-old-OBL.PL-AT-LAT say-UWPST
‘He said to the old (people) ...’ (N)

Demonstrative pronouns show not only gender/number agreement but also case agreement (see 15.3 below). In (822) and (823) agreement of a few demonstrative pronouns with head nouns in the Absolutive case is illustrated.

(822)	<i>hado uži</i>	‘this boy’	<i>had užiibe</i>	‘these boys’
	<i>hadu ked</i>	‘this girl’	<i>had kedbi</i>	‘these girls’
	<i>hadu k’et’u</i>	‘this cat’	<i>had k’et’be</i>	‘these cats’
	<i>had t’ek</i>	‘this book’	<i>had t’ekbe</i>	‘these books’
	<i>had t’oq</i>	‘this knife’	<i>had t’oqbe</i>	‘these knives’
(823)	<i>hago uži</i>	‘that boy’	<i>hag užiibe</i>	‘those boys’
	<i>haw ked</i>	‘that girl’	<i>hag kedbi</i>	‘those girls’
	<i>haw k’et’u</i>	‘that cat’	<i>hag k’et’be</i>	‘those cats’
	<i>hag t’ek</i>	‘that book’	<i>hag t’ekbe</i>	‘those books’
	<i>hag t’oq</i>	‘that knife’	<i>hag t’oqbe</i>	‘those knives’

As can be seen in (822) and (823), agreement in demonstrative pronouns is expressed by the last segment of the root. Demonstrative pronouns in the direct form make the following distinctions: gender I (/o/) vs. gender II and III (/u/ and /w/) vs. gender IV and V (no vowel). In the oblique form they distinguish only gender I (/o/) from all other genders (/u/), and in the plural they do not show gender distinctions at all. As in the case of adjectives, agreement is with the head noun (824a, 824b).

- (824) a. [*hadu bikore b-oxe-nos*] ...
 this snake(III) III-leave-ANT
 ‘when the snake disappeared ...’ (N)
- b. *ʔurab xayir b-u:n hayɫo rek’u-y*
 much benefit(III) III-do-UWPST that.OBL man.OBL-ERG
 ‘The man made much profit.’ (N)

Demonstrative pronouns used as third person personal pronouns indicate the gender and number of their referents. More information on demonstrative pronouns is given in Section 5.2.

15.2.3. Gender/number agreement of adverbs and postpositions

The two manner adverbs *-eg* ‘well’ and *-oɫo* ‘fast’ agree with the Absolutive argument of the clause to which they belong (825a). When used in a biabsolutive construction they agree with P (Section 17.10). The agreement of the postposition/adverb *-oɫɫo* ‘in the middle, between’ is also triggered by the argument in the Absolutive case (825b).

- (825) a. *de Ø-oλo Ø-iλ 'i-yo*
 I I-fast I-go-PRS
 'I (masc.) go fast.'
- b. [*bazali: Ø-oλλo=n Ø-iči-n*] *haŋo-y qaλe-n*
 market.IN I-in.the.middle=and I-stand-CVB he.OBL-ERG call-CVB
eλi-yo
 say-PRS
 'Standing in the middle of the market he shouts.' (N)

The verb *-iči* 'be similar' actually functions as an adverbial and agrees with the Absolutive. For instance, in (826) the Absolutive argument triggering the agreement is the personal pronoun *me* 'you.SG', referring to a man.

- (826) *de devez y-eti-yo me diž Ø-iči=tow*
 I you.SG.DAT II-want-PRS you.SG I.DAT I-similar=EMPH
 'You (masc.) love me (fem.) like I love you.' (N)

15.2.4. Gender/number agreement of verbs in the clause

In all simple clause types the verb agrees with its Absolutive argument, regardless of the role of this argument (e.g. S, P, STIM, extended S). In (827a) the agreement in the singular and in (827b) the agreement in the plural is illustrated by means of an intransitive verb.

- | | | |
|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| (827) a. | <i>uži q'idir Ø-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The boy falls down.' |
| | <i>ked q'idir y-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The girl falls down.' |
| | <i>k'et'u q'idir b-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The cat falls down.' |
| | <i>t'ek q'idir y-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The book falls down.' |
| | <i>t'oq q'idir r-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The knife falls down.' |
| b. | <i>užibe q'idir b-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The boys fall down.' |
| | <i>kedbi q'idir b-iλ 'iyo/</i> | 'The girls fall down.' |
| | <i>kedbi q'idir r-iλ 'iyo</i> | |
| | <i>k'et'be q'idir r-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The cats fall down.' |
| | <i>t'ekbe q'idir r-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The books fall down.' |
| | <i>t'oqbe q'idir r-iλ 'iyo</i> | 'The knives fall down.' |

This affects not only main clauses, but also all types of subordinate clauses. The following examples show a simple intransitive (828a), an extended intransitive (828b), a simple transitive (828c), and an experiencer clause (828d):

- (828) a. *iy b-olax-no hayti-š*
 blood(III) III-appear-UWPST there-ABL1
 ‘Blood appeared from there.’ (N)
- b. *hało-zo fił’-ł’o r-iti-yo hało*
 he.OBL-GEN2 finger.OBL-SPR V-touch-PRS this.OBL
xan-i-š mač’a
 khan-OBL-GEN1 sword(V)
 ‘The khan’s sword touches his finger.’ (N)
- c. *meži de b-ac’-an*
 you.PL I.ERG HPL-eat-INTFUT
 ‘I will eat you.’ (N)
- d. *b-ike-s-me diž duniyal*
 III-see-PST-NEG I.DAT earth(III)
 ‘I did not see the earth.’ (N)

There are two kinds of periphrastic verb forms consisting of a lexical verb and an auxiliary showing agreement: (i) progressive constructions with the verb *-iči-* ‘be, stand, sit’ (Section 8.1.3.4) and (ii) constructions expressing epistemic modality with the help of *-ese-* ‘be probable’ (Section 8.2.2). Progressive constructions with *-iči-* belong to the biabsolutive constructions (Section 17.10), i.e. they contain one or two arguments in the Absolutive case, depending on the transitivity of the lexical verb. In progressive clauses with an intransitive lexical verb, both lexical verb and auxiliary agree with S. In clauses with a transitive lexical verb the lexical verb agrees with P, and the auxiliary *-iči-* with A:

- (829) *obu-be buxe-be r-u:-ho b-iči-š*
 father-PL house-PL NHPL-do-ICVB HPL-be-PST
 ‘The fathers were building houses.’

In clauses expressing epistemic modality, the auxiliary *-ese-* shows the same agreement as the lexical verb, e.g. with the Absolutive argument, regardless of its role:

- (830) *Elmira-y magalu b-u:-s b-ese*
 Elmira-ERG bread(III) III-do-RES III-be.probable
 ‘Elmira has probably made bread.’

In copula constructions with the verbs *-iči-* ‘be, stand, sit’, *-iq-* ‘be, become, happen’ and *-ese-* ‘be probable’ the verbs agree with the argument in the Absolutive case:

- (831) *zek r-egiy ɣ^wede r-iči*
 tomorrow V-good day(V) V-be
 ‘Tomorrow will be a good day.’

A number of complement-taking predicates have gender/number prefixes. Most of these complement-taking predicates showing agreement can follow two different agreement patterns, whereby the agreement is either with the complement clause as a whole (local agreement) as illustrated in (832a) or with the Absolutive argument in the complement clause (long-distance agreement), as illustrated in (832b). See Section 22.3 for more information on the agreement of complement-taking predicates.

- (832) a. *Saʔida-z r-eq'i-yo [Madina-y ɣi ga:s-ti]_V*
 Saida-DAT V-know-PRS Madina-ERG milk(IV) drink-RES-ABST
 ‘Saida knows that Madina drank milk.’
 b. *Saʔida-z y-eq'i-yo [Madina-y ɣi ga:s-ti]_V*
 Saida-DAT II-know-PRS Madina-ERG milk(IV) drink-RES-ABST
 ‘Saida knows that Madina drank MILK.’

15.2.5. Unspecified agreement

The term ‘unspecified’ or ‘default agreement’ refers to such cases where an overt agreement trigger (i.e. a nominal specified for gender and number) is lacking. In these cases in HInuq, verbs of speech that show gender/number agreement take the agreement prefix *r-* (gender V/non-human plural). An example of unspecified agreement can be seen in the following questions:

- (833) a. *me se r-u:-ho?*
 you.ERG what V-do-PRS
 ‘What are you doing?’ (N)
 b. *debez se r-ik-o?*
 you.SG.DAT what V-see-PRS
 ‘What do you see?’

The WH-word *se* ‘what’ cannot be said to belong to a certain gender, and it triggers gender V agreement on the verb *-u:-* ‘do’. If the speaker already has a referent for it in mind, then s/he can use the appropriate agreement prefix:

- (834) *se devez b-/y-/r-ike-y?*
 what you.SG.DAT III-/IV-/V-see-Q
 ‘What did you see?’

Similarly, the equative adverbial *-iṭi* normally agrees with the Absolutive (see 15.2.3 above and Section 26.1.5). If the clause lacks an Absolutive argument, then the agreement is gender V.

- (835) *hayṭoy zonde idu r-iṭi r-u:-ho*
 he.ERG REFL.SG.ALOC home V-similar V-do-PRS
 ‘He behaves as if he were at his house.’

Complement clauses exhibiting local agreement (see (832a) above and Section 22.3 for more information) take the agreement prefix *r-*. That is, the clause appearing in the object position is assigned to gender V (836). For some of these complement clauses, this agreement may be explained by the fact that they are marked with the Abstract suffix *-ṭi* (832a). This suffix is also used to form abstract nouns from various parts of speech, and in fact most of these abstract nouns belong to gender V (Section 3.6.1). However, there are other complement clauses that lack this suffix but nevertheless trigger gender V agreement:

- (836) *hayṭo-z r-eti-n [de kaṣat cax-a]ᵥ*
 he.OBL-DAT V-want-UWPST I.ERG letter(IV) write-INF
 ‘He wants me to write a letter.’

In Hinuq, as in other Daghestanian languages like Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 483–484), the intransitive verb *-iḷ-* ‘hurt’ exhibits an interesting behavior. When it is used with body parts and organs, which are said to hurt, it agrees with them in gender and number (837a, 837b).

- (837) a. *hayṭo-s k'onc'u y-iḷḷo*
 he.OBL-GEN1 leg(IV) IV-hurt.PRS
 ‘His leg hurts.’
 b. *di rok'e r-iḷḷo*
 I.GEN1 heart(V) V-ache.PRS
 ‘My heart hurts.’ (N)

In contrast, when it is used with the meaning ‘be ill’ and the only argument in the clause is an animate noun, then the verb always takes the prefix *r-* for gender V, independently of the gender and number of the Absolutive argument.

- (838) *iyō, eli ked r-iḷḷo*
 mother, we.GEN1 girl(II) V-hurt.PRS
 ‘Mother, our daughter is ill.’ (N)

This is remarkable since normally all clauses must have an argument in the Absolutive case. Even though the Absolutive argument might not be overtly expressed, it is always retrievable from the context or silently understood. For example, clauses describing weather phenomena often lack the Absolutive S argument, but nevertheless speakers are able to identify it (see Section 16.2 for examples). In contrast, in (838) it is unclear what triggers the agreement.

When an arbitrary or an unspecified human individual is at issue, an agreeing word takes gender I agreement. For instance, in questions containing the WH-pronoun *tu* ‘who’, an agreeing verb shows the zero prefix of gender I (839a). Only if the speaker already supposes a certain answer, s/he can use the appropriate gender prefix (839b).

- (839) a. *tu Ø-iλ'i-me iškola:r?*
 who I-go-NEG school.IN-LAT
 ‘Who did not go to school?’
 b. *tu devez Ø-/y-/b-ike-y?*
 who you.SG.DAT I-/II-/HPL-see-Q
 ‘Who did you see?’

15.2.6. Agreement resolution in conjoined noun phrases

15.2.6.1. Human plus human

When two or more male nouns are coordinated and a verb agrees with them it always takes the prefix *b-* for human plural (840a). The coordination of two or more female nouns predominantly triggers *b-* prefixation, but occasionally *r-* is used (840b).

- (840) a. *obu=n uži=n b-aq'e-s*
 father=and son=and HPL-come-PST
 ‘Father and son came.’
 b. *diž ked=no iyo=n iyo-s=gon iyo=n*
 I.DAT daughter=and mother=and mother-GEN1=TOP mother=and
b- /r-ike-s
 HPL- / NHPL-see-PST
 ‘I saw the daughter, the mother, and the grandmother.’

Whenever masculine and feminine nouns are coordinated, the agreement prefix is always *b-* (841).

- (841) *iyo=n obu=n b-oxe-n gorod-ma-do*
 mother=and father=and HPL-leave-UWPST town-IN-DIR
 ‘Mother and father went to town.’ (N)

Very occasionally the mixing of male and female nouns does not trigger human plural agreement, but the agreement is with the noun more close to the verb (842). This type of agreement is more common with non-human nouns of different genders and especially frequent in mixing human and non-human nouns (see Sections 15.2.6.2 and 15.2.6.3 below).

- (842) *uži-ž obu=n dada=n y-ike-s*
 boy-DAT father(I)=and aunt(II)=and II-see-PST
 ‘The boy saw the father and the aunt.’

15.2.6.2. *Non-human plus non-human*

In conjoined noun phrases where all conjuncts are non-human, the preferred agreement prefix is *r-* (non-human plural):

- (843) a. *y^wero=n gulu=n alxu-λ'o-do r-iλ'i-š*
 cow(III)=and horse(III)=and pasture-SPR-DIR NHPL-go-PST
 ‘The cow and the horse went to the pasture.’
 b. *r-iker-o aku=n og=no mos=no!*
 NHPL-show-IMP spade(IV)=and ax(V)=and broom(III)=and
 ‘Show the spade, the ax, and the broom!’

Alternatively, the agreement can be with the noun that is more close to the verb. This variant is less frequent than the non-human plural agreement, but it is attested in the corpus as well as in elicitation. If the verb precedes the noun, the agreement is with the first noun. Thus, alternatively to (843b), the following variant is possible:

- (844) *y-iker-o aku=n og=no mos=no!*
 IV-show-IMP spade(IV)=and ax(V)=and broom(III)=and
 ‘Show the spade, the ax, and the broom!’

If the verb follows the noun, the agreement is with the last noun:

- (845) a. *boc'e=n zeru=n b-iλ'i-yo hayti-r*
 wolf(III)=and fox(III)=and III-go-PRS there-LAT
 ‘The wolf and the fox go there.’ (N)

- b. *magalu=n yi=n y-ux-o!*
 bread(III)=and milk(IV)=and IV-buy-IMP
 ‘Buy bread and milk!’

15.2.6.3. Human plus non-human

The constellation where a human noun is conjoined with a non-human noun presents some difficulties for speakers, especially when the non-human noun is inanimate. Such conjoined noun phrases of the latter type are very rare in my corpus. In elicitation speakers often hesitate before uttering a sentence or correct themselves. Similar difficulties have been reported for Tsakhur, another Nakh-Daghestanian language (Corbett 1999). Just as in Tsakhur, the problem is not so much to conjoin semantically unlike noun phrases, but it is rather the gender resolution required by the agreement prefix that causes difficulties.

In conjoined noun phrases of the type human plus non-human the verb mostly agrees with the noun that is more close to the verb. That is, if the verb precedes the noun, the agreement is with the first noun:

- (846) a. *sedayo-r Ø-aq'e-nos hało-z Ø-ik-o*
 in.one.place-LAT I-come-ANT he.OBL-DAT I-see-PRS
exo=n beλ'no
 herdsman(I)=and sheep(V)=and
 ‘When he comes in one place, he sees a shepherd and sheep.’ (N)
- b. *t'aʒazi b-iq-iš gulu=n hago uži=n*
 disappear III-happen-PST horse(III)=and that boy(I)=and
 ‘The horse and the boy disappeared.’ (N)
- c. *y-iker-o diž aže=n obu=n!*
 IV-show-IMP I.DAT tree(IV)=and father(I)=and
 ‘Show me the tree and the father!’

If the verb follows the noun, the agreement is with the last noun:

- (847) a. *hago exo=n hag beλ'no haze-z*
 that shepherd(I)=and that sheep(V)=and they.OBL-DAT
r-aši-š-me
 V-find-PST-NEG
 ‘They did not find the shepherd and the sheep.’ (N)

- b. *xan-i-žo xalq'i-mo-qo hago uži=n haw gulu=n*
 khan-OBL-GEN2 folk-OBL-AT that boy=and that horse=and
b-aši-n gom
 III-find-UWPST be.NEG
 'The khan's people did not find the boy and the horse.' (N)
- c. *y^we=n ked=no y-iker-o di-go!*
 dog(III)=and girl(II)=and II-show-IMP I.OBL-AT
 'Show me the dog and the girl!'

The agreement can also be human plural (848a) or non-human plural (848b), but it seems that these variants are rare, and the agreement with the noun most close to the verb is always possible and preferred.

- (848) a. *b-aši-s-me beλ'=no exo=n elu-z*
 HPL-find-PST-NEG sheep(V)=and herdsman(I)=and we.OBL-DAT
 'We did not find the sheep and the shepherd.' (N)
- b. *užiž iyo=n ac=no r-ike-s*
 boy-DAT mother(II)=and door(IV)=and NHPL-see-PST
 'The boy saw the mother and the door.'

Furthermore, often the examples can be interpreted in both ways, i.e. as agreeing with the noun most close to the verb or as representing human or non-human plural agreement, since both *b-* and *r-* stand for singular and plural agreement (847a, 847b).

15.3. Case agreement

Case agreement is expressed by distinguishing a direct from an oblique form. All demonstrative pronouns, all numerals, four adjectives (Section 6.2.1), the Habitual participle (Section 7.7.4.4), and the Resultative participle (Section 7.7.4.5) show case agreement. When these words modify a noun phrase in the Absolutive case, the direct form is used. When the head noun phrase takes any other case suffix, then the oblique form is used. Only with demonstrative pronouns is the use of the oblique form with head nouns in an oblique case obligatory. In (849) the head noun is in the First Genitive case. (For more information on the case system see Section 3.5.)

- (849) *hało užiš* 'of this boy' *hadze użizas* 'of these boys'
hału kedēs 'of this girl' *hadze kedbižas* 'of these girls'
hału k'et'es 'of this cat' *hadze k'et'zas* 'of these cats'

<i>haɫu t'ekmos</i>	'of this book'	<i>hadze t'ekzas</i>	'of these books'
<i>haɫu t'oqrus</i>	'of this knife'	<i>hadze t'oqzas</i>	'of these knives'

With numerals the oblique form is preferred if the head noun is in an oblique case (850a), but the use of the direct form solely is also attested in my corpus (850b). When very complex compound numerals modify a noun phrase in an oblique case, not all numerals occur in the oblique form usually (see Section 12.2 for examples).

- (850) a. *ɫora eɫa ɣ^wed-ɫ'o*
 three.OBL ORD day.OBL-SPR
 'at the third day' (N)
- b. *haɫu ked-i eɫi-yo hibayru* "ɫono eɫa ambar-ma
 this.OBL girl-ERG say-PRS so three ORD store.house-IN
goɫ"=ɫen eɫi-yo "ɫe"
 be=QUOT say-PRS water
 'The girl says like this "In the third store house there is water."' (N)

With adjectives and participles the use of the oblique form is quite rare, even in elicitation (851a, 851b). There are only a few examples in my corpus (cf. Section 6.2.1).

- (851) a. *Šamil gaqiy uži goɫ*
 Šamil bad boy be
 'Šamil is a bad boy.'
- b. *gaqiy-a uži: ɣ^we zok'-no*
 bad-OBL boy.ERG dog beat-UWPST
 'The bad boy beat the dog.'

The Genitive and the Ablative also distinguish two suffixes (First and Second Genitive and Ablative) according to the case of the head noun (Section 3.5.4 and Section 3.5.7). Consequently, all adjectives derived from adverbs by means of adding the Genitive to the adverb also have an oblique form where the First Genitive is replaced by the Second Genitive:

- (852) a. *mecxeli-š ɫ'oq'on*
 silver.OBL-GEN1 hat
 'silver crown' (lit. 'silver hat') (N)
- b. *mecxeli-žo k'ot'o-ma*
 silver.OBL-GEN2 plate-IN
 'on a silver plate'

Chapter 16

Verb valency, simple clause types, and grammatical roles

16.1. Introduction

In Hinuq there are six basic valency patterns plus two minor patterns. The valency patterns correspond to the simple clause types. The basic valency patterns are:

- simple intransitive
- extended intransitive with a further argument in a spatial case
- experiencer (or affective) verbs
- simple transitive
- extended transitive with a further argument in the Dative (= standard ditransitive)
- extended transitive with a further argument in a spatial case

Grammatical cases that appear in the valency patterns of Hinuq verbs are Absolutive, Ergative, and Dative. Spatial cases occurring in valency frames are AT-Essive, AT-Lative, SPR-Essive, SPR-Lative, and with a minority of verbs AT-Ablative, CONT-Essive, ALOC-Lative, and ILOC-Essive. Other spatial cases are merely used to express additional adjuncts that can be left out without affecting the grammaticality of the clause. However, since in Hinuq arguments that are retrievable from the context are often left out, it is sometimes hard to determine the exact valency frame of a verb or to decide whether a case marked nominal is actually an argument or rather an adjunct.

All verbs that can show agreement agree with the Absolutive, independently of whether the agreement trigger is overt or must be recovered from the context.

There are no verbs completely lacking arguments, i.e. all verbs take at least one argument in the Absolutive case. Weather situations, which are expressed by zero-argument verbs in many languages, are expressed as simple intransitive clauses: ‘(The day) becomes bright.’, ‘Rain is falling.’, etc. (16.2). There are no underived verbs that take more than three arguments. All valency patterns contain an Absolutive argument. For each intransitive valency pattern with an Absolutive argument (including extended intransitive verbs), there is a corresponding transitive valency pattern which contains the same arguments plus an Ergative argument (including extended transitive verbs).

Ditransitives are direct/indirect in their object alignment, i.e. the patient (or theme) of a ditransitive verb is formally identical to the patient (direct object) of

monotransitives. Not only ditransitives like ‘give’ but also verbs of contact like ‘hit’ and ‘beat’ exhibit a valency type in which the semantic goal is an indirect object marked with the Dative or a spatial case, and the semantic theme is the patient (direct object) in the Absolutive:

- (853) *xexza-y omoq'i-ya-z hebo b-oł-iš*
 child.OBL.PL-ERG donkey-OBL-DAT stick(III) III-hit-PST
 ‘The children hit the donkey with a stick.’

This is typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages and can also be found in Chechen (Zarina Molochieva, p.c.), Ingush (Johanna Nichols, p.c.), Khwarshi (Khalilova 2009: 332–335), Bagvalal (Daniel 2001: 375), Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993a: 272–273), etc.

The valency patterns of complement taking predicates have not been taken into account here, apart from those predicates that allow for nominal and for clausal arguments. Complement taking predicates and the corresponding clause types are treated in Chapter 22.

In the subsequent sections valency patterns are represented in the following schema:

V (A_{CASE1}, ...)

Here, V stands for the verb and A stands for its argument. Additionally, I list the grammatical roles and cases. I thereby use the following abbreviations and grammatical roles (cf. Table 78).

Table 78. Grammatical roles

Label	Description
S	sole argument of an intransitive verb
A	most agent-like argument of an extended intransitive or transitive verb
P	most patient-like argument of an extended intransitive or a transitive verb (including extended transitives)
R	most goal-like argument of a standard ditransitive verb
G	most goal-like argument of a non-standard ditransitive verb
EXP	most affected argument of an experiencer verb
STIM	most unaffected argument of an experiencer verb

Note that for extended intransitive verbs, the Absolutive argument fulfils the role of an agent and is therefore abbreviated with A.

Hinuq has three labile verbs that are analyzed in Section 16.8. This chapter ends with a discussion of grammatical roles (Section 16.9).

16.2. Intransitive verbs

The simple intransitive pattern illustrated by the template below is the only pattern for verbs with a single argument.

V (S_{ABS}) Argument role: single argument of an intransitive verb
Case: Absolutive

It includes derived intransitive verbs like potential and inchoative verbs (Section 9.2.4) and antipassive verbs (Section 9.2.5). With all these verbs the Absolutive argument triggers agreement on the verb (if the verb has agreement prefixes). There is no distinction between agentive and patientive intransitive verbs. Examples of intransitive verbs and clauses are:

(854)	<i>-iši-</i>	‘eat’	<i>-edo:-</i>	‘work’
	<i>łeža:-</i>	‘laugh’	<i>hagandeł-</i>	‘be astonished’
	<i>-et’e-</i>	‘burst, divide’	<i>ʔašił-</i>	‘grow, become big’
	<i>guguya:-</i>	‘murmur’	<i>k’ilik’do:-</i>	‘bathe’

- (855) a. *hago iškola: Ø-edo:-ho goł*
he school.IN I-work-ICVB be
‘He works in the school.’
- b. *hadu y-a:-ho*
she II-yell-PRS
‘She cries.’ (N)
- c. *q’idi-r c’ox-no balalayka*
down-LAT fall-UWPST balalaika
‘A balalaika fell down.’ (N)

Weather verbs and similar predicates describing ambient temperature, etc. can occur without overt arguments as any other verb can because arguments are frequently dropped when they are retrievable from the context. Thus, the overt S may be missing, but it can always be identified. In the default case the noun γ^wede ‘day’ functions as the S argument (856a). With other verbs describing weather phenomena there are other nouns occurring in the S function (856b).

- (856) a. (γ^wede) *r-oč’ił-iš*
day(V) V-become.cold-PST
‘It (the day) became cold.’

- b. *qema r-aq'e-s*
 rain(V) V-come-PST
 'It rained.'

16.3. Extended intransitive verbs

Hinuq has a number of extended intransitive verbs with an agent-like argument in the Absolutive case and another argument in a spatial case (mostly AT-Essive, AT-Lative, SPR-Essive, SPR-Lative, or Dative). In all these clauses the verb, if it can agree, agrees with the Absolutive argument.

V (A_{ABS} , X_{OBL}) Argument roles: agent-like + oblique
 Cases: Absolutive + various oblique cases

16.3.1. Extended intransitive verbs with AT-Essive arguments

Most of the verbs given below have an agent-like argument in the Absolutive and a further argument in the AT-Essive. However, with some verbs (e.g. 'get lost' or 'touch') the Absolutive argument does not show many agentive properties. The second argument in the AT-Essive case expresses the cause sometimes (e.g. 'be/become full') and sometimes a goal-like argument ('impinge on', 'touch', 'wait').

(857)	<i>-aɣ^wi-</i>	'be/become full, swell'	' A_{ABS} is full because of X_{AT} '
	<i>geg^we-</i>	'be/get lost, disappear'	' A_{ABS} is lost because of X_{AT} '
	<i>c'aq'i-</i>	'impinge on'	' A_{ABS} impinges on X_{AT} '
	<i>-iti-</i>	'touch'	' A_{ABS} touches X_{AT} '
	<i>muk'ur -iq-</i>	'approve, subordinate'	' A_{ABS} approves X_{AT}/DAT '
	<i>-eze- (-iči-)</i>	'wait for, hope for'	' A_{ABS} waits for X_{AT} '

- (858) a. *y-aɣ^wi-š-me* *de roλ'u-go*
 II-eat.one's.fill-PST-NEG I love.OBL-AT
 'I (fem.) was not full of love.' (N)
- b. *Abubakar essu-zo* *buλe-go r-iti-yo* *č'e*
 Abubakar brother-GEN2 house-AT V-touch-PRS fire
 'The house of brother Abubakar is burning down.' (lit. 'is touched by the fire') (N)
- c. *haw boc'-go=qen* *b-eze-n* *gom*
 that wolf.OBL-AT=at.least III-wait-UWPST be.NEG
 'It (i.e. the fox) did not wait for the wolf.' (N)

Note that some of the verbs have alternative valency frames. Often the case alternation corresponds to a difference in meaning. For instance, the verb *muk'ur-iq-* can be used with the AT-Essive (859a) or with the Dative (859b) case on the oblique argument. However, the difference is very subtle and my consultants either did not really perceive it or had difficulties to describe it.

- (859) a. *diqo hago muk'ur.iqgo*
 I.AT he confess.I.PRS
 'He approves me.' or 'I make him obey me.'
- b. *diž hago muk'ur.iqgo*
 I.DAT he confess.I.PRS
 'He approves me.' or 'He obeys me.'

The verb *-eze-* 'wait' (858c) is used with the AT-Essive. But this verb has yet another meaning 'look at' with different valency frames (Section 16.3.3).

16.3.2. Extended intransitive verbs with SPR-Essive arguments

There are a few propositional attitude predicates with an agent-like argument in the Absolutive case and another argument in the SPR-Essive. These predicates are light verbs formed with Avar loans. The most important of these predicates are:

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|--|
| (860) | <i>boži -iq-</i> | 'believe' | 'A _{ABS} believes in X _{SPR} ' |
| | <i>šak(ʒezi) -iq-</i> | 'doubt' | 'A _{ABS} doubts X _{SPR} ' |
| | <i>gurhezi -iq-</i> | 'feel sorry for' | 'A _{ABS} feels sorry for X _{SPR} ' |
| | <i>razi -iq-</i> | 'be happy' | 'A _{ABS} is happy about X _{SPR} ' |

- (861) a. *ʒumar dew-λ'o boži Ø-iqgo*
 Umar you.SG.OBL-SPR belief I-happen.PRS
 'Umar believes you.'
- b. *de Madina-λ'o gurhezi Ø-iqgo*
 I Madina-SPR feel.sorry.for I-happen.PRS
 'I (masc.) am sorry for Madina.'

There is a similar construction where the agent-like argument is expressed as possessor of the noun *rok'e* 'heart' or *kul* 'hope' and the other argument takes the SPR-Essive:

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|------------------|---|
| (862) | <i>rok'we raq'e-</i> | 'hope, be sure' | 'A _{GEN1} hopes on X _{SPR} ' |
| | <i>rok'we gurhezi</i> | 'feel sorry for' | 'A _{GEN1} feels sorry for X _{SPR} ' |

- riq-*
kul goŋ ‘hope’ ‘A_{GEN1} hopes on X_{SPR}’
- (863) *di rok'e r-aq'-o ʔali-λ'o*
 I.GEN1 heart(V) V-come-PRS Ali-SPR
 ‘I hope for Ali.’ (lit. ‘my heart comes on Ali.’)

16.3.3. Extended intransitive verbs with other spatial adjuncts or arguments

There are a number of extended intransitive verbs with agent-like arguments in the Absolutive and another argument in a spatial case. Although the predicates below are not motion verbs, they all imply to some degree real or metaphorical motion, e.g. with the verb *-eze-* ‘look’ the gaze ‘falls on an object’. The goal, location or source of this motion is expressed with one or more spatial cases. The verb *kezi -iq-* ‘meet’ can also be used in a simple intransitive valency frame ‘meet each other’ and in the experiencer frame where the case marking is reversed, i.e. the agent-like argument is treated as the experiencer marked with the Dative, and the goal is treated as the stimulus marked with the Absolutive.

- (864) *-eq'irdo:-* ‘rummage in’ ‘A_{ABS} rummages in X_{CONT}’
uryezi -iq- ‘think’ ‘A_{ABS} thinks about X_{CONT}’
-eze- ‘look at’ ‘A_{ABS} looks at X_{AT.LAT/SPR.LAT}’
-eze- ‘look for/at’ ‘A_{ABS} looks at X_{SPR}’
huli:- ‘long for’ ‘A_{ABS} longs for X_{SPR.LAT}’
c'unzi -iq-/ ‘save, preserve’ ‘A_{ABS} saves from X_{AT.ABL1}’
x^wasar -iq-
gerda:- ‘scold, swear’ ‘A_{ABS} scolds X_{AT.LAT/SPR.LAT}’
qara:- ‘shout’ ‘A_{ABS} shouts at X_{AT.LAT/SPR.LAT}’
- (865) a. *iyō uryezi y-iqqo ʔali-ŋ*
 mother think II-happen.PRS Ali-CONT
 ‘The mother thinks of Ali.’
- b. [*huli:-n=tow haŋu-λ'o-r*] *de ga:-s-me*
 long.for-CVB=EMPH that.OBL-SPR-LAT I drink-PST-NEG
 ‘I long for it and did not drink it.’ (N)
- c. *wele me c'unzi Ø-iq hayŋo-zo sihirawni*
 hey you.SG preserve I-happen he.OBL-GEN2 sly
ʔilmu-qo-s
 science-AT-ABL I
 ‘Look to preserve yourself from his sly tricks!’ (said to a man) (N)

16.3.4. Extended intransitive verbs with Dative arguments

Four verbs belong to this group. With regard to case marking and agreement, these verbs are similar to the affective verbs because they are two-place verbs with one argument in the Dative and one in the Absolutive. But the Absolutive argument can hardly be interpreted as the stimulus or the Dative argument as the experiencer (except maybe for the first verb *c'ox-*). In contrast, the Absolutive argument has an agent-like function. The function of the Dative argument varies. Note that the goal of the first verb *c'ox-* ‘enter’ can also be marked with the AT-Essive or the SPR-Essive.

(866)	<i>c'ox-</i>	‘enter, fall on/in’	‘A _{ABS} enters X _{DAT/AT/SPR} ’
	<i>muk'ur -iq-</i>	‘approve, subordinate’	‘A _{ABS} approves X _{DAT} ’
	<i>-eg^we-</i>	‘lose’	‘A _{ABS} loses in X _{DAT} ’
	<i>-[?]eži-</i>	‘win’	‘A _{ABS} wins in X _{DAT} ’

- (867) a. *diž c'ox-iš-me hag*
 I.DAT fall-PST-NEG that
 ‘It (i.e. a snake) did not attack me.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži Ibrahim-es haylu-zo rorza-λ'o c'ox-no*
 now Ibrahim-GEN1 she.OBL-GEN2 leg.OBL.PL-SPR fall-UWPST
ižey-be
 eye-PL
 ‘Now Ibrahim saw her legs.’
- c. *Murad hisab-mo-z Ø-eg^we-s*
 Murad mathematics-OBL-DAT I-lose-PST
 ‘Murad lost in mathematics.’

16.4. Experiencer verbs

The template for experiencer or affective verbs, as they are also called, is:

V (EXP _{DAT} , STIM _{ABS})	Argument role: experiencer + stimulus
	Case: Dative + Absolutive

The verb, if it can agree, agrees with the stimulus in the Absolutive case. There are 14 of these verbs in Hinuq. Two of them (*-aši-* ‘find, get’, *kezi -iq-* ‘meet’) show a case alternation (e.g. compare (869b) with (154a) and (397c)). It seems that the case alternations correspond to subtle differences in meaning, i.e. *-aši-* with the experiencer in the AT-Essive implies a more agent-like experiencer

who finds the stimulus after looking for it. In contrast, the Dative experiencer has no influence on his/her action; s/he finds the stimulus by chance. Hinuq has four experiencer verbs that are light verb constructions formed from Avar loans and the intransitive Hinuq verb *-iq-* ‘become, happen’ (Section 9.3.2). One of the experiencer verbs, *behezi -iq-* ‘be allowed’, cannot take nominal arguments, but only complement clauses. Nevertheless its most prominent argument is marked with the Dative case and is semantically an experiencer, therefore the verb is listed here.

(868)	<i>-ace-</i>	‘hate’	‘EXP _{DAT} hates STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>-aši-</i>	‘find, get’	‘EXP _{AT/DAT} finds STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>bič’i -iq-</i>	‘understand’	‘EXP _{DAT} understands STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>behezi -iq-</i>	‘be allowed’	‘EXP _{DAT} is allowed [to do X]’
	<i>c’ał-</i>	‘get to know’	‘EXP _{DAT} gets to know STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>-eq’i-</i>	‘know’	‘EXP _{DAT} knows STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>-eti-</i>	‘want’	‘EXP _{DAT} wants STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>-ike-</i>	‘see’	‘EXP _{DAT} sees STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>kezi -iq-</i>	‘meet’	‘EXP _{DAT} meets STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>rok’x’o(r)</i>	‘remember’	‘EXP _{DAT} remembers STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>-aq’e-/goł</i>		
	<i>šux’e-</i>	‘forget’	‘EXP _{DAT} forgets STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>toq-</i>	‘hear’	‘EXP _{DAT} hears STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>q’waraʒezi -iq-</i>	‘need’	‘EXP _{DAT} needs STIM _{ABS} ’
	<i>qeba:-</i>	‘seem’	‘STIM _{ABS} seems to EXP _{DAT} ’

- (869) a. *debez žo toqqo?*
 you.SG.DAT thing hear.PRS
 ‘Do you hear something?’ (N)
- b. *hało-z kezi.y.iq-no hes ked*
 he.OBL-DAT meet.II-UWPST one girl
 ‘He met a girl.’ (S)
- c. *debez se q’waraʒezi r-iqqo?*
 you.SG.DAT what need V-happen.PRS
 ‘What do you need?’ (N)

In many respects experiencers behave like agents, i.e. they show ‘subject properties’ like the ability to control complements and bind reflexives and reciprocals. However, in reflexive and reciprocal constructions they behave a little bit differently because they can ‘reverse the roles’, i.e. the controlling noun phrase appears in the Absolutive case and the controlee (i.e. the reflexive or reciprocal

pronoun) in the Dative case (see Sections 24.1 and 24.2). There is another important difference between experiencer verbs and transitive verbs: experiencer verbs cannot form an imperative. Thus, in order to form imperatives the verbs must be causativized (870). Furthermore, they cannot take the Intentional future suffix since this tense requires the most prominent argument to have agentive properties.

- (870) *de b-aši-r-o!*
 I III-find-CAUS-IMP
 ‘Find me!’ (N)

Experiencer verbs are not allowed in biabsolutive constructions (Section 17.10) and in a subtype of the Clause Union construction with the modal verb *-aq'e-* ‘must’ (Section 22.2.8). There are also some other complement-taking predicates that do not allow for experiencer verbs in their complements (e.g. *k'wēzi -iq-* ‘can, be able’). Again, they must undergo causativization and thus become transitive verbs in order to appear in these constructions.

16.5. Canonical transitive verbs

Canonical transitive verbs have the following template for their valency frame:

V (A_{ERG} , P_{ABS})	Argument role: agent + patient
	Case: Ergative + Absolutive

Hinuq has a relatively small number of underived transitive verbs and a large number of derived transitive verbs which have been formed with the help of causativizing suffixes. These verbs assign the Ergative to the agent and the Absolutive to the patient. The patient triggers the agreement in the verb if the verb can take agreement prefixes. Examples of transitive verbs and corresponding sentences are:

- | | | | | |
|-------|----------------|--------------|----------------|------------|
| (871) | <i>cax-</i> | ‘write’ | <i>ga:-</i> | ‘drink’ |
| | <i>gexe-</i> | ‘dress’ | <i>kiki-</i> | ‘feed’ |
| | <i>-eʎe-</i> | ‘plough’ | <i>heʔer-</i> | ‘lift up’ |
| | <i>q'uq'e-</i> | ‘knead, rub’ | <i>oq'ek'-</i> | ‘bring up’ |

- (872) a. *iškola r-aʎi-š hadi eli*
 school(V) V-open-PST here we.ERG
 ‘We opened a school here.’ (N)

- b. *baru-y Malla Rasadan-es y^wadi b-uher-no*
 wife-ERG Mullah Nasredin-GEN I crow(III) III-kill-UWPST
 ‘The wife killed Mullah Nasredin’s crow.’ (N)
- c. *me k’al y-uxxo gom*
 you.SG.ERG fasting(IV) IV-keep.ICVB be.NEG
 ‘You are not keeping the fast.’ (N)

16.6. Extended transitive verbs

The extended transitive patterns correspond to the extended intransitive patterns in the sense that for each intransitive pattern there is a transitive counterpart containing the same arguments plus an Ergative argument. The general frame for extended transitive verbs is:

V (A_{ERG} , X_{OBL} , P_{ABS}) Argument role: agent + recipient/goal/other +
 patient/instrument
 Case: Ergative + Dative/spatial cases +
 Absolutive

16.6.1. Standard ditransitive verbs

The template for standard ditransitive verbs is:

V (A_{ERG} , R_{DAT} , P_{ABS}) Argument role: agent + recipient + patient/
 instrument
 Case: Ergative + Dative + Absolutive

In the standard ditransitive pattern the recipient-like argument is marked with the Dative. Three Hnuq verbs following this valency pattern belong to the class of typical ditransitive verbs (*neλ-*, *toλ-*, *-iker-*). These three verbs allow for an alternative valency pattern where the recipient takes the AT-Essive case (Section 16.6.2). Note that there are two verbs ‘give’ whose use depends on the recipient. If the recipient is first or second person then *neλ-* is employed, otherwise *toλ-* occurs. This instance of person suppletion is also found in the other East Tsezic languages Tsez and Khwarshi (Daniel et al. 2010). Comrie (2003b) as well as Nikolayev & Starostin (1994: 641) suggest that the first segment of the Tsezic ‘give’ root is in fact a fossilized deictic. Diachronically, *n-* and *t-* were most likely prefixes, but synchronically they are no longer segmentable.

- (873) *neλ-* ‘give (to 1/2)’ ‘ A_{ERG} gives $R_{DAT/AT}$ P_{ABS} ’
toλ- ‘give (to 3)’ ‘ A_{ERG} gives $R_{DAT/AT}$ P_{ABS} ’
-iker- ‘show’ ‘ A_{ERG} shows $R_{DAT/AT}$ P_{ABS} ’¹¹⁴

- (874) a. *hayloy devez neλ-a goł łono su?al*
 he.ERG you.SG.DAT give-INF be three question
 ‘He will give you three questions.’ (N)
 b. *uži: ked-ez magalu toλ-iš*
 boy.ERG girl-DAT bread give-PST
 ‘The boy gave the girl bread.’
 c. *me diž hune r-iker-ho*
 you.SG.ERG I.DAT way(V) V-show-PRS
 ‘You show me the way.’

Note also that the use of the Dative with the two ‘give’ verbs implies that the transfer is permanent, i.e. the object is given away forever, as a gift (see Section 16.6.2 for the temporary transfer).¹¹⁵

The other four verbs mostly denote violent actions whereby one participant is usually negatively affected by the agent. With these verbs the instrument is in the Absolutive case and takes the role of the patient. The goal (i.e. the affected entity which is often animate, or parts of this entity) is marked with the Dative. The verb *oł-* ‘hit’ shows a case alternation, depending on the goal. If the goal is a human being, then it is marked with the Dative, and the instrument is in the Absolutive and is usually left out (877). If, however, the goal is inanimate, then it is in the Absolutive, and the instrument takes the Instrumental case (876d).

- (875) *całi-* ‘throw, shoot’ ‘ A_{ERG} throws INS_{ABS} at G_{DAT} ’
-ik’- ‘beat, kick’ ‘ A_{ERG} beats G_{DAT} with INS_{ABS} ’
oł- ‘hit’ ‘ A_{ERG} hits G_{DAT} with INS_{ABS} ’
 ‘ A_{ERG} hits G_{ABS} with INS_{INS} ’
c’oxer- ‘stick into’ ‘ A_{ERG} sticks ABS into G_{DAT} ’

- (876) a. *de bołi-ž (tupi) całi-š*
 I.ERG deer-DAT gun shoot-PST
 ‘I shot the deer/at the deer.’¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴Not all speakers accept the Dative suffix for marking the recipient-like argument of *-iker-* ‘show’.

¹¹⁵In fact, ‘give’ verbs follow a third valency pattern when they are used to express the meaning ‘marry a man’, see Section 16.6.5.

¹¹⁶This semantic difference cannot be expressed through the case frame.

- b. *uži: gulu-z čuruλ' b-ik'-iš*
 boy.ERG horse-DAT whip(III) III-beat-PST
 'The boy beat the horse with the whip.'
- c. *hayłoy hilu ze-yi-ž c'oxer-iš*
 he.ERG bullet bear-OBL-DAT stick.into-PST
 'He shot the bullet into the bear.'
- d. *ʒumar-i k^wezera-d ak^we b-oł-iš*
 Umar-ERG hand.OBL-INS nail(III) III-hit-PST
 'Umar hit the nail with the hand.' (e.g. in order to stick it into something)

Since in Hinuq arguments that are understood from the context are often left out, it is easy to find examples where the patient (and also the agent) is missing, which at a superficial glance gives the impression of valency frames lacking an Absolutive argument. Thus, in (877) the instrument is not overtly expressed, but it is clear, not only from the agreement but also because this is the standard situation, that the instrument must be *k^wezey* 'hand' (gender V). If the speaker wants to say that another instrument was used, then this instrument must be explicitly mentioned.

- (877) *hes q'ono r-oł-no hayłu-z*
 one two V-hit-UWPST she.OBL-DAT
 '(They) hit her one, two times.' (N)

Instead of following the standard ditransitive valency frame, these verbs can also mark the goal-like (or recipient-like) argument with the SPR-Essive case. The other two arguments remain unchanged:

- (878) a. *hoboži ror-za-λ'o caλi-n hayło-s ižey-be*
 now foot.OBL.PL-SPR throw-UWPST he.OBL-GEN1 eye-PL
 'Now (he) saw (her) legs.' (N)
- b. *uži: gulu-zo moqoli-λ'o čuruλ' b-ik'-iš*
 boy.ERG horse-GEN2 back-SPR whip(III) III-beat-PST
 'The boy beat the whip on the horse's back.'

16.6.2. Extended transitive verbs with AT-Essive or AT-Lative arguments

One valency pattern belonging to the extended transitive type marks the third argument with the AT-Essive case. This leads to the following frame:

V (A _{ERG} , X _{AT} , P _{ABS})	Argument role: agent + recipient/goal/causee + patient Case: Ergative + AT-Essive/AT-Lative + Absolutive
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Three types of verbs follow this pattern. First, we shall look at three of the verbs that also allow for the standard ditransitive pattern: *neλ-*, *toλ-* ‘give’, and *-iker-* ‘show’. For the two ‘give’ verbs, the use of the AT-Lative for marking the recipient implies that the transfer is temporary, i.e. the object is given away only for a limited time, e.g. to hold in the hands. The differentiation between temporary and permanent transfer is widespread in the Nakh-Daghestanian languages (see Daniel et al. 2010 for a comprehensive account). In fact, it is also found in the expression of possession, where the First Genitive expresses permanent possession and the AT-Essive expresses temporary possession. For the verb *-iker-*, there does not seem to be any difference in meaning between marking the recipient (or addressee) with the Dative or marking it with the AT-Essive (874c), (879c).

- (879) a. *haytu bikore-y toλλo hayto-ɣo-r xišu-be=n*
that.OBL snake-ERG give.PRS he.OBL-AT-LAT key-PL=and
ambar-za-s
store.house-OBL.PL-GEN I
‘And the snake also gives him the keys to the storehouse.’ (N)
- b. [*de dew-ɣo-r neλλo ɣoʔa] mesed-li-š*
I.ERG you.SG.OBL-AT-LAT give.ICVB be.PTCP gold-OBL-GEN I
saħ
2,5kg
‘the gold that I gave to you’ (N)
- c. *hune-ho hayto rek'u-y hesqen žo dew-ɣo*
way-ILOC that.OBL man.OBL-ERG anything thing you.SG.OBL-AT
r-iker-iye?
V-show-Q
‘Did the man show you anything on the way?’ (N)

The second group of verbs is composed of activity verbs with a goal-like argument.¹¹⁷ The spatial goal of these arguments is normally expressed with the AT-Essive, but with *-ece-* ‘tie’ the AT-Lative is also admissible.

¹¹⁷The derived causative verbs, which include a goal argument (i.e. *-itir-* ‘touch, beat’, *-ezer-* ‘make look at’) could also be included here instead of grouping them together with other verbs in Section 16.6.5.

- (880) *-ece-* 'tie' 'A_{ERG} ties P_{ABS} to G_{AT/AT.LAT}'
-ixi- 'spread, wipe, paint' 'A_{ERG} paints G_{AT} with P_{ABS}'
ati- 'touch' 'A_{ERG} touches G_{AT} with P_{ABS}'

- (881) a. *Malla Rasadan-i ažey-go b-ece-n omoq'i*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG tree-AT III-tie-UWPST donkey
 'Mullah Nasredin tied the donkey to the tree.' (N)
- b. *obu-y qešu-go lak b-ixi-š*
 father-ERG wall-AT paint(III) III-spread-PST
 'The father painted the wall with paint.'
- c. *haytoy zones mec qešu-go ati-š*
 he.ERG REFL.SG.GEN1 tounge wall-AT touch-PST
 'He touched the wall with his tongue.'

The third type of verbs following the extended transitive pattern with the AT-Essive comprises causative verbs that have been derived from transitive verbs (including causative verbs that represent serial verb constructions). These causative verbs contain in their valency frame a causee taking the AT-Essive, whereby the agent (i.e. the causer) is marked with the Ergative and the patient with the Absolutive. Causative verbs derived from transitive verbs are extensively treated in Section 9.2.2.2.

- (882) *gexer-* 'make dress' 'A_{ERG} makes CAUSEE_{AT} dress P_{ABS}'
-oc'er- 'make cut' 'A_{ERG} makes CAUSEE_{AT} cut P_{ABS}'
hacik'er- 'make search' 'A_{ERG} makes CAUSEE_{AT} search for P_{ABS}'
- (883) *obu-y ked-go essu hacik'-er-iš*
 father-ERG girl-AT brother search-CAUS-PST
 'The father made the daughter search for the brother.'

16.6.3. Extended transitive verbs with addressees

Although the following verbs of speech occur predominantly in complement constructions (Section 22.2.4; see also Chapter 23 on reported speech), they all may take a nominal argument in P position and function as extended transitive verbs. The addressee is marked with the AT-Essive, the AT-Lative, and occasionally with the SPR-Lative or even the AT-Ablative. The verb *qaλe-* 'call' allows for AT-Lative and SPR-Lative. The SPR-Lative is used when the meaning 'give a call on the telephone' is expressed. The AT-Essive occurs when the speaker sees the hearer and directly calls at him/her. The verb *eser-* 'ask' takes the AT-Essive

when the agent asks for information. In contrast, when the AT-Ablative occurs, then the agent asks to receive an object (e.g. ask for money).

- (884) *qaʎe-* ‘call’ ‘A_{ERG} calls P_{ABS} to ADRESSEE_{AT.LAT/SPR.LAT}’
eʎi- ‘say, speak’ ‘A_{ERG} says P_{ABS} to ADRESSEE_{AT.LAT}’
moʎe- ‘teach’ ‘A_{ERG} teaches P_{ABS} to ADRESSEE_{AT}’
ese- ‘tell’ ‘A_{ERG} tells ADRESSEE_{AT} P_{ABS}’
eser- ‘ask’ ‘A_{ERG} asks P_{ABS} from ADRESSEE_{AT/AT.ABL1}’

- (885) a. *yoʎu.koka-y nartaw-qo-r qaʎe-s=eʎ*
 cinderello-ERG giant-AT-LAT call-PST=NARR
 ‘Cinderello shouted at the giant.’ (N)
- b. *haze-qo-r eʎi-š ʔandize-y ...*
 they.OBL-AT-LAT say-PST Andic-ERG
 ‘The Andic man said to them ...’ (N)
- c. *dew-go moʎ-a goʎ di goʎa ʔilmu*
 you.SG.OBL-AT teach-INF be I.GEN1 be.PTCP science
 ‘I will teach you my science.’ (N)
- d. *kedi haʎo-qo eser-ho “ni-žo me Ø-aq’e-y?”*
 girl.ERG he.OBL-AT ask-PRS where-ABL2 you.SG I-come-Q
 ‘The girl asks him “Where did you come from?”’ (N)

Predicates that are not verbs of speech in the strict sense, but have to do with communication, prefer the AT-Lative for coding the addressee, the same case that is used for the encoding of recipients. Examples are:

- (886) *amru/prikaz -u:-* ‘command’
 ‘A_{ERG} commands ADRESSEE_{AT.LAT}’
-iq’ir- ‘squeeze’ (P = ‘eye’)
 ‘A_{ERG} squeezes an eye to ADRESSEE_{AT.LAT}’
- (887) a. *haʎo-y elu-qo-r amru b-u:-s*
 he.OBL-ERG we.OBL-LAT command(III) III-do-PST
 ‘He gave us the command.’ (N)
- b. *haʎo-y ižey r-iq’ir-no hayʎu-qo-r*
 he.OBL-ERG eye(V) V-squeeze-UWPST she.OBL-AT-LAT
 ‘He ogled her.’ (N)

16.6.4. Extended transitive verbs with Dative arguments

There are only two extended transitive verbs belonging to this class. Although they assign the same cases to their arguments as standard ditransitive verbs (Ergative, Absolutive, and Dative) I prefer to treat them separately because, first, in contrast to the latter they are regularly derived from extended intransitive verbs (Section 16.3.4); second, the argument that they mark with the Dative can hardly be conceived as a recipient or a (spatial) goal. Although both verbs are regular causative verbs, they show a slight difference in meaning in relation to the basic meaning. That means *-²ežir-* is a normal causative verb (889a), but for *-eg^wer-* the first interpretation is not ‘A makes P lose in X’, but ‘A wins over P in X’ (889b), which of course corresponds to the same range of situations.

- | | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-------------|---|
| (888) | <i>-eg^wer-</i> | ‘make lose’ | ‘A _{ERG} makes P _{ABS} lose in X _{DAT} ’ |
| | <i>-²ežir-</i> | ‘make win’ | ‘A _{ERG} makes P _{ABS} win in X _{DAT} ’ |

- (889) a. *Madina-y hisab-mo-z Pat’imat y-²eži-r-iš*
 Madina-ERG mathematics-OBL-DAT Patimat(II) II-win-CAUS-PST
 ‘Madina made Patimat win in mathematics.’ (e.g. by helping her)
- b. *Madina-y hisab-mo-z Pat’imat y-eg^we-r-iš*
 Madina-ERG mathematics-OBL-DAT Patimat(II) II-lose-CAUS-PST
 ‘Madina won over Patimat in mathematics.’ (i.e. made her lose)

16.6.5. Extended transitive verbs with other spatial adjuncts or arguments

There are a number of extended transitive verbs not falling into one of the above classes (16.6.1-16.6.4). They have the following frame:

- V (A_{ERG}, X_{SPATIAL}, P_{ABS}) Argument roles: agent + various roles + patient
 Case: Ergative + spatial cases + Absolutive

In Hinuq, as in the other two East Tsezic languages, Khwarshi and Tsez (Forker 2010a), the verb ‘give’ can express the concept ‘marry a man’ whereby the male human takes the ILOC -Essive case.¹¹⁸ Note that other verbs like *-iλ-* ‘go’, *-aq’e-* ‘come’, and *nox-* ‘come’ lead to the same meaning when they are combined with a male human argument marked with the ILOC-Essive (see Section 3.5.27 for one more example).

¹¹⁸Literally a sentence like (891) means ‘give near to’, which can be explained by the fact that in Daghestanian culture the woman always moves to the man she marries, never the other way around.

- (890) *neλ-* ‘make marry (to 1/2)’ ‘A_{ERG} makes P_{ABS} marry X_{ILOC}’
toλ- ‘make marry (to 3)’ ‘A_{ERG} makes P_{ABS} marry X_{ILOC}’
- (891) *obu-y haw Maħama-ho toλλo*
 father-ERG she Mahama-ILOC give.PRS
 ‘The father marries her to Mahama.’

Other extended transitive verbs falling into this class are derived causative verbs where the base verb is an extended intransitive verb (Section 16.3). A few examples are:

- (892) *-itir-* ‘touch, beat’ ‘A_{ERG} touches G_{AT} with P_{ABS}’
c’unzi -u:-/ ‘save, preserve’ ‘A_{ERG} saves P_{ABS} from X_{AT.ABL1}’
x^wasar -u:-
-ezer- ‘make look’ ‘A_{ERG} makes P_{ABS} look at
 G_{AT.LAT/SPR.LAT}’
-ezer- ‘make wait’ ‘A_{ERG} makes P_{ABS} wait for X_{AT}’
boži -u:- ‘make believe’ ‘A_{ERG} makes P_{ABS} believe in X_{SPR}’
- (893) a. *hayłoy k’onc’u boboru peč-mo-qo y-iti-r-iš*
 he.ERG leg(IV) hot oven-OBL-AT IV-touch-CAUS-PST
 ‘He touched the hot oven with his leg.’
- b. *haw ked x^wasar.y.u:-n haytu k’et’u-y*
 that girl rescue.II-UWPST that.OBL cat-ERG
tušman-za-qo-s
 enemy-OBL.PL-AT-ABL1
 ‘The cat saved the girl from the enemies.’
- c. *de obu Ø-eze-r-iš surat-mo-qo-r*
 I.ERG father(I) I-look-CAUS-PST picture-OBL-AT-LAT
 ‘I made father look at the picture.’

16.7. Verbs with four arguments

There are no simple verbs containing four arguments in their valency frame. All those verbs are causative verbs derived from extended transitive verbs. Their valency frame depends on the base verbs from which they are derived. Below two verbs with examples are given. For more details see Section 17.7.3.4.

- (894) *caλir-* ‘make throw, ‘A_{ERG} makes CAUSEE_{AT} throw P_{ABS} at G_{DAT}’
 make shoot’
-atir- ‘make touch’ ‘A_{ERG} makes CAUSEE_{AT} touch X_{AT} with P_{ABS}’

- (895) a. *hayɔy di-qo boʻli-ž tupi caʃi-r-iš*
 he.ERG I.OBL-AT deer-DAT gun shoot-CAUS-PST
 ‘He made me shoot the deer.’
- b. *hayɔy di-qo ʔiʃ'i boboru peč-mo-qo ati-r-iš*
 he.ERG I.OBL-AT finger hot oven-OBL-AT touch-CAUS-PST
 ‘He made me touch the hot oven.’

16.8. Labile verbs

Labile verbs are verbs that can be used both intransitively and transitively without the verb undergoing any morphological process. Hinuq has three labile (or ambitransitive) verbs. I have found only one S=A labile verb, the verb *t'ot'(e)r-*, which means both ‘study’ (intr.), as in example (896a), and ‘read, count’ as in examples (896b, 896c). This verb is clearly labile because it can be used with two different valency patterns: as simple intransitive and as canonical transitive verb.

- (896) a. *di uži Murad t'ot'er-ho oc'eno seda klas-ma Hinuq*
 I.GEN1 boy Murad learn-PRS ten one.OBL class-IN Hinuq
aʃ-a
 village-IN
 ‘My son Murad is studying in the 11th class in the village of Hinuq.’
 (N)
- b. *haze ʔera=n uži-y=no t'ot'er-ho yasin. hayɔ*
 these.OBL five.OBL=and boy-ERG=and read-PRS sura that.OBL
habib haži obu-y=no t'ot'er-ho yasin
 Habib Gadzhi father-ERG=and read-PRS sura
 ‘The five boys read the sura, and the father Habib Gadzhi reads the sura.’ (N)
- c. *haɔ-y t'ot'er-ho “hes, q'ono”=ʃen eʃi-n*
 he.OBL-ERG count-PRS one two=quot say-CVB
 ‘He counts, saying “One, two.”’ (S)

This verb has the usual imperative of transitive verbs, the suffix *-o*, even with the intransitive meaning:

- (897) a. *“daway, yasin t'ot'er-o!”=ʃen eʃi-yo*
 let's sura read-IMP=QUOT say-PRS
 ‘“Let’s read the sura!” he says.’ (N)

- b. *uniwersitet-ma t'ot'r-o!*
 university-IN study-IMP
 ‘Study at the university!’

I have found two verbs that are patient-preserving labile verbs (S=P-labile), *-eša:-* ‘bake’, and *-ič’-* ‘fill’. Examples (898a, 898b) illustrate their use with the simple intransitive valency pattern:

- (898) a. *b-²ežiy-a saž-ma b-eša:-ho zoq'e-s=eλ magalu*
 III-big-OBL pan-IN III-bake-ICVB be-PST=NARR bread(III)
 ‘In a big pan bread was baking.’ (N)
- b. *yeje y-ič’i-n ťe-yi-š gandi y-iččo*
 slowly IV-be-CVB water-OBL-GEN1 pit(IV) IV-fill.PRS
 ‘Slowly the pit is filling with water.’

Examples (899a-899b) show that the same verbs can also follow the canonical transitive pattern:

- (899) a. *r-eša:-ho zoq'^we-n Ibrahim-i hag mihi*
 V-bake-ICVB be-UWPST Ibrahim-ERG that tail(V)
 ‘Ibrahim was baking the tail.’ (N)
- b. *obu-y at'-es mušuk'i r-iččo*
 father-ERG flour-GEN1 sack(V) V-fill.PRS
 ‘Father fills the sack with flour.’

As mentioned several times in this grammar, arguments that can easily be identified by speaker and hearer are frequently left out. This makes it hard to find out the exact valency pattern of a predicate or to determine whether a verb is really labile or whether an argument has simply been omitted. In order to determine whether the verbs *-eša:-* ‘bake’ and *-ič’-* ‘fill’ are really labile, the Imperative test was used. The mere form of the imperative does not give any indication because one verb takes the transitive Imperative suffix *-o* (*-ič’-*). The other patient-preserving labile verb, *-eša:-*, belongs to the verbs ending in a long vowel. These verbs never take *-o*, but form their Imperative by simply using the verb stem (Section 7.6.2).

The Imperative test runs as follows: the Imperative addressee is always the Absolutive argument of intransitive verbs or the Ergative argument of transitive verbs. The Absolutive argument of transitive verbs is excluded from being the Imperative addressee (900a). If the two patient-preserving labile verbs were in fact canonical transitive verbs with omitted Ergative arguments, we would expect them to behave like canonical transitive verbs and thus to never allow the

Absolutive argument to function as the addressee of an Imperative. But, in contrast, when the two verbs are used with the intransitive pattern, the Absolutive argument can actually be the addressee of the Imperative or of its negative counterpart, the Prohibitive:

- (900) a. * *bex kik-o*
 gras mow-IMP
 (Grass, mow!)
 b. *kartuška, b-eša:!*
 potato(III) III-bake
 ‘Potato, bake!’
 c. *zok’i, r-ič’-o!*
 mug(V) V-fill-IMP
 ‘Mug, fill!’

In contrast, when the verbs are used according to the canonical transitive pattern, the Ergative agent is the addressee of the Imperative:

- (901) a. *ked, magalu b-eša:!*
 girl, bread(III) III-bake
 ‘Girl, bake the bread!’
 b. *obu, zok’i r-ič’-o!*
 father, mug(V) V-fill-IMP
 ‘Father, fill the mug!’

There is another test showing that both verbs are in fact labile and not transitive.¹¹⁹ In non-canonical agent constructions like the potential construction, only intransitive verbs do not need to take the derivational suffix *-ŕ*. It is enough to introduce a non-canonical agent marked with the AT-Essive case. In contrast, with transitive verbs the case marking changes from Ergative to AT-Essive, and the verb must be derived (Section 17.2). Both labile verbs behave in this construction exactly like intransitive verbs:

- (902) a. *ked-go magalu b-eša:n gom*
 girl-AT bread(III) III-bake-UWPST be.NEG
 ‘The girl could not bake the bread.’ (i.e. because she lacked the experience)

¹¹⁹To be precise, this test only shows that the verbs can be used as intransitive verbs. But since this is the more difficult issue to prove (because arguments can be left out, but not inserted), the test is significant.

- b. *hayto-qo gandi y-ič'-iš-me*
 he.OBL-AT pit(IV) IV-fill-PST-NEG
 'He could not fill the pit.'

There is a further verb, *peλe-* 'blow', that at a first glance also seems to be S=P-labile because it allows for an intransitive and a transitive valance pattern:

- (903) a. *łaci peλ-o*
 wind blow-PRS
 'The wind blows.'
- b. *essu, zurma peλ-o!*
 brother, zurna blow-IMP
 'Brother, play the zurna!'
- c. *łaci peλ-o!*
 wind blow-IMP
 'Wind, blow!'
- d. *ked-i šaλu peλe-s*
 girl-ERG whistle blow-PST
 'The girl whistled.'

As can be seen from the above examples, there is a difference in meaning related to the two valency patterns. Thus, it seems more plausible to speak of two different, though clearly related, verbs.

16.9. Some remarks on grammatical roles in Hinuq

In this grammar I adopt the definition of Bickel (2010b), who states that grammatical relations are "equivalency sets of arguments treated the same way by some construction" (e.g. through case assignment or agreement). Arguments can be defined through their semantic role and their referential type (e.g. animate vs. inanimate, speaker vs. hearer, topic vs. focus, etc.). The roles of arguments describe the semantic relation that the argument has to the predicate (Table 78 above).

Constructions that are relevant for grammatical roles are usually divided into coding properties (e.g. case marking, agreement) and behavioral properties (e.g. the ability to control reflexivization, the ability to relativize, etc.). This section represents only a summary of properties found in Hinuq. These properties are treated in more detail in various sections of this grammar. For more information I refer to the respective sections and to an overview paper by Forker (2011c).

Table 79 summarizes major grammatical roles for Hinuq. The labels for grammatical roles (S, A, etc.) are explained above. SAP means ‘speech act participant’.

Table 79. Grammatical roles in Hinuq

Construction	Grammatical roles
Case	{S, A ^[+SAP] , P, T} ≠ {A ^[-SAP] } ≠ R
Verbal agreement	{S, P, T, STIM}
Relativization	no grammatical roles
Reflexivization / Reciprocalization	no grammatical roles (but more prominent arguments preferred, EXP exceptional)
Infinitival / Purposive converb complements	S, A, EXP, agent-like arguments, non-canonical agents (with some restrictions, see Section 17.2.2)
Coordination	no grammatical roles (but more prominent arguments preferred)
Word order	no grammatical roles (but frequently more prominent arguments precede less prominent arguments)

First, coding properties will be examined. When looking only at case marking, Hinuq is clearly morphologically ergative with respect to full noun phrases and third person pronouns, but for first and second person pronouns (Section 5.1) and for arguments in the biabsolutive construction, the case marking is neutral (Section 17.10). The agreement gives similar results (morphological ergativity), though this time including first and second person pronouns, though the biabsolutive construction does not distinguish A from P (see Section 15.2 on agreement).

The tests regarding the behavioral properties give heterogeneous results: relativization does not single out any grammatical role, since all kinds of arguments and modifiers can serve as the nucleus of a relative clause (Section 20.2.1.2).¹²⁰ Control in infinitival and purposive converb complements and coordination seem to provide some arguments for conflating several roles under the term ‘most prominent argument’ (S, A, and EXP, including As in extended intransitive clauses like non-canonical agents). The reason is that a number of predicates have restrictions for complements formed with the Infinitive and the purposive converb. The most prominent argument in complements of these predicates that are formed with the Infinitive/Purposive converb strategy, must be controlled by one argument in the matrix clause. Which argument this is de-

¹²⁰I use the term ‘nucleus’ as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term ‘head’ to refer to the relativized argument.

pend on the predicate: for the majority, it is the most prominent argument, but for a few it is the P or a possessor (see Section 22.4 for control in complement clauses).

Reflexivization points in the same direction. Usually the most prominent argument controls the reflexive. However, there is one clear counterexample in the behavior of the experiencer construction where also the less prominent argument can normally function as the controller (see Section 24.1 on reflexive constructions). A similar phenomenon is also found in reciprocal constructions (Section 24.2). Thus, experiencers seem to differ a bit from the other most prominent arguments. This impression can be strengthened by the observation that experiencer verbs, in contrast to verbs from other valency classes, do not show a uniform behavior when undergoing valency changing operations. After causativization some experiencers become agents and some remain experiencers (Section 9.2.2.4). Similarly, after antipassivization some experiencers become S arguments and some remain experiencers (Section 9.2.5). Furthermore, experiencer verbs usually do not form Imperatives (Section 7.6.2).

With respect to word order, one can say that frequently the more prominent arguments precedes less prominent arguments, but this may be due to topicality (see Section 27.3 on word order in the clause).

There is some literature on grammatical roles in Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Haspelmath (1993: 294–299) on Lezgian, Comrie (2004) on Hinuq's closest relative Tsez, Ganenkov et al. (2008) on Agul, Molochieva & Witzlack-Makarevich (2008) on Chechen and Nichols (2008) on Ingush). As noted by Kibrik (1997), among others, Nakh-Daghestanian languages constitute good examples of 'role-dominated' languages in terms of van Valin (1980) and (Foley & van Valin 1984: 123). The marking of arguments is semantically motivated. In terms of grammatical relations these languages have no or almost no restrictions on the applicability of syntactic constructions like relativization, complementation, clause chaining, raising, reflexivization, or switch reference. Hinuq clearly belongs to this type of language.

Syntactic processes which change grammatical roles such as causativization (Section 17.7), antipassivization (Section 17.9), and the derivation of potential verbs (Section 17.2) are all semantically motivated (e.g. causative verbs have a causative semantics, antipassive verbs have an iterative semantics, etc.). Therefore, they are not used for defining grammatical roles in Hinuq.

Chapter 17

Non-canonical agent constructions

17.1. Introduction

This chapter deals with ‘non-canonical agents’ and similar argument types in minor clause types. The constructions and clause types discussed in this chapter are: the potential construction (17.2), the involuntary agent construction (17.3), the exterior force construction (17.4), the inchoative construction (17.5), the causative construction (17.7), the antipassive construction (17.9), and the biabsolutive construction (17.10). What all these constructions have in common is that they are morphologically marked and differ semantically from the major clause types presented in Chapter 16. The predicates occurring in the constructions described in this chapter are often formally marked by means of derivational morphology, or they are restricted in their tense-aspect-mood categories. At the same time the constructions manipulate the major grammatical roles of S, A, and P by changing the case marking of the arguments. The constructions resemble many instances of differential agent marking or differential object marking and split ergativity in other languages.

In all clause types described in this chapter the degree of agency is lower than in typical transitive events because either there is no patient (inchoative, antipassive), the patient is somewhat demoted (biabsolutive), or the agent lacks typical agentive properties. Dowty (1991) gives a list of entailments for the “Agent Proto-role” that the non-canonical agents in these constructions lack to different degrees: Potential agents do not cause an event or change of state in another participant, nor are they necessarily in movement. Involuntary agents lack volitional involvement. Exterior forces also lack volitional involvement and additionally sentience and perception. Causees arguably possess all agentive properties, but they also possess patientive properties because they undergo a change of state since they are causally affected by another participant. Although potential and involuntary agents as well as causees do not lack the relevant agentive properties *per se* (i.e. they typically have human referents), they occur in roles in which they unexpectedly lack some of them or have additional patientive properties. Similarly, inanimate objects such as exterior forces are not expected to occur in a role where they initiate events and situations (see Fauconnier (2009) for a more detailed account of differential agent marking through violated expectations). At the same time non-canonical agents show many behavioral similarities to S and A arguments in Hinuq.

17.2. Potential constructions

Potential constructions express the ability and/or the possibility of an agent-like entity, which could in principle exercise control to carry out an action. Thus, potential constructions, especially if the clause is in the General tense, often have a generic meaning referring to some capacity or incapacity (in negative clauses) that generally characterizes the agent. Note that the potential agent can be non-human or even inanimate (905c).

For the derivation of potential verbs, the same suffix, *-t̄*, is used that derives inchoative verbs from adjectives, adverbs/postpositions, and unknown bases (Section 17.5). This is not unusual. The use of one and the same morpheme for marking spontaneous (i.e. inchoative) events/situations and potential events/situations has been noted by Shibatani (1995: 828) for languages such as Japanese, Spanish, or Russian. It is also attested in Hinuq's relative Bezhta.

The elicitation of potential constructions has been easier for negative contexts. This fact fits well with Shibatani's (1995) observation that in many languages the potential reading of derived intransitive verbs is restricted to, or more commonly found, in negative sentences.¹²¹

17.2.1. Potential constructions with derived verbs

The suffix *-t̄* derives potential verbs from all other verbs (simple and extended intransitive, simple and extended transitive) except for experiencer verbs. The derived verbs express a potential meaning ('be able to do X', where X refers to the meaning of the verb that served as the base for the derivation). See Section 9.2.4 for a few more examples.

If the base verb is intransitive, then the potential agent remains in the Absolutive case. If the verb can take agreement prefixes, then these prefixes agree in gender and number with the potential agent (904a-904c). The basic verb can already have the Antipassive suffix (904c).

- (904) a. *de b-eg^wey go-t̄. de b-aq'e-t̄-me hayi-r* = *λen*
 I III-small be I III-come-POT-NEG there-LAT=QUOT
zer-i boc'-go-r
 fox(III).OBL-ERG wolf.OBL-AT-LAT
 "I am small; I cannot come there," said the fox to the wolf. (N)
- b. [*keč' cax-e-t̄-mez*] *de Ø-iči-t̄-me*
 song write-POT-PURP.NEG I 1-be-POT-NEG

¹²¹Shibatani analyzes passives and reflexives, but, as Hinuq proves, his analysis can be extended to other valency decreasing derivational devices as well.

‘I cannot live without being able to write poems.’ (said by a man)
(N)

- c. *zek essu k'ilik'-do:t*
tomorrow brother wash-ANTIP-POT
‘Tomorrow the brother can wash himself.’

If the base verb is transitive or ditransitive then the potential agent is marked with the AT-Essive case (905a-905c). This is also the case if the transitive verb has been derived by means of a causative suffix. The patient and all other arguments do not change their roles, and agreement is triggered by the patient.

- (905) a. [*neten r-ac'-iš-me*] *žo r-ac'-eł-iš-me di-go haw*
always V-eat-RES-NEG thing(V) V-eat-POT-PST-NEG I.OBL-AT that
‘The thing that I never ate before, I could not eat it.’ (N)
- b. *haze-s b-iqgo daʔba, ɬu-go aši*
they.OBL-GEN I III-happen.PRS dispute who-AT much
toł-eł-o mecxe, hibayto-z omoq'i=n b-ič-a
give-POT-PRS money that.OBL-DAT donkey(III)=and III-be-INF
goł=χen
be=QUOT
‘They have a dispute; who can give more money, that one will get the donkey.’ (N)
- c. *ɬacqo ac y-aɣi-ł-o gom*
wind.AT door(IV) IV-open-POT-ICVB be.NEG
‘The wind cannot open the door.’

In addition to the potential construction Hinuq also has the possibility of expressing a similar meaning by means of complement clauses with modal matrix verbs. These two verbs, *koł'e-* and *k'wēzi -iq-*, have the meaning ‘be able, can’. The most prominent argument of both verbs must also be marked with the AT-Essive case (Section 22.2.2.3).

The potential agent of a derived potential verb may be left implicit, just like in general arguments that are retrievable from the context.

- (906) *χex^we-s de [...], ya hezzo-r gali b-iɣ-eł-o*
remain-PST I either back-LAT step(III) III-take-POT-ICVB
gom, ya aldoɣodo b-iɣ-eł-o gom
be.NEG or forward III-take-POT-ICVB be.NEG
‘I remained there [...], not able to make a step backwards, nor forwards.’
(N)

Experiencer verbs cannot also be employed in the potential construction. The reason is probably semantic incompatibility. Potential constructions change agentive arguments (S and A rguments) into less agentive arguments, and experiencers are not agentive arguments.

17.2.2. Potential constructions with simple intransitive verbs

The potential construction does not necessarily contain a verb derived with the suffix *-ŋ*. Potential constructions are also available with simple intransitive verbs. In this case the verbs take an argument in a P-like role in the Absolutive case and a potential agent with the AT-Essive case (907a-907c), (908).

- (907) a. *dew-go de iškola:r Ø-iλ'i-me*
 you.SG.OBL-AT I school.IN-LAT I-go-NEG
 'You cannot make me go to school.'
- b. *xan-i-š amru=n t'ubazi*
 Khan-OBL-GEN1 command(III)=and be.fulfilled
b-iq-iš-me hagze miliciya-go
 III-happen-PST-NEG those.OBL police-AT
 'The police could not fulfill the khan's command.' (N)
- c. *sed-go=gen roži keki-yo gom*
 one.OBL-AT=at.least word let-ICVB be.NEG
 'Nobody can say a word.' (N)

However, it seems that in this construction the potential reading is not obligatory, a normal transitive reading is sometimes also available (908).

- (908) *di-go hay iλno klas ŋaq'e-s*
 I.OBL-AT there six class finish-PST
 'I finished the sixth class there.' or 'I could finish the sixth class there.'
 (N)

In contrast to derived verbs which allow the potential construction from transitive base verbs, a potential reading of transitive verbs by marking only the potential agent with the AT-Essive case, without using a derived verb, is impossible. Compare the ungrammatical example (909) with example (905c) above.

- (909) * *Mahama-go yeme r-u:ho gom*
 Mahama-AT mill(V) V-do-ICVB be.NEG
 (Mahama cannot build the mill.)

To sum up, there is a principled distinction between intransitive verbs on the one hand and transitive verbs on the other hand. Intransitive verbs can be used in potential constructions without any derivational morphology, but simply by adding a potential agent with the appropriate case suffix. In contrast, transitive verbs can only occur in potential constructions if they contain the suffix *-ɬ*. They become either intransitive and thus what was formerly an agent becomes a potential agent, or they become transitive and ditransitive, whereby in the latter case a further argument is introduced.

Although potential agents share many properties with canonical A and S arguments (i.e. the ability to bind reflexive or reciprocal pronouns, the tendency to occur before other more patient-like arguments in the clause, the ability to control zero arguments in clause chaining, etc.), this cannot be taken as an indication that potential agents are just like A and S arguments since those properties are often shared with oblique arguments or even adjuncts (see Section 16.9 for a short discussion of grammatical roles in Hinuq). In fact, there is one property that seems to be (almost) exclusively reserved for A and S arguments, namely to function as controlees in complement clauses controlled by a matrix clause argument. Potential agents cannot function as controlees. The example in (910b) cannot be interpreted as containing a silent potential agent but only as containing an overt S.

- (910) a. *ked-go uži Ø-ix-eɬ*
 girl-AT boy(I) I-lift-POT
 ‘The girl can lift up the boy.’
- b. *ked-ez r-eti-n [uži Ø-ix-eɬ-a]*
 girl-DAT V-want-UWPST boy(I) I-lift-POT-INF
 ‘The girl wants the boy to lift himself up.’ (not: ‘The girl wants to be able to lift up the boy.’)

A further difference between potential and transitive constructions is their behaviour in reflexive and reciprocal construction (Chapter 24). A more detailed account of the semantics and the syntax of Hinuq potential constructions and Hinuq non-canonical construction in general can be found in Forker (In press).

17.3. Involuntary agent constructions

The two constructions that are used with potential meaning (that is, derived verbs with *-ɬ* and underived verbs plus a non-canonical agent marked with the AT-Essive suffix) can also be used to express involuntary actions accidentally brought about by some agent-like argument. But there is one important formal

difference: the involuntary agent must always be marked with the AT-Essive; it can never be in the Absolutive case (911a, 911b). In order to make clear that the respective clauses express the involuntary agent construction, they may, but do not have to, contain the adverbial *-eq'imez* 'accidentally'.

- (911) a. *ked-go (r-eq'imez) zok'i {r-uhe-s / r-uhe-ʔ-iš}*
 girl-AT (V-accidentally) cup(V) V-die-PST / V-die-POT-PST
 'The girl accidentally broke the cup.'
- b. *ked-go (y-eq'imez) zonez=tow kunta*
 girl-AT IV-accidentally REFL.SG.DAT=EMPH dress(IV)
ʔaxi-ʔ-iš
 tear.up-POT-PST
 'The girl accidentally tore up her dress.'

Involuntary agents have not intended to be nor have they wanted to be an agent in the respective event, and they are not manipulated by some external causer. As Kittilä (2005) notes, involuntary agents must in principle be able to act volitionally, which excludes natural forces and other inanimate entities. However, for Hinuq this cannot be proven because the exterior force construction is formally completely identical with the involuntary agent construction (see Section 17.4); but this is restricted to 'inanimate agents', and thus there is no real distinction between both constructions. In other words, the involuntary agent construction can also be seen as an exterior-force construction whereby the non-canonical agent is interpreted as an exterior force that acts on the P-argument, but not through its own will. For instance, (911a) could be translated with 'Because of the girl the cup broke.'

The events and situations expressed with this (and also the exterior force) construction can be said to be less transitive than in a canonical transitive clause precisely because volitionality is lacking, which is one of the components of transitivity (Hopper & Thompson 1980: 252). As mentioned above, this also has formal consequences because the verb must be intransitive. Furthermore, the semantics of the predicate plus the context must allow both for a voluntary reading and an involuntary reading. Another factor that influences the interpretation is the time reference. With clauses that have past time reference, an involuntary agent interpretation is preferred (911a). In contrast, with clauses in the General tense that have no specific time reference or express future time reference, a potential interpretation is more easily available (912). These preferences originate in the semantics of the tenses. The General tense is normally used to express characterizing properties and rules (Section 7.4.3). In contrast, tenses with past time reference, especially the Simple Past and the Simple Unwitnessed Past, are employed when relating concrete events.

- (912) *ked-go zok'i r-uhe-†*
 girl-AT cup(V) V-die-POT
 'The girl can break the cup.'

17.4. Exterior force

Not only involuntary animate agents but also inanimate agent-like things such as natural forces, diseases, or other events that cause situations can be marked with the AT-Essive case to express exterior forces and external causes. As in the involuntary agent construction, the exterior force takes AT-Essive case marking. The verb must be intransitive but it cannot appear in its derived form (913b).

- (913) a. *de=tow=no hay†i gegru-go untezi Ø-iq-iš*
 I=EMPH=and there measles-AT fall.ill I-become-PST
 'And I (masc.) myself became ill because of this disease.' (N)
- b. *q'uwataw iše-go aže {χaxi.y.axi-š}*
 strong snow-AT tree(IV) burst.IV-PST
 'Because of the strong snow the tree burst.'
- c. *og-ru-go zok'i r-uhe-s*
 ax-OBL-AT cup(V) V-die-PST
 'Because of the ax the cup broke.'

17.5. Inchoative and causative verb pairs

Hinuq has a reasonable number of inchoative-causative verb pairs, mainly derived from adjectives and adverbs/postpositions, or their origin is unknown. In these pairs, all inchoative verbs are derived with *-†* (Section 9.2.4), and all causative verbs with *-k'* (Section 9.2.3).

The inchoative verbs head ordinary intransitive clauses with a single argument in the Absolutive case (914b, 914d). They have an inchoative meaning indicating a change of state, or, if for example they are used with the Resultative participle, the meaning indicates a state resulting from a previous event. For instance, the copula constructions with the adverb/postposition *igo* 'near' and the adjective *-ečču* 'fat' describe only the state of some entity at a certain moment. In contrast, the inchoative verbs describe the action that results in the state denoted by the adjective or adverb/postposition (914b) or the state that follows the previous event (914d). Thus, the inchoative clauses (914b, 914d) have a more dynamic semantics than the copula clauses (914a, 914c).

- (914) a. [haytu yeme-ho igo goła] aλ-a goł hes y-²eži aže
that.OBL mill-ILOC near be.PTCP village-IN be one IV-big tree(IV)
'In the village near the mill there is a big tree.' (N)
- b. zeru ažey-de-r igo-ł-iš
fox tree-ALOC-LAT near-POT-PST
'The fox approached the tree.' (N)
- c. hoboži=gozon Sapi=λen y-ečču aqili zoq'e-s
now=TOP Sapi=QUOT II-fat woman(II) be-PST
'There was the fat woman called Sapi.' (N)
- d. izače b-eč-ił-no aqili ʔalžan-i b-iłi
like.this HPL-fat-POT-CVB women paradise-IN HPL-be.similar
'Having grown fat like this, the women live as in paradise.' (N)

All causative verbs derived with *-k'* head ordinary transitive clauses, with the causer in the Ergative and the patient in the Absolutive. Thus, they describe an action conducted by some agent, and the action has as its outcome a patient in the state denoted by the adjective or adverb/postposition in question (915a, 915b).

- (915) a. heya-r Ø-aq'e-s=eλ [...] Ø-oxoru bercinaw uži
hayloft.IN-LAT I-come-PST=NARR I-long beautiful boy(I)
'A tall, beautiful boy came to the hayloft.' (N)
- b. hay=bito b-oxor-ek'-no haytuy haw mec
there=TRANS III-long-CAUS-UWPST she.ERG that tongue(III)
'There she made the tongue long.' (N)

Inchoative and causative pairs whose derivational base is unknown may have a somewhat less transparent semantic relationship. For instance, *-ik'eł-* means not only 'disappear' but also 'escape from', or 'get lost' (916a), whereas *-ik'ek'-* means 'steal' or 'take away' (916b). However, from a syntactic point of view the verbs behave completely regularly, like underived intransitive and transitive verbs.

- (916) a. hoboy hado Ø-ik'eł-o
then he I-disappear-PRS
'Then he disappears.' (S)
- b. "de"=λen eλi-n "mihna-y y-ik'ek'-iš zoq'e-s"=λen eλi-n
I=QUOT say-CVB bird-ERG II-steal-RES be-PST=QUOT say-CVB
'"A bird stole me," she said.' (N)

17.6. Causative morphology without additional arguments

Not all formally causativized verbs add new arguments to their valency frame. In Hinuq such cases pertain mainly to derivation with the causative suffix *-k'*. There are five transitive verbs that allow marking with *-k'* without introducing a new argument (i.e. the causer) to the valency of the verbs: *-uqik'* - 'hide', *-ixik'* - 'spread, wipe, rub', *-uxek'* - 'keep', *-aγik'* - 'open a little', and *-aqik'* - 'close a little' (see Section 9.2.3.4 for a list of the base verbs). With three of the verbs the derivation does not lead to a semantic change. In (917a) and (917b) the verbs are both transitive and, according to my informants, express the same meaning.

- (917) a. *hało uži: [...] r-uqi-yo haytu ked-es šeλ'u*
 this.OBL boy.ERG V-hide-PRS that.OBL girl-GEN1 clothes(V)
 'The boy hides the girl's clothes.' (N)
- b. *očordiyu aqila-y Ø-uqi-k'-no hago*
 old woman.OBL-ERG I-hide-CAUS-UWPST he
peč-mo-ł hezzo=bito
 oven-OBL-CONT back=TRANS
 'The old woman hid him behind the oven.' (N)

The other two verbs undergo an unexpected semantic shift because they indicate that the patient is less affected by the action denoted by the verb than typically, i.e. the action is only partially carried out (918b). This is surprising because crosslinguistically causative morphemes are generally used to express an especially high degree of patient affectedness. In fact, Kittilä (2009), who examines various examples of causative derivation that do not increase the verb valency, does not mention any case similar to the Hinuq example in (918b). In Hinuq's closest relative, Tsez, the cognate of *-k'* leads to a similar semantic shift with the verb 'open' (Khalilov 1999).

- (918) a. *hało-y y-ayi-n hag yašik'*
 he.OBL-ERG IV-open-UWPST that box(IV)
 'He opened the box.' (N)
- b. *hało-y yašik' y-ayi-k'-iš*
 he.OBL-ERG box(IV) IV-open-CAUS-PST
 'He opened the box a little bit.'

Other Hinuq examples of causative morphology without additional arguments are given in 17.7.3.2 and in the section on double causativization (17.7.4).

17.7. Causative constructions

17.7.1. Introduction

Causativization is a valency increasing device, i.e. it introduces a new argument with an A function (the causer) into the clause. At the same time causative verbs show some morphological marking. The causer initiates or controls the action. In Hinuq, the causer in a causative construction is normally animate but at least in elicitation inanimate causers are allowed. However, for inanimate causers of events and situations, usually the exterior force construction is preferred (17.4).

Hinuq has various means of forming verbs with a causative meaning. There are two suffixes deriving causative verbs from verbs, adverbs/postpositions, and adjectives, namely *-r* and *-k'* (for their morphology see Sections 9.2.2 and 9.2.3 respectively). For those verbs that cannot form the morphological causative, there is a serial verb construction with the causative verbs *tok'*-, *tok'er*-, and *tok'erer*- (Section 25.2.5). Compound verbs with the auxiliary *-u*- also express a causative meaning (9.3.2). Finally, there is a periphrastic causative construction with the complement taking verb *t'amizi -u*- 'force', an Avar loan (17.7.2). Causative constructions express mainly causation, which can be simply the initiation of some event or situation (920b), (921b), or they can imply some compulsion where the causer must overcome resistance on the side of the causee (919), (936b). But occasionally causative constructions also convey permission (924b) or request.

For practical reasons in this section mainly causative constructions formed with *-r* or *tok'*-/*tok'er*-/*tok'erer*- and compound causative verbs with *-u*- are treated. For the syntax and the semantics of causative verbs formed with *-k'* see Sections 17.5 and 17.6 above.

17.7.2. Periphrastic causative constructions

In Hinuq there is the possibility of forming a periphrastic causative construction with the compound verb *t'amizi -u*- 'force, incite, instigate'. This verb is transitive and takes two nominal arguments (the causer in the Ergative and the causee in the Absolutive) plus a complement clause denoting the action that the causee is forced to accomplish. This verb expresses not simple causation but causation with force and compulsion. The causee does not act voluntarily.

- (919) *haytoy eli t'amizi b-u:-s xabar ʔaq'e-r-a*
 he.ERG we force HPL-do-PST story finish-CAUS-INF
 'He forced us to finish our conversation.'

17.7.3. Simple causative constructions by means of derivation, compounding, and serial verbs

17.7.3.1. The basic verb is intransitive

The most productive way of forming causative verbs from intransitive verbs is by adding the suffix *-r* (Section 9.2.2). Other causative verbs can be formed from intransitive verbs by means of the causative verb *tok'er-* (Section 25.2.5).¹²² Compound intransitive verbs formed with loans change the auxiliary from *-iq-* 'be, become' to *-u-* 'make' (Section 9.3.2).

The argument that functioned as S in the intransitive clause appears as the patient in the transitive clause. The causer becomes the agent marked with the Ergative case. The result is an ordinary transitive sentence. Additional oblique arguments do not change their grammatical role or case marking.

- (920) a. *di q'ono=n essu=n hayteŋ Ø-uhe-s*
I.GEN1 two=and brother(I)=and there I-die-PST
'Both my brothers died there.' (N)
- b. *hoboži hes rek'we Zehedu-za-s Ø-uher-iš haze-y*
now one man(I) Zehedu-OBL.PL-GEN1 I-kill-PST they.OBL-ERG
'They killed one man from the Zehedas.' (N)
- c. *beλno λebu t'ubazi y-iq-nos ...*
eight year(IV) fulfil IV-happen-ANT
'when eight years passed by ...' (N)
- d. *de debe haw murad t'ubazi b-uw-a goŋ*
I.ERG you.SG.GEN1 that wish(III) fulfil III-do-INF be
'I will fulfil your wish.' (N)

Additional arguments of intransitive verbs that are expressed with spatial cases are sometimes simply preserved, so that the resulting transitive clause contains three participants (921a, 921b).

- (921) a. *dow-λ'o de boži y-iqgo*
you.SG.OBL-SPR I belief II-happen.PRS
'I (fem.) believe you.' (N)
- b. *de hago di-λ'o boži Ø-u:-s*
I.ERG he I.OBL-SPR belief I-do-PST
'I made him believe me.'

¹²²The verb *tok'er-* is already causativized, but since its base form *tok'-* does not occur in my corpus and speakers normally use *tok'er-* to form monotransitive causative verbs from intransitive verbs, the verb is listed here.

But there is also an example of what Kittilä (2009) calls ‘directness of causation’, i.e. the causative morphology indicates that some event or situation is directly caused by the agent. For example, in (922a) the trigger or cause of the fear does not need to be present when the sentence is uttered because (922a) refers to a general characteristic of Madina. In other words, (922a) has two interpretations: (i) *boc’qo* refers to a specific wolf in a specific situation that Madina was afraid of, or (ii) *boc’qo* lacks a specific reference but refers to the type ‘wolf’ that Madina is always afraid of. In (922b), in contrast, the cat’s fear has been directly caused by the wolf, i.e. the sentence refers to a specific situation and *boc’i* to a specific wolf. Note that in this sentence there is no spatial argument marked with the AT-Essive, which means that the extended intransitive clause in (922a) has been turned into an ordinary transitive clause. However, *-uλ’er-* can also preserve the spatial argument, in which case the causative clause becomes an extended transitive clause containing not only the causer in the Ergative and the patient in the Absolutive, but also the spatial argument in the AT-Essive (922c).

- (922) a. *Madina boc’-qo y-uλ’-iš*
 Madina(II) wolf.OBL-AT II-be.afraid-PST
 ‘Madina was afraid of the wolf.’
- b. *boc’-i k’et’u b-uλ’-er-iš*
 wolf.OBL-ERG cat(III) III-be.afraid-CAUS-PST
 ‘The wolf frightened the cat.’
- c. *Maħama-y Madina boc’-qo y-uλ’-er-iš*
 Mahama-ERG Madina(II) wolf.OBL-AT II-be.afraid-CAUS-PST
 ‘Mahama made Madina fear the wolf.’

Sometimes the semantic relationship is not really one of causation, but rather the meaning of the causative verb can be more idiosyncratic. For instance, the derived causative verb of *-aλ’i-* ‘talk’ means ‘betray’:

- (923) a. *me obu Ø-iħi=tow q’imu-ł Ø-aλ’i-yo*
 you.SG father(I) I-similar=EMPH head-CONT I-talk-PRS
 ‘You (masc.) talk so madly like father.’ (N)
- b. *hago t’ok’aw Ø-aq’e-me, me hayłoy Ø-aλ’i-r-iš*
 he anymore I-come-NEG you.SG he.ERG I-talk-CAUS-PST
 ‘He will not come anymore; he betrayed you (masc.).’ (N)

Causative verbs derived with the suffix *-k’* from adjectives, adverbs/ postpositions, and verbs, and those of unknown origin behave in the same way as the above mentioned verbs derived from intransitive verbs. That is, the causativized verbs head ordinary monotransitive clauses (Section 17.5 above).

17.7.3.2. The basic verb is transitive

Causative verbs from transitive verbs are formed by adding the causative suffix *-r* to the verbal stem. This suffix can also be added to auxiliaries of compound verbs (*-u:r-* ‘cause to do’) or to the causative verb of analytic causative verbs (*tok’er-*). If the transitive verb is already causativized, the addition of another causative suffix leads to double causativization (17.7.4.1).

In clauses that contain these verbs, the newly introduced causer is the agent, marked with the Ergative case. The causee, who would be the agent of the original transitive verb, appears now in the AT-Essive case.¹²³ The original patient keeps its function and case marking (Absolutive). The result is a ditransitive sentence where the oblique argument is marked with the AT-Essive.

- (924) a. *q’ono eʒa b-ac’-no haʔo-y c’udduk’a iʒi*
 two ORD III-eat-UWPST he.OBL-ERG red apple(III)
 ‘He ate the second red apple.’ (N)
- b. *hayʔu-go b-ac’-er-a=qen b-ac’er-ho zoq’e-n*
 she.OBL-AT III-eat-CAUS-INF=at.least III-feed-ICVB be-UWPST
gom y^we-y
 be.NEG dog-ERG
 ‘The dog did not let her eat the apple.’ (N)
- c. *eli darsi-be hadur r-u:-ho zoq’^we-s*
 we.ERG lesson-PL prepared V-do-ICVB be-PST
 ‘We prepared the lessons.’ (N)
- d. *obu-y elu-go darsi-be hadur r-u:-r-ho*
 father-ERG we.OBL-AT lesson-PL prepared V-do-CAUS-ICVB
zoq’^we-s
 be-PST
 ‘The father made us prepare the lessons.’

Not all causativized transitive verbs introduce new arguments; occasionally the valency frame of both the original and the derived causative verb are identical. For instance, the verb *k’ilik’-* ‘wash’ is transitive, and its patient is typically inanimate (925a). If the verb is causativized by means of adding *tok’-*, the resulting verb remains transitive, but the patient refers now to humans (925b). If

¹²³In principle, the Translative enclitic =*bito* can be added to the AT-Essive. This leads to the more indirect interpretation of the causative relationship (‘A through B made X’) where the causee is viewed as a medium or instrument with whose support the causer acts upon the patient. However, the use of =*bito* is more frequent in double causative constructions in order to distinguish between the two causees (Section 17.7.4.2).

instead of the underived auxiliary *tok'*- its causativized counterpart *tok'er-* is used (which is the norm), then again the number of arguments does not change (925c). Only if *tok'erer-* is employed does another argument have to be added (925d). Interestingly, if the patient refers to inanimate objects, the verb must undergo causativization by means of the suffix *-r*. Thus, if in the example (925a) one argument is added, then the verb must be *k'ilik'er-* 'make wash' (925e).

- (925) a. *de hawsaʔat=ʎen dahaw šeʎ'u k'ilik'-a goʔ*
 I.ERG now=QUOT few clothes wash-INF be
 'I will now wash a few clothes.' (N)
- b. *xexza-y hado k'ilik' tok'-iš*
 child.OBL-PL-ERG he wash force-PST
 'The children washed him.'
- c. "*de k'ilik' tok'-er-o!*"=ʎen eʎi-n. *k'ilik' tok'er-no*
 I wash force-CAUS-IMP=QUOT say-CVB wash force-UWPST
hado xexza-y
 he child.OBL.PL-ERG
 "'Wash me!" he said, and the children washed him.' (N)
- d. *iyo-y xexza-qo obu k'ilik' tok'-er-er-iš*
 mother-ERG child.OBL-PL-AT father wash force-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made the children wash the father.'
- e. *iyo-y Madina-qo šeʎ'u k'ilik'-er-iš*
 mother-ERG Madina-AT clothes wash-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made Madina wash the clothes.'

Similarly, (926a) shows the ordinary transitive verb *-iži-*. In this example, the simple verb *-iži-* could be replaced by its causativized counterpart *-iži-r-* without adding more arguments to the clause or changing its meaning (926b). In contrast, if the verb is used in a more literal sense, the causativization requires a further argument (926c, 926d).

- (926) a. *yoʎu.koka-y axxa:-r r-iži-yo zoq'we-n gom*
 cinderello-ERG ear.IN-LAT V-take-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
 'Cinderello did not listen to it.' (lit. 'take it to the ear') (N)
- b. *yoʎu.koka-y axxa:-r r-iži-r-ho zoq'we-n gom*
 cinderello-ERG ear.IN-LAT V-take-CAUS-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
 'Cinderello did not listen to it.' (N)
- c. *hayʎoy t'ek y-iži-š*
 he.ERG book(IV) IV-take-PST

‘He took the book.’

- d. *obu-y haylo-go t'ek y-iži-r-iš*
 father-ERG he.OBL-AT book(IV) IV-take-CAUS-PST
 ‘The father made him take the book.’

17.7.3.3. The basic verb is an experiencer verb

Experiencer verbs can be simple verbs which form the causative by means of the suffix *-r* (see Section 9.2.2.4 for some examples). However, there are also compound experiencer verbs which are causativized by exchanging the intransitive auxiliary *-iq-* ‘be’ with the transitive *-u:-* ‘do’ (see below).

With regard to the syntax, there are various possibilities for the respective causative sentence. With most verbs the Dative experiencer becomes the Ergative agent while the original patient keeps its function and case marking; that is, the experiencer is simply ‘agentivized’ without introducing a new argument. The result is an ordinary transitive sentence. Examples of causativized experiencer verbs that have become transitive are *-ašir-* ‘catch’ (927b), ‘want’ *-eq'ir-* ‘learn, get to know, try’ (927d), *-etir-* ‘like, love’, *toqer-* ‘listen’, and *šuλ'er-* ‘forget’.

- (927) a. *hałoz b-aši-n zones y^wadi b-uher-iš*
 he.DAT III-find-UWPST REFL.SG.GEN1 crow(III) III-kill-RES
 ‘He found his crow killed.’ (N)
- b. *sira Ø-aši-r-iš-me meži hago?*
 why I-find-CAUS-PST-NEG you.PL.ERG he
 ‘Why did you not catch him?’ (N)
- c. *“o?o, hag elu-z r-eq'i-me”=λen eλi-n*
 no that we.OBL-DAT V-know-NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“No, we do not know that,” they said.’ (N)
- d. *haylo baru-zo obu-s sihir'li hało uži:*
 that.OBL wife-GEN2 father-GEN1 slyness(V) this.OBL boy.ERG
r-eq'i-r-no
 V-know-CAUS-UWPST
 ‘The boy learned the tricks of the wife’s father.’ (N)

Hinuq has two experiencer verbs which behave differently from the other experiencer verbs described above. The verbs *-ike-r-* ‘show’ (derived from *-ike-* ‘see’) and *bič'i -u:-* ‘explain’ (derived from *bič'i -iq-* ‘understand’) are both ditransitive, with the agent in the Ergative and the patient in the Absolutive case. For the marking of the experiencer, they have two possibilities: it can be marked

by the Dative, keeping the case pattern of the underived base verb (928a), or it can be marked by the AT-Essive case, adopting the normal case marking of causees (928b, 928c). There does not seem to be any difference in semantics associated with the two case patterns. Furthermore, the verb *-eq'ir-* can also be used with the meaning ‘make know, inform’, in which case it is also ditransitive and takes, in addition to the A in the Ergative and the P in the Absolutive, an addressee in the AT-Essive (928d).¹²⁴

- (928) a. *hay heresuqan, de r-ike-r-an devez [r-u:-λ'os]*
 hey liar I.ERG V-see-CAUS-INTFUT you.SG.DAT V-do-HAB
žo
 thing(V)
 ‘Hey, liar, I will show you what I do (to you).’ (N)
- b. *r-ike-r-i-me de dow-go ax?*
 V-see-CAUS-Q-NEG I.ERG you.SG.OBL-AT cheese(V)
 ‘Did I not show you the cheese?’ (N)
- c. *hezzo bič'i r-u:-n haze-go*
 then understanding V-do-UWPST they.OBL-AT
 ‘Then (they) explained it to them.’ (N)
- d. *xan-i hagze-go pikru b-eq'i-r-no*
 khan-ERG they.OBL-AT thought(III) III-know-CAUS-UWPST
 ‘The khan informed them about his thought.’

17.7.3.4. The basic verb is ditransitive

Basic ditransitive verbs can be simple or already causativized verbs (derived from experiencer verbs, see 17.7.3.3 above). The causer takes the role of the Ergative agent, and the causee is marked with the AT-Essive just as in transitive clauses. The other two arguments (patient, recipient/addressee) do not change their roles or case marking, i.e. the patient remains in the Absolutive. The case marking of the recipient/addressee corresponds to its case marking before the derivation, i.e. if it has been marked with the Dative, it keeps this case marking (929a, 929b). If the recipient/addressee is marked with the AT-Lative, then this case also occurs in the causativized clause (929c, 929d).

- (929) a. *xalq'i-la-y=gon caλi-n haylu-z strelka-be*
 folk-OBL-ERG=TOP throw-UWPST that.OBL-DAT arrow-PL

¹²⁴Note that with this meaning, *-eqir-* occurs more often as a complement-taking predicate with an A in the Ergative, an addressee in the AT-Essive, and a clause in the P position (Section 22.1).

- ‘The people shot it (the bird) with arrows.’ (N)
- b. *hayʔoy di-qo boʔi-ž tupi caʕi-r-iš*
 he.ERG I.OBL-AT deer-DAT gun throw-CAUS-PST
 ‘He made me shoot the deer with the gun.’
- c. *hayʔu bikore-y toʕʕo hayʔo-qo-r xišu-be=n*
 that.OBL snake-ERG give.PRS he.OBL-AT-LAT key-PL=and
ambar-za-s
 store.house-OBL.PL-GEN I
 ‘The snake also gives him the keys to the store house.’ (N)
- d. *obu-y uži-qo Maħama-qo-r k'oħlo toʕ-er-iš*
 father-ERG son-AT Mahama-AT-LAT ball give-CAUS-PST
 ‘The father made the son give the ball to Mahama.’

If, however, the recipient/addressee has been marked with the AT-Essive (930a), then a coding conflict arises because the causativized clause would then contain two arguments with the same case marking (the causee and the recipient/addressee), which would be hard to distinguish. Such cases are avoided by adding an additional enclitic =*bito* ‘through’ to the causee (930b). This strategy is also used for double causativization (see 17.7.4.2).

- (930) a. *de hawsaʔat haw suʔal dew-qo bič'i*
 I.ERG now that question(III) you.SG.OBL-AT understanding
b-uw-an
 III-do-INTFUT
 ‘Now I will explain this question to you.’
- b. *obu-y essu-qo=bito di-qo haw suʔal*
 father-AT brother-AT=TRANS you.SG.OBL-AT that question(III)
bič'i b-u:-r-iš
 understanding III-do-CAUS-PST
 ‘The father made the brother explain the question to me.’

17.7.3.5. The basic verb is labile

Hinuq has one A-labile verb and one P-labile verb (Section 16.8). Causative constructions from the A-labile verb *t'ot'er-* ‘read, study’ yield the expected two different causative constructions - one transitive from the intransitive meaning of the base verb (931a) and one ditransitive from the transitive meaning of the base verb (931b). Both constructions are canonical, with the agent in the Ergative, the

patient in the Absolutive, and, when there is a ditransitive clause, the causee in the AT-Essive case.

- (931) a. *iyo-y uži uniwersitet-ma t'ot'er-er-iš*
 mother-ERG son university-IN study-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made the son study at the university.'
- b. *učitel-i ked-go t'ek t'ot'er-er-iš*
 teacher-ERG girl-AT book read-CAUS-PST
 'The teacher made the girl read a book.'

With causative verbs derived from P-labile verbs, only the transitive meaning of the verb can serve as the base from which a ditransitive causativized verb is built. That means, the derived causative verb is always ditransitive (932a). Even if there is no overt causee, the use of the causative verb implies that there must be one (932b). In order to form a transitive clause with two arguments only, the underived base verb must be used (see 16.8 for P-labile verbs).

- (932) a. *iyo-y ked-go magalu b-eša:-r-iš*
 mother-ERG daughter-AT bread(III) III-fry-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made the daughter bake the bread.'
- b. *ked-i xu r-eša:-r-iš*
 girl-ERG meat(V) V-fry-CAUS-PST
 'The girl made someone fry the meat.'

17.7.4. Double causative constructions

In double causative constructions, a previously causativized verb undergoes a second causativization. Double causative verbs can be morphologically derived by adding *-er* to a previously causativized verb, which can have either the *-k'* suffix or the *-r* suffix. In analytic causative constructions, the double causative suffix is added to the causative auxiliary. In compound verbs with an auxiliary change, the causative suffix is added to the auxiliary. For the combinability of valency changing devices see Section 9.2.6. Double causativization is morphologically productive, but its actual use is highly improbable. There are almost no examples of double causative constructions in my corpus and the sentences given in the following sections were somewhat difficult to elicit. The syntax and the semantic interpretation of such constructions is not always completely clear. In fact, even triple causativization (*-k' + -er + -er*) is possible but of course even more unnatural (934b).

17.7.4.1. Double causative constructions derived from intransitive verbs

Double causative constructions from intransitive verbs, though not attested in my corpus, are straightforwardly interpreted as ditransitive. The causer gets the Ergative, the causee is marked by the AT-Essive, and the patient is marked by the Absolutive case.

- (933) a. *iyoy uži-go bikore b-uhe-r-er-iš*
 mother-ERG son-AT snake(III) III-die-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘The mother made (her) son kill the snake.’
- b. *de hayto-go te qoriya: tok'er-er-iš*
 I.ERG he.OBL-AT water boil force-CAUS-PST
 ‘I made him boil the water.’

17.7.4.2. Double causative constructions derived from transitive verbs

The causer as the agent takes the Ergative case, and the patient is in the Absolutive case. Causees are normally marked with the AT-Essive, but two causees in one clause lead to processing difficulties. In order to make the comprehension of such sentences easier, the first causee (the one who is instigated by the causer) is marked not only with the AT-Essive but additionally with the Translative enclitic =*bito*, yielding the meaning ‘through’. Alternatively, the Second Genitive/Ablative can be used, leading to a similar meaning (934a). The second causee, i.e. the one who acts upon the patient, takes the AT-Essive case. However, in principle, both causees can be marked alike such that only their linear order in the clause indicates who instigates who.

- (934) a. *mačexa-y {qartay-go=bito / qartay-go-zo} ked-go*
 stepmother-ERG witch-AT=TRANS / witch-AT-ABL2 girl-AT
iši b-ac'e-r-er-iš
 apple(III) III-eat-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘The stepmother made the witch feed the apple to the girl.’
- b. *xan-i wazir-go=bito očordiyu rek'u-go buxe*
 khan-ERG vizier-AT=TRANS old man.OBL-AT house
aldek'-er-er-iš
 whiten-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 ‘The khan through the vizier made the old man whiten the house.’

However, sentences with two causees are highly unnatural. In fact, when a double causativized verb is used often no additional causee is introduced. In

other words, the introduction of a third argument is common, whereas the introduction of a fourth or even a fifth argument (in the case of double causativized ditransitive verbs) is rather exotic and thus difficult to elicit. Besides, it is not completely clear whether a double causativized verb in combination with only one causee can be distinguished in its semantics from its simple causativized counterpart with the same number of arguments. For some consultants, double causativized verbs seem to have an intensifying interpretation ('force someone to do something') as has been reported for the East Tsezic languages Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 108) and Bezhta (Kibrik & Testelec 2004). For example, in (935) the verb *li:-* 'wear' has been causativized twice, but the clause contains only one causee. In this case it seems that the action by the causer is described as more intense. The causers put a lot of effort into their action and thus do not simply cause the bandit to wear the ragged clothes but force him to against his own will.

- (935) [*hayto-*qo-s* hag šeχ'u=n toχ-no hayto*
 he.OBL-AT-ABL I that clothes(V)=and give-CVB that.OBL
*k'ačay-*qo-r*] k'ačay-*qo* kit'u r-iñi li:-*r-er-no**
 bandit-AT-LAT bandit-AT naked V-similar wear-CAUS-CAUS-UWPST
 '(They) gave the bandits the clothes from him; (they) made the bandit
 wear those (torn) clothes so that it was like he was naked.' (N)

Similarly, some speakers notice a difference in meaning between (936a) and (936b). The first example with the simple causative verb means that the mother simply caused Patimat to write the letter, e.g. by encouraging or asking her. The second example (936b), in turn, means that the mother forced Patimat to write the letter, probably against her own will. However, for other Hinuq speakers there is no perceptible difference between (936a) and (936b); both sentences have essentially the same meaning.

- (936) a. *iyoy Pat'imat-*qo* kayat cax-er-iš*
 mother-ERG Patimat-AT letter write-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made Patimat write the letter.'
- b. *iyoy Pat'imat-*qo* kayat cax-er-er-iš*
 mother-ERG Patimat-AT letter write-CAUS-CAUS-PST
 'The mother made Patimat write the letter.' or 'The mother forced
 Patimat to write the letter.'

17.8. Summary of non-canonical agent constructions making use of the AT-Essive

All four non-canonical agents (i.e. potential, involuntary, exterior force, and causee) analyzed in the preceding sections are marked by one and the same spatial case, the AT-Essive. In other words, the most canonical way of marking non-canonical agents in Hinuq is precisely the use of this case. The marking of non-canonical agents with spatial cases is typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages (see for instance Ganenkov et al. (2008) on Agul, Haspelmath (1993a: 292) on Lezgian, Khalilova (2009: 305–308, 342–349) on Khwarshi, Ljutikova (2001: 391–392) on Bagvalal, Toldova (1999: 638) on Tsakhur, etc.). Besides its spatial meaning (‘general location near or by a reference point, often with direct contact’), the AT-Essive is also employed for expressing various indirect objects: recipient, addressee, temporary possessor (see Section 3.5.20 for a detailed description of the AT-Essive).

There is a simple explanation as to why the AT-Essive and not another case is used to mark non-canonical agents in causative constructions; this explanation makes use of the hierarchy of syntactic positions: Comrie (1976b) notes that in the paradigm case of causatives derived from transitive verbs, the causee is likely to take the same case marking as indirect objects in ditransitive clauses. Embedded subjects (e.g. causees) are demoted stepwise down the case hierarchy (subject, direct object, indirect object, other obliques). Transitive verbs already have a subject and a direct object, thus the newly added argument takes the role of the indirect object. In Hinuq, indirect objects of ditransitive verbs like ‘give’ are marked with the Dative or with the AT-Essive (Section 16.6). In addition, the AT-Essive is also employed to code temporary possessors. In other words, this case is already heavily used for lower grammatical roles (in contrast to the Dative, which is mainly used for the coding of the experiencer); therefore, causees are also marked with it.

This explanation can be carried over to all other cases of non-canonical agents. In potential, involuntary agent as well as in exterior force constructions, the predicate is intransitive. If the event at hand is intransitive, then the canonical case expressing a single event in an intransitive clause is used, namely the Absolutive (e.g. potential verbs derived from intransitive verbs). However, if the event is transitive (but the predicate is nevertheless formally intransitive), then the patient-like argument is marked with the Absolutive; but the agent-like argument needs a case marking signaling the non-canonical agent (as opposed to the canonical agent that is expressed with the Ergative, or other grammatical roles such as experiencers, recipients or instruments, which all have their specific case marking); therefore, again the AT-Essive comes into play.

The four non-canonical agent constructions employing the AT-Essive can be divided into two groups based on the formal marking on the verb. The potential agent, the involuntary agent, and the exterior force construction are all either zero-marked on the verb, or they are marked by the detransitivizing suffix *-ɬ*. The causative construction, on the other hand, must be formally marked by a suffix, an auxiliary change, or by using a causative verb.

Table 80 summarizes the most important clause types available in the potential, the involuntary agent, and the exterior force constructions. The first line refers to one-participant events. Although the involuntary agent construction could, in theory, be compatible with one-participants events, in Hinuq this is not possible. The exterior force construction can also not be used to express intransitive events since it always refers to an exterior force causing some event; in other words, there are necessarily two participants.

Table 80. Case marking and derivation in potential, involuntary agent, and exterior force constructions

	Potential	Involuntary agent	Exterior force
$V_{intr} + -ɬ$ (Absolute)	+	#	#
V_{intr} (AT-Essive, Absolute)	+	+	+
$V_{intr} + -ɬ$ (AT-Essive, Absolute)	+	+	#
$V_{tr} + -ɬ$ (AT-Essive, Absolute)	+	+	#

The other three lines refer to two-participant events that can have three different verb types: underived intransitive verbs, transitive base verbs marked with the detransitivizing suffix *-ɬ*, or intransitive base verbs marked with *-ɬ*. As can be seen in the table, the three construction are not equally available. The potential construction is the least restricted, and, in fact, also the most common construction. In contrast, the exterior force construction is heavily constrained and at the same time relatively uncommon. A more detailed analysis of these three constructions and the causative construction can be found in Forker (In press).

17.9. The antipassive construction

The antipassive construction is one way of detransitivizing a monotransitive verb. Hinuq has two suffixes for the derivation of antipassive verbs, *-li:* and *-do:*, but not all verbs derive antipassive counterparts (for more details on the derivation see Section 9.2.5). Since intransitive verbs can also take the antipassive suffixes, and the use of these suffixes is semantically and not syntactically motivated, the

Hinuq antipassive construction is far from being a canonical representative of antipassives. In general, the antipassive is not very frequent in my corpus.

Antipassive forms of intransitive verbs do not change the valency frame of the clause, e.g. *-iči-* ‘be’ takes one argument in the Absolutive case, and the same is true for its derived antipassive form *-ičido:-* (937).

- (937) *te r-exλ'es r-iči-do:-ho*
 water(V) V-warm V-be-ANTIP-PRS
 ‘The water is usually warm.’

Only monotransitive verbs decrease their valency of one argument if they are marked by an antipassive suffix. A monotransitive verb takes two arguments, A and P (938a, 938c). With the derived antipassive verb, the original A becomes S while the original P disappears and cannot be expressed in an oblique case (938b, 938d).

- (938) a. *xan-i qaλe-n zon-de-r Ø-eg^wennu uži*
 khan-ERG call-UWPST REFL.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT I-small son(I)
 ‘The khan called his young son.’ (N)
- b. *hadu qaλe-li:-ho, y-a:-ho, amma [hału-z kumak*
 she shout-ANTIP-PRS II-cry-PRS but she.OBL-DAT help(III)
b-u:-λ'os] rek'^we Ø-oλex-o gom
 III-do-HAB man(I) I-appear-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘She shouts (repeatedly) and yells, but nobody appears who would help her.’ (N)
- c. *“raλ' b-ič'i-yo goł de”=λen eλi-š=eλ*
 earth(III) III-dig-ICVB be I.ERG=QUOT say-PST=QUOT
yoλu.koka-y
 cinderello.ERG
 ‘‘I am digging earth, said Cinderello.’ (N)
- d. *hado uži [haw b-ič'i-li:-ho goła] Ø-et'en.k'oλ-o*
 this boy it III-dig-ANTIP-ICVB be.PTCP I-jump-PRS
al-λ'o-s gulu-zo moqoli-λ'o-r
 branch.OBL-SPR-ABL1 horse-GEN2 back-SPR-LAT
 ‘While it (the horse) is digging repeatedly (the earth with its hoof), the boy jumps from the branch onto the horse’s back.’ (N)

Ditransitive verbs that have an antipassive suffix do not change the valency pattern. They remain ditransitive but acquire an iterative meaning. The P is affected in the same way as in the basic ditransitive construction. Note that al-

though the P is plural in examples (939a, 939b), this is not necessary. A P in the singular is also grammatical.

- (939) a. *hayłoy elu-z* [?]*aši neλ-do:-ho* *sayɣat-be*
 he.ERG we.OBL-DAT often give-ANTIP-PRS present-PL
 ‘He gives us often/many presents.’
- b. *hayłoy tupi boc’za-z* *caλi-li:-ho*
 he.ERG gun wolf.OBL.PL-DAT shoot-ANTIP-PRS
 ‘He often shoots at wolves.’

Not all experiencer verbs derive an antipassive (e.g. *bič’i -iq-* ‘understand’ and *c’ate-* ‘get to know’ do not form antipassives). For those experiencer verbs that form an antipassive, there are two strategies. Either the antipassive verb turns the experiencer into the single argument of an intransitive clause, e.g. *toq-* ‘hear’ (940a), whereby additional spatial modifiers are of course allowed, or the antipassive verb has the same valency frame as the experiencer verb (940b).

- (940) a. *hago t’ek-mo-za-ł* *toq-li:-ho*
 he book-OBL-CONT hear-ANTIP-PRS
 ‘He often rummages in the books.’
- b. *diž debe* *roži šuλ’e-do:-ho*
 I.DAT you.SG.GEN1 word forget-ANTIP-PRS
 ‘I often forget your words.’

In Hinuq the antipassive usually has an iterative meaning (938b, 938d), and (939b), i.e. it expresses repeated and/or habitual actions. Antipassive verbs in two other Tsezic languages, Bezhta and Hunzib, have similar iterative meanings (van den Berg, 1995:110-111; Kibrik & Testelec 2004). The correlation of antipassives and iterativity is widely attested across the world’s languages (Polinsky 2005: 438).

Sometimes the meaning of a derived antipassive verb is not really predictable from the meaning of its base verb. For example, *-oge-* can be translated with ‘open widely, stretch’, but the antipassive in (941a) means ‘squeeze through, edge through’. The antipassives of two other verbs differ in another, unexpected way from the typical meaning of the Hinuq antipassive. Both derived verbs describe an unspecified repeatedly occurring raking or rummaging (940a), (941b) - in one case the experiencer verb *toq-* ‘hear’ and in the other a transitive verb derived from the experiencer verb *-eqi-* ‘know’ served as the base for the derivation. Finally, the antipassive of *k’ilik’-* ‘wash’ simply means ‘bathe’, without implying any iteration or habituality (941c).

- (941) a. *buxari-ma šid b-oge-li:n hadu λ'ere*
 flue-IN upwards III-stretch-ANTIP-UWPST this upwards
λ'ere, λ'iyō yoλu caλi-n obu-y hayłu-z
 upwards down ashes throw-UWPST father-ERG that.OBL-DAT
 'When (the dragon) squeezed itself through the flue, the father threw
 ashes at it.' (N)
- b. *yoλu.koka peč-mo-zo maʔa-ho q'idi Ø-iči*
 cinderello(1) oven-OBL-GEN2 threshold-ILOC down I-sit
zoq'w e-n yoλa-ł Ø-eq'i-r-do:ho
 be-UWPST ashes.OBL-CONT I-know-CAUS-ANTIP-ICVB
zoq'w e-n
 be-UWPST
 'Cinderello was always sitting at the place by the oven and stirring
 in the ashes.' (N)
- c. *hadbe sadaq k'oλ-o ʔalazan-i-do hadu hes ked hozu*
 these all jump-PRS lake-IN-DIR this one girl separately
k'ilik'-do:ho
 wash-ANTIP-PRS
 'All (girls) jumped into the lake, but this one girl bathes separately.'
 (N)

17.10. Biabsolutive constructions

Biabsolutive constructions are sentences containing at least one periphrastic verb form and two arguments A and P both marked with the Absolutive case. That is, in the biabsolutive construction we find neutral alignment. Hinuq has three ways of forming biabsolutive constructions, with compound tense-aspect-mood forms, with the Intentional modality, and with the *-iči-* progressive.

In other Nakh-Daghestanian languages such as Chechen (Zarina Molochieva, p.c.) and Archi (Kibrik 1979: 68–69) this type of construction is very common and even obligatory in at least a major part of the imperfective aspect. In contrast, in Hinuq all three types of the biabsolutive construction are very marginal – I have found only a handful of examples of it in my corpus. Therefore, almost all examples in this section are elicited. Among the three types of biabsolutive constructions, the construction formed with the Compound tenses is the only one available as a regular part of the tense-aspect-mood paradigm in the indicative mood and is also the semantically/pragmatically least marked construction. Therefore, this construction will be the major topic of the following sections, and

the other two types of biabsolutive constructions will only be briefly discussed and illustrated.

17.10.1. Three types of biabsolutive constructions

The biabsolutive construction formed with compound tenses occurs with five tense-aspect-mood forms: Compound Future, Compound Present (949b), Compound Past (956b), Compound Unwitnessed Past (942a), and the Compound Resultative Past (942b). Four of these tense-aspect-mood forms consist of the lexical verb marked with the Imperfective converb suffix and an auxiliary and are therefore imperfective in their aspectual value.

- (942) a. *hago hayʔi keč'-be qaλ-o zoq''we-n*
 he there song-PL call-ICVB be-UWPST
 'He sang songs there.'
- b. *ked xok'o b-u:-ho zoq''we-s gom*
 girl khinkal(III) III-do-ICVB be-RES be.NEG
 'The girl did not make khinkal.'

The Intentional modality formed with the suffix *-(a)ru* and one of the copulas (*goʔ*, *zoq''wes* or *zoq''wen*) is also restricted to biabsolutive constructions (943). For more information on Intentional modality see Section 8.2.3.

- (943) *hago ʔaraq'i ga:-ru goʔ*
 he vodka drink-INT be
 'He intends to drink vodka.'

Finally, the third type of biabsolutive construction is the *-iči-* progressive (Section 8.1.3.4), making use not of the normal copula, but of the auxiliary *-iči-* 'be, stand, sit, stay' (944). The verb *-iči-* takes agreement prefixes. As can be seen in (944), it agrees with the A argument in gender and number.

- (944) *huʔ ked ʔ''ero b-išer-ho y-iči-š*
 yesterday girl(II) cow(III) III-feed-ICVB II-be-PST
 'Yesterday the girl was feeding the cow.'

17.10.2. Constraints in the biabsolutive construction

Biabsolutive constructions display a few constraints which are absent in ergative or experiencer constructions. These constraints concern: (i) restrictions on the

predicate type, (ii) restrictions on the argument type, (iii) word order, and (iv) placement of enclitics.

The lexical verb must be transitive (942a, 942b) or ditransitive (949b). Experiencer verbs do not allow for the biabsolutive construction (945).

- (945) * *Pat'imat tort b-eti-yo goɫ*
 Patimat cake(III) III-want-ICVB be
 (Patimat likes/wants cake.)

Inanimate agents are not allowed in the biabsolutive construction. In order to have inanimate agents, the ergative construction must be used. Consultants rejected examples like (946) with the explanation that such a sentence would imply that the snow is an agent that volitionally acts upon the roof.

- (946) * *iše λ'u b-uher-ho zoq'we-s*
 snow roof(III) III-break-ICVB be-PST
 (The snow broke the roof.)

In causative sentences formed on the basis of transitive verbs, the causer is marked with the ergative, the causee with a local case, and the patient with the Absolutive (see 17.7.3.2). If causative clauses are changed to biabsolutive constructions, then the causer, but never the causee, loses its Ergative case marking and takes the Absolutive instead (947a, 947b).

- (947) a. *Maħama(-y) Murad-qo oʔocu b-uher-er-ho goɫ*
 Mahama(-ERG) Murat-AT chicken(III) III-kill-CAUS-ICVB be
 'Mahama makes Murat kill the chicken.'
 b. * *Maħama-y Murad oʔocu b-uher-er-ho goɫ*
 Mahama-ERG Murat chicken(III) III-kill-CAUS-ICVB be
 (Mahama makes Murat kill the chicken.)

The next constraint concerns the order of auxiliary and lexical verb, which can be changed in the ergative construction in order to focus the patient (948a). In contrast, in the biabsolutive construction, this order is fixed (948b).

- (948) a. *haytoy moči goɫ b-eλ-o*
 he.ERG field(III) be III-plough-ICVB
 'It is the field that he is ploughing.'
 b. * *hago moči goɫ b-eλ-o*
 he field(III) be III-plough-ICVB
 (It is the field that he is ploughing.)

Second, in the biabsolutive construction, nothing can be inserted between the patient and the lexical verb - at least not with transitive lexical verbs (949a). Ditransitive verbs allow the beneficiary to be inserted between the patient and the lexical verb (949b).

- (949) a. **obu moči žiqu b-eλ-o goł*
 father field(III) today III-plough-ICVB be
 (The father ploughs the field today.)
 b. *hago magalu ked-ez toλλo goł*
 he bread girl-DAT give.ICVB be
 ‘He gives the girl bread.’

Similarly, the patient cannot undergo left (950a) or right dislocation (950b). This is only possible in the Ergative construction.

- (950) a. **c'inda-be iyo r-u:-ho goł*
 socks-PL mother NHPL-do-ICVB be
 (It is knitted socks that the mother makes.)
 b. **iyo r-u:-ho goł c'inda-be*
 mother NHPL-do-ICVB be socks-PL
 (Mother makes knitted socks.)

Consequently, in the biabsolutive construction, the patient and the lexical verb form a tight unit which can hardly ever be interrupted. So the word order is partly fixed. In contrast, in the ergative construction, the word order is less restricted; various elements can be inserted between the patient and the lexical verb. The single argument in the Absolutive case is interpreted as the patient, independently of its position in the clause.

In other respects, the biabsolutive and the ergative construction behave alike. For example, in both constructions, the auxiliary can be used to put the agent in focus (951a). In both constructions, adverbs agree with the patient (951b) and only with the patient. Although the biabsolutive construction contains two arguments in the Absolutive, the adverb agreement goes with the patient.

- (951) a. *Mahama(-y) zoq 'w e-s ʏ^w e zokko*
 Mahama(-ERG) be-PST dog beat.ICVB
 ‘It was Mahama who beat the dog.’
 b. *{hago / hayłoy} y-oλλo t'ek t'ot'er-ho goł*
 he / he.ERG IV-fast book(IV) read-ICVB be
 ‘He is reading the book fast.’

Other features that both ergative and biabsolutive constructions share involve the possibility of modifying the patient with adjectives, numerals, or even relative clauses (952a). The patient can also be definite, e.g. expressed by a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun or a proper name (952b).

- (952) a. *{hago / haytoy}* [*Razul hamzatow-i caxxo goɫa*] *t'ek*
 he / he.ERG Rasul Gamzatow-ERG write.ICVB be.PTCP book
t'ot'er-ho goɫ
 read-ICVB be
 'He is reading a book which is written by Rasul Gamzatov.'
- b. *Maħama ʔali zokko goɫ*
 Mahama Ali beat.ICVB be
 'Mahama is beating Ali.'

In both constructions, the patient can be focused by being replaced with a question pronoun.

- (953) *ked(-i) se t'ot'er-ho goɫ?*
 girl(-ERG) what read-ICVB be
 'What is the girl reading?'

Concerning the agent, there does not seem to be any major difference between the agent of a biabsolutive construction and the agent of an ergative construction. For example, both agents can serve as the antecedent of reflexives (954). Both agents can host enclitics.

- (954) *Maħama zo zokko goɫ*
 Mahama REFL.SG beat.ICVB be
 'Mahama is beating himself.'

Despite many similarities there is another major difference between ergative and biabsolutive constructions. This difference concerns enclitics that manipulate the information structure of the clause. For example, the Coordinative enclitic =*n*, when attached to some constituent X means 'also X', can never be encliticized to the patient in the biabsolutive construction (955a). Similarly, the topicalizing enclitics =*gon*/=*gozon* are also prohibited on the patient (955b). The ergative construction, in contrast, allows the Coordinative enclitic as well as the topicalizing enclitics to follow the patient.

- (955) a. * *Maħama kayat=no caxxo goɫ*
 Mahama letter=and write.ICVB be
 (Mahama also writes a letter.)

- b. * *Mahama kayat=gon/=gozon caxxo goʔ*
 Mahama letter=TOP/=TOP write.ICVB be
 ‘(Mahama writes a letter.)’

To add all three enclitics to the agent is allowed not only in the Ergative but also in the biabsolute construction.

Unfortunately it was impossible to get a clear picture of the semantics of the biabsolute construction due for one thing to its very marginal use. Usually my informants did not perceive any clear difference between it and the ergative construction. Nevertheless, it seems that in the biabsolute construction the agent is at the center of the scene, whereas the patient is demoted, which is in line with the function of this construction in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages. Thus, the only two relatively spontaneously uttered sentences with biabsolute constructions in my corpus have indefinite plural objects. Examples (956a) and (956b) were both given as answers to questions from Dahl’s (1985) tense-aspect-mood questionnaire. For the sentence containing the object in the singular, but otherwise identical with (956a) and (956b)s ergative constructions have been used.

- (956) a. [What your brother DO right now? (=What activity is he engaged in?)]
hago kayat-be caxxo goʔ
 he letter-PL write.ICVB be
 ‘He is writing letters.’
- b. [A: I talked to my brother on the phone yesterday. B: What he DO? (=What activity was he engaged in?)]
kayat-be caxxo zoq’e-s hago
 letter-PL write.ICVB be-PST he
 ‘He was writing letters.’

When trying question tests, one consultant pointed out that (957) could be given as an answer to the question *ni Pat’imat goʔ?* ‘Where is Patimat?’, for which an ergative construction would be unsuitable. At any rate, the biabsolute construction may be used as an answer to both a constituent question as well as to a question of the type ‘What is the agent doing?’ if the question itself already contains two Absolute arguments (957). The same is true for the ergative construction, provided that the question itself is also an ergative construction.

(957) [What is Patimat eating? / What is Patimat doing?]

Pat'imat magalu b-acco goł
 Patimat bread(III) III-eat.ICVB be

‘Patimat is eating bread.’

17.10.3. Analyzing the biabsolutive construction

Diachronically the biabsolutive construction probably developed from a biclausal construction consisting of an embedded clause headed by the lexical verb and a main clause headed by what is now an auxiliary. Since this auxiliary is intransitive, its subject argument must be in the Absolutive case. Several authors have claimed for other Daghestanian languages that the respective biabsolutive constructions are biclausal (e.g. Kibrik (1979) for Archi, Kazenin (1998) for Lak, Radžabov (1999) for Tsez and Creissels (2008) for Avar). Diachronic biclausality may be an explanation for the word order restrictions of the construction. Likewise, diachronic biclausality may be an explanation as to why one informant noted that biabsolutive constructions provide adequate answers to where-questions. Biabsolutive constructions are periphrastic and involve the verb ‘be’, and periphrastic tense-aspect-mood forms have often arisen from original locative constructions (Bybee et al. 1994: 129ff.). A detailed analysis of the biabsolutive construction in Nakh-Daghestanian languages can be found in Forker (2012a).

The biabsolutive construction can be interpreted as a means of decreasing the transitivity of a transitive event or situation. Although its semantics is not very clear, the function of the biabsolutive construction can be broadly described as agent promotion in combination with patient demotion. The fact that topicalizing enclitics cannot appear on the patient is due to this function: these enclitics would emphasize the patient in a way that contradicts the semantics of the construction as a whole. Furthermore, the patient cannot undergo left or right dislocation because dislocating an expression is a way of topicalizing, and this again would contradict the pragmatic status of the patient. Similarly, inanimate agents are prohibited because they usually do not occur as agents; that means, they are less topical than animate nouns. Consequently, they are completely excluded from the biabsolutive construction that, at least to some extent, topicalizes the agent. Another explanation for the ban of inanimate agents might be that overt case marking on inanimate agents is needed in order to distinguish them from the patient argument of the clause, which is often also inanimate. When both arguments are inanimate, confusion may arise as to which argument is the patient of the clause. Example (946) also fits what has been noted for a number

of languages that have differential subject marking: the lower in prominence the subject, the more frequently it is case marked.

In other words, the biabsolute construction is just another way of manipulating the information structure of a sentence, of highlighting certain aspects of a situation. This construction combines several properties of other constructions which have similar functions, namely split ergativity, differential case/subject marking, antipassives, and noun stripping.

Chapter 18

Copula clauses

18.1. Introduction

Hinuq has a copula that is used in copula clauses and as an auxiliary for the formation of periphrastic tense-aspect-mood forms. The paradigm of the copula is suppletive and defective. The most important forms of the copula are *goł* (affirmative Simple Present), *gom* (negative Simple Present), *zoq'wes* (affirmative Simple Past), and affirmative *zoq'wen* (Unwitnessed Past). The complete paradigm is given in Section 7.8.

Copula constructions cover all semantic relations that Dixon (2010: 159–188) lists: (i) identity, (ii) attribution, (iii) possession, (iv) benefaction, (v) location, and (vi) existence.

Just as verbs in other clause types, the copula most frequently occurs in clause-final position, but other orders are also possible. The copula subject is always in the Absolutive case. It may be a noun, a proper name, a pronoun, a numeral, or any other type of noun phrase. The copula complement may be a noun, a proper name, a pronoun, a numeral, or another type of noun phrase, but it may also be an adjective, a postpositional phrase, or a participle. It may be in the Absolutive case or in an oblique case (including spatial cases).

18.2. Copula clauses with adjectival and participial predicates

Hinuq adjectives can be used both attributively and predicatively. Since their form is the same in both cases and the head noun is optional, a sentence like (958a) can always be interpreted as containing a nominalized adjective as the predicate. Then the translation must be ‘The house is a big one’. Adjectives with agreement prefixes agree with the subject noun phrase in gender and number (958a, 958c). The adjective, with or without modifying adverbs, usually follows the subject and precedes the verb, but other orders are possible. However, if the adjective directly precedes the nominal subject, then the sentence can be interpreted as an existential construction.

- (958) a. *bułe b-ežiy goł*
house(III) III-big be
‘The house is big.’ or ‘The house is a big one.’
- b. *hadu ked c'aq'=tow bercinaw zeq'we-n*
this girl very=EMPH beautiful be-UWPST

‘This girl was very beautiful.’ (N)

- c. *ʒumru=n b-egiy zoq'e-s elu-s hayteʃ*
 life(III)=and III-good be-PST we.OBL-GEN1 there

‘And our life there was good.’ (N)

Participles are functionally similar to adjectives. Hinuq has five participles of which the Resultative participle especially, but also the Habitual participle are used in copula clauses. They can basically have the same predicative function as an ordinary adjective. In fact, a few verbs with the Resultative participle suffix are listed as adjectives in the dictionary, e.g. *-exʁ'es* ‘warm’. For more information on participles see Section 7.7.4. If the participle can agree, it agrees with the copula subject (959).

- (959) *hale hibad muʃuk'i-be mecxer-o-s r-ič'-iʃ goʃ*
 well this bag-PL money-OBL-GEN1 NHPL-fill-RES be
 ‘Well, these bags are filled with money.’ (N)

18.3. Copula clauses with nominal predicates

18.3.1. The predicate is in the Absolutive

In identificational and classification sentences, both the subject and the predicative argument are in the Absolutive case. It is not always easy to say which Absolutive noun phrase is the subject and which is the predicative argument because the word order is variable. The subject and the predicate can be proper names, common nouns, noun phrases, or pronouns.

- (960) a. *Malla Rasadan-i eʁi-n, “hadu di ʃayix goʃ”=ʁen*
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG say-UWPST this I.GEN1 saint be=QUOT
 ‘Malla Rasan said, “This is my saint.”’ (N)
- b. *me eli aqili goʃ*
 you.SG we.GEN1 woman be
 ‘You are our woman.’ (N)
- c. *čanaqan zoq'w e-s ʒali*
 hunter be-PST Ali
 ‘Ali was a hunter.’
- d. *Abdukarim haži Buynaksk ʃahar-mo-s imam goʃ*
 Abdukarim Gadzhi Buynaksk town-OBL-GEN1 imam be
 ‘Abdurkarim Gadzhi is the imam of Buynaksk.’ (N)

- e. *obu zoq'e-s axran. iyo zoq'e-s dayarka*
 father be-PST guard mother be-PST milkmaid
 'My father was a guard, my mother was a milkmaid.' (N)

Noun phrases may be specific or general descriptions. These are clauses headed by an Infinitive, a Purposive converb (961a) or by a verb marked with the Abstract suffix, as is common in certain complement clauses (961b).

- (961) a. *di yira zoq'e-s haž b-uw-a / b-uw-ayaz*
 I.GEN1 wish be-PST Hajj(III) III-do-INF / III-do-PURP
 'It was my dream to go on the Hajj.'
 b. *[ked-i t'ek t'ot'er-iš-ti] r-eg goł*
 girl-ERG book read-RES-ABST V-well BE
 'That the girl read the book is good.'

18.3.2. The predicate is in an oblique case

The predicate noun phrase can take various case markers according to its function. In order to express benefaction, it must be in the Dative (962a, 962b).

- (962) a. *hibadi goła beže-s žo=n devez*
 here be.PTCP house.OBL-GEN1 thing(V)=and you.SG.DAT
r-ič-a goł
 V-be-INF be
 'The things here in the house will be for you.' (N)
 b. *[neλ-mez=gon xece-yo] munaħ devez goł*
 give-PURP.NEG=TOP stop-COND sin you.SG.DAT be
 'If (you) stop not giving (it to me), shame on you.' (N)

When expressing quality or material, the noun phrase must be in the Genitive (963a). The origin is expressed by a spatial case containing the Ablative (963b). Noun phrases denoting spatial goals are marked with a spatial case containing the Lative (963c).

- (963) a. *debe k^wezey-be mesed-li-š goł*
 you.SG.GEN1 hand-PL gold-OBL-GEN1 be
 'Your hands are from gold.'
 b. *di xoddo bečedaw haq'u-t-es goł*
 I.GEN1 husband rich family-CONT-ABL1 be
 'My husband is from a rich family.'

- c. *had kayat Pat'imat-λ'o-r goł*
 this letter Patimat-SPR-LAT be
 'This letter is for Patimat.'

18.4. Existential copula clauses

Existential clauses contain only one noun phrase. In existential clauses used as introductory sentences for fairy tales, the noun phrase is usually split up into the numeral *hes* 'one' preceding the copula and the rest of the noun phrase (noun plus modifiers) following the copula (964b).

- (964) a. *boλ'uq piq=no r-iči-yo zoq'e-s*
 at.will fruit(V)=and V-be-ICVB be-PST
 'There were all possible kinds of fruits.' (N)
- b. *hes zoq'e-n miskin rek'we*
 one be-UWPST poor man
 'There was one poor man.' (N)

18.5. Locative copula clauses

Locative copula clauses and existential copula clauses containing a locative adjunct cannot be distinguished. Clauses where the location precedes the subject are often ambiguous between an existential and a locative reading (965a, 965b).

- (965) a. *sedayo beke aq'we goł*
 in.one.place house.IN mouse be
 'In one place, in a house there is a mouse.' or 'A mouse is on one place, in a house.' (N)
- b. *ardel elu-de ?aši šayt'an-be zoq'e-s=λen*
 formerly we.OBL-ALOC many devil-PL be-PST=QUOT
 'Formerly in our village there were many devils.' or 'Formerly many devils were in our village.' (N)
- c. *Čačan-λ'o zoq'we-s sadaq aldiyu buke-be*
 Chechnya-SPR be-PST all white house-PL
 'In Chechnya there were all white houses.' (N)

If the order is reversed, and the item denoting the location follows the subject, the interpretation is usually only locative. However, the interpretation depends also on the subject type. For example, in (966a) an existential interpretation, though possible, seems very unlikely.

- (966) a. *de=n hay zoq''we-s*
 I=and there be-PST
 'I was there, too.' (N)
- b. *haw huł di-de cadaq zoq''we-s*
 she yesterday I.OBL-ALOC together be-PST
 'She was with me yesterday.'

18.6. Possessive copula clauses

Hinuq has no dedicated verb 'have'. Possession is expressed by means of a copula construction. The possessor is a noun phrase in the First Genitive or in the AT-Essive case. The First Genitive indicates permanent possession, for instance, when referring to relatives, but also to other things permanently 'possessed' (967a, 967b). The AT-Essive, in contrast, indicates temporary possession, similar to a locative copula construction, i.e. 'X has Y' is expressed as 'Y is at X' (967c).

- (967) a. *debe iyo, baru goł=e debe?*
 you.SG.GEN1 mother wife be=Q you.SG.GEN1
 'Do you have a mother, a wife?' (N)
- b. *kabaxu-ni gulu zoq''we-s debe*
 black-ATT horse be-PST you.SG.GEN1
 'The black horse was yours.' (N)
- c. *hayło-qo zoq''we-n omoq'i*
 he.OBL-AT be-UWPST donkey
 'He had a donkey.' or 'There was a donkey with him.' (N)

When in (968) the First Genitive is used, the speaker conveys that we usually have lots of work, that is, a kind of general characteristic. On the contrary, when the AT-Essive is used, the speaker expresses that there is a concrete temporary task for us to do.

- (968) *eli / eluqo ?aši ħalt'i goł*
 we.GEN1 / we.AT much work be
 'We have lots of work.'

To indicate age, a copula construction is used. The person or thing whose age is conveyed is marked with the AT-Essive, just like other temporary possessors:

- (969) a. *dew-go* *somo* *ħebu? diqo goł quno beħno ħebu.*
 you.SG.OBL-AT how.many year I.AT be twenty eight year
 ‘How old are you? I am 28 years old.’
- b. *hoboži haħu-go* *oc’eno ħeno ħebu t’ubazi y-iq-nos* ...
 now she.OBL-AT ten five year be.fulfilled II-happen-ANT
 ‘when she was 15 years old ...’ (N)

18.7. Subjectless copula clauses

Clauses containing spatial or temporal adjuncts may lack a copula subject, thus containing only the copula predicate (e.g. meteorological predicates). If in such clauses an agreeing adjective is used, it takes the agreement prefix *v*. According to the interpretation of my Hinuq informants, the adjective is most probably agreeing with the covert noun *y^wede* ‘day’, which belongs to gender *v* (see Section 15.2.5 for more information).

- (970) a. *čeq-i* / *eħna:* *r-oč’č’u goł*
 forest-IN / in.the.winter *v*-cold be
 ‘In the forest / in the winter it is cold.’
- b. *r-exħ’es goł*
v-warm be
 ‘It is warm.’

Another type of subjectless copular clause is the description of a temporal setting containing only a noun phrase with a temporal meaning and the copula. (971) is typical for the beginning of a story.

- (971) *sebedoyos zaman zoq’^we-n*
 autumnal time be-UWPST
 ‘It was autumn.’ (N)

18.8. Copula constructions without a copula

Occasionally copula constructions with present time reference (972a) or those lacking a specific time reference (972b) may lack a copula verb, especially in two clause types: short questions and presentational sentences. In short copula questions with present time reference, the copula is often left out. In contrast, in clauses with past or future time reference, the copula is needed to indicate the time reference and therefore obligatorily occurs. Compare (972a), where the

copula is omitted, with (972c), where the copula is the only means of expressing past time reference.

- (972) a. *obu, ni hago uži?*
 father where this boy
 ‘Father, where is this boy?’ (N)
- b. *me ĩ uži?*
 you.SG whose son
 ‘Whose son are you?’ (N)
- c. *me ni zoq^we-y?*
 you.SG where be-Q
 ‘Where have you been?’ (N)

Similarly, presentational sentences referring to somebody or something present at the time of speaking may also lack the copula:

- (973) [*nagaĥ zo hibaĥu unti-mo-ġo-s hezzo-r*
 if REFL.SG this.OBL disease-OBL-AT-ABL1 back-LAT
Ø-uti-yo-me] di mežu-ġo amanat ...
 I-turn-COND-NEG I.GEN1 you.PL.OBL-AT order
 ‘If I do not come back from this disease, this is my order for you ...’ (N)

18.9. Other verbs used in copula-clauses

Since the morphological paradigm of the copula verbs is defective, three other verbs are also employed in copula clauses. In copula clauses with future time reference expressed for instance in the General tense or the Compound Future, and with Imperative or Optative mood, the verbs *-iċi-* ‘be, stand, sit’ and *-iq-* ‘be, become, happen’ are used. There is a clear difference in meaning between the two verbs. The first verb *-iċi-* is used in normal copula clauses expressing e.g. future time reference or non-indicative moods (974a, 974b).

- (974) a. *zek ĩe r-oċ’ċ’u r-iċi / r-iċ-a goġ*
 tomorrow water(V) V-cold V-be / V-be-INF be
 ‘Tomorrow the water will be warm.’
- b. *neten de y-iċi-yo q’ede!*
 always I II-be-PRS IRR
 ‘May I (fem.) always be!’ (i.e. live forever)

The second verb *-iq-* when appearing in copula clauses is best translated with ‘become’. In phrases of the form ‘X becomes Y’ where X and Y are both noun phrases, the noun phrase denoting the original object (X) takes the Abstract suffix plus the Second Genitive, whereas the noun phrase denoting the new object (Y) is in the Absolutive case and triggers the agreement (975a). The noun phrase denoting the original object (X) can be replaced by a quantifier (975b). If the new object (Y) is a profession, then it is marked with the enclitic =*ɬun* (975c).

- (975) a. *“ilbis b-iq-iš goɬ dewzo*
 devil(III) III-become-PST be you.SG.GEN2
ked-ɬi-žo”=ɬen eɬi-n
 daughter-ABST-GEN2=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“Your daughter became a devil,” he said.’ (N)
- b. *sadaq tetu r-iɬi r-iq-nos ...*
 all cream(V) V-similar V-become-ANT
 ‘after everything becomes like cream ...’ (N)
- c. *[de Ø-²eži Ø-iq-nos] de Ø-iq-a goɬ čanaqan=ɬun*
 I I-big I-become-ANT I I-become-INF be hunter=as
 ‘When I (masc.) grow up I will become a hunter.’

If in ‘X becomes Y’ the Y is an adverb or adjective, the noun phrase denoting the subject X is in the Absolutive case and triggers agreement:

- (976) a. *misikinaw Malla Rasadan bečed Ø-iqqo*
 poor Mullah Nasredin rich I-become.PRS
 ‘The poor Mullah Nasredin becomes rich.’ (N)
- b. *hibay haw č’agu y-iq-iš goɬ, haw ked*
 there she alive II-become-RES be that girl(II)
 ‘There she becomes alive, that girl.’ (N)

Another verb used in copula clauses expressing epistemic modality is *-ese-* ‘be probable’ (for more examples see Section 8.2.2.1). This verb can be combined with the other two verbs.

- (977) a. *hayɬu-qo y-ese q’ono qu=če ɬebu*
 she.OBL-AT II-be.probable two twenty=EQ year
 ‘She is probably about forty years old.’
- b. *zek r-oč’č’u r-ese r-ič-a y^wede*
 tomorrow V-cold V-be.probable V-be-INF day(V)
 ‘Tomorrow will probably be a cold day.’

Based on the copula, a few converbs and participles can be built, but for the majority of converbal and participial forms of 'be', the verbs *-iči-* and *-iq-* must be employed (see Section 7.8.3 for the forms and some examples).

Chapter 19

Coordination

19.1. Introduction

Hinuq uses coordination mainly for phrases and not so much for clause linkage, where converbal and participial verb forms are preferred. In clause linkage, e.g. in adverbial clauses that from a semantic point of view most closely resemble clausal coordination, only one verb appears in the main clause form (Chapter 21). In contrast, in coordination all clauses are built with verbs having main clause verbal forms.

19.2. Coordination of words and phrases

19.2.1. Conjunctive coordination of words and phrases

The Coordinative enclitic =*n* (=no after consonants) coordinates common nouns (978a), proper names, pronouns (978b), adjectives (978c), adverbs, numerals, Infinitives (978d), and other noun phrases (978d). It follows all number and/or case suffixes. Usually the Coordinative enclitic appears on all coordinands. In this chapter, all conjuncts, be it phrases or clauses, have been put in brackets in order to make their identification in the examples easier.

- (978) a. *hadi goł [uži=n] [λoči=n] [ɣ^we=n] b-ik-oho?*
here be boy=and frog=and dog=and HPL-see-PRS
'Here are a boy, a frog, and a dog - do you see?' (S)
- b. *[me=n] [de=n] req'azi b-iq-o, buxe*
you.SG.ERG=and I.ERG=and fit HPL-happen-COND house(III)
mesed-li-š b-uw-an
gold-OBL-GEN I III-do-INTFUT
'When you and I marry, we will build a golden house.' (N)
- c. *hag gagali-be zoq^we-s [c'uddu=n] [ič'diyu=n]*
those flower-PL be-PST red=and yellow=and
'The flowers were red and yellow.'
- d. *diž r-eti-yo [t'ot'er-a=n] [Ø-ot'-a=n] [cax-a=n]*
I.DAT V-want-PRS read-INF=and I-lay-INF=and write-INF=and
'I (masc.) like to read, sleep, and write.'

- e. *aki-λ'o b-iči-n [mačexa=n] [haytu-s*
 window-SPR HPL-sit-UWPST stepmother=and she.OBL-GEN I
ked=no]
 daughter=and
 'The stepmother and her daughter sat at the window.' (N)

Occasionally the last coordinand may lack the enclitic:

- (979) *[k'et'u=n] [γ^wadi]*
 cat=and crow
 'the cat and the crow' (N)

The enclitic is also used for the formation of compound numerals. It seems to be part of the direct stem of all simple numerals from 2 to 10. The enclitic =*n* is added to all other simple numerals (e.g. *qu* 'twenty', *bišon* 'hundred') when they appear in compound numerals (Section 12.2).

The Coordinative enclitic has a number of other functions among which the marking of topics is especially related to its use in coordination. Topics are marked with =*n* on the topicalized referent X. Often the combination X=*n* means 'also X' or occasionally 'even X' (989). In this function =*n* occurs particularly often on items in Narrative converb clauses because these clauses are mainly used for coordination-like complex clauses that would be translated with 'and' into English. See Section 13.1.3.3 for a detailed account of =*n*.

Asyndetic coordination of noun phrases is also possible (980).

- (980) *hes zoq'e-n q'ono=n essni-be, [hes bečedaw] [hes miskinaw]*
 one be-UWPST two=and brother.PL-PL one rich one poor
 'There were two brothers, one rich and one poor.' (N)

Very occasionally speakers use the borrowed conjunctions *wa* (from Avar) or *i* (from Russian), although *i* occurs only in the speech of young people, especially when they translate sentences from Russian. In (981b) the speaker makes parallel use of the Hinuq and the Russian conjunctions.

- (981) a. *b-iλ'i-yo [di ʔumru] wa [ʔoloqan-ti]*
 III-go-PRS I.GEN1 life(III) and young-ABST
 'My life and my youth pass by.' (N)
- b. *i [iyo=n] [obu=n] [λoči-be=n] i [xexbe=n*
 and mother=and father=and frog-PL=and and children=and
haze-s]
 they.OBL-GEN I
 'the mother, the father, the frogs, and their children' (S)

19.2.2. Disjunctive coordination of words and phrases

Disjunction is expressed by the disjunctive particles *ya*, *yagi*, and *yaɫuni*, that are placed before the disjuncts. All these disjunctions are borrowed from Avar. For a disjunction consisting of two members, there are five possibilities of employing the particles: *ya X ya Y*, *yagi X yagi Y*, *yaɫuni X yaɫuni Y*, *ya X yagi Y*, and *ya X yaɫuni Y*. The disjunctions coordinate the same range of words and phrases as the conjunction (e.g. nouns, pronouns, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, etc.), as can be seen in the following examples.

- (982) a. *xexbe k'oši-liɾ-ho [ya(gi) idu] [ya(gi) maqo]*
 children play-ANTIP-PRS or home or outside
 'The children play at home or outside.'
- b. *hayɫoy zonzo ʔumrula teɫ [ya hes nuxlulaw] [ya*
 he.ERG REFL.SG.GEN2 life.IN inside either one traveller or
hes rek'we] kekir-ho zoq'e-s gom
 one man let-ICVB be-RES be.NEG
 'In his life he sent neither a traveler nor one man away.' (N)
- c. *sedi=qen eɫi-š-me [ya goɫ] [yagi gom]=ɫen*
 one.ERG=at.least say-PST-NEG either be or be.NEG=QUOT
 'Nobody said yes or no.'

It is also possible to use only one particle between two disjuncts:

- (983) a. *[Šamil-i=ye] ya [Maħama-y=e] haɟu ec'endiyu buɛ*
 Šamil-ERG=Q or Maħama-ERG=Q this new house(III)
b-uɾ-y?
 III-do-Q
 'Did Šamil or Maħama build this new house?'
- b. *hayɫuy [Derbent-ɫ'o] yagi [Maħačqala-ɫ'o] ʔumru b-uɾ-ho?*
 she.ERG Derbent-SPR or Makhachkala-SPR life(III) III-do-PRS
 'Does she live in Makhachkala or in Derbent?'
- c. *[berten-i-za-ɫ-er] yaɫuni [q'wiya*
 wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT or other
kompaniya-za-ɫ-er] haɟbe cadaq b-iɫ'i-n
 company-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT they together HPL-go-UWPST
ɫu-z=qen b-ike-s-me=eɫ
 who-DAT=at.least HPL-see-PST-NEG=NARR
 'Nobody saw them going together to weddings or other parties.' (N)

More than two disjuncts are admissible:

- (984) *[yagi iyo-y]* *[yagi obu-y]* *[yagi essu-y]* *zek* *de*
 or mother-ERG or father-ERG or brother-ERG tomorrow I
išola:r *y-aq'er*
 school.IN-LAT II-bring
 'Mother, father, or brother will bring me (fem.) to school tomorrow.'

For the expression of negative disjunction the same particles are used, but they occur in a negative clause. It is also possible to use only one disjunctive particle. In (985c), in addition to *yagi*, the Coordinative enclitic =*n* appears on both disjunctions.

- (985) a. *buλe-be=n* *xibarki-be r-iṭi* *zoq'e-s,* *[ya*
 house-PL=and hut-PL NHPL-similar be-PST either
q'ilo-s] *[ya q'uya žo-yli-š]* *gosme*
 board.OBL-GEN1 or other thing-OBL-GEN1 without
yiq'-mo-λ'o
 ground-OBL-SPR
 'The houses were like huts, without boards or other things on the ground.' (N)
- b. *hag očerk-be* *[ya bibliotekaza:]* *[ya q'uyiža močaza:]*
 those report-PL or library.PL.IN or other.OBL place.PL.IN
r-aši-yo *gome*
 NHPL-find-ICVB be.NEG
 'I do not find these reports either in the libraries or in other places.' (N)
- c. *[seda=qen* *xan-i-žo* *uži-ž=no]* *[yagi hayṭi*
 one.OBL=at.least khan-OBL-GEN2 boy-DAT=and or there
aλ-a *goṭa* *rek'u-z=no]* *ked* *y-aši-n*
 village-IN be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT=and girl(II) II-find-UWPST
gom
 be.NEG
 'Neither a man from the village nor one of the khan's sons found the girl.' (N)

Occasionally speakers use the Russian disjunction *ili*:

- (986) *Madina-y* *[kaṡat=e]* *ili* *[keč'=e]* *cax-i?*
 Madina-ERG letter=Q or song=Q write-Q
 'Did Madina write a letter or a song?'

19.3. Coordination of clauses

The same particles that are used to coordinate phrasal constituents are also used to coordinate clauses, but in addition there are a few more connectors that only occur at the clausal level.

19.3.1. Conjunctive coordination of clauses

The normal way to express the conjunction of two propositions is by using the Narrative converb construction where two or more clauses are combined (Section 7.7.2.8). The Coordinative enclitic =*n* very frequently appears on the item immediately preceding the Narrative converb. This can be an argument or an adjunct. For instance, in (987) it is the adverb *q'idi* 'down'.

- (987) *hoboy [hagbe q'idi=n b-iči-n] haze-y xabar es-o*
 then they down=and HPL-be-CVB they.OBL-ERG story tell-PRS
sedī.sed-ḡo
 REC.OBL-AT
 'Then they sit down and tell each other a story.' (S)

Another way of coordinating clauses is asyndetic coordination, which is juxtaposition. In asyndetic coordinations all clauses are headed by verbs with main clause verb forms.

- (988) *b-aq'e-n ze. b-aq'e-n boc'e. b-aq'e-n*
 III-come-UWPST bear(III) III-come-UWPST wolf(III) III-come-UWPST
zeru
 fox(III)
 'A bear came, a wolf came, and a fox came.' (N)

Example (989) shows juxtaposition of clauses plus the use of the Coordinative enclitic =*n* on the S argument of each clause in order to convey cohesion between the clauses and to highlight the marked referents.

- (989) *b-egiy moči=n zoq'e-s. bečedaw moči=n zoq'e-s. boχ'uḡ*
 III-good earth(III)=and be-PST rich earth=and be-PST at.will
piḡ=no r-iči-yo zoq'e-s. iškola-be=n r-egi zoq'e-s.
 fruit(V)=and V-be-ICVB be-PST school-PL=and NHPL-good be-PST
ḡumru=n b-egiy zoq'e-s elu-s hayteł.
 life(III)=and III-good be-PST we.OBL-GEN1 there

‘And the earth was good. And there was rich earth. There were also all possible kinds of fruits. And the schools were good. And our life there was good.’ (N)

As with phrases, clauses are also occasionally coordinated by means of the Russian conjunction *i*. In (990b) two Narrative converbs are accompanied by the Russian conjunction. The Avar conjunction *wa* occurs only very rarely (990c). Sentence (990d) shows a conjunction of two relative clauses by means of *wa*.

- (990) a. *[hoboži t'ok'aw hadu y-etir-no] i [q'uya*
 now more she II-like-UWPST and other
kedbi-ža-de-r λeba: san Ø-iλ'i-yo zoq'e-n]
 girl.PL-OBL.PL-ALOC-LAT year.IN once I-go-ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘Now he loved her more and to the other daughters he went only once a year.’ (N)
- b. *[hayło-ƶo-s šlyapa=n y-iλ'i-n] i [gamač'-ƶo=n*
 he.OBL-AT-ABL1 hat=and IV-fall-CVB and stone-AT=and
c'ox-no] q'idi-r Ø-iλ'i-n hago
 enter-CVB down-LAT I-fall-UWPST he
 ‘His hat fell down, and after bumping into a stone he fell down.’ (S)
- c. *[zeru-z haw b-ike-s] wa [hayłuy haw b-aλ'ir-a*
 fox-DAT that III-see-PST and it.ERG that III-betray-INF
b-ułi-š]
 III-begin-PST
 ‘The fox saw it and wanted to betray it.’ (N)
- d. *[de _ zok'i toλλo ƶoła] wa [_ hag r-uher-ho*
 I.ERG DAT cup(V) give.ICVB be.PTCP and ERG that V-break-ICVB
ƶoła] uži hayłu-s essu ƶoł
 be.PTCP boy she.OBL-GEN1 brother be
 ‘The boy to whom I gave the cup and who broke it is her brother.’

19.3.2. Disjunctive coordination of clauses

For the disjunctive coordination of clauses the same three particles *ya*, *yagi*, and *yałuni* are used that also appear in disjunctive coordination of phrases. Again, in complex sentences containing two disjunctions, there are five possibilities of combining the three particles (see Section 19.2.2 above). However, *ya X ya Y* is by far the most frequent combination used.

- (991) a. *[ya(gi) ʔumar-ʒo eli eser-an] [ya(gi) elu-z*
 either Umar-AT we.ERG ask-INTFUT or we.OBL-DAT
ʒawab neteqen b-eq'i-me]
 answer(III) never III-know-NEG
 'Either we ask Umar or we will never know the answer.'
- b. *haw [ya y-ot'-iš y-ič-a y-aq'-o] [yagi sasaqo*
 she either II-lie-RES II-be-INF II-must-PRS or in.the.morning
q'arλ'o y-iλ'i-š y-ič-a y-aq'-o]
 early II-go-RES II-be-INF II-must-PRS
 'She must either be asleep or have gone away early in the morning.'
- c. *[ya had r-ux-o] [yaʔuni izad r-ux-o]!*
 either that V-take-IMP or that V-take-IMP
 'Take that or that!'
- d. *[yaʔuni me b-u:-ho] [yaʔuni de b-uw-an]*
 or you.SG.ERG III-do-PRS or I.ERG III-do-INTFUT
 'Either you do it or I will do it.'

In negative clauses the same particles are employed, but they get the interpretation of a negative disjunction *neither ... nor ...*:

- (992) a. *[elu-ʒo ya gulu-be gom] [ya hunar eli*
 we.OBL-AT either horse-PL be.NEG or ability we.GEN1
b-iq-me]
 HPL-happen-NEG
 'We have neither horses nor ability.' (N)
- b. *[ya hezzor gali b-iyeʔ-o gom] [ya aldoyodo*
 either back step(III) III-take.POT-UWPST be.NEG or forward
b-iyeʔ-o gom]
 III-take.POT-UWPST be.NEG
 '(I) was able to take a step neither back nor forward' (N)

Occasionally only one disjunction occurs between the two disjuncts, but this does not influence the meaning (993a). I have also found the Russian disjunction *ili* (993b).

- (993) a. *[xexbe maqo k'oši-li:-ho] ya [idu darsi-be caxxo]*
 children outside play-ANTIP-PRS or home lesson-PL write.PRS
 'The children are playing outside or they are at home writing home-work.'

- b. *[hes hobo b-ik'-o]* ili *[se r-iq-on žo*
 one leg(III) III-beat-IMP or what V-happen-CONC thing(V)
r-ik'-o]!
 V-beat-IMP
 'Kick with one leg or kick with anything else!' (N)

19.3.3. Other conjunctions used in clause coordination

Adversative conjunctions are expressed by means of the conjunction *amma* 'but', again a loan from Avar.

- (994) a. *b-ik-a-z bercinaw goł žaraq'a-s šuša. amma*
 III-see-INF-PURP beautiful be vodka.OBL-GEN1 bottle(III) but
hayıuy moł-o žadalaw piša
 that.ERG teach-PRS insane profession
 'It is beautiful to see a bottle of vodka, but it teaches you fooleries.'
 (N)
- b. *hibadiru bišon λebu žit' Ø-iqgo zoq'e-n hado. amma*
 like.this 100 year life I-happen.ICVB be-UWPST he but
hało-s iy=no xu=n žo=n cadaq
 he.OBL-GEN1 blood=and meat=and thing(V)=and all
buq-i=tow r-ek'er-no řaq'e-s zoq'e-n
 sun-ERG=EMPH V-burn-CVB end-RES be-UWPST
 'In this manner he lived 100 years, but his blood and flesh were all
 burned by the sun and finished.' (N)
- c. *zoq'w e-n hayıo-s hunar, amma řayix rek'u goliš*
 be-UWPST he.OBL-GEN1 ability but saint man(I) be.CVB
Ø-eq'i-ř gom
 I-know-RES be.NEG
 'He had talent, but it was not known that he was a saint.' (N)

Although the Realis Conditional converb alone is enough to express conditional clauses, speakers additionally use sometimes the particle *nagaħ* for introducing a conditional clause (see also Section 7.7.2.10). Note that it is ungrammatical to use *nagaħ* in a main clause.

- (995) *[nagaħ devez de čara gosme q^waraʔezi b-iq-o]*
 if you.SG.DAT I means without need(III) III-happen-COND
[...] hes mus b-ek^wer-o!
 one hair(III) III-burn-IMP
 ‘If you are without means and need me, [...] burn one hair!’ (N)

Another particle that can be used to link sentences is *heλ'e*, a multifunctional word that often translates with ‘right’ or ‘exactly’ (see Section 13.2 for more information). When it is used in sentence-initial position, it introduces sentences stating results of actions or situations that have been mentioned in the immediately preceding clause. In this function it is best glossed with ‘therefore’:

- (996) a. *hagoλ'o=n zeru k'ek'.b.ik'-iš-me. heλ'e hes*
 at.that.time=and fox(III) move.III-PST-NEG therefore one
ʔoloqanaw ʃ^wadi [...] aldoʃo-r k'oλe-s
 young crow in.front-LAT jump-PST
 ‘At that time the fox did not move. Therefore, one young crow [...] jumped ahead.’ (N)
- b. *diž hago kezi.iq-iš zoq'e-s. heλ'e diž hago Ø-eq'i-yo*
 I.DAT he meet.I-RES be-PST therefore I.DAT he I-know-PRS
 ‘I met him. Therefore, I know him.’

19.3.4. Coreference in clause coordination

The most important possibilities for coordinating phrases and clauses of transitive verbs are the following (more complicated structures are beyond the scope of this work):

1. (A₁ @ A₂) P V, A (P₁ @ P₂) V
2. A (P₁ V₁ @ P₂ V₂), P (A₁ V₁ @ A₂ V₂)
3. (A₁ P₁ @ A₂ P₂) V

In the above list, A and P stand for agent and patient respectively and V for verbs. @ symbolizes the various types of coordination in Hinuq. There are in principle no restrictions on which verb types can be combined. Thus, the transitive predicates in 1. - 3. are only meant as an illustration.

The first type represents ordinary phrasal conjunction. This is possible with the Coordinative enclitic (=n) and the three disjunctions (*ya*, *yagi*, and *yałuni*). The coordinands form a phrase that functions as an ordinary argument of its verb.

Examples are given in 19.2. Of course, it is also possible to repeat the verb such that a structure like A (P₁ V @ P₂ V) results (997).

- (997) *haytoy [yagi t'ek t'ot'er-ho] [yagi gazeta t'ot'er-ho]*
 he.ERG or book read-PRS or newspaper read-PRS
 'He reads either the book or the newspaper.'

The second type can be illustrated by the following example (998), which shows the coordination of the verb plus the direct object.

- (998) *Madina-y [q'idi mos b-aɣi-yo] yagi [šex'u k'ilikko]*
 Madina-ERG down broom(III) III-sweep-PRS or clothes wash.PRS
 'Madina either sweeps the ground or washes clothes.'

Finally, in (999) two agents together with their direct objects are coordinated. The verb appears only once in the construction.

- (999) *[ya iyo-y čorpa] [yagi iyo-zo essu-y čudu]*
 or mother-ERG soup or mother-GEN2 sister-ERG chudu(III)
ħadur b-u:-ho
 prepare III-do-PRS
 'Either mother makes soup or mother's sister (makes) chudu.'

For coreference restrictions in coordinated clauses of the Narrative converb construction, see Section 21.2.1. Other coordinated clauses basically have six possibilities for expressing coreferential arguments (1000). In this schema, *noun* refers to common nouns or proper names, *dem. pronoun* to demonstrative pronouns, and \emptyset to zero anaphora or cataphora. The six rows indicate the six possibilities for coreferential arguments (e.g. to have two zeros in both clauses, to have two nouns in both clauses, etc.).

- (1000) 1. Clause: \emptyset noun dem. pronoun noun noun \emptyset
 2. Clause: \emptyset noun dem. pronoun dem. pronoun \emptyset noun

Arguments can always be omitted if they are retrievable from the context. Therefore, coreferential arguments may be omitted in both clauses (1001a). Coreferential arguments may be overtly expressed in both clauses, either as pronouns (996b) or as lexical nouns/proper names (1001b).

- (1001) a. *huł Maħama cim b-ix-š zoq''e-s. Ø-ot'-a*
 yesterday Mahama(I) anger(III) III-raise-RES be-PST I-lay-INF
Ø-iɣi-š, amma Ø-iši-š-me
 I-go-PST, but I-eat-PST-NEG
 'Yesterday Mahama_i was angry. He_i went to sleep, but did not eat.'

- b. [*ya Šamil-i buλe-go kraska b-ixi*] [*yagi Šamil-i*
 or Šamil-ERG house-AT paint(III) III-spread or Šamil-ERG
qaca r-oc']
 wood(V) V-cut
 'Either Šamil_i will paint the house or Šamil_i will cut the wood.'

If the coreferential arguments differ in their reference type, then there are three possibilities. Typically the more informative argument comes before the less informative argument. Thus, if a full noun phrase is given in the first sentence, it can be followed either by a coreferential pronoun (994a), (1002) or by a zero anaphora in the second sentence (1002). Reflexive pronouns are not allowed if the speaker wants to express coreference.

- (1002) [*Maħama hune-ho Ø-ułi-š*] [*amma {Ø / hago / *zo}*
 Mahama way-ILOC I-go.out-PST but / he / REFL.SG
idu-r Ø-aq'e-s-me
 home-LAT I-come-PST-NEG
 'Mahama went on his way, but he did not reach his home.'

In contrast, it is impossible to have a demonstrative or a reflexive pronoun in the first sentence if the pronoun is supposed to be coreferential with a following noun phrase (1003a). If the first sentence contains a demonstrative pronoun (e.g. *hayłuy*), then the reference must be disjoint. If it contains a reflexive pronoun (e.g. *zoni*), then this pronoun refers to the speaker himself/herself ('I took my coat and put it on, but Madina did not want to leave home.'). Only a zero anaphora in the first clause guarantees coreference (1003b).

- (1003) a. [*{*hayłuy / *zoni}*] [*paltu y-ux-no li-š*]
 she.ERG / REFL.SG.ERG coat(IV) IV-take-CVB put.on-PST
 [*amma Madina-z idu-s y-iλ'-a y-eti-š-me*]
 but Madina-DAT home-ABL I II-go-INF II-want-PST-NEG
 (She_i took her coat and put it on, but Madina_i did not want to leave home.)
 b. [*ičča aldoyo cidaxaraw zoq'we-s*], [*amma hezzo ʔali ʔeža:r-s*]
 very before angry be-PST but after Ali laugh-PST
 'First Ali_i was angry, but then he_i laughed.'

Generally, the normal way of expressing coreference is by omitting overt coreferential arguments, but only at their second occurrence. This means that the expression of coreference is more restricted in coordinate sentences than in complex sentences containing adverbial clauses. In adverbial clauses that precede the

main clause, it is possible to have a reflexive pronoun that is coreferential with a noun in the subsequent clause and, vice versa, to have a noun in the preceding main clause that is coreferential with a reflexive pronoun in the following adverbial clause (Section 21.2). If not the S or A arguments but the Ps are coreferential, the rules are nevertheless the same, i.e. omission of arguments is the normal way of expressing this coreference:

- (1004) [*iyo-y r-u:-s*], [*amma obu-y ga:-s čorpa*]
 mother-ERG V-do-PST but father-ERG drink-PST soup(V)
 ‘The mother made, but the father ate the soup.’

Chapter 20

Relative clauses

20.1. Introduction

The major relative clause formation strategy in Hinuq is participial constructions. All participles can occur in relative clauses. However, the General participle is by far the preferred way of expressing a relative clause. In addition, there are infinitival clauses resembling relative clauses (Section 20.4).

Hinuq participles are inherently unoriented, i.e. they can refer to any participant. All participles can also fulfill other functions. The General participle is used for adverbial clauses indicating simultaneity (Section 7.7.3.2). The Past participle is used in adverbial clauses expressing anteriority (Section 7.7.3.3), and with further case suffixes it can be employed in adverbial clauses with various meanings. The Habitual and the Resultative participles both occur in periphrastic verb forms (see Sections 7.7.4.4 and 7.7.4.5 respectively), and the Habitual participle also occurs in complement clauses. The Locative participle occurs in adverbial clauses expressing locative and occasionally temporal circumstances (Section 7.7.3.1).

Within the relative clause, there is normally no indication of the role that the referent of the nucleus plays within the relative clause.¹²⁵ Hinuq uses what Keenan (1985) calls the ‘gap strategy’. One way of interpretation is to identify the referent of the nucleus with the referent of the missing argument in the relative clause. In order to facilitate understanding, I use the underline to mark the place of the nucleus in the relative clause, and its interlinear gloss shows the case it would have if overt.

Nonetheless, there are two ways in which the referent of the nucleus is sometimes expressed in the relative clause. First, in relative clauses headed by verbs with a gender prefix, the verb agrees in gender with the nucleus of the relative clause if the nucleus functions as the Absolutive argument of this clause, i.e. if either the S-position (1005a) or the P-position (1005b) has been relativized.

- (1005) a. [*boʔiχ'o b-iχ'i-yo goʔa*] *essni, xu=n*
 ABS hunting HPL-go-ICVB be.PTPC brother.PL meat(V)=and
r-aq'er-no, b-aq'e-n
 V-bring-CVB HPL-come-UWPST

¹²⁵I use the term ‘nucleus’ as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term ‘head’ to refer to the relativized argument. See Dixon (2010: 317–318) for a critique of ‘head’.

‘The brothers, who had gone hunting, came and brought meat.’ (N)

- b. *hagze-s* [₋ *r-u:-ho* *goła*] *biša* *anλ'-ma*
 they.OBL-GEN1 ABS V-do-ICVB be.PTCP food(V) week.OBL-IN
λex^we-n
 remain-UWPST

‘Their food that they had prepared remained for one week.’ (N)

Second, the nucleus can be expressed by a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause. This happens when the relativized element cannot easily be recovered. In such cases pragmatic plausibility is not sufficient and the reflexive pronoun is used to represent the nucleus of the relative clause (see examples (1018) and (1019b) below).

20.2. Relative clauses with a nucleus

In this section, syntactic and semantic properties of relative clauses and their nuclei will be described, mainly along the lines of Dixon (2010: 313–369). Since the use of the General participle is the canonical way to form relative clauses, most examples in this section will contain the General participle (Section 7.7.4.2). Relative clauses that are formed with the other participles are treated separately in Section 20.2.3.

20.2.1. Properties of the nucleus

20.2.1.1. The nature of the nucleus and possibilities for its realization

There do not seem to be any grammatical restrictions on the nature of the nucleus. The nucleus is most frequently a common noun (1005a), but it can also be a personal pronoun (1006c), a demonstrative pronoun (1006a, 1006b), an indefinite free choice pronoun (1006d), a proper noun (1006e), or a generic term. This means that relative clauses can be restrictive as well as non-restrictive.

- (1006) a. [₋ *raład-li-ł-er* *kur-ho* *goła*] *hado* *č'ago*
 ABS sea-OBL-CONT-LAT throw-ICVB be.PTCP he alive
λex^we-s=λen
 remain-PST=QUOT
 ‘He, who had been thrown into the sea, stayed alive.’ (N)
- b. [₋ *huni: Ø-iλ'i-yo* *goła*] *hayło-z* *kezi.y.iq-iš* *ked*
 ABS way.IN I-go-ICVB be.PTCP he.OBL-DAT meet.II-PST girl(II)

‘He, who was going along the road, met a girl.’ or ‘While he was going along the road, he met a girl.’ (S)

- c. [*_ oc'eno q'ono λebu goła*] *de cax-iš keč'*
 AT ten two year be.PTCP I.ERG write-PST song
 ‘I, who was 12 years old, wrote a song.’ or ‘When I was 12 years old, I wrote a song.’ (N)
- d. [*_ bit'araw es-o goła*] *tu Ø-iq-on de*
 ERG right tell-ICVB be.PTCP who I-happen-CONC I.ERG
zok'-a goł
 beat-INF be
 ‘I will beat whoever tells the truth.’
- e. *hado goł [eχ'i _ baru y-iq'-o goła] di*
 this be last.year ERG wife(II) II-bring-ICVB be.PTCP I.GEN1
essu řali
 brother Ali
 ‘This is my brother Ali, who married last year.’

In the relative clause, the nucleus is always gapped when the speaker assumes that the hearer can figure out its function. If this is not the case, the relative clause contains a reflexive pronoun which is coreferential with the nucleus. This pronoun takes the formal marking according to the function that the nucleus fulfills in the relative clause.

If the nucleus is stated in neither clause, then we get relative clauses without a nucleus (‘headless relative clauses’). These constructions are treated in Section 20.3 below.

20.2.1.2. Functions of the nucleus in the relative clause

A large number of syntactic positions can be relativized. The data presented in this section fit into the noun phrase accessibility hierarchy as suggested by Keenan & Comrie (1977) and extended by Lehmann (1984: 211–220). Basically, the nucleus of a relative clause can take over all syntactic positions with the exception of the standard of comparison and relativization into certain con-verbal clauses.

Absolutive

The nucleus can function as the single argument of an intransitive clause (1007a) or the patient of a transitive clause (1007b) or the stimulus of an experiencer clause (1007c).

- (1007) a. *hoboy hayto* [k'onk'a-λ'o λ'erekno _ Ø-aq'-o goła] then that.OBL bike-SPR astride ABS I-come-ICVB be.PTCP
uži: b-ik'ek'-no b-iži-š hayto-s k^wid
 boy.ERG III-steal-CVB III-take-PST he.OBL-GEN1 basket(III)
 'Then the boy who was riding a bike stole his basket.' (S)
- b. [*di obu-y _ b-u:-ho goła*] *wasiyat de* I.GEN1 father-ERG ABS III-do-ICVB be.PTCP testament(III) I.ERG
c'unzi b-uw-a goł
 preserve III-do-INF be
 'I will preserve the testament that my father made.' (N)
- c. [*rek'u-zo moča: berten-i-ł _ b-aši-yo* man.OBL-GEN2 place.IN wedding-OBL-CONT ABS III-get-ICVB
goła] *mexer*
 be.PTCP money(III)
 'the money that (they) got at the wedding of one man' (N)

Ergative

The nucleus can fulfill the role of the agent in a transitive clause:

- (1008) “*wallah, [_ hibadu ked y-uq'er-ho goła] rek'u-z*
 by.God ERG this girl(II) II-heal-ICVB be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT
de ked toλ-a goł”=λen eλi-n “*xoddo-ho*”
 I.ERG girl give-INF be=QUOT say-CVB husband-ILOC
 ‘‘By God, the man who heals my daughter, to him I will give her as a wife.’’ he said.’ (N)

Dative

The nucleus can be a recipient (1009a), a beneficiary/maleficiary (1009b), or an experiencer (1009c) in the relative clause (see also (1032c), i.e. fulfill the role of an argument that would bear Dative case marking if it were overt.

- (1009) a. [*uži: _ t'ek toλλo goła*] *ked zek*
 boy.ERG DAT book give.ICVB be.PTCP girl(II) tomorrow
iškola:-do y-iλ'i-yo gom
 school.IN-DIR II-go-ICVB be.NEG
 'The girl to whom the boy gave the book does not go to school tomorrow.'
- b. [*de _ kumak b-u:-ho goła*] *uži c'aq'razi*
 I.ERG DAT help(III) III-do-ICVB be.PTCP boy(I) very happy
Ø-iq-iš
 I-happen-PST

‘The boy whom I helped was very happy.’

- c. [huł _ di essu Ø-ik-o gołɔ] aqila-y
 yesterday DAT I.GEN1 brother see-ICVB be.PTCP woman.OBL-ERG
 šeχ'u k'ilikko
 clothes wash.PRS

‘The woman who saw my brother yesterday is washing clothes.’

Genitive and AT-Essive

Relativization on the (temporary or permanent) possessor is possible in minimal relative clauses. These clauses contain only the possessed object, the participle of the copula *gołɔ*, and possibly some modifier of the possessed object (1010a, 1010b). For an example where the nucleus represents a temporal possessor that would be marked with the AT-Essive, see (1006c) above.

- (1010) a. [de _ kočori b-occo gołɔ] ked
 I.ERG GEN1 hair(III) III-cut.ICVB be.PTCP girl
 ‘the girl whose hair I cut’
- b. *deru me nič-i y-iq-i-me hibało [_ basriyaw*
 how you.SG shame-IN II-become-Q-NEG this.OBL GEN1 stained
šeχ'u gołɔ] rek'u-de igo-r y-iχ'-ayaz?
 clothes be.PTCP man-OBL-ALOC near-LAT II-go-PURP
 ‘How can you (fem.) not become ashamed getting close to this man
 whose clothes are stained?’ (N)

If the relative clause also contains a lexical verb, the possessor interpretation is either just one option in addition to the preferred interpretation of the subordinate clause as an adverbial clause (1011a), or it is lost altogether (1011b) and another interpretation is preferred. Which of these two options is available depends on the number of overt arguments in the relative clause and the nature of those arguments. If the relative clause contains all core arguments that the predicate can have (e.g. S if it is intransitive, A and P if it is transitive, etc.), then the possessor interpretation is possible if, for example, inherently relational nouns such as kinship terms represent the core argument(s) in the relative clause and also the nucleus (1011a). However, the adverbial clause interpretation is also readily available for this example. If the relative clause already lacks some overt core argument, then the nucleus is interpreted as coreferential with that argument (1011b).

- (1011) a. [(_) obu Ø-uh-o gołɔ] ked y-a-:ho
 GEN1 father(I) I-die-ICVB be.PTCP girl(II) II-yell-PRS

‘The girl whose father died is crying.’ or ‘When the father dies the girl cries.’

- b. [t'ek y-ik'ekko goła] uži iškola:-do
 ERG book(IV) IV-steal.ICVB be.PTCP boy(I) school.IN-DIR
 Ø-iλ'i-š-me
 I-go-PST-NEG

‘The boy who stole a book did not go to school.’ Not ‘The boy, whose book was stolen, did not go to school.’

If one adds an overt agent to example (1011b), then the adverbial clause interpretation becomes available (1012). The interpretation of the nucleus as possessor of the head noun is now also possible and preferred because it overtly explains the relation between the book and the boy, which is not obvious in the case of the adverbial clause.

- (1012) [c'ohor-i () t'ek y-ik'ekko goła] uži
 thief.ERG GEN1 book(IV) IV-steal.ICVB be.PTCP boy(I)
 iškola:-do Ø-iλ'i-š-me
 school.IN-DIR I-go-PST-NEG

‘When the thief stole the book the boy did not go to school.’ or ‘The boy whose book a thief stole did not go to school.’

Another possibility is to add a reflexive pronoun in the relative clause that is coreferential with the nucleus:

- (1013) [zones_i t'ek y-ik'ekko goła] uži_i
 ERG REFL.SG.GEN1 book(IV) IV-steal.ICVB be.PTCP boy(I)
 iškola:-do Ø-iλ'i-š-me
 school.IN-DIR I-go-PST-NEG

‘The boy whose book was stolen did not go to school.’ or ‘When his book was stolen, the boy did not go to school.’

Instrument

The nucleus can function as the instrument in the relative clause:

- (1014) [obu-y aže _ y-occo goła] og
 father-ERG tree(IV) INS IV-cut.ICVB be.PTCP ax(V)
 xexza-y r-uqi-š
 child.OBL.PL-ERG V-hide-PST

‘The children hid the ax with which the father cut the tree.’

Location and direction

It is possible to relativize adjuncts expressing location or direction (goal, source, etc.), independently of the case marking of these adjuncts (i.e. the nucleus, if overtly expressed, can bear any spatial case). In (1015a) an IN-Essive adjunct, in (1015b) an SPR-Lative adjunct, and in (1015c) an IN-Ablative adjunct have been relativized.

- (1015) a. [_I Ø-aq'-o goʎa] huni: hezzo-r Ø-uti-n
 IN I-come-ICVB be.PTCP way.IN back-LAT I-turn-CVB
 Ø-iʎ'i-š=eʎ
 I-go-PST=NARR
 '(He) went back the way he came.' (N)
- b. Ø-iʎ'i-n Ø-aq'e-n hibay=tow [_I hibago halmay
 I-go-CVB I-come-UWPST such=ADD SPR.LAT that friend
 Ø-iʎ'i-yo goʎa] yeme-ʎ'o-r
 I-go-ICVB be.PTCP mill-SPR-LAT
 'Going along he came to the same mill to which his friend had gone.'
 (N)
- c. [haw _I y-aq'-o goʎa] šahar hadi-š ʔuraw
 she IN.ABL1 II-come-ICVB be.PTCP town here-ABL1 much
 meqi goʎ
 far be
 'The town from where she came is very far from here.'

Temporal location

Nouns with temporal meaning, whatever spatial case they may bear, can function as the nucleus for relative clauses (1016). In short relative clauses expressing temporal location it is often not the General participle, but the Past participle or the Habitual participle that is used.

- (1016) [_I devez čara b-uh-o goʎa] y^wed-ʎ'o hes
 SPR you.SG.DAT means(III) III-die-ICVB be.PTCP day.OBL-SPR one
 mus b-ux-no b-ek'^wer-o!
 hair(III) III-take-CVB III-burn-IMP
 'At the day when you need help (lit. when your means died), take one hair and burn it!' (N)

Other oblique arguments

For all other oblique arguments (e.g. arguments marked with spatial cases such as addressees, the standard of comparison, complements of postpositions), the

meaning of the relative clause itself and the context are crucial. If a plausible interpretation is available, then no resumptive pronoun may be needed in order to obtain an interpretation as a relative clause. For example, (1017a) contains a postpositional phrase, and (1017b) contains a relative clause where the nucleus corresponds to the noun governed by the postposition. In (1017b) the postposition can simply be left out and the subordinate clause can still be interpreted as a relative clause. If *λ'ere* is not left out, then one can argue that it is now an adverb since every spatial postposition also serves adverbial function.

- (1017) a. *aže-yi-λ'o λ'ere coy b-iči-š goł*
 tree-OBL-SPR on eagle(III) III-sit-RES be
 'The eagle is sitting on the tree.'
- b. [*coy _ (λ'ere) b-iči-yo goła*] *aže čeq-i goł*
 eagle(III) SPR (on) III-sit-ICVB be.PTCP tree forest-IN be
 'The tree where the eagle is sitting stands in the forest.'

With other postpositions it may be less easy. For example, *sadaq*, when used in a postpositional function is translated as 'with', but when occurring as an adverb, its meaning is 'all together'. So if its dependent noun is used as the nucleus for a relative clause, a resumptive pronoun is inserted:

- (1018) [*zonde_i cadaq de Ø-exna:-ho goła*] *hudul_i*
 REFL.SG.ALOC with I I-go-ICVB be.PTCP friend(I)
aže-yi-λ'o-s Ø-iλ'i-š
 tree-OBL-SPR-ABL I I-fall-PST
 'The friend with whom I (masc.) went fell from a tree.'

The same is true for those postpositions that lack an adverbial use. If the noun that they govern becomes the nucleus of a relative clause, then a reflexive pronoun with the appropriate marking is obligatorily inserted into the relative clause.

The theme of a conversation is normally marked with the Abstract suffix, optionally followed by the Second Genitive/Ablative suffix. The nucleus can fulfill the role of a theme of a conversation in the relative clause by simply leaving a gap in the relative clause (1019a) if the context is sufficient. But in order to simplify the interpretation, the appearance of a reflexive pronoun in the relative clause is also possible (1019b).

- (1019) a. *hago [de _ eλi-yo goła] rek'^we goł=λen*
 he I.ERG ABST say-ICVB be.PTCP man be=QUOT
 'He is the man I told you about.' (N)

- b. [zon-*ti* eli xabar es-o go^{ta}] rek'^we_i
 REFL.SG.OBL-ABST we.ERG story tell-ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
Kebura-t Ø-*iči-yo*
 Bezhta-CONT I-be-PRS
 'The man about whom we talked lives in Bezhta.'

In comparative constructions, only the standard of comparison is overtly marked with a spatial case suffix (1020a). This marking is necessary in order to understand that a clause represents a comparative construction because there are no other formal clues. Therefore, only the comparee, but not the standard (which would lose its special case marking) can be relativized on (1020b). If one tries to relativize on the standard, then the clause containing the participle must be interpreted as an adverbial clause. Thus, the only interpretation of (1020c) would be 'When the girl was beautiful, Madina left', for which hardly a plausible context can be found.

- (1020) a. *ked Madina-de-r bercinaw go^t*
 girl Madina-ALOC-LAT beautiful be
 'The girl is more beautiful than Madina.'
- b. [_ *Madina-de-r bercinaw go^{ta}] ked y-oxe-s*
 ABS Madina-ALOC-LAT beautiful be.PTCP girl(II) II-leave-PST
 'The girl who is more beautiful than Madina left.'
- c. * [_ *ked bercinaw go^{ta}] Madina y-oxe-s*
 ALOC.LAT girl beautiful be.PTCP Madina II-leave-PST
 (Madina who the girl was more beautiful than left.)

(1021a) illustrates a relative clause where the nucleus functions as the addressee in the relative clause, which would be marked with the AT-Essive case. It is also possible to relativize non-canonical agents such as potential agents (1021b) or causees (1021c).

- (1021) a. [de _ *marha es-o go^{ta}] ked *tera: t'ot'er-ho*
 I.ERG AT.LAT fairy.tale tell-ICVB be.PTCP girl five.IN learn-PRS
 'The girl to whom I told the fairy tale attends the fifth grade.'*
- b. [_ *o⁷ocu b-uhe-r-e^t-omeru] ked kutakalda*
 AT chicken(III) III-kill-CAUS-POT-PTCP.PST.NEG girl very
bercinaw go^t
 beautiful be
 'The girl who was not able to kill the chicken is very beautiful.'

- c. *[obu-y _ boʻi b-uhe-r-er-ho goʻla]*
 father-ERG AT deer(III) III-die-CAUS-CAUS-ICVB be.PTCP
čanaqan-i ʔumru b-u:-ho Xunzaq
 hunter-ERG life(III) III-do-PRS Xunzaq
 ‘The hunter, who father made kill the bear, lives in Xunzaq.’

Relative clause constructions are also allowed for unspecific relations of the nucleus to the relative clause, i.e. when the nucleus does not fulfill any role in the relative clause and there is consequently no gap in the relative clause. This is typical for Nakh-Daghestanian languages (cf. Ingush (Johanna Nichols, p.c.), Daniel & Lander, 2010). Therefore, Comrie & Polinsky (1999a: 82) argue for Tsez, the closest relative of Hinuq, that “the structure of a Tsez relative clause is simply a head noun to which an attributive clause is adjoined”. Since there is no genuine syntactic link between the nucleus and the relative clause, it is up to the hearer to find a plausible interpretation for the association of the nucleus and some unexpressed constituent in the attributive clause. It seems that this is also true for Hinuq (1022a-1022c). Sometimes an alternative adverbial clause interpretation might be available.

- (1022) a. *hadze xexza-y [amanat b-u:-ho goʻla]*
 those.OBL child.OBL.PL-ERG order(III) III-do-ICVB be.PTCP
aže-y-ho geʻ r-ičʻi-n sud=no, obu=n
 tree-OBL-ILOC under V-dig-CVB grave(V)=and father(I)=and
Ø-eqer-ho
 I-bury-PRS
 ‘The children dug a grave under the tree, which the father had ordered them to do, and burry him.’ (N)
- b. *diž [uži mecxer b-ikʻekko goʻla] marha toq-iš*
 I.DAT boy money(III) III-steal.ICVB be.PTCP story hear-PST
 ‘I heard the story that the boy stole the money.’
- c. *[magalu b-eša:-ho goʻla] maḥ*
 bread(III) III-bake-ICVB be.PTCP smell
 ‘the smell of baking bread’

Complement clauses and reported speech

It is possible to relativize into complement clauses of various complement taking verbs, e.g. *-uʻi-* ‘begin’ (1023a), *-eti-* ‘want’ (1023b), *-aqʻe-* ‘must’, *šuʻe-* ‘forget’, or *eʻli-* ‘say’ (1023c). Again, figuring out the relation of the nucleus to the relative clause can be a somewhat difficult task that relies only on the semantics and pragmatics of the clause and the interpretative abilities of the hearer because

there is nothing left in the relative clause that indicates the role of the nucleus (1023c).

- (1023) a. [Maḥama [_ b-uw-a] Ø-uṭi-yo goṭa] buḫe
 Mahama(I) ABS III-do-INF I-begin-ICVB be.PTCP house(III)
 ixu-ho goṭ
 river-ILOC be
 ‘The house which Mahama began to build stands near the river.’
- b. Anwar-ez b-ike-s [zonez [_ b-ux-a]
 Anwar-DAT III-see-PST REFL.SG.DAT ABS III-buy-INF
 b-eti-yo goṭa] mašina
 III-want-ICVB be.PTCP car(III)
 ‘Anwar saw the car that he wants to buy for himself.’
- c. [Šamil-i _ Ø-aq’e-s=ḫen eḫi-yo goṭa] ḫerba
 Šamil-ERG ABS I-come-PST=QUOT say-ICVB be.PTCP guest
 obu-s essu zoq’^we-s
 father-GEN1 brother be-PST
 ‘The guest about whom Šamil said that he had come was father’s brother.’

For those complement taking verbs that allow both local agreement and long distance agreement (Section 22.3), only long distance agreement is possible if the Absolutive argument of the complement clause is the nucleus of a relative clause. This is what one would expect since dislocation of the Absolutive argument from a complement clause regularly triggers long distance agreement on the matrix predicate.

- (1024) [diž [ḥayṭoy _ y-ux-iš] *r-/y-eq’i-yo goṭa] t’ek
 I.DAT he.ERG ABS IV-buy-PST V-/IV-know-ICVB be.PTCP book(IV)
 istoli-ḫ’o ḫ’ere goṭ
 table-SPR on be
 ‘The book that I know that he bought is on the table.’

Converb clauses

The possibility of relativization on constituents of adverbials clauses depends on the converb and on the context. With the Realis Conditional converb and the Concessive converb it seems to be excluded (1025b), (1025d).

- (1025) a. [mašina b-aq’e-yo] eli aḫ-a-do b-iḫ’-a goṭ
 car(III) III-come-CONC we village-IN-DIR HPL-go-INF be
 ‘If the car comes we will go to the village.’

- b. * [[₋ b-aq'e-yo] eli aλ-a-do b-iλ'i-yo goła]
 ABS III-come-COND we village-IN-DIR HPL-go-ICVB be.PTCP
mašina
 car
 (the car that, if it comes, we will go to the village)
- c. [*de* γ^were-z daru neλ-ono] *haw b-uhe-s*
 I.ERG cow(III)-DAT medicine give-CONC it III-die-PST
 'Although I gave the cow medicine, it died.'
- d. * [[*de* γ^were-z _ neλ-ono] *b-uh-o goła*]
 I.ERG cow(III)-DAT ABS give-CONC III-die-ICVB be.PTCP
daru
 medicine
 (the medicine that the cow died although I gave it some)

In contrast, the Narrative converb and the Simple Anterior converb generally allow for relativized constituents (1029b), (1030b). This may be due to the semantics of these converbs.

20.2.1.3. Functions of the nucleus in its clause

There are no known restrictions on the functions of the nucleus in its clause. It can be S (1018), copula subject (1017b), copula complement (1006e), A (1006c), (1007a), P (1007b), Dative experiencer (1006b), Dative recipient (1008), spatial modifier (1015a), (1015b), temporal modifier (1016), or fulfill any other role. In the following example (1026a), the nucleus is the theme of the conversation, and in (1026b) it is the Genitive possessor.

- (1026) a. *q'iliqan-i ese-s=eλ [ʔeno yuruš sababʔun _*
 drummer-ERG tell-PST=NARR five ruble because.of ABS
b-iqqo goła] daʔba.roži-ʔi-žo
 III-happen.ICVB be.PTCP controversy(III)-ABST-GEN2
 'The drummer told about the controversy that happened because of five rubles.' (N)
- b. *me se [unti-mo-y _ ʔadal Ø-u:-ho goła]*
 you.SG what disease-OBL-ERG ABS stupid I-do-ICVB be.PTCP
obu-zo xabar-li-λ'o boži Ø-iqqo?
 father-GEN2 story-OBL-SPR belief I-happen.PRS
 'What, you (masc.) believe the story of our father, who became stupid because of a disease?' (N)

In clauses where the nucleus is a noun with spatial or temporal semantics, it usually fulfills the same role in both the relative clause and the main clause. The nucleus can also be governed by a postposition, and it can be coordinated in a coordinate noun phrase and thus marked with the Coordinative enclitic =*n*. Note that in (1027b) both coordinands of the noun phrase are modified by their own relative clauses.

- (1027) a. [hało-y _ bak'arzi b-u:-ho goła] armi=*n*
 he.OBL-ERG ABS collect HPL-do-ICVB be.PTCP army=*n* and
 xalq'i=*n*
 people=*n* and
 'the army and the people who he united' (N)
- b. [di-žo rok'e-ł _ goła] hunar=*no* [dižo
 I.OBL-GEN2 heart-CONT ABS be.PTCP ability=*n* and I.GEN2
 obu-y _ b-u:-ho goła] wasiyat=*no* de
 father-ERG ABS III-do-ICVB be.PTCP testament(III)=*n* and I.ERG
 c'unzi b-uw-a goł
 preserve III-do-INF be
 'I will preserve the talent that is in my heart and the testament that
 my father made.' (N)

It is not possible to take only one member of a coordinate noun phrase as the nucleus for a relative clause, (where the second coordinand stays in situ). This restriction is known as the *Coordinate Structure Constraint* (Ross 1967: 161). This means that (1028) is ungrammatical because from the coordinate noun phrase *armin xalq'in* 'the army and the people', one member alone cannot function as the nucleus of a relative clause.

- (1028) *ni [hało-y armi=*n* _ bak'arzi b-u:-ho
 where he.OBL-ERG army=*n* and ABS=*n* and collect HPL-do-ICVB
 goła] xalq'i=*n* b-uqił-o?
 be.PTCP people=*n* and HPL-hide-PRS
 (Where do the people that he united and the army hide?)

It has been noted that in 'scene setting' contexts, the coordinate structure constraint can be violated. In English this is possible in clauses such as 'The journal that I went to the store and bought' (Ross 1967, Goldsmith 1985, Lakoff 1986). In fact, Hinuq allows for similar sentences, namely to relativize on the constituent of a Narrative converb clause (1029a, 1029b). Polinsky (2007) regards this as an argument for claiming that in the Tsez equivalents to sentences like (1029b), the converbal clause represents a subordinate structure.

- (1029) a. *hayłoy [keč'=no cax-no] priz b-ux-iš*
 he.ERG poem=and write-CVB prize(III) III-take-PST
 'He wrote a poem and got a prize.'
- b. *[hayłoy [_ cax-no] priz b-uxxo goła] keč' c'aq'*
 he.ERG ABS write-CVB prize(III) III-take.ICVB be.PTCP song very
bercinaw goł
 beautiful be
 'The song which he wrote and for which he got a prize is very beautiful.'¹²⁶

Other converb clauses which are clearly subordinate and not coordinate clauses also allow such an extraction:

- (1030) a. *[čorpa ga:-nos] hago untezi Ø-iq-iš*
 soup drink-ANT he fall.ill I-become-PST
 'After he ate the soup, he got ill.'
- b. *[[_ ga:-nos] hago untezi Ø-iqqo goła] čorpa*
 ABS drink-ANT he fall.ill I-become.ICVB be.PTCP soup
neλ-om diž!
 give-PROH I.DAT
 'Do not give me the soup that he ate and got ill!'

The nucleus is predominantly part of a main clause. But it can in principle also occur in a subordinate clause such as an adverbial clause (1031).

- (1031) *[essu-y [de _ y-uxxo goła] t'ek t'ot'er-oλ'o]*
 brother-ERG I.ERG ABS IV-take.ICVB be.PTCP book(IV) read-SIM
iyο idu-do y-aq'e-s
 mother(II) home-DIR II-come-PST
 'While my brother was reading the book which I bought the mother came home.'

More common is the situation where a nucleus is itself part of a relative clause, i.e. the embedding of one relative clause into another. In such constructions, usually two different strategies for the formation of relative clauses are employed: in (1032a) the higher relative clause is headed by a Past participle and the lower relative clause by a General participle. In (1032b) a relative clause headed by a Habitual participle is embedded into a relative clause headed by a

¹²⁶Note that the nucleus plays only the role of a non-core argument in the relative clause (i.e. it can be interpreted as the causer).

General participle. But having General participles in both relative clauses is also possible (1032c).

- (1032) a. *[[_ b-uh-o goʎa] _ zeru b-ike-yoru]*
 ABS III-die-ICVB be.PTCP SPR fox(III) III-see-PTCP.PST
mix-ʎ'o y^wadi-ža-z hayʎu-s xu t'ot'ozi
 time(III)-SPR crow-OBL.PL-DAT she.OBL-GEN I meat(V) pick
r-uw-a r-eti-n
 V-do-INF V-want-UWPST
 'At the time when the crows saw the fox which was dying, they wanted to pick its meat.' (N)
- b. *[[hayʎo-z _ b-u:-ʎ'os] _ daru b-eq'i-yo*
 he.OBL-DAT ABS III-do-HAB DAT medicine(III) III-know-ICVB
goʎa] rek'u-z ʎeno ʎazal tuman toʎ-a goʎ
 be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT five 1.000 ten.ruble give-INF be
 'The man, who knows about the medicine that must be given to him, will get 50.000 rubles.' (N)
- c. *[[hayʎu-ʎ geʎ _ goʎa] _ ʎe r-eq'i-yo*
 that.OBL-SUB down ABS be.PTCP DAT water(V) V-know-ICVB
goʎa] rek'u-z deče-ʎa mecser toʎ-a goʎ
 be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT how.much-INDEF money give-INF be
xalq'i-mo-y
 people-OBL-ERG
 'To the man who knows the water which is under that (tree), the people will give some money.' (N)

In principle, more complicated iterated relative clause constructions are possible, but there are no examples in my corpus. Sentence (1033) shows three relative clauses embedded within another, and all relative clauses are headed by the General participle.

- (1033) *diž b-ike-s [[[de q'or-mo-ʎ'o _ gor-ho goʎa] _*
 I.DAT III-see-PST I.ERG trap-OBL-SPR ABS put-ICVB be.PTCP ERG
ižu y-acco goʎa] _ aq^we b-ašir-ho
 cheese(IV) IV-eat.ICVB be.PTCP ERG mouse(III) III-catch-ICVB
goʎa] k'et'u
 be.PTCP cat(III)
 'I saw the cat who caught the mouse who ate the cheese which I put in the trap.'

20.2.2. Properties of the relative clause

20.2.2.1. Formal properties of relative clauses

Hinuq lacks specialized relative clause markers or relative pronouns. The relative clause itself consists of a clause headed by a participle that is usually positioned right before the nucleus. In relative clauses the verb (i.e. the participle) must occur in clause final position. This is remarkable because other subordinate clause types (e.g. adverbial clauses) are not so strict and allow for word order other than verb-final.

Participles can only be in the declarative mood, and they partially lack tense distinctions. Thus, the General participle in a relative clause can have past and present time reference, according to the context. For explicit future time reference in relative clauses, the Habitual participle is used (see Section 20.2.3 for an example).

The Resultative and the Habitual participle express resultative and habitual aspect respectively. The other participles lack explicit aspectual values. Negation in relative clauses is not frequent but possible (see Section 7.7.4 for the negative forms of all participles). Since there are no examples in my corpus, all sentences with negative relative clauses have been elicited:

- (1034) *[obu-y aže _ y-occo goyomeru-(ni)] og*
 father-ERG tree(IV) INS IV-cut.ICVB be.PTCP.NEG-(ATT) ax(V)
xexza-y r-uqi-š
 child.OBL.PL-ERG V-hide-PST
 ‘The children hid the ax with which the father did not cut the tree.’

20.2.2.2. Semantics of relative clauses

Relative clauses function as syntactic modifiers of the nucleus providing information about it. Some relative clauses have a rather loose semantic relationship to the nucleus and no syntactic relationship at all. For example, in (1035) the relative clause does not have any nucleus in the main clause as can be seen by the agreement (the prefix of *-ike-* ‘see’ does show gender v agreement, but *xabar*, which in principle could be interpreted as the nucleus, belongs to gender III). But the relative clause is not overtly nominalized and therefore is not a syntactic argument of the main clause verb *ese-* ‘tell’ because it lacks the usual marking of themes of conversations (Abstract suffix plus optional Second Genitive/Ablative). With regard to the semantics, the relative clause in (1035) does not modify any overt or covert nucleus. Similar examples are given in (1022a)-(1022c) above.

- (1035) *hayɫuy es-o ʔoloqan rek'u-ɫi-žo xabar*
 she.ERG tell-PRS young man.OBL-ABST-GEN2 story
 [zonez r-ik-o goɫa]
 REFL.OBL.DAT V-see-ICVB be.PTCP
 'The girl tells the story about the young man, about what she has seen.'
 (N)

Relative clauses may be restrictive or non-restrictive without any formal difference between the two types (see Section 20.2.1.1 above for some examples of non-restrictive relative clauses).

20.2.2.3. Position of relative clauses

Relative clauses normally precede the nucleus, but occasionally they follow it. Postnominal relative clauses may directly follow the nucleus (1364c), (1036a, 1036b) or be separated from the nucleus by other material (1036c). The pragmatics of postnominal relative clauses differs from that of prenominal relative clauses because the former are usually topicalized. They represent right dislocation employed for active referents, but where the speaker assumes that the nucleus is not enough to identify the referent, a relative clause is added, which provides additional information (1036a). The other pragmatic function of postnominal relative clauses is to express contrastive topics. The referents in (1036b) and (1036c) are both contrasted with other possible referents of the nuclei: in (1036b) it would have been possible to catch other girls, and in (1036c) there is another empty basket left. This fits well Testelec's (1998a: 275) observation that in Daghestanian languages relative clauses following the nucleus normally receive a contrastive interpretation.

- (1036) a. *Ø-ox-aɫi haze ɫono=n uži-qo=gon b-aši-yo*
 I-leave-SIM these.OBL three=and boy-AT=TOP III-find-PRS
hayɫo-s ɫ'oq'on [ɫaci-na-y _ b-iži-yo goɫa]
 he.OBL-GEN1 hat(III) wind-OBL-ERG ABS III-take-ICVB be.PTCP
 'When they leave, the three boys find his hat, which had been taken away by the wind.' (S)
- b. *me y-ašir-iš haw ked [debez _*
 you.SG.ERG II-catch-PST that girl(II) you.SG.DAT ABS
y-eti-yo goɫa]
 II-want-ICVB be.PTCP
 'You caught the girl, the one you love.' (N)

- c. *hoboži q'idi Ø-aq'e-yλ'o hag zones k^wid*
 now down I-come-SIM that REFL.SG.GEN1 basket(III)
b-aši-yo gom [geni-š _ b-iččo goła-ni]
 III-find-ICVB be.NEG pear-GEN1 ABS III-fill.ICVB be.PTCP-ATT
 'When he climbs down, he does not find his basket, the one filled
 with pears.' (S)

20.2.2.4. Relative clauses in relation to other nominal modifiers

To modify a noun not only with a relative clause but also with other modifiers such as demonstrative pronouns, adjectives, or Genitive phrases is common. In (1037) an adjective intervenes between the relative clause and the nucleus. Occasionally, structures with a relative clause and another modifier can be ambiguous (see Section 27.2.3 for examples).

- (1037) *deru diž haw [_ y-eti-yo goła] bercinaw-ni ked*
 how I.DAT that ABS II-want-ICVB be.PTCP beautiful-ATT girl(II)
y-eq'-a goł?
 II-know-INF be
 'How will I recognize my beautiful beloved girl?' (N)

To have one single nucleus for two relative clauses is uncommon, but nevertheless possible. I found one clear corpus example (1038a) and tested a few more sentences. In elicitation it turned out that sentences with two relative clauses sharing one nucleus are more readily accepted when the relative clauses formally differ because they are headed by two different participles (1038b, 1038c). It may also be that the role of the nucleus in the relative clause has some influence on the acceptability of the sentences. In (1038a) and (1038b) it is identical in both relative clauses, which perhaps facilitates the interpretability of such constructions. Furthermore, for (1038c) a different interpretation is available, in which the first participial clause functions as an adverbial clause, i.e. 'This is my friend to whom the honey jar broke when I sent it to him.' When adopting such an interpretation then (1038c) is, in fact, not a coordination of relative clauses, but an adverbial clause embedded into a relative clause, a constellation which is attested for Hinuq (1029b), (1030b).

- (1038) a. *[huł _ xan-i-žo ked-qo-s, haytu-zo*
 yesterday ERG khan-OBL-GEN2 girl-AT-ABL2 she.OBL-GEN2
k^wežera-qo-s kiči=n b-ux-o goła] [_
 hand.OBL-AT-ABL1 ring(III)=and III-take-ICVB be.PTCP ERG

haytu-go ubay=no es-o goła] uži eluz ni=n
 she.OBL-AT kiss=and tell-ICVB be.PTCP boy(I) we.DAT where=and
Ø-aši-š-me
 I-find-PST-NEG

‘We did not find anywhere the boy who yesterday took the ring from the khan’s daughter, from her hand and who also kissed her.’ (N)

- b. *hadu goł [debez _ šuλ'-o goła] [iyo-y _*
 this be youSG.DAT ABS forget-ICVB be.PTCP mother-ERG ABS
y-ux-omeru-ni] kunta
 IV-buy-PTCP.PST.NEG-ATT dress(IV)

‘This is the dress about which you forgot that the mother did not buy it.’

- c. *hado goł [de _ kekir-ho goła] [_ nucos banka*
 this be I.ERG DAT send-ICVB be.PTCP GEN2 honey.GEN1 jar(III)
b-uh-a-li] halmay
 III-break-INF-ATT friend

‘This is my friend to whom the honey jar that I sent him broke.’

20.2.3. Relative clauses built with other participles

Apart from the General participle, all other participles can in principle also be used in relative clauses. These relative clauses slightly differ from the standard relative clause construction using the General participle. The main difference is that these constructions are frequently very short, consisting only of the participle. If the verb is transitive, the agent is often lacking. However, all arguments required by the predicate can be made explicit. All other syntactic properties of these constructions correspond to the properties of relative clauses formed with the General participle (e.g. the nature of the nucleus, the possibilities for roles of the nucleus in its clause, the position of the relative clause).

The semantics of relative clauses built with participles other than the General participle is usually more restrictive. That is, some of these constructions have a clear semantics due to the semantics of the participle (Locative, Habitual, and Resultative participle). But all participles can occur in restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses. And all participles can be used for the expression of relative clause-like constructions lacking a clear syntactic and semantic relationship with a referent in the main clause.

In the remainder of this section, relative clauses with the Local, the Past, the Resultative, and the Habitual participle are presented. Additionally, relative clauses with the Infinitive to which an attributive suffix is added are discussed.

The Local participle occurs very occasionally in relative clauses with nuclei that have a spatial meaning (1039a), but it is never used in relative clauses with a non-spatial semantics. It can be negated by means of the suffix *-me* (1039b).

- (1039) a. [*_haw ʔe r-ič'-a y-iλ'i-ya]* *hune r-ux-no*
 IN she water(V) V-fill-INF II-go-PTCP.LOC way(V) V-take-CVB
Ø-iči-yo zoq''w e-n hado
 I-be-ICVB be-UWPST he
 'He was taking the way which she was using to get water.' (N)
- b. [*rek''we _ Ø-iλ'i-ya-me]* *huni: Ø-iλ'i-yom!*
 man(I) IN I-go-PTCP.LOC-NEG way.IN I-go-PROH
 'Do not go the way no man has gone!' (said to a man)

The Past participle is occasionally used in relative clauses, mostly with nuclei that have a temporal meaning (see also (1032a) above), but other nuclei are also possible (1040a, 1040b).

- (1040) a. [*_ iše y-aq'e-yoru]* *zaman-a-ʔ*
 CONT snow(IV) IV-come-PTCP.PST time-OBL-CONT
 'at the time when the snow came' (N)
- b. *hayʔoy t'ot'er-iš [učitel-i _ eλi-yoru] t'ek*
 he.ERG read-PST teacher-ERG ABST.GEN2 say-PTCP.PST book
 'He read the book that the teacher told him (to read).'

The Resultative participle usually heads short relative clauses consisting of the participle alone. Thus, it is used in an adjective-like fashion, e.g. with intransitive verbs that do not need other arguments or with transitive verbs lacking an overt agent. These clauses often follow their nucleus (1041a, 1041b). They express a resultative meaning.

- (1041) a. *Ibrahim-ez r-ik-o hayʔu-s rorbe [hezzo-r _*
 Ibrahim-DAT V-see-PRS she.OBL-GEN1 leg.PL back-LAT ABS
r-uti-š]
 NHPL-turn-RES
 'Ibrahim sees their legs, which were turned around.' (N)
- b. *de goʔ hažilaw ʔisa-s uži ʔali, [_ Ø-u:-s ʔazal ʔač'ino*
 I be Isaew Isa-GEN1 son(I) Ali ABS I-do-RES 1.000 nine
bišonno q'ono quno oc'eno ʔono eλa λeba-ʔ
 100 two twenty ten three ORD year.OBL-CONT
Čačan-λ'o Erseni aλ-a]
 Chechnya-SPR Erseni village-IN

‘I am Isa Isaew’s son Ali, born in the year 1953, in Chechnya, in the village of Erseni.’ (N)

More examples are given in Section 7.7.4.5. In principle, all standard relative clause constructions are available with this participle:

- (1042) a. *[diž _ r-eq'i-š-me] žo idu r-ič-ayaz gom*
 I.DAT ABS V-know-RES-NEG thing(V) home V-be-PURP be.NEG
 ‘There will not be a thing at home which I do not know.’ (N)
- b. *[_ xok'o-be hadur r-u-s] ked bercinaw goł*
 ERG khinkal-PL prepared NHPL-do-RES girl beautiful be
 ‘The girl who made the khinkal is beautiful.’

The Habitual participle describes habitual and characteristic properties of the referent of the nucleus lacking a specific time reference. These relative clauses are usually very short, but additional arguments or modifiers may always be added.

- (1043) a. *“[me _ ese-λ'os] rek'ʷe gom hago”=λen*
 you.SG.ERG ABST.GEN2 tell-HAB man be.NEG he=QUOT
eλi-š=eλ nartaw-i
 say-PST=NARR giant-ERG
 ‘“He is not the man you say,” said the giant.’ (N)
- b. *[_ nuce b-u-λ'os] t'ut'-za-s buλe*
 ERG honey(III) III-do-HAB fly-OBL.PL-GEN I house(III)
b-ike-n hadi
 III-see-UWPST here
 ‘(They) saw the bee’s house there.’ (lit. ‘the house of the honey making flies’) (S)
- c. *de es-an xabar [diž _ b-eq'i-λ'os]*
 I.ERG tell-INTFUT story(III) I.DAT ABS III-know-HAB
 ‘I will tell all stories that I know.’ (N)

In addition, the Habitual participle is consistently used when speakers are asked to translate Russian relative clauses with future time reference:

- (1044) *[zek _ maʒarul keč'-be eλi-λ'os] keč'oqan žied Ø-aq'e-s*
 tomorrow ERG Avar song-PL say-HAB singer yet I-come-RES
gom
 be.NEG
 ‘The singer, who tomorrow will sing the Avar songs, has not arrived yet.’

I have only one corpus example of the Infinitive in combination with the Attributive suffix *-li* occurring in a short relative clause that consists only of a transitive verb (see (781a) in Section 13.1.2.8). However, it is possible to form standard relative clauses with and without a nucleus with this verbal form (1045). It lacks a negative counterpart.

- (1045) [huł hayłoy _ t'ot'er-a-li] t'ek iyo-y y-ux-iš
 yesterday he.ERG ABS read-INF-ATT book mother-ERG IV-buy-PST
 'His mother bought the book that he read yesterday.'

20.3. Relative clauses without a nucleus

If participles head full nominalized clauses, these constructions are commonly called 'headless relative clauses' because the nucleus is stated in neither the main clause nor the relative clause. These clauses can be specific (1046a, 1046b) or non-specific. Arguments of the participles are in the cases governed by the participles, and additional modifiers may be added. Most of the participles may be used as noun phrases without any additional morphology. Case suffixes, if needed, are directly added to the participles. Only the Habitual and the Past participle have special oblique stems.

Relative clauses without a nucleus occur infrequently. In my corpus there are a number of examples with the Past participle and the Local participles, which actually fulfill adverbial function (see Section 7.7.3 for the use of participles in adverbial clauses). Furthermore, very occasionally the General participle is used as the noun phrase:

- (1046) a. [q'wena eła ɣwed-λ'o _ Ø-iči-yo goła]-z=no
 two.OBL ORD day.OBL-SPR ABS I-be-ICVB be.PTCP-DAT=and
 hibayi=tow nasibaw žo r-aš-a goł
 such=EMPH predestinated thing(V) V-find-INF be
 'And the one who is there on the second day will get the same predestinated thing.' (N)
- b. haytu aže-yi-λ'o goła λeba-s c'aq' daru
 that.OBL tree-OBL-SPR be.PTCP leaf.OBL-GEN1 much medicine
 goł [_ ižey-be r-iλ-o goła]-za-z
 be GEN1 eye-PL NHPL-ache-ICVB be.PTCP-OBL.PL-DAT
 'The leaves on that tree are a good medicine for the ones with aching eyes.' (N)

Relative clauses lacking a nucleus and containing the Resultative participle (1047a) and the Infinitive plus the Attributive suffix *-li* (1047b) have been elicited due to the lack of relevant corpus examples:

- (1047) a. [*_ b-edo:zq*]-y *mecxer* *b-ux*
 ABS HPL-work-RES.OBL-ERG money(III) III-take
 ‘The ones who worked take the money.’
- b. *eli zoq*’^w*e-s* [*_ buλe* *b-uw-a-li*]-*de*
 we be-PST ERG house(III) III-do-INF-ATT-ALOC
 ‘We were at the place of the one who built the house.’

20.4. Infinitival relatives

Relative clauses with an overt nucleus can also contain Purposive converbs or occasionally Infinitives. These constructions resemble both relative clauses and purpose clauses (Section 7.7.2.12), but what is the nucleus in the infinitival relative clauses would be part of the purposive clause in a purposive converb clause. The nucleus in infinitival relative clauses fulfills the role of the patient in the relative clause. The clauses often have the dummy noun *žo* ‘thing’ (1048c) as nucleus. Similar relative clause-like constructions occur in English and Ingush (Johanna Nichols, p.c.).

- (1048) a. [*λ’ere-do* *dew-go* *_ moł-ayaz*] *ʔilmu*
 upwards-DIR you.SG.OBL-AT ABS teach-PURP science(IV)
diž=no *y-eq’i-yo* *gom*
 I.DAT=and IV-know-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘I also do not know more science to teach you.’ (N)
- b. [*_ li:ayaz*] *šeλ’u gosme*, [*_ gex-ayaz*] *rorqos gosme*
 ABS put.on-PURP clothes without ABS dress-PURP shoe without
 ‘without clothes to wear, without shoes to wear’ (N)
- c. *hadu y-a:ho*, *qara:ho* [*_ r-uw-a*] *žo*
 she II-yell-PRS shout-PRS ABS V-do-INF thing(V)
r-eq’i-mez
 V-know-PURP.NEG
 ‘She cries without knowing what to do.’ (N)

Chapter 21

Adverbial clauses

21.1. Introduction

In adverbial clauses mostly converbs but also participles are used. They express temporal and non-temporal circumstances that serve as the background for the action or situation described in the main clause. The morphological make-up and the meaning of all converbs and participles used in adverbial clauses are treated in Sections 7.7.2 and 7.7.3. In this chapter, the syntactic properties of adverbial clauses are analyzed, including reference, control, scope, word order, and extraction properties.

21.2. Coreference and control

21.2.1. Coreference and pragmatic connectedness

In Hinuq converb constructions, there are no coreference or disjoint reference constraints for arguments of verbal clauses, as is typical of Nakh-Daghestanian languages (see Haspelmath (1995a) on Lezgian, Creissels (2010c) on Akhvakh, and Comrie et al. (2012) on Tsezic languages in general). With the exception of some examples involving the Narrative converb as in (1051a) below, disjoint reference of S or A arguments is always possible. Generally, adverbial clauses show a tendency to have referents for S or A that differ from the referents for the S or A arguments in the main clause. This tendency is greater, for example, in sentences containing the Posterior (1049a) or the Conditional converb (1049b), where about three fourths of the clauses have S or A arguments differing from the S or A of the main clause. With other converbs like the Concessive, the Simultaneous, or the Simple Anterior converb, the tendency is not very strong; slightly more than half of the clauses share S or A with the main clause. Differing arguments are far more often overtly expressed than shared arguments. About half of the clauses with identical referents for S or A in both the adverbial clause and the main clause contain noun phrases (1049a) or pronouns (1049b) in both clauses.

- (1049) a. *hibayʔi* *ʔ'ere* *Ø-iči-yo* *hado uži* [*r-oʔʔo* *ɣ^wede*
there upwards I-sit-PRS this boy(I) V-in.the.middle day(V)
r-iq'it-oʔ'or]
V-approach-POST

‘Up there the boy sits until the middle of the day comes.’ (N)

- b. “[*elu-ł* *req’ezi* *y-iq* *me*
 we.OBL-CONT become.friends II-become you.SG
y-iq-o-me] *eli* *čeq-qo-do* *y-iži-yo*”=*λen*
 II-become-COND-NEG we.ERG forest-AT-DIR II-take-PRS=QUOT
eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 “‘If you (fem.) do not agree with us, we will take you out into the
 forest,” they said.’ (N)

The simple and the reduplicated Narrative converb, the Imperfective converb, and the Purposive converb behave differently because they overwhelmingly share their S or A arguments with the main clause. This is due to their chaining use in narrations (1050). Narrative texts are about connected situations that often share the protagonist. As a result, narrative converbal clauses often lack a distinct S or A argument of their own. In the following example, all four Narrative converb clauses share the S or A argument with the main clause, but none of the clauses contains an overt noun phrase or pronoun referring to it because it can be inferred from the context.

- (1050) [*šlyapa y-ux-no*] [*hezzo=gozon šaλu=n* *peλe-n*]
 hat(IV) IV-take-CVB then=TOP whistle=and blow-CVB
 [*Ø-ičir-no hago=n*] [*Ø-iλ’i-n*] *šlyapa toλ-no*
 I-stop-CVB he=and I-go-CVB hat give-UWPST
 ‘(He) took the hat, then whistled, stopped him, went, and gave (him) the hat.’ (S)

Otherwise, sentences become (almost) unacceptable. Hence, if there is no appropriate context that could explain the connection between Patimat’s eating and Ali’s leaving, example (1051a) is rejected. Instead, two main clauses could be simply juxtaposed (1051b) or the Narrative converb could be replaced by the Simple Anterior converb.

- (1051) a. ? [*Pat’imat-i biša=n* *r-ac’-no*] ?*ali* *Ø-iλ’i-š*
 Patimat-ERG food(V)=and V-eat-CVB Ali(I) I-go-PST
 (Patimat ate the food and Ali went away.)
 b. *Pat’imat-i biša* *r-ac’-iš*. ?*ali* *Ø-iλ’i-š*
 Patimat-ERG food(V) V-eat-PST Ali(I) I-go-PST
 ‘Patimat ate the food. Ali went away.’

In contrast, P arguments are often different from clause to clause and are therefore more often overtly expressed (1050).

21.2.2. Coreference by means of zero arguments

Coreference between any kinds of arguments of converbal and main clauses (e.g. S, A, P) is most frequently expressed by zero, i.e. one (1054b), (1066) or both clauses (1050), (1052) lack overt coreferential arguments.

- (1052) *k'oλ-a b-ut'i-n. [so r-ut-yon] b-ixet-no*
 jump-INF III-begin-UWPST what V-do-CONC III-get.up.POT-CVB
gom x'ere-r
 be.NEG up-LAT
 '(The wolf) began to jump, but whatever he did, he could not get up.' (N)

This corresponds to the typical way of reference tracking in Hinuq and all other Tsezic languages; speakers tend to drop overt arguments if they can be retrieved from the context. Missing arguments in converbal clauses may be controlled by various kinds of arguments and adjuncts in the main clause (1054a, 1054b), (1066). But controllers can also appear in other subordinate clauses, e.g. in (1053a) the covert experiencer in the first Narrative converb clause is controlled by the S argument in the second Narrative converb clause. It is even possible to have a controller in another sentence, as in (1053b) where the first sentence contains an overt P that controls the covert P in the following converb clause. This is a purely pragmatic phenomenon without (almost) any syntactic constraints (see below for some exceptions).

- (1053) a. *[šapka šuλ'e-n] [uži hezzor Ø-uti-n] šapka toλ-iš*
 hat forget-CVB boy(I) back I-turn-CVB hat give-PST
hayto-qo-r
 he.OBL-AT-LAT
 'Having forgotten the hat, the boy turned back; (they) gave him the hat.' (S)
- b. *hoboži kiy y-ut'-no zoq'e-n. [y-ut'-an*
 now blueberry(IV) IV-gather-CVB be-UWPST IV-gather-RED
y-ut'e-n] uže marč'ik'ušes mix b-aq'e-n
 IV-gather-CVB already evening time(III) III-come-CVB
zoq'e-n
 be-UWPST
 'They gathered blueberries. While gathering, it already became evening.' (N)

S or A control is most typical (1066), but other arguments or even adjuncts in the main clause can also function as controllers. For instance, in example (1054a)

the overt pronoun in the main clause marked with a spatial case to express possession controls the implicit S in the converbal clause. In example (1054b) the spatial adjunct of the main clause functions as the controller of the implicit S in the converbal clause.

- (1054) a. [*ked-qo-r Ø-ez-aŋi*] *haŋo-qo-s* *šapka=n*
 girl-AT-LAT I-look-SIM he.OBL-AT-ABL I hat(III)=and
b-iλ'i-r-ho *ŋaci-na-y*
 III-go-CAUS-PRS wind-OBL-ERG
 'While (he) looked at the girl, the wind blew his hat off.' (S)
- b. [*nesa: Ø-ot'-oλ'o moλa-ŋ*] *ħaži-de-r*
 at.night I-lay-SIM sleep.OBL-CONT Gadzhi(I)-ALOC-LAT
b-aq'-o *malaik-be*
 HPL-come-PRS angel-PL
 'At night while he is sleeping angels are coming to Gadzhi.' (N)

There is one constellation that is forbidden for the expression of coreference, namely a zero anaphora in the main clause that controls a coreferential noun in the subsequent converbal clause. In my corpus there are no such examples and elicited sentences such as the one in (1055) are rejected as ungrammatical when they should express coreference. Example (1055) is fine with an interpretation conveying disjoint reference. Which interpretation is possible depends on the context; for (1055) the first alternative interpretation proposed by speakers is 'I will buy a big house if my brother gets money.'

- (1055) * *Ø_i b-²eži buλe* *b-ux-a* *goŋ* [*di-žo* *essu-zi*
 III-big house(III) III-buy-INF be I.OBL-GEN2 brother-DAT
mecxer *b-aši-yo*]
 money(III) III-get-COND
 (He_i will buy a big house if my brother_i gets money.)

This constraint instantiates the principle, noted for many languages – a pronoun may not both precede and c-command its antecedent (Langacker 1969: 185, Reinhart 1976: 8). Of course, if the order of the clauses in (1055) were to be reversed, the sentence would be grammatical and perfectly express coreference.

21.2.3. Coreference and overt arguments

Things get more complicated when both the converb and the main clause contain overt arguments (third person pronouns, reflexive pronouns, common or proper nouns), especially when different referential devices are combined.

Very occasionally, coreference may be established by simply repeating the same noun phrase again (1056), although this is marginal and hardly ever attested in texts. The following example was taken from a Hinuq *Pear story* (Chafe 1980).

- (1056) [*xexbe b-uq'oλ'o b-aq'e-yλ'o*] *xexza-y=no* *roži*
 children HPL-direct HPL-come-SIM children.OBL-ERG=and word(V)
r-iy-iš-me
 V-bring.out-PST-NEG
 'While the children went directly by, the children did not say a word.'
 (S)

Slightly more often the same pronoun is repeated (1049b), (1057). For instance, in example (1057) the S argument of the Conditional converbal clause is coreferential with the experiencer argument of the following main clause.

- (1057) [*žiqu hagbe b-aq'e-yo-me*] *zek de hazez y-ike-me*
 today they HPL-come-COND-NEG tomorrow I they.DAT II-see-NEG
 'If they do not come today, they will not see me (fem.) tomorrow.' (N)

Problems arise when one of the clauses contains a pronoun and the other clause a coreferential noun. This is a constellation that is also not very common. In most corpus examples, the preceding converbal clause contains the controlling noun, which functions as the S argument of its clause. The subsequent main clause contains the pronoun, which can fulfill various grammatical roles, e.g. S, A, experiencer, possessor. In (1058) the noun phrase *hado xan* 'this khan' controls the pronoun in the Dative case *haytoz* 'he.DAT' and the reflexive pronoun in the First Genitive case *zones* 'his'.

- (1058) [*hado xan pardala:-do Ø-eze-yλ'o*] *hayto-z q'idi-r*
 this khan(I) veranda.IN-DIR I-look-SIM he.DAT down-LAT
y-iλ'i-n y-ik-o zones ked
 II-fall-CVB II-see-PRS REFL.SG.GEN1 daughter(II)
 'While the khan is looking at the veranda, he sees his daughter falling down.' (N)

In this constellation, the order of the converb clause and the main clause is important. If in (1058) the order is reversed, then an interpretation with coreference is impossible. Thus, (1059) represents a grammatical sentence only when the pronoun in the preceding main clause is not coreferential with the noun phrase in the following converbal clause. This is true even when the pronoun is replaced by a zero (1055).

- (1059) *diž hago_i Ø-eg'i-yo zoq''^we-s [ʔumar_{*i/j} Ø-eg^wey uži*
 I.DAT he I-know-ICVB be-PST Omar I-small boy(i)
goła=tow]
 be.PTCP=EMPH
 'I knew him_i when Omar_{*i/j} was a small boy.'

Another possibility that is not attested in texts but can be elicited is to have an overt A or P argument in the converbal clause controlling the pronoun in the following main clause (1060a), (1060b). Coreference in these and similar examples is only possible if the reference of the pronoun is non-ambiguous and completely retrievable.

- (1060) a. [*dada-y zonλ'o λ'ere-s kunta y-iγ-nos] haw*
 aunt-ERG REFL.SG.SPR upper-ABL I dress(IV) IV-take-ANT she
pardala: q'idi y-iči-š zoq''^we-s
 veranda.IN down II-sit-RES be-PST
 'After the aunt took off her upper dress she sat on the balcony.'
- b. [*ʔali telefon-ma Madina-λ'o-r_i Ø-aλ'i-nos] haw_{i/j} razi*
 Ali telephon-IN Madina-SPR-LAT I-talk-ANT she happy
y-iqqo
 II-happen.PRS
 'After Ali called Madina_i, she_{i/j} is happy.'

Thus, in (1061) the pronoun *haw* 'she' can be interpreted as coreferential with the P in the main clause, but the preferred interpretation is reference with a third person that is not mentioned in the main clause.

- (1061) [*iyo-y_i ked_j qaλ-ałi=tow] haw_{j/k} y-aq'e-s*
 mother(II)-ERG daughter(II) call-SIM=EMPH she II-come-PST
 'When the mother_i called the daughter_j, she_{j/k} came.'

The reflexive pronoun in the same position is interpreted as referring to the speaker of (1062) herself.

- (1062) [*iyo-y_i ked_j qaλ-ałi=tow] zo y-aq'e-s*
 mother(II)-ERG daughter(II) call-SIM=EMPH REFL.SG II-come-PST
 'When the mother_i called the daughter_j, I (fem.) came.'

To have a third person demonstrative pronoun in the first clause followed by the controlling noun phrase in the subsequent clause is (almost) impossible in elicited examples (1059), (1063a–1063c). This generalization seems to be quite

robust and probably independent of the grammatical roles of the nouns and pronouns involved and of the order of adverbial and main clause. Especially for adverbial clauses containing a pronoun and preceding the main clause, this is remarkable because consequently backwards referring pronominal anaphora (i.e. cataphora), one proposed criterion for subordination (cf. Haspelmath 1995b), would then be excluded for overt anaphors in Hinuq. Of course, for all examples (1063a-1063c), an interpretation with disjoint reference is available.

- (1063) a. * [hago_i idu-r Ø-aq'e-γλ'o] di-žo essu-y_i
 he home-LAT I-come-SIM I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG
 rede b-oc'-iš
 wood(III) III-cut-PST
 (When he_i came home, my brother_i cut wood.)
- b. * [haytu-z_i mecxer b-aši-yomeno] Madina_i
 she.OBL-DAT money(III) III-get-CONC.NEG Madina(II)
 aλ-a-do y-aq'e-s
 village-IN-DIR II-come-PST
 (Although she_i did not get money, Madina_i came to the village.)
- c. * [Maħama-y telefon-ma=bito hayto-λ'o-r_i qaλe-nos]
 Mahama-ERG telephon-IN=TRANS he.OBL-SPR-LAT call-ANT
 ʔali_i Ø-aq'e-s
 Ali(1) I-come-PST
 (After Mahama called him_i on the phone, Ali_i came.)

If the order of the converb clause and the main clause is reversed (1064a), or if it is the preceding main clause that contains the pronouns (1059), (1064b), and the subsequent converb clause contains the noun, the situation does not change; noun and pronoun cannot be interpreted as coreferential independently of the semantic roles. Interpretation with disjoint reference is certainly possible.

- (1064) a. * obu-y_i peč-ma č'e gor-iš [hago_i idu-r
 father-ERG oven-IN fire put-PST he home-LAT
 Ø-aq'-ati=tow]
 I-come-SIM=EMPH
 (The father_i lighted the fire in the oven when he_i came home.)
- b. * haytoy_i b-²eži buλe b-ux-a goł [di-žo
 he.ERG III-big house(III) III-buy-INF be I.OBL-GEN2
 essu-z_i mecxer b-aši-yo]
 brother-DAT money(III) III-get-COND
 (He_i will buy a big house if my brother_i gets money.)

If the adverbial clause contains a reflexive pronoun, this pronoun can be interpreted as coreferential with some suitable main clause argument independently of the order of the adverbial and the main clause (but not vice versa). Thus, compare (1065a-1065c) with (1063b, 1063c) and (1064a) above.

- (1065) a. [*zonez_i mecxer b-aši-yomeno*] *Madina_i*
 REFL.SG.DAT money(III) III-get-CONC.NEG Madina(II)
aλ-a-do y-aq'e-s
 village-IN-DIR II-come-PST
 Although she_i did not get money, Madina_i came to the village.
- b. [*Maħama-y telefon-ma=bito zonλ'or_i qaλe-nos*]
 Mahama-ERG telephon-IN=TRANS REFL.SG.SPR.LAT call-ANT
ʔali_i Ø-aq'e-s
 Ali(1) I-come-PST
 After Mahama called him_i on the phone, Ali_i came.
- c. *obu-y_i peč-ma č'e gor-iš [zo_i idu-r*
 father-ERG oven-IN fire put-PST REFL.SG home-LAT
Ø-aq'-aħi=tow]
 I-come-SIM=EMPH
 The father_i lighted the fire in the oven when he_i came home.

21.3. Scope properties

21.3.1. Tense and evidentiality

Converbs express temporal or other relations between the situation they encode and the situation encoded by the main verb, but they do not specify absolute temporal reference by themselves. Likewise, they are usually not specified for aspect, evidentiality, or illocutionary force. With respect to these features, converbs depend heavily on the main verb, which alone can have tense, evidentiality, and illocutionary force marking. For instance, in example (1050) the main verb has past time reference and so do the adverbial clauses. By contrast, in example (1066) the main clause has future time reference, and therefore the converbal clauses have future time reference, too.

- (1066) [*nesa: moči=n b-eλe-n*] [*ežu=n caħi-n*]
 in.the.evening field(III)=and III-plough-CVB seed=and throw-CVB
 [...] *hibadu saħ b-ič'-a goł me*
 this 2,5kg III-fill-INF be you.SG.ERG

‘At night you will plough the field, sow the seed [...], and fill this measure container.’ (N)

Since both examples (1050) and (1066) involve a Narrative converb, the situation in the converbal clause always precedes, or is simultaneous with, the situation described in the main clause. In other words, only the relative temporal locations of temporal converbal clauses in relation to the main clause depend on the specific meanings of these converbs.

In a Realis conditional construction that contains a lexical verb with the Realis Conditional converb suffix, the protasis typically has future or present time reference (see examples in Section 7.7.2.10). In order to express past time reference in the protasis, a periphrastic verb form that when used in main clauses expresses epistemic modality (Section 8.2.2) must be used. This form consists of the lexical verb in the Narrative converb or the Resultative participle form plus the auxiliary *-ese-* ‘be probable, turn out to be’ marked with the Realis Conditional converb suffix (see (1067a); another example with the Narrative converb is given in Section 7.7.2.10). It is even possible to have periphrastic verb forms consisting of three verbs similar to the Compound Unwitnessed Past, which also consists of one lexical verb plus two auxiliaries (1067b).

- (1067) a. *[iyo-y huʔ kampit-be r-ux-iš*
 mother-ERG yesterday chocolate-PL NHPL-buy-RES
r-ese-yo] *de hagbe čaymode r-ac'-a goʔ*
 NHPL-be.probable-COND I.ERG those tee.ALOC NHPL-eat-INF be
 ‘If mother bought chocolates yesterday, I will eat them with tea.’
- b. *[hayʔoy magalu b-uqi-yo zoq^we-n b-ese-yo]*
 he.ERG bread(III) III-hide-ICVB be-CVB III-be.probable-COND
de hago zok'-a goʔ
 I.ERG he beat-INF be
 ‘If he hid bread, I will beat him.’

Given that tense and evidentiality are always expressed together, evidentiality is shared in the same way as tense. Thus, if the main verb has the Unwitnessed Past suffix, the converbal clause is also specified as unwitnessed, as can be seen in (1052), which is taken from a fairy tale. By contrast, in example (1068) the main clause verb has the Simple Past suffix because the speaker describes an event that she experienced herself. Accordingly, the converbal clause is also specified as ‘neutral’ with respect to evidentiality.

- (1068) [čakar-be=n r-ux-no] [q'oq'oλe-n] maqo-do
 sugar-PL=and NHPL-take-CVB cackle-CVB outside-DIR
 b-uŋi-yo zoq'e-s [q'ʷašxer-no]
 HPL-go.out-ICVB be-PST crunch.CAUS-CVB
 '(We) took the sugar and cackled, went out, and made it crunch.' (N)

21.3.2. The scope of pragmatic operators

The scope of pragmatic operators like the enclitics =*qen*, =*gon*/=*gozo*/=*gozon*, etc. is restricted to the clause or the constituent they mark. For instance, the enclitic =*qen* is multifunctional (see Section 13.1.3.1 for a detailed description). Its basic meaning is 'at least', but occasionally it means 'even'. This enclitic can be added to converbs, taking scope over the converbal clause (1069a). If it is added to another constituent of the converb clause, then only this constituent is in the scope of =*qen* (1069b). If the enclitic is part of the main clause, only that main clause constituent that bears the enclitic is in its scope (1069c).

- (1069) a. [xerba-be b-aq'e-nos=*qen*] haw t'ek t'ot'er-ho y-iči-š
 guest-PL HPL-come-ANT=even she book read-ICVB II-be-PST
 'Even after the guests came, she continued reading.'
- b. [hudul=*qen* y-ot'-oλ'o] Elmira kayat caxxo y-iči-š
 friend=even II-lay-SIM, Elmira letter write.ICVB II-be-PST
 'While even her friend slept, Elmira continued to write the letter.'
- c. hadi=*bito* hawa-λ'o-zo mihna=*qen* b-iλ'i-š-me
 here=TRANS air-SPR-ABL2 bird(III)=even III-go-PST-NEG
 [hibače de očordeŋ-on]
 how.much I grow.old-CONC
 'Although I have grown so old, not even a bird passed here through this air.' (N)

21.3.3. Illocutionary force: Questions and imperatives

In complex sentences, the scope properties of illocutionary force operators such as Interrogative enclitics or the Imperative suffix often depend on the meaning of the converbs involved and of the loci of the operators. Accordingly, imperative illocutionary force is sometimes restricted to the main clause (1070a). In other cases there are scope ambiguities: in (1070b) the scope of the illocutionary force operator may either be restricted to the main clause or include the converbal clause as well.

- (1070) a. *eχi-n bikor-qo-r* “[*azu beta:-z*]
say-UWPST snake.OBL-AT-LAT harvest mow-PURP
kikir-o!”=χen
let-IMP=QUOT
‘He said to the snake “Let me mow the harvest!”’ (N)
- b. “*∅-iχ’i*, [*dewzo ked-er ∅-ez-ayaz*] *∅-iχ’i!*”=χen
I-go.IMP you.SG.GEN2 girl-LAT I-look-PURP I-go.IMP=QUOT
eχi-n
say-CVB
‘“Go in order to look for your daughter!” she said.’ (N)

As far as interrogative illocutionary force is concerned, it is important, but often difficult in practice, to distinguish between the scope of the illocutionary force and the focus of the question. In most examples of WH-questions found in my corpus, the scope is the whole sentence, including the main and the converbal clauses. The focus can be part of the main clause (1071a), part of the converbal clause (1071b), or part of the entire sentence (1071c). However, it may also be possible to obtain interpretations where the material outside of the focus is also outside the scope of the interrogation.

- (1071) a. *se me r-u:y* [*eli mecxer c’ohorli*
what you.ERG V-do-Q we.GEN1 money(III) thief.ERG
b-ik’ek’-oχ’o]?
III-steal-SIM
‘What did you do when the thief stole our money?’
- b. *Šamil* [*se qaχe-n*] *∅-iχ’i-yo idu-do*
Shamil what call-CVB I-go-PRS home-DIR
‘While Shamil is singing what, he goes home?’
- c. *sira Maħama-y* [*istoli-χ’o q’idi=n ∅-iči-n*] *t’ek*
why Mahama-ERG table-SPR down=and I-sit-CVB book
t’ot’er-ho?
read-PRS
‘Why is Mahama sitting on the table and reading a book?’

Polar questions are sometimes only marked by intonation as such, and sometimes they contain an Interrogative enclitic/suffix. For polar questions in the Simple Past, the use of the Interrogative suffix is obligatory in addition to the intonation (see Section 28.2 for more information on polar questions and Section 13.1.2.1 for a description of the Interrogative enclitic/suffixes). In polar ques-

tions containing converbs, the focus and scope of the Interrogative enclitic / suffix comprises usually only the main clause:

- (1072) *[hayʎo-de cadaq čeqi-r me Ø-iʎ'i-nos] obu-y*
 he.OBL-ALOC with forest.IN-LAT you.SG I-go-ANT father-ERG
neʎ-iye devez mecser?
 give-Q you.SG.DAT money
 'After you went to the forest with him, did father give you money?'

The only exceptions to this rule are the Narrative (1073a), the Imperfective, and the Purposive converb (1073b). Polar questions built with these converbs can be readily interpreted in two different ways - with the converb taking scope and focus over the entire sentence, or over the main clause only. An interpretation where only the converbal clause is in the scope and focus of the Interrogative enclitic/suffix is impossible.

- (1073) a. *Šamil [biša=n r-ac'-no] Ø-iʎ'i-ye?*
 Šamil(I) food(V)=and V-eat-CVB I-go-Q
 'Did Šamil eat the food and go away?' or 'Did Šamil go away, having eaten the food?' (not 'Did Šamil eat the food (before he went away)?')
- b. *me žiqu [c'udaki bak'arzi y-uw-ayaz] čeqi-do*
 you.SG today raspberry(IV) collect IV-do-PURP forest.IN-DIR
y-iʎ'i?
 II-go
 'Are you (fem.) going today to the forest in order to collect raspberries?'

If the Interrogative enclitic appears in the converb clause, then again the whole sentence is in its scope, but only the converbal clause or a constituent of that clause is in focus:

- (1074) *Šamil [keč'=no qaʎe-n=e] Ø-iʎ'i-yo idu-do?*
 Šamil song=and call-CVB=Q I-go-PRS home-DIR
 'Is Šamil going home SINGING A SONG?'

21.4. Word order and extraction

By far the preferred order for temporal and non-temporal converbs is to precede the main clause. Only the Purposive converb behaves exceptionally because

about half of the examples with this converb show the reverse order, with the converbal clause following the main clause. But all types of converbal clauses may be center embedded or follow the main clause without any change in meaning. The following examples illustrate center embedding (1075a) with the conditional converb and a converbal clause following the main clause (1075b) with the Terminative converb.

- (1075) a. *eli [me elu-ɬ-edo kezi.y.iq-o-me]*
 we.ERG you.SG we.OBL-CONT-DIR meet.II-COND-NEG
λ'u=n b-iy-a goɬ λ'ere-s
 earth.roof(III)=and III-take-INF be upwards-ABL I
 'If you are not on our side, we will take away the roof from above.'
 (N)
- b. "ʔumar"=*λen eλi-yo*, "ʒiqu=*šid me t'ot'er-o, me*
 Umar=QUOT say-PRS today=on you.SG.ERG read-IMP you.SG
t'ot'er-o [debez r-et-ače]!"
 learn-IMP you.SG.DAT V-want-TERM
 "Umar," he is saying, "from today on, you read, you study as long
 as you want!" (lit. 'until you want') (N)

The relevant converbal clause need not be adjacent to the main clause. Other converbal clauses which may (1076a) or may not (1076b) share arguments with the other adverbial and main clauses can intervene.

- (1076) a. *me [hago Ø-ot'-nos] [hayɬo-s b-ašir-no*
 you.SG.ERG he I-lay-ANT he.OBL-GEN I III-catch-CVB
q'oλu] [č'e-da-do kur-no] b-ek'w'er-o!=λen
 skin(III) fire-OBL.IN-DIR throw-CVB III-burn-IMP=QUOT
 'After he goes to bed you take his skin, throw it into the fire, and
 burn it!' (N)
- b. *[idu-do Ø-aq'e-nos] essu-y [qema r-aq'-ono], qaca*
 home-DIR I-come-ANT brother(I) rain(V) V-come-CONC wood(V)
ħadur r-u:-s
 prepare V-do-PST
 'When he came home, the brother prepared wood even though it
 rained.'

Extraction out of the adverbial clause is not allowed independently of the place in which the extracted item is positioned. For instance, in (1077a) the patient of the converbal clause, *mecxer* 'money', has been moved into clause-initial

position, and in (1077b) in clause-final position, both times leading to ungrammaticality of the sentences. This is remarkable because another type of subordinate clauses, namely complement clauses, are not so restricted since they allow extraction of topicalized items.

- (1077) a. * *mecxer uži: k'oħlo b-ux-iš [b-aši-nos]*
 money(III) boy.ERG ball(III) III-buy-PST III-get-ANT
 (After the boy got the money, he bought a ball.)
- b. * *uži: [b-aši-yλ'o] sayyat b-ux-iš mecxer*
 boy.ERG III-get-SIM present(III) III-buy-PST money(III)
 (When the boy got the money, he bought a present.)

In the converb clause, the converb is usually but not necessarily in clause-final position. Examples like (1078), where the converb is followed by some item of its clause, are quite easy to find in texts or to elicit. This distinguishes adverbial clauses from relative clauses, which have a strict verb-final word order (Section 20.2.2.1).

- (1078) [*idu-r Ø-aq'e-yλ'o yoλu.koka*] *boħiλ'o b-iλ'i-yo goła*
 home-LAT I-come-SIM cinderello hunting HPL-go-ICVB be.PTCP
essni xu=n raq'er-no b-aq'e-n
 brother.PL meat(V)=and v-ring-CVB HPL-come-UWPST
 'When Cinderello came home, his brothers who were gone hunting came home bringing meat.' (N)

Subordinate structures are not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross 1967). For Hinuq adverbial clauses, this means that relativization on a constituent of the converbal clause should be allowed. In fact, this prediction is borne out, at least for the Simple Anterior converb (1079a, 1079b), and also for the Narrative converb (1079c, 1079d). However, the Realis Conditional and the Concessive converb, which clearly represent subordinate clauses, do not allow for relativization on their constituents (see the ungrammatical examples (1025d) and (1025b) in Section 20.2.1.1).

- (1079) a. [*čorpa ga:-nos*] *hago untezi Ø-iq-iš*
 soup drink-ANT he fall.ill I-become-PST
 'After eating the soup, he got ill.'
- b. [*[_ ga:-nos] hago untezi Ø-iqqo goła*] *čorpa diž*
 ABS drink-ANT he fall.ill I-become.ICVB be.PTCP soup I.DAT
neλ-om!
 give-PROH

‘Do not give me the soup that after he ate it he got sick.’

- c. *haytoy [keč’=no cax-no] priz b-ux-iš*
 he.ERG song=and write-CVB prize(III) III-take-PST

‘He wrote a song and got a prize.’

- d. *[haytoy [_ cax-no] priz b-ux-o] goła] keč’*
 he.ERG ABS write-CVB prize(III) III-take-ICVB be.PTCP song
c’aq’ bercinaw goł
 very beautiful be

‘The song that he wrote and got a prize is very beautiful.’

21.5. The syntactic nature of adverbial clauses

A number of scholars have posed the question as to whether adverbial clauses are syntactically coordinate, subordinate, cosubordinate, or something else (cf. Haspelmath (1995b), Foley & van Valin (1984), Bickel (2010a) for the general discussion and Good (2003) on Chechen, Creissels (2010c) on Akhvakh, Polinsky (2007) on Tsez, Kazenin (2001a) on Bagvalal for analyses of Nakh-Daghestanian languages). I will discuss this question briefly.

Out of Haspelmath’s five criteria for subordination, Hinuq converbs meet at least three: (i) clause-internal word order (i.e. a subordinate clause may appear inside its superordinate clause, see (1075a)), (ii) variable position (i.e. the converbal clause may come after or before the superordinate clause without a meaning change, see (1075b)), and (iii) focusability of a whole adverbial clause (1069a). The fourth criterion, violability of the Coordinate Structure Constraint, is met, at least with the Anterior and the Narrative converb (1079b, 1079d). The last criterion, pronominal cataphora (i.e. the possibility of backwards referring anaphora, is only met if the cataphora is zero (1079a) or if it is a reflexive pronoun (1065a, 1065b). If a third person pronoun functions as the cataphora, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (1063a-1063c), which is normally taken to be a property of coordinate clauses. Thus, following Haspelmath, Hinuq converb clauses are possibly not canonical examples for subordinate structures, but they are nevertheless closer to subordinate clauses than they are to coordinate clauses. Creissels comes to the same conclusion for Akhvakh.

If one is not satisfied by this analysis, it is valid to ask if the notion of cosubordination as introduced by Olson (1981) and Foley & van Valin (1984) might be adequate for capturing the syntactic properties of Hinuq adverbial clauses. Cosubordinate clauses are dependent but not embedded. Embedding is defined in terms of a part-whole relationship, i.e. an embedded clause is an argument of another clause. Therefore, adverbial clauses are clearly not embedded. De-

pendency means to be dependent on the operators of the level of the clause in question (i.e. nuclear, core, or peripheral level).

If the Hinuq adverbial clauses exhibit cosubordination, then the question remains open at which level of the clause the cosubordination should be situated. Nuclear cosubordination seems so be excluded because this would require the converbal clauses to take over aspectual and directional values from the main clause. In addition, the main verb and the converb would have to share all arguments and modifiers. This is clearly not the case. Likewise, cosubordination at the core level does not seem to fit all properties because this would mean that modality, modifiers, or secondary arguments are shared. Finally, cosubordination at the peripheral level is also not convincing since then tense, evidentiality, and illocutionary force would always have to be shared by both clauses, but as was shown in Section 21.3.3, the main clause can have an illocutionary force that differs from that of the adverbial clause. To sum up, the notion of cosubordination does not seem to reflect the properties of Hinuq adverbial clauses completely.

To conclude, Bickel (2010a) proposes the decomposition of terms referring to clause linkage (e.g. ‘subordination’, ‘cosubordination’, etc.) into sets of variables with possible values in order to capture the variation between constructions. Afterwards it is possible to measure the diversity between constructions from many languages. In fact, these variables represent a useful tool for analyzing adverbial clauses and have at least partially been considered in this chapter.

Chapter 22

Complement clauses

22.1. Introduction

Hinuq has about 60 complement-taking verbs. Most of them are specialized verbs with particular semantics and only occur in complement clauses. But occasionally an ordinary verb that normally does not appear in complement clauses can occur in a complement construction (e.g. *-u:-* ‘do, make’ appears in complement constructions expressing pretence, see Section 22.2.5 below). I group all complement-taking verbs that I have found in my corpus into eleven semantic types, following Noonan’s (1985) classification:

1. Verbs of speech

eλ- ‘speak, say’, *ese-* ‘tell, inform’, *eser-* ‘ask’, *xabar* + verb (e.g. *ese-* ‘tell, inform’, *-u:-* ‘do’, *-uher-* ‘break, kill’, *kekir-* ‘break’) ‘say, tell, inform’, *qaλe-* ‘call, shout’, *łazi -u:-* ‘predict, inform’, *moł-* ‘teach’, *λ’ere -ux-* ‘promise’, *xabarya:-* ‘talk, chat’, *hardezi -iq-* ‘request’, *amru/prikaz -u:-* ‘command, order’

2. Liking and fearing verbs

-eti- ‘want, love, like’, *-etir-* ‘love’, *-uλ-* ‘fear’, *bixxizi -iq-* ‘be angry’, *-ace-* ‘hate’, *kul -u:-* ‘hope’, *kul goł* ‘hope’, *yira -iq-/goł* ‘wish’

3. Pretence construction

-u:- ‘do, make’

4. Commentative verbs (factives)

gurħezi -iq- ‘feel sorry for, regret’, *razi -iq-* ‘be happy’, *namusłizi -iq-* ‘be ashamed, embarrassed, astonished’, *rok’λ’o nox-* ‘regret’

5. Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

-eq’i- ‘know’, *-eq’ir-* ‘learn, teach’, *c’ał-* ‘get to know’, *c’ałer-* ‘let know’, *bič’izi/bič’i -iq-* ‘understand’

6. Achievement predicates

šuλ’e- ‘forget’, *rok’λ’o(r) -aq’e-* ‘remember’, *rok’λ’or -aq’er-* ‘remember’, *ħalbikzi -u:-* ‘try, test’

7. Propositional attitude verbs

qeba:- ‘seem’, *uryezi -iq-* ‘think’, *pikru -u:-* ‘think’, *boži -iq-* ‘believe’,

šak(ʔezi) -iq- ‘doubt’, *šakarya:-* ‘doubt, be jealous’, *rok’e -aq’e-* ‘be sure’, *ʔažaʔibʔi ru:-* ‘wonder’

8. Manipulative verbs

kekir- ‘send’, *xece-* ‘let’, *behezi -iq-* ‘be allowed’, *t’amizi -u:-* ‘force’, *ɣira -ixer-* ‘encourage’, *ruhun -iq-* ‘learn’, *ruhun -u:-* ‘teach’, *moʔ-* ‘teach’, *tok’er-* ‘force, cause’

9. Modal verbs

k’^wezi -iq- ‘can’, *koʔ’e-* ‘can’, *koʔ’er-* ‘can’, *-iq-* + AT ‘can’, *-aq’e-* ‘must’

10. Phasal verbs

-uʔi- ‘begin, start’, *baybik -u:-* ‘begin, start’, *ʔaq’e-* ‘finish, end’ (intr.), *ʔaq’er-* ‘finish, end’ (tr.)

11. Immediate perception verbs

-ik- ‘see’, *-iker-* ‘show’, *toq-* ‘hear’

These verbs use one (or more) of eight strategies for forming complement clauses:

1. Zero strategy
2. Infinitive/Purposive converb
3. Resultative or Habitual participle plus Abstract suffix *-ʔi*
4. Quotative enclitic =*ʔen*
5. Past participle plus case suffixes
6. Masdar plus case suffixes
7. Narrative converb clause
8. Serial verb construction

The first five strategies are common and can be classified as major ways of forming complement clauses. The other three strategies are rather uncommon and are restricted to a small number of verbs. The last strategy, the serial verb construction, is only used with the causative verb *tok’er-* ‘force, cause’. It is not treated in this chapter, but in Section 25.2.5. Furthermore, there is a clause union construction with the verb ‘must’ that is monoclausal and thus not really a complement construction. It is treated in Section 22.2.8.

With respect to the semantics of the complement, the complementation types can be grouped into three types following Dixon’s (2006) classification.

- potential type (refers to the potentiality of the subject of the complement clause becoming involved in an activity): Infinitive/Purposive converb, clause union, purpose clauses with the Quotative enclitic (Section 22.2.4.7).
- activity type (refers to some ongoing activity, relating to its extension in time): case-marked Past participle or Masdar
- fact type (refers to the fact that something took place): zero making, Resultative or Habitual participle plus Abstract suffix, Quotative enclitic, Narrative converb

As in all clause types of Hinuq, the word order in complement clauses is predominantly but not strictly head-final. Examples with head-final word order can be found throughout this chapter. (1080) illustrates a complement clause where the verb in the complement clause does not appear in the last position.

- (1080) *Saʔida-z y-eq'i-yo [uži: ga:-s-ʔi ʔi]*
 Saida-DAT IV-know-PRS boy.ERG drink-RES-ABST milk(IV)
 ‘Saida knows that the boy drank the MILK.’

In Tables 81–83 the most important complement-taking verbs and constructions and their strategies are subsumed. The column ‘case’ gives the case marking of the most prominent argument of these verbs. The abbreviations used are LA=local agreement, LDA=long distance agreement and BC=backward control.

In the following Sections 22.2.1–22.2.8, all complementation strategies are described and illustrated with many verbs from the Tables 81–83. A more detailed analysis of the semantics of Hinuq complement clauses and a short overview of complementation strategies in Nakh-Daghestanian languages can be found in Forker (To appear).

22.2. Complementation strategies

22.2.1. Zero strategy

The zero strategy means that two clauses containing main clause verbs are juxtaposed without any overt marker expressing the relationship between them. They resemble asyndetically coordinated clauses, but one of the clauses, mostly the first clause, contains a complement-taking verb. This means that a complement clause could also semantically and syntactically function as a main clause if it occurred on its own. In contrast to complement clauses formed with other strategies, the two clauses are separated by a pause. The complement clause follows the clause containing the complement-taking verb. The reverse order is very

Table 81. Complementation-taking verbs and their strategies (Part 1)

Predicate types	Example verbs	Case	Agreement	Valency	Complementation strategies			
					Zero	INF/PURP	- <i>hi</i>	QUOT
Verbs of speech	<i>eλ-</i> 'speak, say'	ERG, AT.LAT	-	tr.	+			+
	<i>es-</i> 'tell, inform'	ERG, ABS, AT	-	tr., ditr.	+			+
	<i>eser-</i> 'ask'	ERG,	-	tr., ditr.	+			+
	<i>qaλe-</i> 'call, shout'	AT/AT.ABL	-					
	<i>χ'ere-ux-</i> 'promise'	ERG, SPR.LAT/	-	tr., ditr.	+			+
	<i>hardezi-iq-</i> 'request'	AT.LAT	-					
Liking and fearing verbs	<i>amru-u-</i> 'command'	ERG	LA, LDA	tr.	+			+
	<i>-eti-</i> 'want, love'	ERG	S	intr.	+			+
	<i>-etir-</i> 'love, like'	ABS	<i>amru</i>	tr.	+			+
	<i>kul-u-</i> 'hope'	ERG						
	<i>kul goł</i> 'hope'	DAT, ABS	LA, LDA, S	exp.	+			+
	<i>yira-iq-/goł</i> 'wish'	ERG, ABS	LA, LDA	tr., ditr.	+			+
	<i>-uλ-</i> 'fear'	ERG	<i>kul</i>	tr.	+			+
	<i>bixzi-iq-</i> 'be angry'	GENI	-	intr.	+			+
	<i>-ace-</i> 'hate'	GENI	<i>yira</i>	intr.	+			+
		ABS	S	intr.	+			+
Pretence	<i>-u-</i> 'do, make'	ABS	S	intr.	+			+
	<i>razi-iq-/goł</i>	DAT	LA, LDA	exp.	+			+
	<i>namustizi-iq-</i> 'be ashamed'	ERG	LA	tr.				+ GENI
Commentative predicates	<i>razi-iq-/goł</i>	ABS	S	intr.	+			+
	<i>namustizi-iq-</i>	ABS	S	intr.	+			+

Table 82. Complement-taking verbs and their strategies (Part 2)

Predicate types	Example verbs	Case	Agreement	Valency	Complementation strategies					
					Zero	INF/PURP	- <i>hi</i>	QUOT	PTCP:PST	MSD
Achievement predicates	<i>šux'e</i> 'forget'	DAT, ABS	-	exp.		+				
	<i>halbikzi -u-</i> 'try'	ERG	<i>halbikzi</i>	tr.		+		+		
	<i>rok'x'o(r) -aq'e-</i> 'remember'	DAT/AT	LA	exp.		+		+		
Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge	<i>-eq'i-</i> 'know'	DAT	LA, LDA	exp.		+		+		
	<i>-eq'ir-</i> 'learn, teach'	ERG	LA, LDA	tr.		+		+		
	<i>c'aŋ-</i> 'get to know'	DAT, ABS	-	exp.		+		+		
	<i>c'aŋer-</i> 'let know'	ERG,	-	ditr.		+		+		
	<i>bič'i -iq-</i> 'understand'	ABS, AT	LA	exp.		+	(+)		+	
	<i>bič'i -iq-</i> 'understand'	DAT	LA	exp.		+			+	
Propositional attitude	<i>qeba-</i> 'seem'	DAT	-	exp.				+		
	<i>uryezi -iq-</i> 'think'	ABS	S	intr.		+		+		+ SPR
	<i>pikru -u-</i> 'think'	ERG	<i>pikru</i>	tr.		+		+		
	<i>boži -iq-</i> 'believe'	ABS	S	intr.				+	+	+ SPR
	<i>šak(ŋezi) -iq-</i> 'doubt'	ABS	S	intr.				+	+	+ SPR
	<i>rok'e -aq'e-</i> 'be sure'	GENI	<i>rok'e</i>	intr.				+	+	+ SPR
Modal predicates	<i>k'w'ez-i -iq-</i> 'can'	AT/ABS	LA, LDA, S	intr		+				
	<i>koŋ'e-</i> 'can'	DAT/AT	-			+				
	<i>koŋ'er-</i> 'can'	ERG	-			+				
	<i>-iq-</i> 'happen'	AT	ABS	intr.		+				
	<i>-aq'e-</i> 'must'	-	ABS			+				+INF

Table 83. Complement-taking verbs and their strategies (Part 3)

Predicate types	Example verbs	Case	Agreement	Valency	Complementation strategies		
					Zero	INF/PURP	- <i>t</i> QUOT CVB
Manipulative predicates	<i>xece-</i> 'let, stop'	ERG, ABS	-	tr.	+		+
	<i>kekir-</i> 'let, send'	ERG, ABS	-	tr.	+		
	<i>behizi -iq-</i> 'be allowed'	DAT, BC	LDA	intr.	+		
	<i>yira -ixer-</i> 'encourage'	ERG	<i>yira</i>	tr.	+		
	<i>ruhum -iq-</i> 'learn'	ABS	S	intr.	+		
	<i>ruhum -u-</i> 'teach'	ERG	P	tr.	+		
	<i>t'amizl -u-</i> 'force'	ERG	P	tr.	+		
Phasal predicates	<i>-uti-</i> 'begin'	ABS/BC	S	intr.	+		
	<i>baybik -u-</i> 'begin'	ERG	<i>baybik</i>	tr.	+		
	<i>ʒaq e-</i> 'finish, end' (intr.)	ABS	-	intr.			+
	<i>ʒaq er-</i> 'finish, end' (tr.)	ERG, ABS	-	tr.			+
	<i>-iči-</i> 'be, stand, continue'	ABS	S	intr.			+
Immediate perception predicates	<i>-ike-</i> 'see'	DAT, ABS	LA, LDA	exp.	+		+
	<i>-iker-</i> 'show'	ERG, ABS, DAT/AT	LA, LDA	tr.			+
	<i>toq-</i> 'hear, get to know'	DAT, ABS	-	exp.	+		+

marginal. This strategy is possible with three types of complement-taking verbs: verbs of speech, verbs of perception, and two psych verbs. The zero strategy is not very frequent in my corpus.

If the zero strategy is used with verbs of speech, then the complement clauses regularly occur at the right end. In my corpus, it never occurs in the regular object position, that is, immediately before the verb. The complement clause is not marked with the Quotative enclitic or phrase. Various verbs of speech make use of this strategy. Since the complement clause takes a finite verb, all verbal forms occurring in independent main clauses are allowed. For instance, (1081a) illustrates the Compound Future and (1081b), the Resultative Present. Non-indicative moods, such as the Imperative (1081c) or interrogative clauses, are also possible (1081b).

- (1081) a. *hoboži haytu k'et'i y^wad-qo-r eži-n*
 now that.OBL cat.ERG crow.OBL-AT-LAT say-UWPST
"q^wenes=no xore b-ič-a goł"
 second=and fight(III) III-be-INF be
 'The cat says to the crow "There will also be a second fight."' (N)
- b. *hezzo axir-ł'o-do eser-no "tu-y hibadu iši*
 then end-SPR-DIR ask-UWPST who-ERG this apple(III)
b-aq'er-iš goł hibału ked-ez?"
 III-bring-RES be this.OBL girl-DAT
 'Then in the end (he) asks "Who brought this apple to this girl?"'
 (N)
- c. *hayto xan-i qał-o, "ey xan, mač'a maqo-r*
 that.OBL khan-ERG call-PRS eh khan sword(V) outside-LAT
r-iγ-o!"
 V-bring.out-IMP
 'The khan shouts "Eh, khan, take your sword out on the street!"' (N)

As has been mentioned above, this is a marginal way of expressing reported speech. The more frequent way of encoding reported speech is by means of the Quotative enclitic, usually in combination with a quotative phrase. See Chapter 23 for a detailed treatment of reported speech.

Other verbs that use the zero strategy are verbs of immediate perception. Hinuq has two such verbs: *-ike-* 'see' and *toq-* 'hear'.¹²⁷ They take complement clauses headed by finite verbs if the verbs are used in their literal meaning. That

¹²⁷Hinuq lacks such verbs as 'smell, feel' or 'taste'. In order to say 'The soup smells good.', Hinuq speakers say, 'The smell of the soup is good.' For the verbs 'feel' and 'taste', *-eqi-* 'know' or *qeba:-* 'seem' are used.

means that the experiencer of *toq-* ‘hear’ must really hear some sound of the event stated in the complement clause. For example, in (1082c) the experiencer hears the sound of beating; in (1082d) he hears the sound of an opening door. It cannot mean ‘hear’ in the sense of ‘get to know’, or ‘hear in a conversation’. Occasionally the complement occurs in the canonical object position before the verb (1082a, 1082b) or, as with verbs of speech, after the complement-taking verb at the end of the sentence (1082c, 1082d).

- (1082) a. [*nartaw-es Ø-ežinnu essu [ašune-qo b-ece-n*
giant-GEN1 I-big brother(I) belt-AT III-tie-CVB
zeru=n] Ø-aq'-o] Ø-ike-yλ'o ...
fox(III)=and I-come-PRS I-see-SIM
‘when (cinderello) saw that the eldest brother of the giant comes with a fox tied to his belt ...’ (N)
- b. [*welosiped-λ'o toho=bito ked=no noxxo] y-ike-n ...*
bicycle-SPR there=TRANS girl(II)=and come.PRS II-see-CVB
‘when he also sees a girl on a bike coming from the other side ...’ (S)
- c. *toq-iš [zurmaqan-i zones=tow q'imu*
hear-PST zurna.player-ERG REFL.SG.GEN1=EMPH head
zokko zoq'we-s=eλ]
beat.ICVB be-PST=NARR
‘He heard the zurna player beating his own head.’ (N)
- d. *hayto-z toqqo [iyo-y ac y-aɣi-yo]*
he.OBL-DAT hear.PRS mother-ERG door(IV) IV-open-PRS
‘He hears mother opening the door.’

Apart from the zero strategy, both verbs have alternative strategies that are associated with other meanings, i.e. ‘get to know’ (Section 22.2.4).

There are two more complement clauses that occasionally occur with the zero complementation strategy. One of these two clause types is headed by the verb *-eq'i-* ‘know’ (1083a, 1083b).

- (1083) a. “*ʔumar essu, [me Ø-aq'e-s goɿ] diž*
Umar brother(I) you.SG I-come-RES be I.DAT
Ø-eq'i-yo”=λen eλi-yo
I-know-PRS=QUOT say-PRS
‘“Brother Omar, I know that you have come,” he says.’ (N)
- b. *diž Ø-eq'i-yo [hago rek'we Kidili-do Ø-iλ'-a goɿ]*
I.DAT I-know-PRS that man(I) Kidiro.IN-DIR I-go-INF be
‘I know that man will go to Kidiro.’

Although *-eq'i-* ‘know’ allows for such sentences as exemplified in (1083a, 1083b), this is not the preferred way of forming a complement clause with this verb. Far more common is to mark the verb in the complement clause additionally with the Abstract suffix *-ti* (see Tables 81–83 for all complementation strategies of *-eq'i-* ‘know’).

Finally, the construction meaning ‘remember’, e.g. *diž rok'xo goł* ‘I remember’ (lit. ‘I have it on the heart’) also allows for the zero strategy when it is used as a parenthetical (1084a, 1084b). Cross-linguistically, it seems to be quite common to use complement-taking predicates as parentheticals (Thompson 2002), i.e. as words, phrases, or sentences which interrupt a sentence and which bear no syntactic relation to that sentence at the point of interruption, e.g. *You will, I think, have to buy a new car*. Since the Hinuq corpus almost exclusively consists of monologues (fairy tales, legends, autobiographical narrations, procedural texts, etc.), it does not have many examples of parentheticals. When I checked (1084b) the second time with the speaker, he said that it is better to add the Abstract suffix to the last auxiliary of the complement clause.

- (1084) a. *hoboy hezzo iškola:do kekir-oχ'o=n, rok'x'o goł diž,*
 then after school.IN-DIR send-SIM=and heart.SPR be I.DAT
diž iškola:do Ø-iχ'-a Ø-eti-yo zoq'we-s-me
 I.DAT school.IN-DIR I-go-INF I-want-ICVB be-PST-NEG
 ‘Then when they sent me to school, I remember, I did not want to go to school.’ (N)
- b. *sasaqo nesa: t'ek t'ot'er-ho Ø-iči-yo zoq'we-s,*
 in.the.morning in.the.evening book read-ICVB be-ICVB be-PST
rok'x'o goł diž
 heart.SPR be I.DAT
 ‘I was reading a book day and night, I remember.’ (N)

22.2.2. Infinitive and Purposive converb

22.2.2.1. Introduction

All verbs that allow for the Infinitive in complement clauses also allow for the Purposive converb, but the Purposive converb is somewhat more common. The only exception from this rule is the verb *-aq'e-* ‘must’, which can only take the Infinitive and never the Purposive converb. This verb does not occur in genuine complement clauses (i.e. complex sentences containing a subordinate clause), but rather only in clause union (Section 22.2.8).

The arguments of the two clauses are, in principle, independent of one another. That means, the S, A, or EXP of the complement clause can but does not have to be identical to the S, A, EXP, or P of the main clause. The S, A, or EXP of the Infinitival/Purposive converb complement clause is generally omitted under referential identity with some main clause argument.

The complement clauses formed with the Infinitive and the Purposive converb are irrealis (irrealis-prospective and irrealis-potential). Verbs that take such complements include:

- liking and fearing verbs
- modal verbs
- a few propositional attitude and commentative verbs plus two verbs of knowledge
- manipulative verbs
- phasal verbs
- other verbs

For some more verbs see Tables 81–83. Note that complement clauses headed by the Purposive converb or the Infinitive can optionally take the Quotative enclitic as a further complementation marker (Section 22.2.4.7). In the following, some examples of each predicate class will be given. Modals and phasals and also two other verbs have the Infinitive/Purposive converb as their only strategy.

22.2.2.2. *Liking and fearing verbs*

The S or EXP argument of these predicates is usually, but not necessarily, identical to the most prominent (i.e. S, A, or EXP) argument of the complement clause. In the following examples with *-eti-* ‘like, want, love’, *-etir-* ‘love, like’, and *yira -iq-* ‘wish’ are given. Note that in examples (1085c) and (1085e), the complement clause is complex consisting of a Narrative converb clause plus an Infinitival complement clause.

- (1085) a. *hayto-z [Ø-uh-a] Ø-eti-š goł zoni*
 he.OBL-DAT I-die-INF I-want-RES be REFL.SG.ERG
zonez=tow
 REFL.SG.DAT=EMPH
 ‘He himself wants to die.’ (N)
- b. *b-eti-š=eλ [ixtilat.kep b-uw-ayaz]*
 III-want-PST=NARR merriment(III) III-do-PURP
 ‘(They) wanted to have fun.’ (N)

- c. *hayɫo-z b-eti-n [haw bazali-r=no*
 he.OBL-DAT III-want-UWPST that market.IN-LAT=and
b-iži-n mecxeli-λ toλ-a]
 III-take-CVB money.OBL-SUB give-INF
 ‘He wanted to take him to the market and sell him for money.’ (N)
- d. *hayɫoy y-etir-ho [yi ga:-z]*
 he.ERG IV-love-PRS milk(IV) drink-PURP
 ‘He loves to drink milk.’
- e. *ked-es=no yira b-iqqo [hayɫo-s q’oλu*
 girl-GEN1=and wish(III) III-happen.PRS he.OBL-GEN1 skin(III)
b-ašir-no b-ek’^wer-a]
 III-catch-CVB III-burn-INF
 ‘And the girl wishes to catch and burn his skin.’ (N)

If the embedded S, A, or EXP argument has a disjoint reference, the same construction is used (1086a, 1086b). In these examples, the embedded agent has not been raised into the matrix clause but stays in the complement clause. This is indicated by the case marking (Ergative) and by the agreement of *-eti-* ‘want’. In simple clauses, this verb shows agreement with its stimulus argument in the Absolutive case. In complement clauses, it either agrees with the complement clause as a whole, showing gender V agreement (1086a), or it agrees with the Absolutive argument of the complement clause (1085b) but never with the agent of this clause (see Section 22.3 on agreement in complement clauses). Thus, Hinuq allows Infinitival clauses to have their own overt S, A, or EXP arguments.

- (1086) a. *hayɫo-z r-eti-n [de kaɣat cax-ayaz]*
 he.OBL-DAT V-want-UWPST I.ERG letter write-PURP
 ‘He wants me to write letters.’
- b. *obu-z r-eti-n gom [diž hayɫo-s xabar*
 father-DAT V-want-CVB be.NEG I.DAT he.OBL-GEN1 talk
toq-a]
 listen-INF
 ‘The father does not want me to listen to his talk.’

The experiencer verb *-eti-* follows two different case patterns with intransitive embedded verbs: the experiencer can be marked either with the Dative, which is the case assigned by the matrix predicate *-eti-* (1087a), or with the Absolutive, which is the case assigned by the embedded intransitive verb (1087b). It seems that there is a very minor semantic difference between the two examples, but my informants were unable to describe this difference further.

- (1087) a. *Madina-z [y-ot'-a] y-eti-š*
 Madina(II)-DAT II-lay-INF II-want-PST
 'Madina wanted to sleep.'
- b. *[Madina y-ot'-a] y-eti-š*
 Madina(II) II-lay-INF II-want-PST
 'Madina wanted to sleep.'

This differential case marking is only possible if the embedded verb is intransitive. It is also found with another complement-taking verb, *k'wezi -iq-* 'can', as shown in the next section.

22.2.2.3. Modal verbs

Modal verbs like *k'wezi -iq-* 'can', *koł'e-/koł'er-* 'can, know how', and *-eq'i-* 'know how to' always share the A, EXP, or AT-Essive argument with the embedded S, A, or EXP argument.

- (1088) a. *elo ahlu-mo-z [haw halt'i [...] b-uw-a]*
 we.GEN2 folk-OBL-DAT that work(III) III-do-INF
koł'e-mez ...
 be.able-PURP.NEG
 'without our people being able to do that work ...' (N)
- b. *hayłoz koł'-o gom [k'wezera-za-ł'o-r*
 he.DAT be.able-ICVB be.NEG hand.OBL-OBL.PL-SPR-LAT
Ø-ič-a]
 I-stand-INF
 'He does not know how to stand on the hands.'
- c. *hayłoy koł'er-ho [bex kik-a]*
 he.ERG be.able.CAUS-PRS grass mow-INF
 'He is able to mow grass.'
- d. *[hału sapor-ł'o ce gor-a] r-eq'i-yo gom*
 this.OBL journey-SPR name put-INF V-know-ICVB be.NEG
 'I cannot give this journey a name.' (N)

The verb *k'wezi -iq-* 'can' shows a particular behavior because it requires its most prominent argument to be marked by the AT-Essive for all types of embedded verbs except intransitive verbs. This means that the capable agent of embedded transitive or experiencer verbs, and also of extended intransitive verbs with an additional spatial argument, takes the AT-Essive case (1089a, 1089b).

- (1089) a. *Šamil-qo k'w ezi r-iq-iš [zones baru*
 Šamil-AT be.able V-happen-PST REFL.SG.GEN1 wife(II)
y-etir-a]
 II-love-INF
 'Šamil could love his wife.'
- b. *iyo-qo k'w ezi y-iq-iš [ked-λ'o-r y-ez-a]*
 mother(II)-AT be.able II-happen-PST girl-SPR-LAT II-look-INF
 'The mother was able to look at the girl.'

But if the embedded verb is intransitive, the capable agent (i.e. the most prominent argument of the matrix verb) can appear either in the Absolutive case (1090a) or in the AT-Essive (1090b). Both case markings are equally grammatical. According to some informants, there is a very subtle difference in meaning between the two case markings, but they were unable to make further comments on it (1090c).

- (1090) a. *hayi-š [Ø-egunk'ani essu hune-ho Ø-iλ'-a k'w ezi*
 there-ABL1 I-good brother(I) way-ILOC I-go-INF be.able
Ø-iq-omeλ'o] *gagīnuk'ani essu Ø-iλ'-i-yo aλ'-a-do*
 I-happen-SIM.NEG bad brother(I) I-go-PRS village-IN-DIR

'Since the good brother cannot go on the road, the bad brother goes to the village.' (N)

- b. *hay'lo-qo k'w ezi r-iq-no gom [Ø-ič-ayaz*
 he.OBL-AT be.able V-happen-CVB be.NEG I-stand-PURP
[y-ayi-mez hag yašik']]
 IV-open-PURP.NEG that box(IV)
 'He could not withstand not opening the box.' (N)
- c. *uži-qo / uži k'w ezi Ø-iq-iš Ø-iλ'-a*
 boy-AT / boy be.able I-happen-PST I-go-INF
 'The boy was able to go.'

However, the exact syntactic analysis of sentences like (1090a) is still open to future research. The case marking of the capable agent indicates that the construction differs from similar constructions with transitive or experiencer verbs. In principle, there are at least two possibilities: (i) it could be clause union (see Section 22.2.8 below) or (ii) it could be backward control (Section 22.4.6).

There is another possibility of expressing the modal meaning 'can, be possible, have the possibility', namely by using the verb *-iq-* 'be, happen' together

with the AT-Essive case for the non-canonical agent. If the embedded verb is intransitive, then the non-canonical agent is mostly marked with the Absolutive (1091a), but in certain contexts the AT-Essive is also possible. With embedded transitive verbs the non-canonical agent must be marked with the AT-Essive (1091b). Embedded experiencer verbs are not allowed in this construction. They must be transativized first.

- (1091) a. *de Ø-ot'-a Ø-iq-iš-me*
 I I-sleep-INF I-happen-PST-NEG
 'I (masc.) could not sleep.'
- b. *di-ḡo [t'ek cax-a / cax-ayaz]*
 I.OBL-AT book(IV) write-INF / write-PURP.NEG
y-iq-iš-me
 IV-happen-PST-NEG
 'I could not write the book.'

It is not surprising that *k'wēzi -iq-* and *-iq-* use the AT-Essive case to indicate the person who can or is able to do something. The same case is used in the potential construction for marking potential agents and in other constructions for marking other types of non-canonical agents (Section 17.1).

Interestingly, it seems that the embedded predicate cannot be negative, i.e. the negative Purposive converb never occurs as the head of a complement clause with these modal verbs. In order to have a complement clause with negative semantics, the verb *-iči-* 'be, stand' must intervene (see also (1090b) above), e.g.

- (1092) a. * *uži-ḡo k'wēzi r-iq-iš [kampit-be*
 boy-AT be.able V-happen-PST chocolate-PL
r-ac'-mez]
 NHPL-eat-PURP.NEG
 (The boy was able not to eat the chocolates.)
- b. *uži-ḡo k'wēzi r-iq-iš [kampit-be*
 boy(I)-AT be.able V-happen-PST chocolate-PL
r-ac'-mez Ø-ič-ayaz]
 NHPL-eat-PURP.NEG I-be-PURP
 'The boy was able not to eat the chocolates.'

22.2.2.4. Propositional attitude verbs and commentative verbs plus two verbs of knowledge

There is a rather heterogeneous group of psych verbs taking Infinitive/Purposive converb complements: *bič'i -iq-* 'understand', *uryezi -iq-* 'think', *pikru -iq-/u-*

‘think, decide’, *-uλ’-* ‘fear’, *rok’λ’o -aq’e-/rok’λ’or -aq’er-* ‘remember’, *šuλ’e-* ‘forget’, *razi -iq-* ‘be happy, be in accordance’, *namuštizi -iq-* ‘be ashamed’, etc. Most of these verbs have alternative possibilities for complement clauses that do not share their most prominent argument with the main clause and are of realis modality. If they take Infinitive or Purposive converb clauses as their complements, they necessarily share the most prominent argument.

- (1093) a. *baru=n hado=n uryezi b-iqo [b-ox-a]*
 wife=and he=and think HPL-happen.ICVB HPL-leave-INF
 ‘The wife and he intend to leave.’ (N)
- b. *[hayi-do Ø-iλ’-a] hało-s=no pikru*
 there-DIR I-go-INF he.OBL-GEN1=and thought(III)
b-iq-iš-eλ
 III-happen-PST=NARR
 ‘He decides to go there.’ (N)
- c. *[[hago Ø-ašir-ayaz] sed-qo=qen rok’λ’o-r*
 he I-catch-PURP one.OBL-AT-at.least heart.SPR-LAT
r-aq’e-yλ’or] aldoyo-s b-ik’eł-iš gulu=n
 V-come-TERM-POST in.front-ABL I HPL-disappear-PST horse=and
uži=n
 boy=and
 ‘Until at least one remembered to catch him, the boy and the horse disappeared from sight.’ (N)
- d. *hoboži hało-z šuλ’e-n [hag yašik’ hezzoq’imur*
 now he.OBL-DAT forget-UWPST that box(IV) back
y-aq-ayaz]
 IV-close-PURP
 ‘He forgot to close the box.’ (N)
- e. *“de [dew-ho nox-ayaz] razi gom”=λen*
 I you.SG.OBL-ILOC come-PURP happy be.NEG=QUOT
eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 ‘She said “I do not agree to marry you.”’ (N)
- f. *deru me namuštizi y-iqo gom*
 how you.SG be.ashamed II-happen.ICVB be.NEG
[iyo-obu-qo-s bałgo roλ’i r-uw-ayaz]?
 mother-father-AT-ABL1 secretly love(V) V-do-PURP
 ‘How are you (fem.) not ashamed to make love secretly without the parents’ knowledge?’ (N)

22.2.2.5. Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs with Infinitival or Purposive converb complement clauses are *t'amizi -u-* 'force', *behazi -iq-* 'be allowed', *λ'ere -ux-* 'promise', *kekir-* 'let, send', *yira -ixer-* 'encourage, stimulate', etc. The use of the verb *t'amizi -u-* is one way of expressing causative constructions in Hinuq. Other more common ways are described in Section 17.7.

- (1094) a. *hayłoy eli [xabar λaq'er-ayaz / λaq'er-a] t'amizi b-u:-s*
 he.ERG we story finish-PURP / finish-INF instigate HPL-do-PST
 'He forced us to finish our talk.'
- b. *[[dew-de idu r-iqqo goła] bałguyaw-ni*
 you.SG.OBL-ALOC home V-happen.ICVB be.PTCP secret-ATT
žo diž neλ-ayaz] λ'ere r-ux-o!
 thing(V) I.DAT give-PURP up V-take-IMP
 'Promise me to give me the secret thing, which will be at your place!' (N)
- c. *hoboy hazey hadi dahaw=gon di yira b-ixer-iš*
 then they.ERG here few=TOP I.GEN1 wish(III) III-awake-PST
[t'ot'er-ayaz]
 learn-PURP
 'Then they encouraged me to study.' (N)
- d. *hay hoboži hałoy hago rek''we [haw bikore b-uher-ayaz]*
 there then he.ERG that man(I) that snake(III) III-kill-PURP
kekir-no gom
 let-UWPST be.NEG
 'Then he does not let the man kill the snake.' (N)

The addressee-like argument of the verb *behazi -iq-* 'allow' (i.e. the one who is allowed or not allowed to perform an action) can be implicit (1095a). It can also be expressed by the Dative (1095a, 1095b). Another possibility is backward control, i.e. the argument belongs to the subordinate clause and is case-marked in accordance with the valency frame of the subordinate verb. That is, if the subordinate verb is intransitive, the allowee is marked with the Absolutive (1095c). If the subordinate verb is transitive, the allow takes the Ergative (1095d). In any case the complement verb agrees with its argument in the Absolutive case, i.e. it shows long distance agreement.

- (1095) a. *(debez) [kiy k'ilik'-a] behezi.y.iqqo gom, gimu*
 (you.SG.DAT) blueberry(IV) wash-INF allow.IV.ICVB be taste
ʔaq'-o
 finish-PRS
 'You are not allowed to wash the blueberries, the taste gets lost.'
- b. *hayʔoz [hezzo-r Ø-iʔ'-ayaz] behezi.iq*
 he.DAT back-LAT I-go-INF allow.I.happen
 'He is allowed to go back.'
- c. *[me hezzo-r Ø-iʔ'-a] behezi.iq=ʔen*
 you.SG back-LAT I-go-INF allow.I.happen=QUOT
 'You (masc.) are allowed to go back.' (N)
- d. *[ked-i quy.č'w ay r-uw-a] behezi.r.iqqo*
 girl-ERG noise(NHPL) NHPL-do-INF allow.NHPL.happen.ICVB
gom
 be.NEG
 'The girl is not allowed to make noise.'

If the embedded verb is an experiencer verb, then the overt argument must be in the Dative case, but it is impossible to decide whether this argument belongs to the embedded clause or represents the addressee-like argument of the matrix clause:

- (1096) *hayʔuz xabar toq-a behezi.b.iq-me*
 she.DAT story(III) hear-INF allow.III.happen-NEG
 'She is not allowed to hear the story.'

22.2.2.6. Phasal verbs

Three phasal verbs take Infinitival/Purposive converb complements: *baybik -u:-* 'begin', *-uʔi-* 'begin', and *xece-* 'let' 'stop'. The S or A argument of these verbs is always identical to the most prominent argument of the complement clause:

- (1097) a. *hayʔuy [zeres ižey-be r-iʔ-ayaz] baybik*
 it.ERG fox.GEN1 eye-PL NHPL-take-PURP beginning(III)
b-u:-n
 III-do-UWPST
 'It began to pull out the eyes of the fox.' (N)

- b. *Ø-egennu uži [Ø-aq'-an Ø-aq'e-n] [geni b-ik'ek'-a]*
 I-young boy(I) I-come-RED I-come-CVB pear(III) III-steal-INF
Ø-ułi-yo
 I-begin-PRS
 'A young boy comes and begins to steal pears.' (S)
- c. *[me hawsaʔat [k'oħlo-de k'oši:ž] xec-o-me]*
 you.SG.ERG now ball(III)-ALOC play-PURP stop-COND-NEG
de hadu b-iŷ-a goł
 I.ERG this III-take-INF be
 'If you do not stop playing with the ball now, I will take it away.'

22.2.2.7. Other verbs

There are a number of other predicates with Infinitive/Purposive converb complements not belonging to one of the five groups listed above. These verbs are all light verb constructions consisting of a loan word plus a Hinuq light verb: *ħukmu -u:-* 'decide', *ħalbiħzi -u:-* 'try', *ruhun -iq-* 'learn', *ruhun -u:-* 'teach'. They may or may not share the S or A argument with the S, A, or EXP argument of the complement. Some of these light verb constructions employ a noun, which, if used without the light verb, also takes Infinitive/Purposive converb complements (e.g. *ħukmu* 'decision'). For more details on complements of nouns, see Section 22.6 below.

- (1098) a. *Pat'imat-i ħalbiħzi b-u:-s [xok'o-be r-uw-a /*
 Patimat-ERG try(III) III-do-PST khinkal-PL NHPL-do-INF /
r-uw-ayaz]
 NHPL-do-PURP
 'Patimat tried to make khinkal.'
- b. *hazey [bercingo cax-ayaz] ruhun Ø-u:-s de*
 they.ERG beautifully write-PURP habit I-do-PST I
 'They taught me (masc.) to write accurately.' (N)
- c. *hazey ħukmu b-u:-n [[hago*
 they.ERG decision(III) III-do-UWPST he
gamač'-mo-za-qo=n Ø-ece-n] raład-li-ł-edo
 stone-OBL-OBL.PL-AT=and I-tie-CVB sea-OBL-CONT-DIR
kur-a]
 throw-INF
 'They decide to tie him to a stone and throw into the sea.' (N)

- d. *žamaʔat-mo-y b-u:-s ĩukmu [oʔra ʃ^wede:*
 society-OBL-ERG III-do-PST decision(III) seven.OBL day.IN
q'ulhu b-iʃ-ayaz]
 qulhu(III) III-bring.out-PURP
 'The society decided to make the qulhu prayer for seven days.' (N)

22.2.3. The Abstract suffix

22.2.3.1. Introduction

A number of verbs take complements marked with the Abstract suffix *-ʔi*. The verbs in these complements are simple or occasionally periphrastic verb forms containing a Resultative participle or a Habitual participle. Only for embedded copula clauses is a copula converb employed. If the Resultative participle occurs, then the complement clause has relative past time reference. Complement clauses headed by the Habitual participle plus *-ʔi* have relative future time reference, occasionally relative present time reference, or express timeless habitual properties.

This type of complement clause occurs in canonical object position immediately before the complement-taking verb or at the left end of the sentence. Hinuq has three groups of complement-taking verbs that make use of this strategy:

- verbs of knowledge, acquisition of knowledge
- perception verbs
- a few other verbs

All verbs that occur with this complementation strategy also have other possibilities of forming complement clauses, mostly by means of Infinitive or Purposive converb clauses.

22.2.3.2. Verbs of knowledge and understanding

Complement-taking verbs of knowledge and understanding using the Abstract suffix are: *-eq'i-* 'know', *-eq'ir-* 'learn, teach', *c'aʔ-* 'get to know', *c'aʔer-* 'let know', etc. Verbs with agreement prefixes employing this complement strategy mostly show local agreement, i.e. they have the agreement prefix *r-* for gender V, but long distance agreement with the embedded Absolutive argument is also possible (see Section 22.3 on the agreement). The EXP or A argument of these verbs can be coreferential with some complement clause argument. This is often the P argument, but it can also be some other argument, e.g. A, EXP, or S (1099b).

- (1099) a. *diž Ø-eq'i-yo [hago rek^we Kidili-do Ø-iλ'i-yo*
 I.DAT I-know-PRS that man(I) Kidiro.IN-DIR I-go-ICVB
zoq^we-s-ti]
 be-RES-ABST
 'I know that that man went to Kidiro.'
- b. *[amma [Ø-uλ'-iš-ti] r-eq'i-r-mez hado]*
 but I-be.afraid-RES-ABST V-know-CAUS-PURP.NEG he
[[zones goła] hunar b-iker-a]
 REFL.SG.GEN1 be.PTCP ability(III) III-show-INF
Ø-uti-š=eλ
 I-begin-PST=NARR
 'But without letting it be known that he was afraid, he began to show his ability.' (N)
- c. *hayłoy [λerba-be b-aq'e-s-ti] di-qo*
 he.ERG guest-PL HPL-come-RES-ABST I.OBL-AT
c'ałer-iš-me
 inform-PST-NEG
 'He did not inform me that the guests came.'

Since the copula lacks a Habitual participle, only lexical verbs with the Habitual participle suffix plus the Abstract suffix show up in complements with the same verbs of understanding and knowledge. These complement clauses have future time reference. Example (1104d) below shows the contrast in time reference between complements containing the Resultative participle and complements containing the Habitual participle: the first complement in this example has past time reference, whereas the second has future time reference.

- (1100) a. *[ac y-aγi-me-λ'os-ti] r-eq'i-λ'o ...*
 door(IV) IV-open-NEG-HAB-ABST V-know-SIM
 'when (he) understands that (she) would not open the door ...' (N)
- b. *de Ø-eq'i-r-iš [me Ø-aq'e-λ'os-ti]*
 I.ERG I-know-CAUS-PST you.SG I-come-HAB-ABST
 'I got to know that you (masc.) will come.'
- c. *de hayło-qo [me aλ-a-do y-aq'e-λ'os-ti]*
 I.ERG he.OBL-AT you.SG village-IN-DIR II-come-HAB-ABST
c'ałer-an
 inform-INTFUT
 'I will let him know that you (fem.) will come to the village.'

Complement clauses containing a copula construction differ from all other lexical verbs because the copula usually appears in some converb form, mostly *goŕiš*. The Present tense copula *goŕ* is ungrammatical, but the Resultative participle *zoq* 'wes plus the suffix *-ŕi* can be used, i.e. in (1101a) *goŕiš* could be replaced by *zoq* 'wes*ŕi* without a noticeable difference in meaning.

- (1101) a. [*elu-s naciya dessu goŕiš=no*] *b-eq*'i-yo
 we.OBL-GEN1 nation(III) which be.CVB=and III-know-ICVB
gom
 be.NEG
 '(They) do not know what our nation is.' (N)
- b. [*dessu goŕiš xan-i-š pikru*]
 which be.CVB khan-OBL-GEN1 thought(III)
b-eq'i-r-an
 III-know-CAUS-INTFUT
 'We will get to know which thought the khan has.'
- c. [*haw šayt'an-i-š aqili goŕiš*] *haŕo-z bič*'i
 she devil-OBL-GEN1 woman be.CVB he.OBL-DAT understanding
r-iqqo
 V-happen-PRS
 'He understands that she is a devil woman.' (N)

22.2.3.3. Perception verbs

Three perception verbs (simple or causative verbs) take this type of complement clause: *-ike-* 'see', *-iker-* 'show', and *toq-* 'hear'. These complement clauses usually have factative meaning. For situation complements with the same verbs, see Section 22.2.1.

- (1102) a. *ked-ez Ø-ik-o* [*?ali čeq-i-do Ø-iŕ'i-ŕ'os-ŕi*]
 girl-DAT I-see-PRS Ali forest-IN-DIR I-go-HAB-ABST
 'The girl sees that Ali goes into the forest.'
- b. *de r-iker-an* [*de darsi-be r-u-s-ŕi*]
 I.ERG V-show-INTFUT I.ERG lesson-PL NHPL-do-RES-ABST
 'I will show you that I did the homework.'
- c. *diž toq-iš* [*obu idu-do Ø-aq'e-s-ŕi*]
 I.DAT hear-PST father(I) home-DIR I-come-RES-ABST
 'I heard that father came home.'

But if the Habitual participle is used, the meaning may also be non-factative:

- (1103) *ʔumar-i diqo b-iker-iš [deru mašina b-iž-a*
 Omar-ERG I.AT III-show-PST how car(III) III-take-INF
b-aq'e-λ'os-ti]
 III-must-HAB-ABST
 'Omar showed me how (you) must drive a car.'

22.2.3.4. A few other verbs

There are a few more predicates that mark their complement with the Abstract suffix, namely *šuλ'e-* 'forget', *rok'λ'o -aq'e-/rok'λ'or -aq'er-* 'remember', *-ace-* 'hate', and *bič'i -iq-* 'understand'. These verbs mostly show local agreement with the complement clause as a whole. The last example (1104d) illustrates the different time reference of the Resultative participle and the Habitual participle.

- (1104) a. *diž neteqen šuλ'e-me [eli cadaq kino-mo-t-er*
 I.DAT never forget-NEG we together film-OBL-CONT-LAT
b-exna:ho zoq'w e-s-ti]
 HPL-go-ICVB be-RES-ABST
 'I will never forget that we went together to the movies.'
- b. *diž r-ac-o [haytoy ʔaraq'a ga:s-ti /*
 I.DAT V-hate-PRS he.ERG vodka drink-RES-ABST /
ga:λ'os-ti]
 drink-HAB-ABST
 'I hate that he drinks vodka.'
- c. *hezzo bič'i r-iq-iš=eλ [uži ʔadataw*
 then understanding V-happen-PST=NARR boy common
gosme-ti]
 without-ABST
 'Then he understands that the boy was uncommon.' (N)
- d. *hezzo haļu-z bič'i r-iqo [zo*
 then she.OBL-DAT understanding V-happen.PRS REFL.SG
q'orol-a-y y-aλ'ir-iš-ti] [zonde-r
 widow-OBL-ERG II-betray-RES-ABST REFL.SG.ALOC-LAT
xoddo t'ok'aw Ø-aq'e-me-λ'os-ti]
 husband(I) anymore I-come-NEG-HAB-ABST
 'Then she understands that the widow had betrayed her, that her husband would not come back to her.' (N)

22.2.4. The Quotative enclitic

22.2.4.1. Introduction

The use of the Quotative enclitic =*χen* for marking complement clauses represents a rather frequent strategy occurring with many types of verbs. The embedded verb in this construction appears in a main clause verb form, i.e. leaving out the complement-taking verb plus the Quotative enclitic gives a grammatical main clause. The major function of the Quotative enclitic is to mark reported speech (see Section 13.1.2.6 for an overview of all functions carried out by this enclitic). Furthermore, it also appears with other types of complement-taking verbs:

- propositional attitude verbs
- verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge (including *toq-*)
- liking and fearing verbs (including =*χen* + *-uŋi-* ‘begin’ = ‘want’)
- achievement verbs

In the followings sections, examples of each verb type are given. Sometimes even verbs that usually do not take complements can have a complement clause marked with the Quotative enclitic (1105).

- (1105) *obu-y elu-go-r wasi b-u:n zeq'we-s*
 father-ERG we.OBL-AT-LAT testament(III) III-do-CVB be-PST
 “*ŋora=n ɣ^wede-ŋ hayŋo-zo sud-a-ho axranŋi*
 three.OBL=and day-CONT he.OBL-GEN2 grave-OBL-ILOC watch(V)
r-uw-o”=*χen*
 V-do-IMP=QUOT
 ‘Our father said in his testament to us to guard his grave for three days.’
 (N)

The complement clauses in all these constructions are headed by main clause verb forms, i.e. they could stand alone. They can be realis or irrealis. Irrealis complements are especially frequent when the embedded complement is expressed as a verbal form that can have future time reference, e.g. the Simple Present or the General tense. The S, A, EXP, or addressee argument of the complement-taking verb can but does not have to be identical to the S, A, or EXP argument in the subordinate clause.

Furthermore, the Quotative enclitic occurs in purpose clauses. These constructions have most probably evolved out of complement constructions, but may synchronically even be monoclausal. They are treated in Section 22.2.4.7.

Another function of the Quotative enclitic is to express hearsay evidentiality (Section 8.3.4). This is probably the reason why complements of the verb *toq-* ‘hear’ can also be marked with the Quotative enclitic (1111c).

22.2.4.2. *Verbs of speech*

All verbs of speech (e.g. *eλ-* ‘speak, say’, *ese-* ‘tell, inform’, *eser-* ‘ask’, *qaλe-* ‘call, shout’, etc.) and manipulative predicates referring to speech acts (*hardezi -iq-* ‘request’, *amru/prikaz -u:-* ‘command’) mark their complements with the Quotative enclitic. The use of =*λen* alone is enough to indicate such complements (1106a, 1106b). But often the enclitic appears in combination with the Narrative converb of the verb *eλi-* ‘say’. However, this is only possible when the matrix verb is not *eλi-* but some other verb of speech (1106c).

- (1106) a. “*way, as r-ašir-o! diž me bak’žezi*
oh sky(V) V-keep-IMP I.DAT you.SG grow.heavy
Ø-iqqo”=*λen qaλe-s=eλ nartaw-i*
I-become.ICVB=QUOT call-PST=NARR giant-ERG
“‘Oh, keep the sky! You are becoming heavy for me.’” shouted the giant.’ (N)
- b. “*eli kekir-o!*”=*λen hardezi b-iq-a*
we let-IMP=QUOT beg HPL-happen-INF
b-ułi-š=eλ
HPL-begin-PST=NARR
‘They began to beg “Set us free!”’ (N)
- c. *hoboy hayłoy eser-no ič’č’a y-e’žinnu ked-go “deče*
then he.ERG ask-UWPST most II-old girl(II)-AT how.much
debez de Ø-eti?”=*λen eλi-n*
you.SG.DAT I I-want=QUOT say-CVB
‘Then he asks the smallest daughter “How much do you love me?”’ (N)

But the Quotative enclitic is also possible in complements of *eλi-* itself, as long as reported speech occurs between the matrix verb *eλi-* and the Narrative converb *eλin* – this leads to multiple occurrences of *eλi-*:

- (1107) *boc’e-y eλi-n hayłu-qo-r “me de de*
wolf-ERG say-UWPST that.OBL-AT-LAT you.SG I.ERG I.ERG
b-uher-an”=*λen eλi-n, “de nek^we-s goł*”=*λen eλi-n,*
III-kill-INTFUT-QOT say-CVB I starve-RES be=QUOT say-CVB
“*diž b-ac’-a b-eti-n*”=*λen eλi-n*
I.DAT III-eat-INF III-want-UWPST=QUOT say-CVB
‘The wolf said to it (i.e. the fox), “I will kill you, I am hungry, I want to eat.”’ (N)

The complement clause, especially when it is quite short, can occur in the canonical object position immediately before the verb of speech (see also (1106a) above for an example with a longer complement clause):

- (1108) *aλ-a Ø-aq'e-yλ'o "As-salam ʔalaykum!"=λen eλi-n*
 village-IN I-come-SIM As-salam alaykum=QUOT say-CVB
budak'an-i-λ'o-r Ø-aq'e-n
 godekan-OBL-SPR-LAT I-come-UWPST
 'When he came to the village, he went to the godekan saying "As-salam alaykum!"' (N)

Shifting the complement clause to the left before the matrix clause or to the right after the matrix clause is also possible. Example (1109b) represents a complement clause where the matrix clause has been left out. The complement of *ʔazi -u:-* 'inform, predict, prescribe' occurs at the end of the sentence.

- (1109) a. *"hibago rek'^we di-de-r Ø-aq'er-o!"=λen haλo*
 that man(I) I.OBL-ALOC-LAT I-bring-IMP=QUOT this.OBL
xan-i amru b-u:-n
 khan-ERG command(III) III-do-UWPST
 "Bring me that man!" commanded the khan.' (N)
- b. *"dew-ƒo de ʔazi r-u:-y-me"=λen eλi-n,*
 you.SG.OBL-AT I.ERG realize V-do-Q-NEG=QUOT say-CVB
"debe sabaw cax-om?!"=λen eλi-n
 you.SG.GEN1 amulet write-PROH=QUOT say-UWPST
 "Did I not inform you that you should not write your amulets?!" he said.' (N)

A more detailed analysis of reported speech is given in Chapter 23.

22.2.4.3. Propositional attitude verbs

All propositional attitude verbs allow for complements marked with the Quotative enclitic (e.g. *qeba:-* 'seem', *urzezi -iq-* 'think', *boži -iq-* 'believe', *šak(ʔezi) -iq-* 'doubt', etc.), but most of them have alternative strategies (see Tables 81–83). The verb *-ese-* 'be probable' frequently appears in these complements and expresses the doubt of the speaker (i.e. the S, A, or EXP argument of the matrix verb) concerning the truth of the proposition expressed in the complement clause (1110d).

- (1110) a. [*r-ič'-iš gadi r-iži-yo=λen qeba:s=eλ*
 V-fill-RES barrel(V) V-take-PRS=QUOT seem-PST=NARR
nartaw-za-z
 giant-OBL.PL-DAT
 'The giants thought that he would bring a filled barrel.' (N)
- b. [*hału-s mažna se=λen uryezi Ø-iq-no hado*
 this.OBL-GEN1 sense what=QUOT think I-happen-UWPST this
uži
 boy(I)
 'What is the sense of this, he thinks.' (N)
- c. *obu šak Ø-iq [eli q'ono=n uryezi*
 father(I) doubtful I-happen we.ERG two=and think
b-iq-no=λen]
 HPL-happen-UWPST=QUOT
 'The father will doubt that we two invented (something).' (N)
- d. *di essu boži Ø-iqgo gom [te r-oč'č'u*
 I.GEN1 brother(I) belief I-happen.ICVB be.NEG water(V) V-cold
r-ese=λen]
 V-be.probable=QUOT
 'My brother does not believe that the water is cold.'

22.2.4.4. Verbs of knowledge and verbs of acquisition of knowledge

All verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge except *-eq'i-* 'know' use, among other strategies, the Quotative enclitic to mark their complements. Furthermore, the verb *toq-* 'hear' can employ this strategy when it is used in the sense of 'get to know' (1111c).

- (1111) a. *de haze-qo-r r-eq'i-r-iš [zek*
 I.ERG they.OBL-AT-LAT V-know-CAUS-PST tomorrow
šahali-do nox=λen]
 town.IN-DIR I-come=QUOT
 'I told them (lit. made them know) to come to the town tomorrow.'
- b. [*[hago čanaqan Ø-aq'e-n=λen] c'ał-oλ'o] hayło*
 that hunter(I) I-come-UWPST=QUOT get.to.know-SIM that.OBL
xan-i kekir-ho wazir [čanaqan eλ-ayaz]
 khan-ERG send-PRS vizier hunter say-PURP

‘When the khan finds out that the hunter came, he sends the vizier to call the hunter.’ (N)

- c. *seda zaman-a-ŧ toq-no seda uži-ž pulanaw*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT hear-UWPST one.OBL boy-DAT certain
xan-es ked goŧ=λen eλi-n
 khan-GEN1 girl be=QUOT say-CVB

‘One time one boy heard that a certain khan has a daughter.’ (N)

22.2.4.5. Liking and fearing verbs

Many predicates of the class of liking and fearing verbs can form complement clauses with the help of the Quotative enclitic (e.g. *-uλ’* ‘fear’, *bixizi -iq-* ‘be afraid, be angry’, *kul -u-* ‘hope’).

- (1112) a. *uži Ø-uλλo [zo boc’e-z Ø-ik-o=λen]*
 boy(I) I-be.afraid.PRS REFL.SG wolf-DAT I-see-PRS=QUOT
 ‘The boy is afraid that the wolf may see him.’
- b. *di-žo essu-y kul b-u:-ho [r-oč’č’u ɿe*
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG hope(III) III-do-PRS V-cold water(V)
r-ese=λen]
 V-be.probable=QUOT
 ‘My brother hopes that the water is cold.’
- c. *uži bixzi.iqgo [iyo y-iλ’i=λen]*
 son(I) be.angry.I.PRS mother(II) II-go=QUOT
 ‘The son is angry that the mother goes away.’

22.2.4.6. Achievement verbs

The last verb type that makes use of the Quotative enclitic for the expression of complement clauses includes a few achievement predicates: *rok’λ’o(r) -aq’e-* ‘remember’, *rok’λ’or -aq’er-* ‘remember’, and *ħalbikzi -u-* ‘try, test’. All these predicates also employ other strategies (see Tables 81–83).

- (1113) a. *haytu-z rok’λ’o r-aq’e-s [zek iyo*
 she.OBL-DAT heart.SPR V-come-PST tomorrow mother(II)
y-aq’e=λen]
 II-come=QUOT
 ‘She remembered that mother comes tomorrow.’

- b. *obu-y hało-s ħalbikzi b-u:-ho [[zoni*
 father-ERG he.OBL-GEN1 test(III) III-do-PRS REFL.SG.ERG
moł-o goła] ħilmu hało uži-ž
 teach-ICVB be.PTCP science(IV) this.OBL boy-DAT
y-eq'i-n=ħen]
 IV-know-UWPST=QUOT
 'The father tests whether the boy learned the science that he had
 taught him.' (N)

22.2.4.7. Purpose clauses with the Quotative enclitic

The Quotative enclitic is used in clauses with purposive meaning. From a formal point of view these clauses are rather heterogenous, but due to the similarities in their semantics they are analyzed here together. Purpose clauses containing the Quotative enclitic can have the form of complement clauses or they can be adverbial clauses. In the first case the verb *-uči-* 'begin' or the verb 'be' are used as a matrix verbs. The whole construction corresponds to English complement clauses with the matrix verb 'want'. The verb in the complement clause is almost always in the Intentional Future form, but the Simple Present is also possible. Thus, in (1114b) *y-ot'-an=ħen* could be replaced by *yotto=ħen* ('II-lay.PRS=QUOT'). Here are some examples with the matrix verb 'begin' (1114a–1114c).

- (1114) a. [*deče [ħ'ere-s ħaw he?e-r-an=ħen] Ø-uči-yon]*
 how.much up-ABL1 that lift-CAUS-INTFUT=QUOT I-begin-CONC
he?e-s-me-eħ
 lift-PST-NEG=NARR
 'However much he wanted to lift that up, he did not lift it.' (N)
- b. [*ħadu [y-ot'-an=ħen] y-uči-ya] ħarawat-mo-ħ'o*
 she II-lay-INTFUT=QUOT II-begin-PTCP.LOC bed-OBL-SPR
xoddo Ø-aši-yo gom
 husband(I) I-find-ICVB be.NEG
 'When she wants to sleep, she does not find her husband in the bed.'
 (N)
- c. [*magalu b-uti-r-an=ħen] Ø-uči-ya] boboru*
 bread(III) III-turn-CAUS-INTFUT=QUOT I-begin-PTCP.LOC hot
saž yoħu.koka-ħ'o ħ'ere c'ox-iš=eħ
 pan Cinderello(I)-SPR on fall-PST=NARR

‘When Cinderello wanted to turn the bread, the hot pan fall on him.’
(N)

Instead of ‘begin’ it is also possible to have the verb ‘be’ as matrix verb. Note that this construction seems to grammaticalize into a monoclausal construction with a modal meaning. In contrast to the above sentences which are clearly biclausal with the matrix verb *-uti-* agreeing with its most prominent argument, which is in the Absolutive case, in (1115a) and (1115b) the most prominent argument is not in the Absolutive case although ‘be’ is normally an intransitive verb. It is in the case assigned by the lexical verb that bears the Intentional Future suffix and the Quotative enclitic. Furthermore, the word order seems to be more flexible than in canonical complement clauses (1115b).

- (1115) a. [*hałoy saqu r-eq'ir-an=λen*] *zoq'e-n* [*tu-z deče*
 he.ERG once V-learn-INTFUT be-UWPST who-DAT how.much
[?]*aši Ø-eti-yo zoq'e-n=λen*]
 much I-want-ICVB be-UWPST=QUOT
 ‘Once he wanted to know who loved him and how much.’ (N)
- b. *hałoy zoq'e-n* [*b-ux-an=λen hes geni*]
 he.ERG be-UWPST III-take-INTFUT one pear(III)
 ‘He wanted to take one pear.’ (S)

These complement clauses with the Quotative enclitic seems to have developed from reported speech constructions. It is not unusual to find verbs that are not verbs of speech in matrix clauses of reported speech, e.g. English ‘be like’. That is, examples (1114a–1114c) are diachronically reported speech constructions with an unusual verb in the matrix clause. The purposive meaning is basically due to the Intentional Future which is used to express intentions and plans. However, this origin is no longer transparent for speakers of Hinuq who translate (1114a–1114c) and (1115a–1115b) as containing a matrix verb ‘want’.

In the second case a normal purpose clause containing an infinitive or a purposive converb takes additionally the Quotative enclitic (1116a, 1116b). The Quotative enclitic in this type of adverbial clauses is optional and, in fact, not very common. It seems that this usage of the Quotative enclitic has further extended to include also purpose clauses with the Intentional Future form. Normally, this verb form is restricted to main clauses and must be used with first person agent-like arguments (Section 7.4.2). It does not occur in adverbial clauses. However, when the Quotative enclitic is added to the Intentional Future it can occur in adverbial clauses with purposive meaning (1116c). This use of the Quotative enclitic is quite common for Nakh-Daghestanian language. Apart from Hinuq it is also attested in Ingush, Godoberi, Tsez, and Tsakhur.

- (1116) a. *hezzo Ø-aq'e-n hayti-r sasaqo qahfi-go xozyayn*
 then I-come-UWPST there-LAT morning dawn-AT owner(I)
[Ø-ez-a=χen]
 I-look-INF=QUOT
 'Then in the morning at dawn the owner came in order to have a look.' (N)
- b. *hadu [azu b-eta:z=χen] y-iλ'i-n močot-er*
 she crop(III) III-mow-PURP=QUOT II-go-UWPST field.CONT-LAT
 'She went to the field in order to mow the crop.' (N)
- c. *hayto-ł hezzo [hago Ø-ašir-an=χen] hadbe q'ono=n*
 he.OBL-CONT after he I-catch-INTFUT=QUOT these two=and
k'oχe-n
 jump-UWPST
 'The two went after him in order to catch him.' (N)

22.2.5. The Past participle in complement clauses

Only very few verbs take complements expressed with the Past participle to which the SPR-Essive is added, e.g. *boži -iq-* 'believe', *šak(čezi) -iq-* 'doubt', *razi -iq-* 'be happy, in accordance', *čazačibfi -u:-* 'wonder', and *ruq'eq' -iq-* 'be disappointed'. All these complement-taking verbs are light verbs involving Avar loans. Their complements are nominalized clauses. The SPR-Essive in the following examples also occurs on other noun phrases in the same position:

- (1117) a. *Maħama boži Ø-iq-iš [zones obu*
 Mahama(I) belief I-happen-PST REFL.SG.GEN1 father(I)
Ø-aq'e-yoru-λ'o]
 I-come-PTCP.PST-SPR
 'Magomed believed in the coming of his father.'
- b. *Pat'imat razi y-iqgo [iyo-y buχe*
 Patimat happy II-happen.PRS mother-ERG house(III)
b-ux-oru-λ'o]
 III-take-PTCP.PST-SPR
 'Patimat is happy about her mother buying a house.'
- c. *de čazačibfi r-u:-ho [hago č'ago χex^we-yoru-λ'o]*
 I.ERG wonder(V) V-do-PRS he alive remain-PTCP.PST-SPR
 'I am wondering about his staying alive.'

Some of these verbs can also take the Masdar suffix plus the SPR-Essive with no difference in meaning between the two constructions (see Section 22.2.6 below). Complement clauses with the Past participle are of the activity type.

There is another construction employing a Past participle marked with a case suffix, namely the construction with the meaning ‘pretend’ consisting of the verb *-u:-* ‘do, make’ plus a complement. In this case, the Past participle takes the First Genitive/Ablative suffix:

- (1118) a. *[toq-oru-s]* *r-uw-o!*
hear-PTCP.PST-GEN1 V-do-IMP
‘Pretend to hear!’
- b. *haytoy [Ø-edo:-ru-s]* *r-u:-ho goł*
he.ERG I-work-PTCP.PST-GEN1 V-do-ICVB be
‘He pretends to work.’
- c. *Madina-y [t’ek t’ot’er-oru-s]* *r-u:-ho goł*
Madina-ERG book read-PTCP.PST-GEN1 V-do-ICVB be
‘Madina pretends to read a book.’

22.2.6. The Masdar in complement clauses

Very few verbs take the Masdar plus the SPR-Essive as complements. These verbs include mostly, but not exclusively, light verb constructions with Avar loans, e.g. *boži -iq-* ‘believe’, *šak(łezi) -iq-* ‘doubt’, *uryezi -iq-* ‘think’, and *rok’e -aq’e-* ‘be sure’. The first two of them also take Past participles marked with the SPR-Essive as nominalized complement clauses (Section 22.2.5). According to my informants, both constructions have the same meaning. Complement clauses with the Masdar are of the activity type.

- (1119) a. *de šakłezi Ø-iqgo [zek y^wede r-egi*
I doubt I-become.PRS tomorrow day(V) V-good
r-iq-anu-ł’o]
V-happen-MSD-SPR
‘I doubt that tomorrow will be a good day.’ (i.e. good weather)
- b. *di rok’^we r-aq’e [hadu xabar bałgo λex^w-anu-ł’o]*
I.GEN1 heart(V) V-come this story secretly remain-MSD-SPR
‘I am sure of this story remaining a secret.’

There is yet another way of employing a Masdar in a complement clause, namely in reported speech when talking about the topic of a conversation. In this

construction, the clause expressing the topic is headed by a Masdar plus the First Genitive/Ablative suffix:

- (1120) *Maḥama-y xabar b-u:s [zoni aqili*
 Mahama-ERG story(III) III-do-PST REFL.SG.ERG woman(II)
y-iž-anu-s]
 II-take-MSD-GEN I
 ‘Mahama talked about taking a wife.’ (i.e. marrying)

22.2.7. The Narrative converb in complement clauses

Only three phasal verbs make use of the narrative converb for their complement constructions: *ṭaq'e-*, *ṭaq'er-* ‘finish, end’, and *-iči-* ‘be, stand, continue’. For the first two verbs, the Narrative converb complement is the only possibility of forming complement clauses. The third verb *-iči-* is regularly used in constructions expressing continuity and/or progressive aspect, although the verb in the complement clause is not exclusively marked with the Narrative converb, but can also be used with other forms employed in subordinate clauses, e.g. the Imperfective converb or the Habitual converb. These constructions rather resemble periphrastic predicates than true complement clauses. They are treated in Section 8.1.3.4.

- (1121) a. [*kak r-u:n]* *ṭaq'e-yλ'o ...*
 prayer(V) V-do-CVB end-SIM
 ‘when praying ends ...’ (N)
- b. *sadaq ṭaq'er-no [r-ac'-no]*
 all finish-CVB V-eat-UWPST
 ‘(He) finished all food.’ (N)
- c. [*hagbe b-iλ'i-λ'or=no*] [*Ø-ot'-no*] *Ø-iči-yo hago*
 they HPL-go-POST=and I-lay-CVB I-be-PRS he
 ‘Until they come home, he continues sleeping.’ (N)

22.2.8. Clause union

The verb *-aq'e-* ‘must’ behaves differently from all other Hīnuq complement-taking verbs. It cannot be said to have its own transitivity value.¹²⁸ Its complements can only be Infinitives. The Infinitival predicate does not head a clause of its own. Rather, it undergoes clause union. The term *clause union* has been

¹²⁸The homophonous verb *-aq'e-* ‘come’ is intransitive.

established within Relational Grammar for clauses with two predicates that are nonetheless monoclausally combined (cf. Aissen & Perlmutter (1983), Gibson & Raposo (1986), Davies & Rosen (1988), Butt (1995)). Clause union constructions have a flat structure with only one S, A, or EXP argument. They are often triggered by light or modal verbs which subcategorize for another predicate.

The verb occurs in two constructions that are very similar to each other but can be distinguished by the case marking of the most prominent argument, which is variable in the first construction (1122a) and fixed in the second (1122b). The first construction is far more common and will be analyzed first in this section.

- (1122) a. *xoddo-y baru y-etir-a y-aq'e*
 husband-ERG wife(II) II-love-INF II-must
 'A husband must love his wife.'
- b. *xoddo-λ'o baru y-etir-a y-aq'e*
 husband-SPR wife(II) II-love-INF II-must
 'A husband must love his wife.'

If the lexical verb in the first construction is intransitive, both verbs agree with the S of the lexical verb (1123a, 1123b). If it is transitive, it is the P of the lexical verb that triggers agreement (1123c). If the lexical verb is an experiencer verb, then the agreement is with the stimulus of this verb, etc.

- (1123) a. *me Ø-iλ'-a Ø-aq'-o hibayto [...] rek'u-de-r*
 you.SG I-go-INF I-must-PRS that.OBL man.OBL-ALOC-LAT
 'You (masc.) must go to that [...] man.' (N)
- b. *hago uniwersitet-ma t'ot'er-a Ø-aq'e*
 he university-IN learn-INF I-must
 'He must study at the university.'
- c. *di goliš kinawnigi sibirli r-eq'-a r-aq'e*
 I.GEN1 be.CVB altogether slyness(V) V-know-INF V-must
debez
 you.SG.DAT
 'You must know all my tricks.' (N)

Similarly, in the first construction, the case assignment to all arguments comes from the lexical verb. The most prominent argument must have the case marking assigned by the lexical verb. For instance, if the lexical verb is transitive, it must take the Ergative case marking. Otherwise the sentence is either ungrammatical or receives a different interpretation:

- (1124) *Murad ze b-uher-a Ø-aq'e*
 Murad(I) bear(III) III-kill-INF I-come
 'Murad will come to kill the bear.'

The same is valid for all other valency types of verbs (see examples (1123a–1123c) above). For example, the verb *-uλ'* 'be afraid, fear' assigns the Absolutive argument to the one who is afraid and the AT-Essive to the cause of the fear. If the verb is combined with *-aq'e-*, the case assignment remains constant. In example (1125) the lexical verb is intransitive.

- (1125) *uži Ø-uλ-a Ø-aq'e obu-qo*
 son(I) I-be.afraid-INF I-must father-AT
 'A son must fear his father.'

That this structure is indeed monoclausal is indicated by a number of properties: modal verb and lexical verb behave like other periphrastic verb forms consisting of an auxiliary and a lexical verb (see the indicative periphrastic verbal forms in Section 7.5 or the epistemic modality forms in Section 8.2.2). The modal auxiliary takes all verbal suffixes. The lexical verb appears in a form that cannot function as the head of a main clause. Both lexical verb and modal auxiliary show the same agreement, namely, with the Absolutive argument of the lexical verb. In clauses expressing weather phenomena and temperature, the prefix *r-* (1126a) must be used. Agreement with any other constituent except the Absolutive of the lexical verb (e.g. with the agent) or default agreement of gender V is ungrammatical (1126c).

- (1126) a. *idu r-ič-a r-aq'e r-oč'č'u*
 home V-be-INF V-must V-cold
 'It must be cold at home.'
- b. *Murad-i ze b-uher-a b-aq'e*
 Murad-ERG bear(III) III-kill-INF III-must
 'Murad must kill the bear.'
- c. * *Murad-i ze b-uher-a {r-aq'e / Ø-aq'e}*
 Murad-ERG bear(III) III-kill-INF V-must / I-must
 (Murad must kill the bear.)

Another indicator for monoclausality is word order. All elements can scramble freely just as in simple clauses (A-P-V, A-V-P, P-V-A, A-V-X, etc.). The modal verb usually follows the subordinated verb just as auxiliaries follow main verbs. Like auxiliaries, the modal verb can be separated from the lexical verb, e.g. it can occur after the agent (1127c) or just before the lexical verb (1127d).

- (1127) a. *Maḥama-y buḫe b-uw-a b-aq'e*
 Mahama-ERG house(III) III-do-INF III-must
 'Mahama must build the house.'
 b. *Maḥamay buwa baq'e buḫe*
 c. *Maḥamay baq'e buḫe buwa*
 d. *buḫe Maḥamay baq'e buwa*

In contrast to some types of complement clauses, it is impossible to have two semantically incompatible time adverbials in one sentence (1128a).¹²⁹ Furthermore, as with normal periphrastic verb forms, only the auxiliary and not the lexical verb can be negated (1128b, 1128c).

- (1128) a. **huł ked-i žiqu t'ek y-ux-a y-aq'-o*
 yesterday girl-ERG today book(IV) IV-buy-INF IV-must-ICVB
zoq'w e-s
 be-PST
 (Yesterday the girl had to buy the book today.)
 b. **Pat'imat-i magalu b-ac'-mez b-aq'e*
 Patimat-ERG bread(III) III-eat-PURP.NEG III-must
 (Patimat should not eat the bread.)
 c. *Pat'imat-i magalu b-ac'-a b-aq'e-me*
 Patimat-ERG bread(III) III-eat-INF III-must-NEG
 'Patimat should not eat the bread.'

The construction can be combined with converb clauses in order to form complex sentences:

- (1129) *zek de r-uw-a r-aq'-o saq'dari [meži mahar*
 tomorrow I.ERG V-do-INF V-must-PRS church(V) you.PL marriage
gor-ayaz]
 put-PURP
 'Tomorrow I must build a church in order to marry you.' (N)

Multiple embedding is also allowed:

- (1130) *diž b-eq'i-yo [de gulu b-išer-a b-aq'e-ḫ'os-ti]*
 I.DAT III-know-PRS I.ERG horse(III) III-feed-INF III-must-HAB-ABST
 'I know that I must feed the horse.'

¹²⁹It is possible that the ungrammaticality of (1128a) is only due to semantic incompatibility.

The second construction is identical to the first in all but one property: the most prominent argument of the main verb takes the SPR-Essive case. Its case is not assigned by the lexical verb but by the construction as a whole. If the embedded verb in such a construction is intransitive, then there is no Absolutive argument in the clause since the most prominent argument is now marked with the SPR-Essive (compare (1125) above and (1131a) below), and thus the agreement prefix on *-aq'e-* 'must' is *r-* (gender V). If the embedded verb is transitive, then the agreement is, as expected, to go with the P of the lexical verb.

- (1131) a. *ʔali-λ'o uniwersitet-ma t'ot'r-a r-aq'e-s*
 Ali-SPR university-IN study V-must-PST
 'Ali had to study at the university.'
- b. *ec'endiyu=gozon elu-λ'o b-uw-a b-aq'e-s buλe*
 new=TOP we.OBL-SPR III-do-INF III-must-PST house
 'We had to build a new house.' (N)

Experiencer verbs are not allowed in this construction but must occur with the other clause union construction. Thus, compare the following two examples: (1132a) is ungrammatical, but (1132b), where the first construction has been employed, is acceptable. Another possibility is to causativize the experiencer verb such that it becomes an ordinary transitive verb; then both constructions are available as can be seen in the first two examples of this section (1122a, 1122b).

- (1132) a. **xoddo-λ'o baru y-et-a y-aq'e*
 husband-SPR wife(II) II-want-INF II-must
 (A husband must love his wife.)
- b. *xoddo-z baru y-et-a y-aq'e*
 husband-DAT wife(II) II-want-INF II-must
 'A husband must love his wife.'

In all other respects both constructions behave alike. For instance, negation is only possible on the modal verb *-aq'e-*, and there are no word order restrictions.

Both constructions may diachronically originate from a metaphorical use of the verb *-aq'e-* 'come'. This verb occurs in sentences expressing external circumstances that virtually "come over" someone, i.e. it can have a kind of modal meaning:

- (1133) *ʔezaʔan aq'uba b-aq'e-s elo xalq'i-mo-λ'o*
 much torture(III) III-come-PST we.GEN2 folk-OBL-SPR
 'Much torture came on our folk.' (N)

This would mean that a sentence like (1131b) literally means something like ‘It came upon us to build a new house’.

22.3. Agreement in complement clauses

22.3.1. Introduction

Many of the complement-taking verbs in Hinuq begin with a consonant and therefore do not show agreement. But there are also a number of these verbs that contain agreement prefixes, and the question arises as to what the agreement of these verbs triggers. There are four possibilities for the behavior of these verbs, and this partially depends on their valency frame:

1. Intransitive complement-taking verbs agreeing with the S
2. Transitive complement-taking verbs agreeing with the P
3. Complement-taking verbs agreeing with the complement clause as a whole (‘local agreement’)
4. The agreement varies between local agreement and long distance agreement. This group of verbs is treated in Section 22.3.2.

In the first group, the S argument is usually the most prominent argument. For example, in the case of the verb *ruhun -iq-* ‘learn’, it is the learner (1134); for *bixzi -iq-* ‘be angry’, it is the person who is angry, and with *-uλ-* ‘fear’ it is the one who fears. Other verbs belonging to this group are *uryezi -iq-* ‘think’, *boži -iq-* ‘believe’, *šak(ʔezi) -iq-* ‘doubt’, *razi -iq-* ‘be happy, agree’, *namuštizi -iq-* ‘be ashamed’, *behizi -iq-* ‘be allowed’, *hardezi -iq-* ‘request’, *-uʔi-* ‘begin’, and *-iči-* ‘be, continue’.¹³⁰

- (1134) *ked ruhun y-iq-iš [mašina b-iž-ayaz]*
 girl(II) habit II-become-PST car(III) III-take-PURP
 ‘The girl learned to drive a car.’

There are two complex verbs consisting of a noun and an intransitive verb where the most prominent argument takes the Genitive (1135). Consequently it cannot trigger agreement. Instead, the agreement is triggered by the the noun which belongs to the complex verb, e.g. the verb in *rok’e r-aq’e-* ‘be sure’ is marked with the prefix *r-* of gender V because *rok’e* belongs to gender V (1135). The other verb within this group is *yira b-iq-* ‘wish’ (1085e).

¹³⁰The verbs *k’wezi -iq-* ‘can’ and *-eti-* ‘want’ can only have their most prominent argument in the Absolutive when the embedded verb is intransitive. In this case they agree with the most prominent argument.

- (1135) *di-žo essu-s rok'e r-aq'e [iyo-y xok'o*
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-GEN1 heart(V) V-come mother-ERG khinkal(III)
b-u:=χen]
 III-do=QUOT
 'My brother is sure that mother will make khinkal.'

The second group, transitive predicates agreeing with P of the main clause, can be divided into two subgroups. For most of these verbs it is the fixed noun which is part of the verbal meaning that triggers the agreement. Therefore, the agreement does not change. For example, the noun *baybik* 'beginning' belongs to gender III, so the agreement prefix on the verb *baybik b-u:-* 'begin' is always *b-* (1136a). Other such verbs are *ħukmu b-u:-* 'decide', *pikru b-u:-* 'think', *kul b-u:-* 'hope', *γira b-ixer-* 'encourage', and *amru b-u:-* 'comand'. In contrast, there are two verbs in this group where the P argument in the Absolutive triggering the agreement is not part of the verb but changes. These verbs take a human referent for their P argument, which is instigated in some way or the other by the A. The two verbs are *t'amizi -u:-* 'force' (1136b) and *ruhun -u:-* 'teach' (1098b).

- (1136) a. *hezzo=gozon baybik b-u:-s [t'ot'er-ayaz]*
 then=TOP start(III) III-do-PST study-PURP
 'Then (I) began to study.' (N)
- b. *hayłoy eli t'amizi b-u:-s [xabar ıaq'e-r-a]*
 he.ERG we force HPL-do-PST talk finish-CAUS-INF
 'He forced us to finish out talk.'

The third group consists of verbs showing only so-called 'local agreement': *bič'i -iq-* 'understand', *rok'χ'o(r) -aq'e* 'remember', and the verb *-u:-* 'do' (when appearing in the pretence construction). This means that in complement constructions, the verbs always take the agreement prefix *r-* of gender V. As has been mentioned in other chapters, gender V is the default gender used when there is no overt or covert agreement trigger in the clause. For sentences formed with these three verbs, it can be argued that the verbs agrees with the complement clauses as a whole, which are assigned gender V because a clause normally does not have any gender. This argumentation receives further support from those complement clauses that are marked with the Abstract suffix *-ıi* (1137) because almost all abstract nouns formed with the help of this suffix belong to gender V. Thus, the complement clauses can be analyzed as having undergone nominalization.

- (1137) *hayto-z bič'i r-iq-no [hadu bikore*
 he.OBL-DAT understanding V-happen-UWPST this snake(III)
b-²eži-λ'os-ti]V
 III-win-HAB-ABST
 'He understands that the snake will win.' (N)

22.3.2. Long distance agreement

Hinuq has a number of complement-taking verbs with agreement prefixes which vary in their agreement between local agreement and long distance agreement. As already mentioned, if a complement-taking verb shows local agreement, it has the agreement prefix *r-* of gender V (1138a, 1138b).

- (1138) a. *haytuy λ'ere r-ux-iš [hago Ø-etir-a]V*
 she.ERG up V-take-PST he I-love-INF
 'She promised to love him.'
- b. *Maħama-y di-qa r-iker-iš [haytoy t'ek t'ot'er-iš-ti]V*
 Mahama-ERG I.OBL-AT V-show-PST he.ERG book read-RES-ABST
 'Mahama showed me that he read the book.'

For a complement-taking verb to show long distance agreement means that the predicate agrees with the Absolutive argument of the embedded clause (1139).

- (1139) *haytoy diž [buħe b-uw-a] λ'ere b-ux-iš*
 he.ERG I.DAT house(III) III-do-INF up III-take-PST
 'He promised me to build a house.'

The agreement trigger can be the P argument, as in example (1139) above, if the embedded verb is transitive. If the embedded verb is intransitive it will be the S argument (1140a). In the case of an embedded experiencer verb it is the stimulus that triggers the agreement (1140b).

- (1140) a. *hayto-z b-ike-s [meši čeq-i-do b-iλ'i-š]*
 he.OBL-DAT III-see-PST calf(III) forest-IN-DIR III-go-PST
 'He saw that a calf went into the forest.'
- b. *dew-qa-r de Ø-iker-an [deru diž de*
 you.SG-OBL-AT-LAT I.ERG I-show-INTFUT how I.DAT I
Ø-aši-yo]
 I-find-PRS
 'I will show you how I (masc.) find myself.' (N)

If the embedded Absolutive argument belongs to gender V or triggers non-human plural agreement, then it is impossible to decide whether the relevant example exhibits local or long distance agreement because the agreement prefix can only be *r-*. For instance, in (1141) the agreement can be local but can also be long distance since the P argument of the embedded verb *žo* ‘thing’ belongs to gender V.

- (1141) *[[dew-de idu r-iqo goła] bałguyaw-ni*
 you.SG.OBL-ALOC home V-happen.ICVB be.PTCP secret-ATT
žo diž neλ-ayaz] λ'ere r-ux-o!
 thing(V) I.DAT give-PURP on V-take-IMP
 ‘Promise me to give me the secret thing, which will be at your place!’
 (N)

In my corpus I have found the following verbs, which exhibit long distance agreement: *λ'ere -ux-* ‘promise’, *-eq'i-* ‘know’, *-eq'ir-* ‘learn, teach’, *-eti-* ‘want’, *-etir-* ‘love’, *-ace-* ‘hate’, *-oc'er-* ‘forbid, cut off’, *behezi -iq-* ‘be allowed’, *k'wezi -iq-* ‘be able’, *-ike-* see, and *-iker-* ‘show’. These verbs belong to various valence classes, and they utilize various complementation strategies (see Tables 81–83 above). It seems that both local and long distance agreement is possible with all strategies, with the exception of the Infinitive/Purposive converb strategy for the verbs *-eq'i-* ‘know’ and *-iker-* ‘show’ (1142a, 1142b). For instance, in (1142a) the embedded A is identical to the experiencer of the complement-taking verb and is therefore left out. In this case, only long distance agreement is possible. The reason for this restriction might be that Infinitival complements (and, for Hinuq, also complements with the Purposive converb because both strategies are used with the same range of verbs in the same contexts) are often a little bit different from other complements. Infinitival and purposive complements have been claimed to be less clausal, i.e. complex sentences containing infinitival and purposive complements are not really biclausal, but rather monoclausal.

- (1142) a. *diž {*r-eq'i-yo / b-eq'i-yo} [mašina b-iž-ayaz]*
 I.DAT *V-know-PRS / III-know-PRS car(III) III-take-PURP
 ‘I know how to drive a car.’
 b. *žumar-i diqo {*r-iker-iš / b-iker-iš} [mašina b-iž-a]*
 Umar-ERG I.AT *V-show-PST / III-show-PST car(III) III-take-INF
 ‘Umar showed me how to drive a car.’

In addition to the verbs, the adverb *-eg* ‘well’, when used in a cleft construction, can trigger long distance agreement (see example (1184b) below).

Long distance agreement is found in a number of other Nakh-Daghestanian languages including all Tsezic languages, Tsakhur (Kazenin et al. 1999), Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999b), and Avar (Kibrik 2003: 459). Verbs that show long distance agreement in these languages are ‘know, want’ and ‘can, be able’ (but not all of them in every language). The analyses of these constructions vary from language to language and sometimes even from verb to verb. Haspelmath (1999b) claims for all instances of long distance agreement in Godoberi that these sentences are monoclausal; therefore, the agreement is in fact local. His argumentation is based on scope effects in focusing, scrambling, and embedding. In contrast, Kazenin et al. (1999) show that in Tsakhur all instances of long distance agreement are biclausal. Polinsky & Potsdam (2001) and Polinsky (2003) give a detailed analysis of long distance agreement with the verb ‘know’ in Tsez. They show that sentences exhibiting long distance agreement are biclausal without any overt or covert agreement controller in the matrix clause. Furthermore, they argue that in Tsez, long distance agreement is a topic-marking strategy for absolutive arguments, which, at least in transitive embedded clauses, are not typical topics. Interestingly, Polinsky (2003) claims, for the same language, that all complement clauses with ‘can, be able’ and ‘want, like’ are instances of clause union (and therefore monoclausal) and not instances of long distance agreement, regardless of the similarity of these complement clauses with complements of ‘know’.

In the following sections I will show that all instances of long distance agreement in Hinuq are biclausal and that it is a pragmatic device for emphasizing the constituent that triggers the agreement.

22.3.2.1. *Biclausality of long distance agreement*

There are at least three arguments in favor of assigning a biclausal structure to sentences with long distance agreement. They come from the behavior of reflexives, from negation, and from temporal specifications with the help of adverbs. Not all three criteria are equally applicable to all verbs allowing for long distance agreement, e.g. especially the last criterion cannot be used with verbs like *-ike-* ‘see’ and *-iker-* ‘show’ because it requires semantic appropriateness.

Reflexives

Hinuq has simple and reduplicated reflexive pronouns for the third person. The reduplicated reflexive pronouns must be locally bound, i.e. they can not be bound across clausal boundaries (see Section 24.1 for the syntax of reflexivization). Thus, in example (1143a) the antecedent of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun *zoni.zonez* can only be the A argument of the same clause – it can never be the

experiencer of the matrix predicate. In contrast, the simple reflexive pronoun in (1143b) leads to a potential ambiguity because both the experiencer of the matrix clause as well as the agent of the embedded clause can be interpreted as antecedents.

- (1143) a. *obu-z_i b-eti-n [uži_i;_j zoni.zonez_{*i}/_j mašina*
 father-DAT III-want-UWPST boy.ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT car(III)
b-ux-ayaz]
 III-buy-PURP
 ‘The father_i wants the son_j to buy a car for himself_{*i}/_j.’
- b. *obu-z_i b-eti-n [uži_i; zonez_i/_j mašina*
 father-DAT III-want-UWPST boy.ERG REFL.SG.DAT car(III)
b-ux-ayaz]
 III-buy-PURP
 ‘The father_i wants the son_j to buy a car for him_i/himself_j.’

This behavior of reduplicated reflexive pronouns rules out a raising analysis of complement-taking verbs with long distance agreement. In order to avoid long distance agreement, one could argue that the Absolutive argument triggering the agreement has been raised into the matrix clause, and thus the agreement is local. However, S arguments of embedded intransitive verbs show that this is not the case since they function as the only possible antecedent of reduplicated reflexive pronouns, therefore showing that the S and the reflexive pronoun belong to one and the same clause, which must be distinct from the clause to which the most prominent matrix argument (e.g. the experiencer in (1144)) belongs:

- (1144) *?ali-ž_i Ø-eq’i-yo [rek’^we_j Ø-uti-š-łi zoni.zonzo_{*i}/_j*
 Ali-DAT I-know-PRS man(1) I-turn-RES-ABST RED.REFL.SG.GEN2
idu-do]
 home-DIR
 ‘Ali_i knows that the man_j turned back to his_{*i}/_j house.’

Negation

In biclausal structures consisting of two (or more) clauses headed by two predicates, each verb can be negated independently. This is true for relative clauses and adverbial clauses, and it is true for complement clauses, independently of whether they show local or long distance agreement (1145a, 1145b). Similarly, both clauses can be negated at the same time (1145c).

- (1145) a. *diž b-ike-s-me [hayłuy idu mos b-ałi-š]*
 I.DAT III-see-PST-NEG she.ERG home broom(III) III-sweep-PST

‘I did not see that she swept the house.’

- b. *diž b-ike-s [hayłuy idu mos b-ałi-š-me]*
 I.DAT III-see-PST she.ERG home broom(III) III-sweep-PST-NEG

‘I saw that she did not sweep the house.’

- c. *Madina-z y-eq'i-š-me [hayłoy aže]*
 Madina-DAT IV-know-PST-NEG he.ERG tree(IV)
y-oc'-iš-me-łi]
 IV-cut-RES-NEG-ABST

‘Madina did not know that he did not cut the tree.’

In contrast, in monoclausal constructions like clause union structures formed with the modal auxiliary *-aq'e-* ‘must’, only the modal verb, but never the lexical verb or both verbs, can be negated (see 22.2.8 above).

Temporal specification

In biclausal structures, each of the clauses can have an independent temporal specification if this is semantically appropriate. This can be indicated by verb forms with different time references or more explicitly by semantically incompatible temporal adverbs like ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’.

- (1146) a. *žiqu de Ø-eq'i-r-iš [hago zek hadi-do]*
 today I.ERG I-know-CAUS-PST he tomorrow here-DIR
Ø-aq'e-ł'os-łi]
 I-come-HAB-ABST
 ‘Today I got to know that he will come here tomorrow.’
- b. *huł hayłuy ł'ere b-ux-iš [žiqu bełe: mos]*
 yesterday she.ERG on III-take-PST today house.IN broom(III)
b-ał-a]
 III-sweep-INF
 ‘She promised yesterday to sweep the house today.’

In monoclausal structures like clauses with periphrastic verb forms (including the biabsolute construction) or in clause union constructions, this is impossible since they refer to one situation or event that can have only one temporal specification.

Multiple embedding

It is possible to have multiple embedding where either all complement-taking verbs or the lower verb show long distance agreement. Thus, in (1147a, 1147b) both complement-taking verbs show long distance agreement.

- (1147) a. *iyoz b-eq'i-yo [Pat'imat-ez [tort b-ac'-a]*
 mother-DAT III-know-PRS Patimat-DAT cake(III) III-eat-INF
b-eti-š-ti]
 III-want-RES-ABST
 'The mother knows that Patimat wanted to eat the cake.'
- b. *ʔali-ž b-eti-yo [[obu-y ec'endiyu mašina*
 Ali-DAT III-want-PRS father-ERG new car(III)
b-ux-λ'os-ti] Madina-z b-eq'-ayaz]
 III-buy-HAB-ABST Madina-DAT III-know-PURP
 'Ali wants Madina to know that the father will buy a new car.'

But it is also possible that the higher complement-taking verb shows local agreement and only the lower one shows long distance agreement (1148a). The other way around is more problematic, some speakers accept examples like (1148b), other speakers reject them. In any case, it is better when both complement-taking verbs show local agreement (1148c).

- (1148) a. *Murad-ez r-eq'i-yo [ħakim-ez y-eti-n [de*
 Murad-DAT V-know-PRS ruler-DAT IV-want-UWPST I.ERG
kařat cax-a]]
 letter(IV) write-INF
 'Murad knows that the boss wants me to write the letter.'
- b. *? diž b-eti-n [debez r-eq'-a [tu-y*
 I.DAT III-want-UWPST you.SG.DAT V-know-INF who-ERG
gulu b-ik'ek'-iš-ti]]
 horse(III) III-steal-RES-ABST
 'I want you to know who stole the horse.'
- c. *diž retin [debez req'a [tuy gulu bik'ek'iš-ti]]*

Long distance agreement on the highest predicate is even possible with an intervening complement-taking verb that cannot agree:

- (1149) *diž y-eq'i-yo [ʔumar-i [Madina y-aq'e-s=χen]*
 I.DAT II-know-PRS Umar-ERG Madina(II) II-come-PST=QUOT
ese-s-ti]
 tell-RES-ABST
 'I know that Omar said that Madina came.'

The possibility of multiple embedding where all predicates show long distance agreement seems to depend at least to some extent on the verbs. Thus,

to use ‘know’ and ‘want’ in a complex sentence is possible (in both orders). To have two or even three complements of ‘know’ embedded into each other in combination with long distance agreement is possible for some speakers but not for others. Thus, my main informant accepted (1150a) readily, whereas other Hinuq speakers rejected it and proposed (1150b) instead a sentence where all complement-taking verbs show local agreement.

- (1150) a. ? *diž b-eq'i-yo [[[Madina-y č'ek'k'u tort*
 I.DAT III-know-PRS Madina-ERG all cake(III)
b-ac'-iš-ti] *iyoz b-eq'i-λ'os-ti]* *debez*
 III-eat-RES-ABST mother-DAT III-know-RES-ABST you.SG.DAT
b-eq'i-š-ti]
 III-know-RES-ABST
 ‘I know that you know that the mother knows that Madina ate all the cake.’
- b. *diž req'iyō [[[Madinay č'ek'k'u tort bac'iš-ti]* *iyoz req'iλ'os-ti]* *debez req'iš-ti]*

Similarly, in (1151) local agreement is required. Long distance agreement is only possible if the speaker not only saw the addressee seeing that father comes home, but also the father himself.

- (1151) *diž r-ik-o [debez [idu-do Ø-aq'e-λ'os] obu*
 I.DAT V-see-PRS you.SG.DAT home-DIR I-come-HAB father(I)
Ø-ike-λ'os-ti]
 I-see-HAB-ABST
 ‘I saw that you saw father coming home.’

22.3.2.2. Pragmatics of long distance agreement

For the closely related language Tsez, long distance agreement has been described as a pragmatic tool of topicalizing the embedded Absolutive argument. For Hinuq, topicalizing seems to be an incomplete analysis. Sentences with long distance agreement are used when the speaker wants to direct the attention of the hearer to the referent of the agreement trigger, which can be topic or focus. In contrast, sentences with local agreement are, so to say, neutral; none of the arguments in the embedded clause are particularly salient. For example, when Hinuq speakers are asked to describe the difference between (1152a) and (1152b), they say that in the first example the book is pragmatically salient, i.e. the speaker stresses the fact that Madina bought a book and not a pencil, for instance. In the

second sentence, the book is not particularly salient. Example (1152c) is from a narrative about a young hero. Here the matrix verb *k'w ezi -iq-* 'be able' agrees with the embedded P *kiči* 'ring' in order to stress the fact that the hero must be able to take away the ring from the girl, and not something else. The ring is mentioned for the first time with the sentence given in (1152c). Therefore, it cannot be the topic of this sentence but must rather be focus.

- (1152) a. *Pat'imat-ez y-eq'i-yo [Madina-y t'ek*
 Patimat-DAT IV-know-PRS Madina-ERG book(IV)
y-ux-iš-ti]
 IV-buy-RES-ABST
 'Patimat knows that Madina bought the BOOK.'
- b. *Pat'imat-ez r-eq'i-yo [Madina-y t'ek*
 Patimat-DAT V-know-PRS Madina-ERG book(IV)
y-ux-iš-ti]
 IV-buy-RES-ABST
 'Patimat knows that Madina bought the book.'
- c. [The khan's daughter will sit on the balcony of the second floor.]
[[kiči gulu-λ'o=bito b-iγ-a] k'w ezi b-iqqo
 ring(III) horse-SPR=TRANS III-take-INF be.able III-happen.ICVB
goʔa] rek'u-z
 be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT
 'To the man who is able to take away the RING on a horse (the girl will be given).' (N)

If the agreement trigger is fronted and appears in clause-initial position, only long distance agreement is grammatical. Local agreement is ruled out in such a case. A corpus example can be found in (1153c). This type of fronting is used as a means of topicalization, which is especially clear in the corpus example. The referent that triggers the long distance agreement has been introduced in the immediately preceding clause and is thus topical in (1153c).

- (1153) a. *y-oxoru kaγat hayʔo-z {*r-eti-n /y-eti-n}*
 IV-long letter(IV) he.OBL-DAT V-want-uwpst / IV-want-UWPST
[cax-a]
 write-INF
 'It is a long letter that he wants to write.'
- b. *tort λ'ere {*r-ux-o /b-ux-o} [diž neλ-ayaz]!*
 cake(III) on V-take-IMP / III-take-IMP I.DAT give-PURP
 'Promise me to give me the CAKE.'

- c. [He will give you three questions.]

haw ʔono suʔal dew-ɣo [hune-ʔ'o b-iž-ayaz]
 that three question(III) you.SG.OBL-AT way-SPR III-take-PURP
k'w ezi b-iq-o-me ...
 be.able III-happen-COND-NEG

'if you are not able to resolve the three questions ...' (lit. 'bring them on the way') (N)

If the embedded Absolutive argument is used as the nucleus of a relative clause and thus must appear outside of its clause, it always triggers long distance agreement in the matrix verb (which now functions as the nucleus of the relative clause).¹³¹ Local agreement is ungrammatical under these circumstances (1154a–1154c). The nucleus of a relative clause is topical. This again means that long distance agreement can function as a topicalizing device.

- (1154) a. *[[de devez _ neʔ-ayaz] ʔ'ere *r-uxxo /*
 I.ERG you.SG.DAT ABS give-PURP on V-take.ICVB /
b-uxxo ɣoʔa] mecxer istoli-ʔ'o ɣoʔ
 III-take.ICVB be.PTCP money table-SPR be
 'The money that I promised to give to you is on the table.'
- b. *neʔ di-ɣo-r [hayʔo-z [de _ t'ot'er-a] *r-eti-yo*
 give I.OBL-AT-LAT he.OBL-DAT I.ERG ABS read-INF V-want-ICVB
/y-eti-yo ɣoʔa] t'ek!
 / IV-want-ICVB be.PTCP book(IV)
 'Give me the book that he wants me to read!'
- c. *di-ɣo Ø-iker-o [y^we-y maħ-mo-ʔ'o-zo [_*
 I.OBL-AT I-show-IMP dog-ERG smell-OBL-SPR-GEN2 ABS
*Ø-aq'e-s-ʔi] *r-eq'ir-ho / Ø-eq'ir-ho ɣoʔa] ʔerba*
 I-come-RES-ABST V-learn-ICVB / I-know-ICVB be.PTCP guest(1)
 'Show me the guest who the dog recognized by smell that he came!'

Nouns that are part of light verb constructions and are usually not considered to function as topics can nevertheless trigger long distance agreement. Local agreement is possible as well, but this goes against the topic analysis.

- (1155) *ked-ez {r-eti-n / b-eti-n} gom [ʔumru b-uw-a*
 girl-DAT V-want-CVB / III-want-CVB be.NEG life(III) III-do-INF
Hinuqo]
 Hinuq.AT

¹³¹I use the term 'nucleus' as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term 'head' to refer to the relativized argument.

‘The girl does not want to live in Hinuq.’

The embedded clauses can contain WH-words referring to the oblique arguments or to modifiers, and both long distance agreement and local agreement are grammatical. This is remarkable insofar as it is in contrast to Hinuq’s closest neighbor Tsez (Polinsky & Potsdam 2001: 634–635).

- (1156) a. *obu-y* {*r-eq’ir-iš* / *Ø-eq’ir-iš*} [*ʔu-y ec’endiyu*
 father-ERG V-learn-PST / I-learn-PST who-ERG new
buʔe b-u:-s-ʔi
 house(III) III-do-RES-ABST
 ‘The father found out who bought the new house.’
- b. *Šamil-ez* {*r-eq’i-yo* / *b-eq’i-yo*} [*ni Madina-y*
 Šamil-DAT V-know-PRS / III-know-PRS where Madina-ERG
mexer b-uqi-š-ʔi
 money(III) III-hide-RES-ABST
 ‘Šamil knows where Madina hid the money.’

More interestingly, the embedded clauses can also contain WH-words or phrases referring to the Absolutive arguments in the embedded clauses in combination with both kinds of agreement. This is a further argument against saying that the Absolutive argument triggering the long distance agreement is necessarily the topic since a WH-word can hardly be the topic of its clause.

- (1157) a. [*ʔu rek’^we goʔiš*] *diž* *Ø-eq’i-yo gom*
 who man(1) be.CVB I.DAT I-know-PRS be.NEG
 ‘I do not know who he was.’ (N)
- b. *obu-z* {*r-eq’i-yo* / *Ø-eq’i-yo*} [*ked-ez ʔu*
 father-DAT V-know-PRS / I-know-PRS girl-DAT who
Ø-ike-s-ʔi
 I-see-RES-ABST
 ‘Father knows who the girl saw.’
- c. *debez* {*r-eq’i-ye* / *Ø-eq’i-ye*} [*k’ačay-za-y ʔu*
 you.SG.DAT V-know-Q / I-know-Q bandit-OBL.PL-ERG who
Ø-uher-iš-ʔi?
 I-kill-RES-ABST
 ‘Do you know who the bandits killed?’

Embedded reflexive and reciprocal pronouns can trigger long distance agreement but also allow for local agreement. Example (1158a) contains a reduplicated reflexive pronoun in the Absolutive case triggering the agreement on the

matrix verb; in (1158b) it is a reciprocal pronoun in the same position that triggers the agreement.

- (1158) a. *iyoz* {*r-eq'i-o* / \emptyset -*eq'i-yo*} [*Maḥama-y*]
 mother-dat V-know-PRS / I-know-PRS [Mahama-ERG]
zoni.zo zok'-iš-ti
 RED.REFL.SG beat-RES-ABST
 'Mother knows that Mahama beat himself.'
- b. *Ibrahim-ez=no* *ʔali-ž=no* {*r-eq'i-o* / *b-eq'i-yo*}
 Ibrahim-DAT=and Ali-DAT=and V-know-PRS / HPL-know-PRS
[zodi sedi.hes zok'-iš-ti]
 REFL.PL.ERG REC beat-RES-ABST
 'Ibrahim and Ali know that they beat each other.'

When looking at corpus examples the situation does not become clearer. It seems that in the majority of the examples with long distance agreement the agreement triggers are topical (1153c), (1159a), but there are also a number of examples in which they are focal (1152c), (1159b). Contrasting this with corpus examples of local agreement (1159c) only makes clear that in case of local agreement none of the constituents in the complement clause is emphasized. The complement clause in (1159c) does not contain overt arguments, and it P argument, which could be a potential trigger of long distance agreement is a continuous topic.

- (1159) a. [The speaker is talking about his grandmother.]
giluḥ'os maḥla: [haw y-aq'e-s] y-eq'i-yo zoq'e-s
 suddenly street.IN she II-come-PST II-know-ICVB be-PST
 'Suddenly on the street (we) knew that she came.' (N)
- b. [*nišḫa mix zoq'e-n*] *b-eq'i-yo gom*
 which time(III) be-UWPST III-know-ICVB be.NEG
 'I do not know which time it was.' (N)
- c. [\emptyset -*aḫ'ir-iš-ti*] *r-eq'i-ḫ'o*] *kupec-i Malla Rasadan*
 I-betray-RES-ABST V-know-SIM merchant-ERG Mullah Nasredin
sud-ma-r toḫḫo
 court-IN-LAT give.PRS
 'When he found out that Malla Nasrudin betrayed him, the merchant brings him to the court.' (N)

To sum up, long distance agreement is clearly a means of putting emphasis on the agreement trigger and directing the hearer's attention to its referent, but

it cannot be called a topicalizing or a focalizing strategy in Hinuq. Obviously, this issue deserves further research and analysis, both from a syntactic as well as from a functional point of view.

22.4. Coreference and control

22.4.1. Introduction

In this section coreference and control in complement clauses is analyzed. The devices for expressing coreference and control in complement clauses are exactly the same as for other complex clause types, but zero anaphora (i.e. Equideletion) seems to be more grammaticalized than in other complex clauses. In Hinuq control is semantically constrained rather than syntactically since even possessors can function as controllers. Like other Nakh-Daghestanian language, Hinuq exhibits backward control (Section 22.4.6).

22.4.2. Obligatory control and non-obligatory coreference

In many complement constructions, some argument of the matrix clause is coreferential with some argument of the embedded clause. This coreference is expressed by having only one full referential noun phrase in one of the clauses (mainly the matrix clause) and either zero anaphora, a reflexive, or a demonstrative pronoun in the other clause (which is usually the embedded clause).

All complement-taking verbs can be divided into verbs with obligatory control and verbs with non-obligatory coreference. For verbs with obligatory control, one of their arguments must be coreferential with an argument of the embedded clause. They are treated in more detail in Section 22.4.6 below.

The majority of verbs show optional coreference, i.e. a matrix clause argument can but does not have to be coreferential with an argument of the embedded clause. Here the complementation strategy plays an important role because a number of verbs normally showing non-obligatory coreference exhibit obligatory control when using a particular complementation strategy (see Section 22.4.6 below for more details). For example, in (1160a) the experiencer of *šux'e-* is coreferential with the A of the embedded clause. In (1160b) the experiencer is not coreferential with the embedded S. Both sentences employ different complementation strategies. The formal difference between the complementation strategies correlates with a difference in the modality; the complement in (1160a) is irrealis, whereas the complement in (1160b) is realis.

- (1160) a. *debez* *šux'e-n* [...] [*di-qa* *es-ayaz*]
 you.SG.DAT forget-UWPST I.OBL-AT tell-PURP

‘You forgot to tell [...] to me.’ (N)

- b. *haytu-z šuλ'e-s [Maħama Ø-iλ'i-š-ti]*
 she.OBL-DAT forget-PST Mahama(I) I-go-RES-ABST
 ‘She forgot that Mahama went away.’

22.4.3. Which constituents can be controllers?

In the majority of cases, it is the most prominent argument (i.e. the argument with the most agentive properties or most ‘subject-like’ properties - see Section 16.9 for a short analysis of grammatical roles in Hinuq) of the complement-taking verb that exhibits control over some argument of the embedded clause. That is, the controller can be S, e.g. with the verbs *urɣezi -iq-* ‘think’, *boži -iq-* ‘believe’, *bič'i -iq-* ‘understand’ (and in general most light verb compounds containing *-iq-*), *-uλ'-* ‘fear’, *-uɫi-* ‘begin’, and *-iči-* ‘be, stand, continue’.

- (1161) *me razi goɬ=e [xemza-qo=n Ø-ece-n*
 you.SG content be=Q stone.OBL.PL-AT=and I-tie-CVBP
raɫad-li-ɬ-er kur-ayaz]?
 sea-OBL-CONT-LAT throw-PURP
 ‘Do you agree to be thrown into the sea tied to stones?’ (N)

The controller can be A, e.g. with the verbs *λ'ere -ux-* ‘promise’, *ħukmu -u:-* ‘decide’, *pikru -u:-* ‘think’, *kul -u:-* ‘hope’, *ħalbikzi -u:-* ‘try, test’, *baybik -u:-* ‘begin’ (and in general most light verb compounds containing *-u:-*), *-u:-* ‘do, make’ (pretence construction), *koλ'er-* ‘be able’, and *ɫaq'er-* ‘finish, end’.

- (1162) *haytuɣ [zer-es ižey-be r-iɣ-ayaz] baybik*
 that.ERG fox.OBL-GEN I eye-PL NHPL-take-PURP begin(III)
b-u:-n
 III-do-UWPST
 ‘It (i.e. the crow) began to pick out the foxes’ eyes.’ (N)

The controller can be an experiencer, e.g. with the verbs *-eq'i-* ‘know’, *koλ'e-* ‘be able’, *-eti-* ‘want’, *-ace-* ‘hate’, and *šuλ'e-* ‘forget’:

- (1163) *diž r-acco [k'ot'o.tok'e k'ilik'-a / k'ilik'-ayaz]*
 I.DAT V-hate.PRS dishes wash-INF / wash-PURP
 ‘I hate washing the dishes.’

The controller can also be in another oblique case, namely the AT-Essive. This concerns the verbs *k'wezi -iq-* ‘can’, *koλ'e-* ‘can’ and *-iq-* ‘happen’ (when

used as a modal verb with the meaning ‘can, be possible’) (for examples see Section 22.2.2.3 above).

However, other arguments besides the most prominent argument of the matrix verb can also function as controllers. Manipulative verbs allow for patient control. Examples are *-eq’ir-* ‘let know, ‘make know’, *t’amizi -u:-* ‘force’, *kekir-* ‘send’, *xece-* ‘let’, or *ruhun -u:-* ‘teach’:

- (1164) *de ked ruhun y-u:-s [t’ot’r-ayaz / t’ot’r-a]*
 I.ERG girl(II) habit II-do-PST read-PURP / read-INF
 ‘I taught the girl to read.’

With verbs of speech such as *eser-* ‘ask’ and *ese-* ‘tell, inform’, the addressee of the matrix verb can be coreferential with the addressee of an Imperative (1165). Reported speech constructions are treated in more detail in Chapter 23.

- (1165) *de hardezi r-u:-s haytu-go “xišu-be*
 I.ERG ask V-do-PST she.OBL-AT key-PL
r-iq’-o!”=λen
 NHPL-bring-IMP=QUOT
 ‘I asked her “Bring the keys!”’

Note that the controller can even be a possessor. Since possessors do not c-command controllees, this fact points to a semantic analysis of control in Hinuq, rather than a purely syntactic account. Examples of possessor control can be found with the predicates *rok’e -aq’e-* ‘be sure’ (1135), *kul goł* ‘hope’ (1166a), *yira -iq/goł* ‘wish’ (1085e), *pikru -iq-* ‘think’ (1166b), *hukmu -iq-* ‘decide’, and *yira -ixer-* ‘encourage’ (1094c). All these predicates are compound verbs consisting of a nominal part and a verbal part. It is the possessor of the nominal that functions as the controller:

- (1166) a. *di kul goł [zek hune-ho Ø-uł-a]*
 I.GEN1 hope be tomorrow way-ILOC I-go.out-INF
 ‘I hope to set off tomorrow.’
 b. *[hayi-do Ø-iλ’-a] hało-s=no pikru*
 there-DIR I-go-INF he.OBL-GEN1=and thought(III)
b-iq-iš=eλ
 III-happen-PST=NARR
 ‘And he decided to go there.’ (N)

The predicate *rok’λ’or -aq’e-* ‘remember’ shows two different controll patterns. The controller can either be expressed as the possessor of the nominal part

of the predicate *rok'e* 'heart', or it can be a kind of beneficiary or experiencer marked with the Dative (1167).

- (1167) *iyō-zo / iyo-z rok'-x'o-r r-aq'e-s*
 mother-GEN2 / mother-DAT heart.OBL-SPR-LAT V-come-PST
 [*magalu b-ux-a*]
 bread(III) III-buy-INF
 'The mother remembered to buy bread.'

22.4.4. Which constituents can be controllees?

The controllee usually corresponds to the most prominent argument of the embedded verb. This can be S (1166a), A (1160a), or the experiencer (1168). There is no restriction on the valency type for S-controllees, i.e. the embedded verb can be a simple intransitive or an extended intransitive verb or an Antipassive verb (see (1181) below).

- (1168) *uži Ø-uλλo [ked y-ikayaz]*
 boy(I) I-be.afraid.PRS girl(II) II-see-PURP
 'The boy is afraid to see the girl.'

Depending on the semantics of the matrix verb, some grammatical roles may be excluded from being controllees. For example, the modal verb *k'wēzi -iq-* 'be able' does not allow for experiencer predicates. They must be causativized before they can be embedded as complements in control constructions:

- (1169) *di-qo k'wēzi r-iq-me [debe roži-be*
 I.OBL-AT be.able NHPL-happen-NEG you.SG.GEN1 word-PL
 **šuλ'-a / šuλ'e-r-a]*
 forget-INF / forget-CAUS-INF
 'I am not able to forget your words.'

Similarly, potential agents cannot freely occur in complement clauses involving obligatory control:

- (1170) a. *ked-qo uži k'wā: Ø-ux-eł*
 girl-AT boy(I) in.the.hands I-take-POT
 'The girl is able to take the boy in her hands.'
- b. **ked y-ułi-š [uži k'wā: Ø-uxeł-a]*
 girl(II) II-begin-PST boy(I) in.the.hands I-take-POT-INF
 (The girl began to be able to take the boy on her hands.)

All other grammatical roles apart from S, A, and experiencer usually appear in control constructions involving Equi-deletion of the controllee in the complement clause, but require a reflexive pronoun. For instance, in (1171) the controllee in the P role must be expressed by a reflexive pronoun, it cannot be zero.

- (1171) *uži-ž r-eti-š goŧ [ked-i zo zok'-ayaz]*
 boy-DAT V-want-RES be girl-ERG REFL.SG beat-PURP
 'The boy wanted the girl to beat him.'

If the context is clear enough, and the controller of the zero anaphora can easily be retrieved from the context, at least P can occasionally undergo Equi-deletion. For example, in (1161) above it is clear to the hearer of the story that the P of the embedded verb, which is not overtly expressed, must be coreferential with the experiencer of the matrix verb.

The same applies to non-obligatory co-reference. If the interpretation is difficult or even impossible, the coreferential argument in the complement clause is overtly encoded as a pronoun. For example, in (1172a) the P, in (1172b) the stimulus and in (1172c) the topic of the conversation is coreferential with a matrix clause argument. In these examples, the controllee is expressed by a reflexive pronoun (see also (1104d) above, where the P and a spatial goal expressed as reflexive pronouns are coreferential with the experiencer of the main clause). This aspect is treated in more detail in Section 22.4.5 below.

- (1172) a. *ʔali uλλo [mašina-y zo Ø-ik'=χen]*
 Ali(I) I-be.afraid.PRS car-ERG REFL.SG I-hit=QUOT
 'Ali is afraid that the car will hit him.'
- b. *uži Ø-uλλo [zo boc'e-z Ø-ik-o=χen]*
 boy I-be.afraid.PRS REFL.SG wolf-DAT I-see-PRS=QUOT
 'The boy is afraid that the wolf could see him.'
- c. *Malla Nasrudin-ez toq-iš zoq''we-n [pulanaw*
 Mullah Nasrudin-DAT hear-RES be-UWPST certain
aλ-a-s hes rek''we zon-ti hibayru
 village-OBL-GEN1 one man(I) REFL.SG.OBL-ABST like.that
Ø-aλ'i-yo=χen]
 I-talk-PRS=QUOT
 'Mulla Nasrudin heard that in a certain village a man was talking like that about him.' (N)

22.4.5. Devices for indicating control

The most common way of indicating coreference is by means of zero anaphora (Equi-deletion). See Section 22.4.6 for more details.

If the context is not sufficient to recover the controller of the controllee, then personal, reflexive, or demonstrative pronouns are used. This is frequently the case in sentences that contain two potential antecedents for the controllee or that contain controllees in roles other than those for the most prominent arguments or occasionally the P role in the complement clause.

Personal pronouns occur only for speech act participants. For third persons, reflexive and demonstrative pronouns are used. The most common way of indicating coreference in complement constructions is by using a reflexive pronoun as anaphor in the embedded clause (1173a, 1173b). Note that in (1173a) the reflexive pronoun can be left implicit since it represents the most prominent argument of its clause. In contrast, in (1173b) the reflexive pronoun is needed in order to establish the coreference between the experiencer of the matrix clause and the stimulus of the complement clause and cannot be left out. Similar examples can be found in (1172a–1172c) above.

- (1173) a. *uži-ž r-eq'i-yo [(zo) Derbent-λ'o-do Ø-iλ'i-λ'os-ti]*
 boy-DAT V-know-PRS REFL.SG Derbent-SPR-DIR I-go-HAB-ABST
 'The boy knows that he will go to Derbent.'
- b. *Madina-y pikru b-u:-s [zo ?ali-ž*
 Madina-ERG thought(III) III-do-PST REFL.SG Ali-DAT
y-eti-yo=λen]
 II-want-PRS=QUOT
 'Madina thought that Ali loves her.'

This can lead to ambiguities if the embedded clause contains another possible antecedent. For instance, in (1174a) both *Pat'imat* and *iyoy* can serve as antecedents of *zonez*. In this case a demonstrative pronoun can be employed. It expresses coreference with the antecedent noun phrase in the preceding clause (1174b). But it can also refer to a third party.

- (1174) a. *Pat'imat_i razi y-iqgo [iyoy-y_j zonez_{i/j}*
 Patimat(II) happy II-happen.PRS mother-ERG REFL.SG.DAT
buλe b-uxxo=λen]
 house(III) III-buy.PRS=QUOT
 'Patimat_i is happy that (her) mother buys a house for her_{i/j}.'

- b. *Pat'imat_i razi y-iqqo [iyo-y_j hayʔuz_{i/*j/k}]*
 Patimat(II) happy II-happen.PRS mother-ERG she.DAT
buʔe b-uxxo=ʔen]
 house(III) III-buy.PRS=QUOT
 'Patimat_i is happy that (her) mother buys a house for her_{i/*j/k}.'

Since reduplicated reflexive pronouns occur only when the antecedent is in the same clause, they cannot be used to indicate coreference and control across clausal boundaries:

- (1175) *Pat'imat_i razi y-iqqo [iyo-y_j zoni.zonez_{*i/j}]*
 Patimat(II) happy II-happen.PRS mother-ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT
buʔe b-uxxo=ʔen]
 house(III) III-buy.PRS=QUOT
 'Patimat_i is happy that (her) mother_j buys a house for herself_{*i/j}.'

To sum up, simple reflexive pronouns can be ambiguous in their interpretation if their matrix clause contains two possible antecedents. Reduplicated reflexive pronouns must be locally controlled by an antecedent in the same clause. Demonstrative pronouns require the antecedent to be in the matrix clause or in another clause, or even only in the context. See also Section 24.1.4.2 on long-distance reflexivization for similar examples.

22.4.6. Obligatory control and Equi-deletion

All modal and all phasal predicates as well as the verb *-u-* 'do, make' in the Pre-tence construction (Section 22.2.5) and *ħalbikzi -u-* 'try, test' show obligatory control in combination with Equi-deletion, i.e. the only nominal argument of the predicate controls the most prominent argument of the embedded verb, and since their referents are identical, the overt argument appears only once in the complex sentence.

- (1176) * *dıqo k'w'ezı r-iqqo [de mašina b-iž-a]*
 I.AT be.able V-happen.PRS I.ERG car(III) III-take-INF
 (I can drive a car.)

Exceptionally the most prominent argument of the complement clause controlled by a main clause argument can be overtly expressed by a reflexive pronoun (1177a, 1177b). The function of a reflexive pronoun under these circumstances is explained by its semantics/pragmatics: reflexive pronouns in Hinuq can have a purely emphatic function (Section 24.1.3). To emphasize the emphatic

use, they are often marked with the Emphatic enclitic =*tow*. If the controller is first or second person, then it is possible to have a personal pronoun to which =*tow* must be added, in the complement clause (1177c). However, in natural speech the controllee is not expressed in the complement clause.

- (1177) a. *hayto-z y-eti-n [zoni kayat cax-a]*
 he.OBL-DAT IV-want-UWPST REFL.SG.ERG letter(IV) write-INF
 ‘He wants to write the letter himself.’ (i.e. alone, without help)
- b. *Madina y-uṭi-š [zoni=tow xok’o]*
 Madina(II) II-began-PST REFL.SG.ERG=EMPH khinkal(III)
b-uw-a]
 III-do-INF
 ‘Madina began to make khinkal herself.’
- c. *diž r-eti-n [de=tow bex kik-a]*
 I.DAT V-want-UWPST I.ERG=EMPH grass(V) mow-INF
 ‘I want to mow the grass myself.’

With the majority of verbs, the controllers can only appear in the matrix clause. Exceptions to this rule are embedded intransitive verbs where the complement-taking verb is either *k’wēzi-iq-* ‘be able’ (see examples (1090a) and (1090c) above) or *-eti-* ‘want’ (1178a, 1178b). With these verbs the most prominent argument can either appear in the embedded or in the matrix clause, and the case assignment varies accordingly. At least with the verb ‘want’ there seems to be a subtle semantic difference between both possibilities: if the most prominent argument is marked with the Dative, then it is conceived as being more actively involved in the event. In contrast, sentences where this argument is in the Absolutive express a more passive wanting, i.e. a wish that comes over the person like an exterior force.

- (1178) a. *[hadu y-iš-a] y-eti-š*
 she II-eat-INF II-want-PRS
 ‘She wanted to eat.’
- b. *haṭuz [y-iš-a] y-eti-š*
 she.DAT II-eat-INF II-want-PRS
 ‘She wanted to eat.’

In any case these examples look like what has been called *backward control*. In Hinuq backward control occurs, apart from intransitive verbs used as complements of ‘want’ and ‘be able’, only with the phasal verb *-uṭi-* ‘begin’. This verb appears in two different control constructions. In standard forward control,

the verb agrees with its most prominent argument, which must be in the Absolutive case.¹³² The most prominent coreferential argument of the embedded verb undergoes Equi-deletion:

- (1179) *[obu-zo sud-a-λ'o-s bula-mo-d č'odi*
 father-GEN2 grave-OBL-SPR-ABL1 hoof-OBL-INST ground(V)
r-ič'-ayaz] b-ułi-yo haw gulu
 V-dig-PURP III-begin-PRS that horse(III)
 'The horse begins to dig the ground of father's grave with its hoof.' (N)

In contrast, in the backward control construction, the overt controller appears in the embedded clause, and thus its case is assigned by the embedded verb. Nevertheless, the matrix verb shows agreement with the controller. On the surface this looks like agreement with an oblique argument, but as Polinsky and Potsdam (2002, 2006) have shown for Tsez, it can be argued that the matrix verb contains a covert controllee in the Absolutive case (since this is the case that *-ułi-* normally assigns to its most prominent argument) and that this triggers the agreement. Thus, if the embedded verb is transitive, the most prominent argument is marked with the Ergative case, and the matrix verb agrees with the gender of this argument (1180a). If the embedded verb is an experiencer verb, then the most prominent argument is marked with the Dative, and again the agreement is triggered by this argument (1180b). However, it is important to notice that not all informants accept examples such as (1180a) and (1180b). Some informants reject them and point out that only standard forward control is grammatical.

- (1180) a. *[ked-i uži zok'-a] y-ułi-š*
 girl-ERG boy(I) beat-INF II-begin-PST
 'The girl began to beat the boy.'
- b. *[Ayšat-ez tort b-et-a] y-ułi-š*
 Ayšat-DAT cake(III) III-want-INF II-begin-PST
 'Ayšat began to want the cake.'

¹³²Polinsky & Potsdam (2002) analyze the analogous construction in Tsez not as forward control, but as a raising construction where the most prominent argument of the embedded clause has been raised to subject, i.e. it is now the most prominent argument of the matrix clause. But their tests do not give the same unequivocal results for Hinuq. For instance, both forward and backward control constructions are compatible with an adverbial such as *-etintow* 'on purpose' in Hinuq, whereas in Tsez forward control (or raising, in Polinsky's terms) cannot co-occur with this adverb since raising events are not performed by intentional agents. Similarly, in Hinuq, but not in Tsez, backward control is allowed with embedded verbs lacking intentionality (1180b). Therefore, I analyze the difference between (1179) and the following examples, (1180a, 1180b), as a difference between backward and forward control.

If the embedded verb is intransitive, then it is impossible to say whether the construction represents forward or backward control.

- (1181) *qaʎe-li:ž* *Ø-uʎi-š=eʎ* *q'iliqan*
 shout-ANTIP-PURP I-begin-PST=NARR drummer(I)
 ‘The drummer began to shout.’ (N)

For Tsez, Polinsky and Potsdam (2002) show that backward control represents a biclausal construction and not a monoclausal clause union construction. In Hinuq not all of their arguments are applicable. Besides case assignment and agreement, at least word order can be interpreted as pointing to a biclausal construction. In (1182), which represents backward control, it is impossible for an argument of the embedded clause to occur before the matrix verb in clause-initial position.

- (1182) * *Maħama-y* *huʎ* *Ø-uʎi-š* [*buʎe* *b-uw-a*]
 Mahama(I)-ERG yesterday I-begin-PST house(III) III-make-INF
 (Yesterday Mahama began to build a house.)

In contrast, (1183) represents the ordinary word order because the most prominent argument is part of the matrix clause and precedes the matrix clause verb.

- (1183) *Maħama* *huʎ* *Ø-uʎi-š* [*buʎe* *b-uw-a*]
 Mahama(I) yesterday I-begin-PST house(III) III-make-INF
 ‘Yesterday Mahama began to build a house.’

That the matrix clause contains a covert agreement trigger can only be proven by the agreement on the matrix verb. Apart from Hinuq and Tsez, backward control exists in a few other Daghestanian languages like Tsez, Rutul (Kibrik 2003: 533), and Tsakhur (Kibrik 2003: 547), (Ljutikova & Bonč-Osmolovskaja 1999: 532); in these languages usually the phasal verb ‘begin, start’ and/or the modal verb ‘must’ appear in this construction. Other languages outside of Daghestan that exhibit backward control are Japanese, Brazilian Portuguese, Korean, and Kabardian (Polinsky & Potsdam 2006).

22.5. Summary of agreement and case assignment in complements

When looking at the patterns of agreement and case assignment in complement clauses, there seem to be five possibilities (Table 84). The most prominent argument of the matrix clause can either have its case assigned by the matrix verb

itself or by the subordinate verb. However, as the example of *k'wēzi -iq-* 'be able' above shows (Section 22.4.6), the valency frame of the subordinate verb can influence the case assignment of the matrix verb.

For the agreement of the matrix verb there are three possibilities: the verb can agree with the complement clause as a whole (gender V), with the Absolutive argument of the embedded clause, or with its own most prominent argument. Of course, this dimension only concerns complement-taking verbs with gender prefixes.

Table 84. Agreement and case assignment in complement clauses

Agreement	Case assignment on the most prominent argument of the matrix clause	
	By matrix verb	By subordinate verb
With clause	local agreement	#
With subordinate Absolutive	long distance agreement	clause union
With matrix subject	forward control	backward control

As Table 84 shows, there are no complement-taking verbs that agree with the complement clause but do not assign case to their most prominent arguments. Furthermore, there is no long distance agreement with intransitive matrix verbs since intransitive complement-taking verbs agree with their subjects. Finally, the classification of complement clauses of *-uŋi-* 'begin' with an intransitive subordinate verb deserves future research.

22.6. Complement-taking adjectives, adverbs, and nouns

In principle, it is possible to have complements of adjectives and nouns. These complements serve as subjects in copula constructions (see Chapter 18 for copula constructions and a few more examples). They do not employ all strategies occurring in verb complementation, but this may well be due to lack of data since these constructions are quite rare in my corpus. In what follows, adjectives will be described first, and then noun complements will be described.

In copula clauses where the predicate is an adjective or adverb, the subject may be a clause. These clauses are marked with the Abstract suffix *-ŋi*, as are complement clauses of verbs and show always local agreement.

- (1184) a. *r-eg gom [uži zek šahali-do Ø-iŋ'i-ŋ'os-ŋi]*
 V-well be.NEG boy(I) tomorrow town.IN-DIR I-go-HAB-ABST
 'It is not good that the boy will go to town tomorrow.'

- b. *r-eg r-iq-iš [Maḥama-y buḫe b-u:-s-ṭi]*
 V-well V-happen-PST Mahama-ERG house(III) III-do-RES-ABST
 ‘It was good that Mahama has built the house.’

Hinuq also has a number of complement-taking nouns. Most of these nouns appear in light verb constructions together with verbs such as *-u:-* ‘do, make’ or *-iq-* ‘happen, become’. Moreover, they can also occur as the subject in a copula clause together with a complement clause. Examples of these nouns are: *pikru* ‘thought’, *ʔilla* ‘reason’, *res* ‘possibility, condition’, *ixtiyar* ‘right, permission’, *ḥukmu* ‘decision’, *kul* ‘hope’, *yira* ‘wish’, and *xabar* ‘talk, news, conversation’.

The most frequent strategy for forming complement clauses of nouns is by means of an Infinitive or a Purposive converb (1185a, 1185b, 1185c).

- (1185) a. *[muq'-mo-qo gulu b-ex-a] res gom*
 column-OBL-AT horse(III) III-hang-INF possibility be.NEG
 ‘There is no possibility to hang the horse at the column.’ (N)
- b. “*xec-o de!*”=*ḫen eḫi-yo [...]* “*di ixtiyar gom*
 let-IMP I=QUOT say-PRS I.GEN1 permission be.NEG
[cax-a]”
 write-INF
 “‘Let me alone!’ he says, ‘I do not have the permission to write.’”
 (N)
- c. *hayto-s ʔilla goṭ [y-oxoru kaḡat cax-ayaz*
 he.OBL-GEN1 reason be IV-long letter(IV) write-PURP
iyo-ḫ'o-r]
 mother-SPR-LAT
 ‘He has reasons to write a long letter to his mother.’

In addition, the use of the Quotative enclitic is also allowed, at least with the noun *pikru* ‘thought’, which is not surprising since all propositional attitude predicates, including *pikru -u:-* ‘think’, make use of this strategy (Section 22.2.4.4). Even a minor complementation strategy such as the use of the case marked Past participle occurs in complement clauses of nouns (1186b).¹³³

- (1186) a. *Ibrahim [baru nete=m y-aq'-an=ḫen]*
 Ibrahim wife(II) when=DOUBT II-come-INTFUT=QUOT
pikru-mo-za-ṭ goṭa ...
 thought-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT be.PTCP

¹³³Note that the same strategy is employed for the topic of a conversation with verbs of speech containing *xabar*.

‘while Ibrahim was thinking, “When will my wife finally come,” ...’
(N)

- b. [*hes*= λ *en* *e* λ *i-yo* “*hesqen* *gosme* \emptyset -*aq*’*e-yoru-s*]
 one=QUOT say-PRS nothing without I-come-PTCP.PST-GEN I
ʔilla se?”= λ *en*
 reason what=QUOT
 “‘What is the reason for one (masc.) coming back without anything?’
 they say.’ (N)

Finally, the simple present form of the Avar verb *b/eh/ize* ‘be possible, be probable’, *behula*, can occur in Hinuq sentences that do not have any other predicate. Infinitival clauses serve as complements of *behula*:

- (1187) a. [*hadu* *gilu* λ ’*os* *b-ox-a*] *behula*
 this suddenly III-leave-INF possible
 ‘It is possible that it will suddenly escape.’ (N)
 b. [*zek* *eli* *Derbent*- λ ’*o-do* *b-i* λ ’-*a*] *behula*
 tomorrow we Derbent-SPR-DIR HPL-go-INF possible
 ‘It is possible that we will go to Derbent tomorrow.’

Hinuq has also borrowed the Avar adjective *behulew* ‘possible’, which occurs in the expected adjectival functions (attributive, predicative). The word *behula* cannot fulfill adjectival functions in Hinuq, but appears only in complement clauses such as (1187a, 1187b) above.

Chapter 23

Reported speech

23.1. Introduction

Hinuq has two reported speech constructions, the first one juxtaposes a main clause containing a verb of speech and the quote (23.2), and the second one makes use of the Quotative enclitic =*χen* (23.3). The second construction is far more frequent. In the following, both constructions will be described and their properties analyzed.

The most important verbs of speech occurring in reported speech constructions are: *eχi-* ‘speak, say’, *ese-* ‘tell, inform’, *eser-* ‘ask’, *xabar* + verb (e.g. *ese-*, *-u:-*, *-uher-*, *kekir-*) ‘say, tell, inform’, *qaχe-* ‘call, shout’, *χazi -u:-* ‘predict, inform’, *moχ-* ‘teach’, *χ’ere -ux-* ‘promise’, *xabarya:-* ‘talk, chat’, *χukmu -u:-* ‘decide’, *gerda:-* ‘scold, swear’, and *qara:-* ‘shout’. Verbs of speech are occasionally intransitive (e.g. the last two verbs *gerda:-* ‘scold’ and *qara:-* ‘shout’), but mostly (extended) transitive. All verbs of speech, even intransitive ones, may have an addressee (see Section 16.6.3 for the valency frames of verbs of speech).

23.2. Reported speech by juxtaposition

Reported speech can be expressed by simply juxtaposing the main clause and the quote. Various verbs of speech may appear in this construction (1188a-1188c). The reported clause may be a statement in the indicative mood (1188a), a question (1188b), a command (1188c), etc. In other words, the statement has all properties of a main clause. A few more examples are given in Section 22.2.1.

- (1188) a. *hoboy b-iχ’i-me-χ’o xalq’i-la-y eχi-yo zoq’e-n*
then III-go-NEG-SIM folk-OBL-ERG say-ICVB be-UWPST
“*b-iχ’i-yo gom hadu*”
III-go-ICVB be.NEG this
‘Then when (the donkey) did not move, the people said, “It does not move.”’ (N)
- b. *eser-ho hayto-go “se devez r-aši-y obu-zo*
ask-PRS he.OBL-AT what you.SG.DAT V-find-Q father-GEN2
sud-a-χ’o? elu-qo=n es-o!”
grave-OBL-SPR we.OBL-AT=and tell-IMP

‘(They) asked him “What did you find at father’s grave? Tell us also!”’ (N)

- c. *hało-qo hardezi b-iq-no “b-iž-o de*
 he.OBL-AT request III-happen-UWPST III-take-IMP I
dew-de idu-r=no kik-o!”
 you.SG.OBL-ALOC home-LAT=and feed-IMP

‘(The eagle) begs him “Take me home with you and feed me!”’ (N)

Also predicates that are not verbs of speech in the strict sense can appear in this construction:

- (1189) *hado=n ʎeža:-ho hało uži-λ’o Ø-eg^wennu, “me obu*
 he=and laugh-PRS this.OBL boy(I)-SPR I-small you.SG father(I)
Ø-iʎi=tow q’imu-ʎ Ø-aλ’i-yo”
 I-similar=EMPH head-CONT I-talk-PRS
 ‘And he laughs at the younger brother “You talk as mad as our father.”’
 (N)

23.3. Reported speech with the Quotative enclitic

23.3.1. Introduction

The standard way of indicating reported speech in Hinuq is by means of the Quotative enclitic =*ʎen* (for a comprehensive overview of all functions fulfilled by =*ʎen* see Section 13.1.2.6). For other Tsezic languages that have a cognate Quotative enclitic, it has been proposed to analyze the enclitic as a grammaticalized form of the Narrative converb form of the verb ‘say’ (e.g. Khwarshi, see Khalilova (2009: 472)). In fact, in many languages Quotative particles are diachronically derivable from verbs like ‘say’ (Aikhenvald 2011b). But, although the Hinuq Narrative converb of ‘say’, *eʎin*, resembles the enclitic =*ʎen*, the stem final vowel of the verb is /i/, not /e/. In other words, the origin of =*ʎen* still deserves further research.

In reported speech, the Quotative enclitic can appear at the right end of a clause or a phrase, or even occur several times within a clause (1198a, 1198c). But it cannot break up certain constituents, namely postpositional phrases (1190a, 1190b), noun phrases (1190c, 1190d), or Genitive phrases.

- (1190) a. *čanaqan-i eʎi-š “coy q’idi b-iči-š goʎ bišun ossu*
 hunter-ERG say-PST eagle(III) down III-sit-RES be most high
aže-yi-λ’o ʎ’ere”=ʎen
 tree-OBL-SPR on=QUOT

‘The hunter said that the eagle is sitting on the highest tree.’

- b. * *čanaqan-i eλi-š* “*coy q’idi b-iči-š goł bišun ossu*
 hunter-ERG say-PST eagle(III) down III-sit-RES be most high
aže-yi-λ’o=λen λ’ere”
 tree-OBL-SPR=QUOT on
 (The hunter said that the eagle is sitting on the highest tree.)
- c. *hayłoy eser-iš* “*nido had bercinaw kedbi r-iλ’i*”=λen
 he.ERG ask-PST where these beautiful girl.PL HPL-go.Q=QUOT
 ‘He asked where these beautiful girls went.’
- d. * *hayłoy eser-iš* “*nido had bercinaw=λen kedbi r-iλ’i*”
 he.ERG ask-PST where these beautiful=QUOT girl.PL HPL-go.Q
 (He asked where these beautiful girls went.)

The Quotative enclitic occurs not only in reported speech together with verbs of speech and manipulative verbs that refer to speech (e.g. *amru -u:-* ‘command’), but it is also used to mark complement clauses of:

- propositional attitude verbs, e.g. *qeba:-* ‘seem’, *uryezi -iq-* ‘think’, *pikru -u:-* ‘think’, *boži -iq-* ‘believe’, etc.
- a few verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge, e.g. *-eq’ir-* ‘learn, teach’, *c’ał-* ‘get to know’, *c’ałer-* ‘let know’
- a number of liking and fearing verbs, e.g. *kul -u:-* ‘hope’, *-ace-* ‘hate’, etc.
- two achievement verbs: *ħalbikzi -u:-* ‘try, test’, *rok’λ’o(r) -aq’e-* ‘remember’
- the direct perception verb *toq-* ‘hear’
- purpose clauses having the form of a complement construction or of adverbial clauses

Complement clauses using =λen are analyzed in Section 22.2.4. In this chapter only reported speech is analyzed. For a comprehensive overview of all the functions fulfilled by the Quotative enclitic see Section 13.1.2.6.

On a formal basis, reported speech constructions employing the Quotative enclitic can be divided into three constructions (i) without any verb of speech (Section 23.3.2), (ii) using a verb of speech plus the Quotative enclitic (Section 23.3.3), and (iii) using a verb of speech, the Quotative enclitic with the Narrative converb of the verb ‘say’, *eλin*, (Section 23.3.4).

23.3.2. Reported speech without a verb of speech

Occasionally the verb of speech may be omitted when recoverable from the context (1191a-1191c). It is hard to tell whether this construction is monoclausal (similar to the evidential use of =*χen*, see Section 8.3.4) or whether it just represents ellipsis of the verb of speech. This type of reported speech construction is not very common.

- (1191) a. “*di=n y-ese hibayru y-eg ked*”=*χen*
 I.GEN1=and II-be.probable so II-well daughter(II)=QUOT
 “‘My daughter probably lives well like this,’ (she said).’ (N)
- b. “*di dew-de-r gulu b-aq’e*”=*χen*
 I.GEN1 you.SG.OBL-ALOC-LAT horse(III) III-come=QUOT
 “‘My horse will come to you,’ (the hare) said.’ (N)
- c. “*haʔu-s hunar=e debez b-iker-a*
 she.OBL-GEN1 ability(III)=Q you.SG.DAT III-show-INF
b-eti-n?”=*χen b-ux-no Malla Rasadan-i*
 III-want-UWPST=QUOT III-take-CVB Mullah Nasredin-ERG
y^wadi=n
 crow=and
 “‘You want (me) to show you her ability?’” said Mullah Nasredin,
 taking the crow.’ (N)

23.3.3. The use of the Quotative enclitic in combination with a verb of speech

The most frequent type of reported speech in Hinuq is represented by this construction consisting of the quote marked with =*χen* as well as the verb of speech, which appears in a main clause verb form.

- (1192) a. *kupec-i eχi-yo “b-ike-s”*=*χen Malla*
 merchant-ERG say-PRS III-see-PST=QUOT Mullah
Rasadan-qo=n eser-ho “omoq’i debe goʔ=e?”=*χen*
 Nasredin-AT=and ask-PRS donkey you.SG.GEN1 be=Q=QUOT
 ‘The merchant says that he saw it, and asks Mullah Nasredin “Is the donkey yours?”’ (N)
- b. *haze-y eser-iš=eχ “se r-iq-no?”*=*χen*
 they.OBL-ERG ask-PST=NARR what V-happen-UWPST=QUOT
 ‘They asked “What happened?”’ (N)

When the verb of speech is *e*λ*i*- ‘say’ and its suffix is *-n*, it is not always possible to say whether *e*λ*i**n* then instantiates the Unwitnessed Past verb form or the Narrative converb. Thus, in (1193) *e*λ*i**n* is clearly an Unwitnessed Past form since the main clause contains both overt arguments (agent and addressee) and the verb *e*λ*i**n* occurs between those arguments. Overt arguments and word order indicate that the first clause is in fact a main clause. In contrast, in (1195) below this is less clear since the main clause does not contain any overt arguments.

- (1193) *hibaytu zaman-a-ł hało λerba-y e*λ*i*-*n*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT this.OBL guest-ERG say-UWPST
baru-go-r “biša r-uw-o!”=λen
 wife-AT-LAT food(V) V-do-IMP=QUOT
 ‘At that time the guest said to his wife “Make food!”’ (N)

23.3.4. The use of the Quotative enclitic together with *e*λ*i**n* and an additional verb of speech

The Quotative enclitic is often directly followed by the Narrative converb of *e*λ*i*- ‘say’, and the main clause that frames the quote contains a further verb of speech in a main clause form. For example, in (1194a) the main clause contains the speech predicate *ese-* ‘tell’, but in the sentence *e*λ*i**n* also appears twice. In this construction, the Narrative converb does not fulfill any lexical or additional syntactic function. It is just used to accompany the Narrative enclitic and to emphasize the function of the reported clause as a quote. The main verb contributes with its lexical meaning by denoting the semantic type of the speech event, i.e. whether the quote was asked or shouted or just said, etc. Such constructions are especially frequent in natural oral speech.

- (1194) a. *hibayru xabar es-o “hibače”=λen e*λ*i*-*n* “hago
 so story tell-PRS this.much=QUOT say-CVB he
*din-mo-λ’o λ’ere Ø-iči-š rek’’e zoq’’e-s”=λen e*λ*i*-*n*
 belief-OBL-SPR on I-be-RES man(I) be-PST=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘(They) tell such a about how he was a religious man.’ (N)
- b. *hayłoy eser-no ič’č’a y-²ežinnu ked-go “deče*
 he.ERG ask-UWPST very II-old girl(II)-at how.much
*debez de Ø-eti?”=λen e*λ*i*-*n*
 you.SG.DAT I I-want=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘He asked the youngest daughter “How much do you love me?”’ (N)

- c. “*nuce Ø-iḫi Ø-eti*”=λen eḫi-n qaḫe-n haḫu
 honey I-similar I-want=QUOT say-CVB call-UWPST this.OBL
ked-i
 girl-ERG
 ‘The girl shouted “(I) love you like honey.”’ (N)

23.4. General characteristics of reported speech constructions

As could be seen in all examples above, reported speech constructions in Hinuq do not use a special verb form in the quote. There is no tense shift as known from many European languages. Reported commands, wishes, and questions occur just as in normal main clauses. Example (1195) shows a quote where the main verb is in the interrogative form of the Simple Past. This is exactly the same verb form that would be used if the quote occurred on its own without a framing clause of speech.

- (1195) “*haw=gon ḫine-z b-iq’e-y?*”=λen eḫi-n
 that=TOP what.OBL-DAT III-bring-Q=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“Why did (you) bring that?” (she) said.’ (N)

Similarly, all non-indicative verb forms occur in quotes of reported speech events just as in ordinary main clauses, for instance Imperatives (1196a), Optatives (1196b), or Prohibitives (1204).

- (1196) a. “*hibago rek’we di-de-r Ø-aq’er-o!*”=λen haḫu
 that man(I) I.OBL-ALOC-LAT I-bring-IMP=QUOT this.OBL
xan-i amru b-u:n
 khan-ERG command(III) III-do-UWPST
 ‘“Bring that man to me!” commanded the khan.’ (N)
- b. “*xan-ḫi=n devez r-iči-ḫo!*”=λen eḫi-n
 khan-ABST=and you.SG.DAT V-be-OPT=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“And may your kingdom be for you!” he said.’ (N)

The same is true for Vocatives (1197a) and also for exclamations / interjections (1197b, 1197c). They freely occur in the quote of a reported speech construction. (1197b) shows the interjection *waḥ*, which expresses surprise. In this example, the interjection constitutes the only word in the quote. *Waḥ* is a frequent exclamation in reported speech. By using it, a narrative becomes more vivid. At the same time *waḥ* serves the function of indicating the beginning of a quote. Even when no overt verb of speech follows, it is clear from the use of this exclamation that the following clause represents reported speech (1197c).

- (1197) a. *“nox di-ho ked-iyu!”=χen hayloy eχi-š*
 come I.OBL-ILOC girl-VOC=QUOT he.ERG say-PST
 ‘“Marry me, girl!” he said.’
- b. *“wah”=χen eχi-n haŋu ked-i*
 wow=QUOT say-UWPST this.OBL girl-ERG
 ‘“Wow,” said the girl.’ (N)
- c. *“wah, sira had y-iχ’i-yo gom?”=χen*
 wow why this IV-go-ICVB be.NEG=QUOT
 ‘“Wow, why does (the leg) not go?” I say.’ (N)

The author of the quote can be stated explicitly (1196a), (1197b), or it can be omitted if understood from the context (1195), (1197c). Reported speech may occur without a framing clause of speech (Section 23.3.2), or it may consist of several clauses or sentences (1198a). Each instance of reported speech in a dialogue is marked with the Quotative enclitic (1198b). Occasionally, more than one enclitic occurs in one quote, even in one and the same quoted clause (1198c). This is particularly frequent in spontaneous daily speech or when narrating stories without preparing the narration in advance (1198a, 1198c). In (1198b) there are several occurrence of the Quotative enclitic because the quote of Malla Nasrudin contains another quote from the crow.

- (1198) a. *iyoyo “ked”=χen eχi-n “hoboy=šid idu-do*
 mother-ERG girl=QUOT say-UWPST then=on home-DIR
b-ux-o haw k’et’u!”=χen eχi-n “dew-de
 III-take-IMP that cat(III)=QUOT say-CVB you.SG.OBL-ALOC
b-ot’-r-o!”=χen eχi-n
 III-lay-CAUS-IMP=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘The mother said “Girl, from now on take the cat home, you sleep with it!”’ (N)
- b. *“se eχi-y”=χen χerba-y eχi-χ’o, Malla Rasadan-i*
 what say-Q=QUOT guest-ERG say-SIM Mullah Nasredin-ERG
eχi-n “«toho gadi-ma rek’we goŋ»=χen eχi-n
 say-UWPST there barrel-IN man be=QUOT say-UWPST
haŋu-y”
 this.OBL-ERG
 ‘When the guest said, “What did (the crow) say?” Mullah Nasredin said, that it said “There in the barrel is a man.”’ (N)

- c. *hayɬuy eɬi-n* “*de*”=*ɬen eɬi-n* “*mihna-y y-ik’ek’-iš*
 she.ERG say-UWPST I=QUOT say-CVB bird-ERG II-steal-RES
zoq’e-s”=*ɬen eɬi-n*
 be-PST=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘She said, “I was stolen by a bird.”’ (N)

There is no shift of the spatial or temporal deixis. For instance, in (1199a) the deictic spatial adverb *hadi* ‘here’ occurs, the same that can be assumed to have been used by the original speakers of the quote. Similarly, for (1199b), the brother in his speech had also used *huɬ* ‘yesterday’.

- (1199) a. “*hoboži eli hadi b-otto*”=*ɬen eɬi-n*
 now we here HPL-lay.PRS=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“Now we sleep here,” (they) said.’ (N)
- b. *essu-y hawsaʔat eɬi-yo* “*huɬ ɬe r-oč’č’u*
 brother-ERG now say-PRS yesterday water(V) V-cold
zoq’e-s”=*ɬen*
 be-PST=QUOT
 ‘My brother says now, “The water was cold yesterday.”’

The framing clause containing the speech predicate may precede (1199b), follow (1200a), or interrupt the quote (1200b).

- (1200) a. “*t’ok’aw de yoriš-a-ho y-iɬ’i-ɬ’os gom,*
 anymore I.ERG cow.PL-OBL-ILOC II-go-HAB be.NEG
obu”=*ɬen de eɬi-yo obu-qo-r*
 father=QUOT I.ERG say-PRS father-AT-LAT
 ‘“I (fem.) will not go anymore for the cows,” I say to my father.’ (N)
- b. “*hayru r-ese-yo*”=*ɬen eɬi-yo sudi-ya-y*
 so V-be.probable-CONC=QUOT say-PRS judge-OBL-ERG
kupec-qo-r “*me=tow ʔayibiyaw goɬ*”=*ɬen*
 merchant-AT-LAT you.SG=EMPH guilty be=QUOT
 ‘“If it is like this,” says the judge to the merchant, “it is your own fault.”’ (N)

23.5. Syntactic status of the quote

Reported speech shows similarities to complement clauses where the verb in the complement clause has the form of a main clause verb. These similarities are,

first of all, the use of the Quotative enclitic that also occurs in other types of complements. Another similarity is the rule for using reflexive pronouns, which is the same as in other types of complements (Section 22.4.5). Furthermore, quotes can be questioned with *se* ‘what’ (1198b) or referred to with an anaphoric pronoun (1201).

- (1201) [hag eʎi-ʎ'o] hayʎi kekiš-a-ʎ bito Ø-oʎex-no k'oʎe-n
 that say-SIM there flour-OBL-CONT there I-appear-CVB run-UWPST
hago rek'we
 that man(I)
 ‘When (he) said that, the man jumped out of the flour.’ (N)

An important difference between reported speech and ordinary complement clauses is that the quote does not need to be a full clause (1202). Note that this example illustrates, not reported human speech, but the sound production of an animal.

- (1202) ʎ^wadi: “q'wa”=ʎen eʎi-n
 crow.ERG krah=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘The crow said “Krah.”’ (N)

Furthermore, no other complementation strategies besides the Quotative enclitic are used for reported speech. In contrast, ordinary complement-taking verbs usually have more than one strategy to form a complement clause. Therefore, I prefer to classify reported speech in Hinuq, not as real complementation, but rather as a special construction type following Aikhenvald (2011b).

23.6. Deictic shift with reflexive pronouns

As already mentioned, there are, in principle, no differences between main clauses and clauses occurring as quotes in reported speech constructions. The only difference that may distinguish quotes from ordinary main clauses is the occurrence of reflexive pronouns. In Hinuq, coreference between arguments in different clauses is usually expressed by means of zero anaphora in one of the clauses. The same is true for reported speech: if the author of the quote (i.e. the S or A argument of the speech predicate) is identical with some argument in the quote, one of the overt nominals is normally omitted (1192a), (1194c). But it is also possible to repeat a referent, e.g. by using a personal pronoun in the quote that is coreferential with one of the arguments of the speech predicate, e.g. the speaker (1194b), (1196a) or the addressee (1188b, 1188c). Another possibility is the use

of a reflexive pronoun in the quote. This pronoun is always controlled by the author of the quote, i.e. the reporter (1203a-1203d). It can fulfill various (grammatical) roles within the sentence representing the quote, e.g. possessor (1203a), P (1203b), experiencer (1203c), recipient (1203d), theme of a conversation (1204), etc.

- (1203) a. *hayloy xabar kekir-no* “*zonzo omoq’i-ya-y*
 he.ERG story send-UWPST REFL.SG.GEN2 donkey-OBL-ERG
mecxer gotto”=*χen*
 money pour.PRS=QUOT
 ‘He spread the news that his donkey pours money.’ (N)
- b. *exo-qo-r* *Malla Rasadan-i eχi-yo* “*zo*
 herdsman-AT-LAT Mullah Nasredin-ERG say-prs REFL.SG
q’iloza-qo-s *Ø-ekir-o!*”=*χen*
 board.OBL.PL-AT-ABL1 I-unbind-IMP=QUOT
 ‘Mullah Nasredin says to the herdsman “Unbind me!”’ (N)
- c. *zurmaqan-i eχi-š-eχ* “*zonez bišon taraw*
 zurna.player-ERG say-PST=QUOT REFL.SG.DAT 100 besides
yurus *y-aši-š-me*”=*χen*
 ruble(IV) IV-get-PST-NEG=QUOT
 ‘The zurna player said that he got nothing besides 100 rubles.’ (N)
- d. *yoχu.koka-y eχi-yo* “*zonqo-r ec’endiyu cen=no*
 cinderello-ERG say-PRS REFL.SG.AT-LAT new brynza=and
 [...] *neχ*”=*χen*
 give=QUOT
 ‘Cinderello says “Give me fresh brynza and [...]!”’ (N)

In all corpus examples the reflexive pronoun is only used when the author of the quote is 3rd person. Otherwise it seems that only personal pronouns can be used. For instance, in example (1200a) above the author is first person and she refers to herself in the quote by using a personal pronoun.

Just like in complement clauses where the control relation between main clause and complement clause arguments follows pragmatic rather than syntactic roles, pragmatics is very important for the use of reflexive pronouns in reported speech constructions. Thus, in (1204) the quote contains two reflexive pronouns. The first pronoun *zončižo* is controlled by the A argument in the main clause (*xoddoy*). The second reflexive pronoun *zonzo* is controlled by what is understood to be the most prominent of the reported speech clause (which is identical to the addressee of the quote).

- (1204) *xoddo-y baru-qo-r eʕi-š zoq^we-n*
 husband-ERG wife-AT-LAT say-RES be-UWPST
 “*zon-ʕi-žo, xasgo bikor-zo*
 REFL.SG.OBL-ABST-GEN2 especially snake.OBL-GEN2
x^wišo-ʕi-žo ʕu-qo=qen zonzon obu-qo=qen
 skin.OBL-ABST-GEN2 who-AT-at.least REFL.SG.GEN2 father-AT=even
ese-yom!”=ʕen
 tell-PROH=QUOT
 ‘The husband said to his wife “Do not talk about me or about the snake
 skin to anybody, not even to your father!”’ (N)

Another kind of deictic shift occurs if a referent in a quote is identical with e.g. the addressee of another quote that reports the original speech. For instance, if (1205a) represents the original speech situation, then a report of this clause on the next day where Mahama is now the addressee contains a shifted temporal adverbial and a second person pronoun (1205b). In other words, when the speaker or the addressee of the reporting situation is referred to in the reported speech, first and second person pronouns are usual.

- (1205) a. [On Monday Ajshat says to Madina]
Maħama Ø-aq'e zek-es xece-n
 Mahama(I) I-come tomorrow-GEN1 let-CVB
 ‘Mahama will come the day after tomorrow.’
- b. [On Tuesday Madina says to Mahama]
Ayšat-i eʕi-š “me zek Ø-aq'e”=ʕen
 Ajshat-ERG say-PST you.SG tomorrow I-come=QUOT
 ‘Ajshat said that you will come tomorrow.’

Some authors regard the use of reflexive pronouns in reported speech constructions of Daghestanian languages as instance of semi-direct speech, a third type located between direct and indirect speech (Aikhenvald 2008, Aikhenvald 2011). Others argue that Daghestanian languages do not distinguish between direct and indirect speech. For instance, Creissels (2007) shows that the only type of reported speech in Akhvakh has all characteristics of canonical direct speech, but allows for the substitution of the first person pronoun in the quote by the reflexive pronoun *ži-* if the reflexive pronoun refers to the author of the quote and if the author is third person. Two of Creissels’ arguments are also applicable to Hinuq: (i) there is no deictic shift with temporal and spatial expressions and (ii) second person pronouns in quotes refer to the addressee of the author of the quote, not to the addressee of the reporting speaker. Compare English direct

speech *John told Peter: "Mary saw you."* where *you* refers to *Peter* with indirect speech *John told Peter that Mary saw you*, where *you* does not refer to *Peter*. Hinuq behaves differently from English. For example, in (1191b) the pronoun *dewder* 'to you' refers to the addressee of the talking hare. Similarly, in (1191c) *debez* 'to you' the pronoun refers to the addressee of Mulla Nasredin who is the author of the quote.

Hinuq shows an asymmetry in the way in which the original speaker and the original addressee are encoded. A similar asymmetry has been reported for other Nakh-Daghestanian languages like, for example, Akhvakh (Creissels 2010b). Both speaker and addressee are most frequently encoded with first and second personal pronouns in the quote (1206).

- (1206) *boc'e-y eχi-n haytu-ɣo-r "me de de*
 wolf-ERG say-UWPST that.OBL-AT-LAT you.SG I.ERG I.ERG
b-uher-an"=χen eχi-n
 III-kill-INTFUT=QUOT say-CVB
 'The wolf said to it (i.e. the fox), "I will kill you."' (N)

The reflexive pronoun in the quote refers to the speaker, not to the addressee.

- (1207) *Pat'imat-i_i Madina-ɣo-r_j eχi-š "zones_{i/*j} iyo*
 Patimat-ERG Madina-AT-LAT say-PST REFL.SG.GEN1 mother(II)
šahali-do y-iχ'i-š"=χen
 town.IN-DIR II-go-PST=QUOT
 'Patimat_i said to Madina_j that her_{i/*j} mother went to the city.'

With regard to demonstrative pronouns, the situation is not completely clear. They usually refer to third persons who are not the original speaker or the original addressee (1188a). I found one corpus example where a demonstrative pronoun refers to the speaker (1208b). Additionally, they may also refer to the addressee, at least in elicited examples like (1208a), though there are no equivalent examples in my corpus.

- (1208) a. *Pat'imat-i_i Madina-ɣo-r_j eχi-š "haytu-s_{*i/j} iyo*
 Patimat-ERG Madina-AT-LAT say-PST she.OBL-GEN1 mother(II)
šahali-do y-iχ'i-š"=χen
 town.IN-DIR II-go-PST=QUOT
 'Patimat_i said to Madina_j that her_{*i/j} mother went to the city.'

- b. *obu-y elu-qo-r wasi b-u:-n zeq'we-s*
 father-ERG we.OBL-AT-LAT testament(III) III-do-CVB be-PST
“ʔora=n ɣ^wede-ʔ hayʔo-zo suda-ho axranʔi
 three=and day-CONT he.OBL-GEN2 grave-ILOC guard(V)
r-uw-o!”=χen
 V-do-IMP=QUOT
 ‘Our father said to us in his testament that we should guard his grave
 for three days.’ (N)

Note that in Hinuq, in contrast to Akhvakh, the reflexive pronoun is only used if the addressee is not mentioned in the quote. In other words, if both the author and the addressee are referred to in the quote, then for both personal pronouns are used (1206).

Chapter 24

Reflexivization and reciprocalization

24.1. Reflexivization

24.1.1. Introduction

For third person, Hinuq has two sets of reflexive pronouns, simple and reduplicated ones, that distinguish a singular and a plural form. Their Absolutive forms are *zo* (REFL.SG), *zodi* (REFL.PL), *zoni.zo* (RED.REFL.SG), and *zodi.zodi* (RED.REFL.PL). See Section 5.3 for the paradigms. For first and second persons, the ordinary personal pronouns are used (the paradigms are given in Section 5.1). Furthermore, Hinuq has an Emphatic enclitic =*tow* that plays an important role in reflexivization (see Section 13.1.1.2 for a complete account of its functions).

Reflexive constructions are rare in my corpus, and therefore most of the material presented below derives from elicitation. One reason for this might be that in Hinuq, as in other Tsezic languages, a number of constructions that would be expressed as overtly reflexive in some other languages are expressed as intransitives, i.e. lexical reflexives. For example, in (1209) the derived Antipassive (and therefore intransitive) verb *k'ilik'do:-* ‘wash’ has a reflexive interpretation, but this is a purely lexical phenomenon:

- (1209) *di essu k'ilik'-do:-ho*
I.GEN1 brother wash-ANTIP-PRS
‘My brother is washing.’

In some cases lexical noun phrases are used where other languages would employ reflexive pronouns:

- (1210) a. *ked-i hiλu y-ixi-yo*
girl-ERG comb(IV) IV-wipe-PRS
‘The girl is combing (herself).’ (lit. ‘wiping or spreading the comb’)
b. *obu-y bošolk'a x^waλi-yo*
father-ERG beard shave-PRS
‘The father is shaving (himself).’ (lit. ‘shaving the beard’)

It seems that inanimates cannot control reflexivization, apart from those cases where reflexive pronouns have a reciprocal reading (see example (1267) in Section 24.2 below). For instance, compare example (1211a), where the reflexive

pronoun refers to a person, with (1211b), where it is supposed to refer to a plant. Example (1211b) becomes grammatical as soon as the reflexive pronoun is replaced by a demonstrative pronoun (which is also possible in (1211a)).

- (1211) a. [Maḥama-y telefon-ma=bito zonλ'o-r
 Mahama-ERG telefon-IN=TRANS REFL.SG.SPR-LAT
 qaλe-nos] ?ali Ø-aq'e-s
 call-ANT Ali(I) I-come-PST
 'After Mahama called him, Ali came.'
- b. * [me zo r-eg řařazi r-u:yo] at'
 you.SG.ERG REFL.SG V-well water V-do-COND wheat(V)
 r-eg r-iq
 V-well V-become
 (If you water it well, the wheat grows well.)

In this chapter, I clarify which structural positions are available for the reflexive and its antecedent. Simple reflexive pronouns will be compared to reduplicated pronouns, and occasionally also to demonstrative pronouns with or without the enclitic =*tow*. Furthermore, long distance reflexivization in different complex sentences will be analyzed.

24.1.2. Local reflexivization

24.1.2.1. Status of the antecedent

Any S, A, or experiencer (i.e. the most prominent) argument controls a reflexive, but P arguments (1212c) or recipients (1231a) can also control reflexives. In examples (1212a-1212c) the reflexive is always a possessive pronoun. But the reflexive can also have other roles, e.g. in (1212d) it is in an adjunct position marked with a spatial case suffix.

- (1212) a. *b-aq'-o* Čačan-be *idu-za-r*
 HPL-come-PRS Chechen-PL home-OBL.PL-LAT
zodu-zo *ařaza-r*
 REFL.PL.OBL-GEN2 village.PL.IN-LAT
 'The Chechens come home to their villages.' (N)
- b. [hayřoy zoni.zones sud=no r-ič'i-n]
 he.ERG RED.REFL.SG.GEN1 grave(V)=and V-dig-CVB
zama-zaman-a-ř Ø-iλ'i-n *sud-a* Ø-otto
 RED-time-OBL-CONT I-go-CVB grave-IN I-lie.PRS

‘He digs his grave and from time to time goes there and lies down in the grave.’

- c. *hagbe zoduzo wat'an-mo-λ'o-do=n kekir-no ...*
 they REFL.PL.GEN2 homeland-OBL-SPR-DIR=and bring-CVB
 ‘(The government) sent them to their countries ...’ (N)
- d. *b-ik-o hało-z zonde aldoyo ɬera iɬra*
 III-see-PRS he.OBL-DAT REFL.SG.ALOC in.front five.OBL six.OBL
metra: aldoyo b-ik-o boɬi
 meter.IN in.front III-see-PRS deer(III)
 ‘He sees in front of himself, five, six meters in front, a deer.’ (N)

Non-canonical agents marked with the AT-Essive can also control reflexives. In (1213a) the controller is an involuntary agent, and in (1213b) it is the causee. This example is pragmatically unambiguous because men do not wear headscarves. If both the causer and the causee are female, the example is ambiguous since both arguments can then function as controllers (1213c).

- (1213) a. *ked-qo zones kunta λaxi-š*
 girl-AT REFL.SG.GEN1 dress tear.up-PST
 ‘The girl accidentally tore her dress up.’
- b. *obu-y ked-qo zones yič'i gexe-r-iš*
 father-ERG daughter-AT REFL.SG.GEN1 headscarf dress-CAUS-PST
 ‘The father made the daughter wear her headscarf.’
- c. *iyo-y_i ked-qo_j zones_{i/j} yič'i*
 mother-ERG daughter-AT REFL.SG.GEN1 headscarf
gexe-r-iš
 dress-CAUS-PST
 ‘The mother_i made the daughter_j wear her_{i/j} headscarf.’

The agent in the biabsolutive construction can also control a reflexive pronoun (1214a). The word order does not influence the acceptability even in those cases where the reflexive is in a core argument position (1214b, 1214c).

- (1214) a. *hago zonez buɬe b-u:-ho goɬ*
 he REFL.SG.DAT house(III) III-do-ICVB be
 ‘He is building a house for himself.’
- b. *Maha^hma zoni.zo=tow zokko goɬ*
 Mahama RED.REFL.SG=EMPH beat.ICVB be
 ‘Mahama is beating himself.’

c. *zoni.zotow Mahama zokko goł*

In all the above cases, the reflexive pronoun must be used. If a third person pronoun is used instead, then coreference is excluded. Even if the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* is added, coreference is excluded. This is remarkable since other Tsezic languages like Khwarshi and Tsez allow emphatic demonstrative pronouns in these or similar contexts (cf. (Khalilova 2009: 436), Polinsky & Comrie (2003)).

- (1215) a. *Madina-z hadu(=tow) y-ike-s*
 Madina-DAT she(=EMPH) II-see-PST
 ‘Madina saw her.’ (another girl)
- b. *haze-y hagbe(=tow) zok'-iš*
 they.OBL-ERG they(=EMPH) beat-PST
 ‘They beat them.’ (other people)

The antecedent of a simple reflexive pronoun cannot be a possessor no matter whether the reflexive pronoun fulfills the role of a core argument or any other role in the clause (1216a). Instead, a third person pronoun plus the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* must be used, as in (1216b). If the reduplicated reflexive pronoun is employed, then it indicates coreference with the possessed object (1216c).

- (1216) a. **Maħama-zo_i ʃ^we-y zo_i hil-iš*
 Mahama-GEN2 dog-ERG REFL.SG bite-PST
 (Mahama’s_i dog bit him_i.)
- b. *Maħama-zo_i ʃ^we-y hago=tow_{i/j} hil-iš*
 Mahama-GEN2 dog-ERG he=SELF bite-PST
 ‘Mahama’s_i dog bit him_{i/j}.’
- c. *Maħama-zo_i ʃ^we-y_j zoni.zo_{*i/j} hil-iš*
 Mahama-GEN2 dog-ERG RED.REFL.SG bite-PST
 ‘Mahama’s_i dog_j bit itself_{*i/j}.’

24.1.2.2. Status of the reflexive

The reflexive can be a core argument. In this case it functions as the direct object of a transitive verb (1217a), or as the stimulus of an experiencer verb (1217b). Note that simple reflexive pronouns normally do not appear in core argument positions of local reflexive constructions in my corpus. Such examples can be elicited, but monotransitive sentences with a simple reflexive pronoun in the P position are quite marginal (1217c). At least in the experiencer construction the order of controller and controllee can be reversed (1217d).

- (1217) a. *ked-i c'ikay-a=bito zo uži-go y-iker-iš*
 girl(II)-ERG mirror-IN=TRANS REFL.SG boy-AT II-show-PST
 'The girl showed herself to the boy in the mirror.'
- b. *?ali-ž zo Ø-ik-o*
 Ali(I)-DAT REFL.SG I-see-PRS
 'Ali sees himself.'
- c. *?Maḥama-y zo Ø-uher-iš*
 Mahama(I)-ERG REFL.SG I-kill-PST
 'Mahama killed himself.'
- d. *zo ?ali-ž Ø-ik-o*
 REFL.SG Ali(I)-DAT I-see-PRS
 'Ali sees himself.'

The reflexive pronoun can also be the indirect object. In (1218) the direct object of the verb *-ik'* 'beat', which would refer to the instrument with which is beaten (e.g. a fist or a stick) has been omitted. The indirect object is coreferential with the agent and thus a reflexive pronoun must be used. In this example the reflexive pronoun has been marked with the Emphatic enclitic =*tow*. If the enclitic is left out then the sentence is hardly acceptable.

- (1218) *uži-y čoruλ' zonez=tow b-ik'-iš-me*
 boy-ERG whip(III) REFL.SG.DAT=EMPH III-beat-PST
 'The boy did not beat himself with a whip.'

The reflexive pronoun can fulfill a non-argument role, i.e. it can be an addressee (1219a) or a beneficiary (1219b):

- (1219) a. *hayłoy zonqo-r eλi-š "zek γ^wede r-egi*
 he.ERG REFL.SG.AT-LAT say-PST tomorrow day(V) V-good
r-ič-a goł"=λen
 V-be-INF be=QUOT
 'He said to himself "Tomorrow will be a good day."'
- b. *maduhal-i zonez buλe b-ux-no*
 neighbor-ERG REFL.SG.DAT house(III) III-buy-UWPST
 'The neighbor bought a house for himself.'

Frequently the possessor is coreferential with the most prominent argument of the clause and is therefore expressed by a reflexive pronoun in the First or Second Genitive according to the case of the possessum. Note that almost all corpus examples of locally used simple reflexive pronouns are possessors.

- (1220) a. *haʃu-z r-ik-o zones čuryan*
 she.OBL-DAT V-see-PRS REFL.SG.GEN1 headscarf(V)
 ‘She sees her headscarf.’ (N)
- b. *hoboži coy boži b-iq-iš zonzonzo*
 now eagle(III) belief III-happen-PST REFL.SG.GEN2
q’uwat-mo-λ’o
 force-OBL-SPR
 ‘The eagle believed in its force.’ (N)

Other non-arguments marked with various spatial cases can be expressed as reflexive pronouns:

- (1221) a. *xan-i qaʃe-n zonde-r Ø-eg^wennu uži*
 khan-ERG call-UWPST REFL.SG.ALOC-LAT I-small son(I)
 ‘The khan called the small son to himself.’ (N)
- b. *haʃu ked-i zon-ʃi b-u-i-ho arxi*
 this.OBL girl-ERG REFL.SG.OBL-ABST III-do-PRS ditch(III)
 ‘The girl makes a ditch out of herself.’ (N)
- c. *haw mecxer=no ukru=n hayʃu ked-i zonqo-do*
 that money=and silver=and that.OBL girl-ERG REFL.SG.AT-DIR
b-ux-no
 III-take-UWPST
 ‘The girl took the money and the silver for herself.’ (N)
- d. *ʔali-ž Ø-ike-s Maħama zonde pureʃ*
 Ali-DAT I-see-PST Mahama REFL.SG.ALOC next
 ‘Ali saw Mahama next to himself.’

24.1.2.3. Object control of possessors

If the possessor of the more prominent argument in a clause is coreferential with the less prominent argument of the same clause, then the possessor must be a reflexive pronoun. It cannot be a normal demonstrative pronoun. Usually, the reflexive pronoun =*to*w is added in order to facilitate the interpretation.

- (1222) a. *zonzonzo=*to*w_i y^we-y ʔumar_i Ø-uλ’er-iš*
 REFL.SG.GEN2=SELF dog-ERG Omar(I) I-frighten-PST
 ‘His_i own dog frightened Omar_i.’
- b. *hayʃo-zo_{*i/j} y^we-y ʔumar_i Ø-uλ’er-iš*
 he.OBL-GEN2 dog-ERG Omar(I) I-frighten-PST

‘His_{*i/j} dog frightened Omar_i.’

If the possessor is expressed as a noun phrase anteceding the pronoun in the object position, then coreference is excluded if the object is a demonstrative pronoun (1223a). If =*tow* is added to the demonstrative pronoun, then the possessor can be interpreted as the antecedent, but disjoint reference is also possible (1223b).

- (1223) a. *ʔumar-zo_i ʔ^we-y hago_{*i/j} Ø-uλ'er-iš*
 Omar-GEN2 dog-ERG he I-frighten-PST
 ‘Omar’s_i dog frightened him_{*i/j}.’
- b. *ʔumar-zo_i ʔ^we-y hago=*tow*_{i/j} Ø-uλ'er-iš*
 Omar-GEN2 dog-ERG he=SELF I-frighten-PST
 ‘Omar’s_i dog frightened him_{i/j}.’

When the reduplicated demonstrative pronoun is used in the same position, then it must be interpreted as being coreferential with the more prominent argument (1224), not with the possessor (see also (1216c) above):

- (1224) *ʔumar-es_i ʔ^we_j zoni.zon-λ'o-r_{*i/j} b-eze-s*
 Omar-GEN1 dog(III) RED.REFL.SG.OBL-SPR-LAT III-look-PST
 ‘Omar’s_i dog_j looked at itself_{*i/j}.’

When the simple reflexive pronoun is marked with =*tow*, then the possessor functions as antecedent (1225). The enclitic cannot be left out because then the sentence becomes incomprehensible (1216a).

- (1225) *ʔumar-zo_i ʔ^we-y_j zo=*tow*_{i/*j} hil-iš*
 Omar-GEN2 dog-ERG REFL.SG=SELF bite-PST
 ‘Omar’s_i dog_j bit him_{i/*j}.’

24.1.2.4. Word order and reversal of roles

The word order of reflexive pronouns is in principle free, i.e. they usually follow their antecedent, but the reversed order is also possible.

- (1226) a. *Šayix-i zoni.zo zokko*
 Sheikh-ERG RED.REFL.SG beat.PRS
 ‘Sheikh beats himself.’
- b. *zoni.zo Šayixi zokko*

- c. *ʔumar zoni.zonqo-r Ø-eg Ø-ez-o*
 Omar RED.REFL.SG.AT-LAT I-well I-look-PRS
 ‘Omar cares about himself.’ (lit. ‘looks well at himself’)
- d. *zoni.zonqo-r ʔumar Ø-eg Ø-ez-o*
- e. *Madina-z zonez zo y-eq’i-yo*
 Madina(II)-DAT REFL.SG.DAT REFL.SG II-know-PRS
 ‘Madina knows herself.’
- f. *zonez zo Madinaz yeq’iyo*

With simple reflexive pronouns, the roles of antecedent and pronoun cannot be reversed. With reduplicated reflexive pronouns, it is likewise mostly impossible to change the roles of controller and controllee such that the reflexive pronoun takes the more prominent role and the noun phrase the less prominent one. Thus, in the extended intransitive construction, the controller must be in the Absolutive case and the controllee is the reflexive pronoun (1227a); the other way around is ungrammatical (1227b).

- (1227) a. *Madina zoni.zonλ’o boži y-iqqo*
 Madina(II) RED.REFL.SG.SPR belief II-happen.PRS
 ‘Madina believes in herself.’
- b. * *zoni.zo Madinaλ’o boži y-iqqo*
 RED.REFL.SG Madina(II)-SPR belief II-happen.PRS
 (Madina believes in herself.)

Similarly, in the transitive construction, the controller must be the full noun phrase in the Ergative case and the controllee can be a reflexive pronoun in the Absolutive (1228a, 1228b). The same is true if the controllee is not the direct object but in an adjunct position (1228c, 1228d).

- (1228) a. *hayłoy zoni.zo hil-iš*
 he.ERG RED.REFL.SG bite-PST
 ‘He bit himself.’
- b. * *zoni.zoni hago hil-iš*
 RED.REFL.SG.ERG he bite-PST
 (He bit himself.)
- c. *hayłoy zoni.zonλ’or kayat cax-iš*
 he.ERG RED.REFL.SG.SPR.LAT letter write-PST
 ‘He wrote a letter to himself.’

- d. * *zoni.zoni hayto-λ'o-r kayat cax-iš*
 RED.REFL.SG.ERG he.OBL-SPR-LAT letter write-PST
 (He wrote a letter to himself.)

The only exceptions to the rule that forbids the reversal of roles are the experiencer construction and non-canonical agent constructions. Example (1226e) above repeated here as (1229a) shows the standard experiencer construction with reduplicated pronouns where the antecedent takes the Dative and the reflexive pronoun the Absolutive case. In contrast, in (1229b) below, the antecedent is in the Absolutive and the reflexive pronoun in the Dative case. Note that the order of controller noun phrase and controllee does not have any impact on this reversal of roles or the interpretation.

- (1229) a. *Madina-z zonez zo y-eq'i-yo*
 Madina(II)-DAT REFL.SG.DAT REFL.SG II-know-PRS
 'Madina knows herself.'
 b. *Madina zoni.zonez y-eq'i-yo*
 Madina(II) RED.REFL.SG.DAT II-know-PRS
 'Madina knows herself.'

Similarly, (1230a) illustrates the potential agent construction and (1230b) the involuntary agent construction. In these two examples the controller is marked with the AT-Essive indicating the role of a non-canonical agent. In contrast, in (1230c) and (1230d) the controller is in the Absolutive case and the controllee, the reduplicated reflexive pronoun, takes the AT-Essive case. Again, a change of the order of controller and controllee is possible without altering the grammaticality or the meaning.

- (1230) a. *ked-qo zonqo zo zok'-eł-o gom*
 girl-AT REFL.SG.AT REFL.SG beat-POT-ICVB be.NEG
 'The girl cannot beat herself.'
 b. *hayto-qo zonqo zo=tow Ø-uhe-n*
 he.OBL-AT REFL.SG.AT REFL.SG=EMPH I-die-UWPST
 'He accidentally killed himself.'
 c. *zoni.zonqo ked zok'-eł-o gom*
 RED.REFL.SG.AT girl beat-POT-ICVB be.NEG
 'The girl cannot beat herself.'
 d. *hago zoni.zonqo Ø-uhe-n*
 he RED.REFL.SG.AT I-die-UWPST
 'He accidentally killed himself.'

This phenomenon has been noted for other Tsezic languages as well (Khalilova, 2009: 428–435, Polinsky & Comrie, 2003, and Comrie, Forker & Khalilova, 2011).

24.1.2.5. Ambiguity with two possible antecedents

In clauses with two potential antecedents, ambiguity may arise. For example, in (1231a) the agent and the recipient can function as controllers of the reflexive pronoun (see (1213c) for a similar example with a causativized verb). Although the more prominent argument (in this case the agent) is the preferred default antecedent, both interpretations are readily available. In contrast, in (1231b) semantics and pragmatics exclude the agent as antecedent since a shirt is worn by men.

- (1231) a. *iyoy_i ked-ez_j zones_{i/j} kunta toλ-iš*
 mother-ERG girl-DAT REFL.SG.GEN1 dress give-PST
 ‘The mother_i gave the daughter_j her_{i/j} dress.’
- b. *iyoy uži-ž zones k’oboy toλ-iš*
 mother-ERG boy-DAT REFL.SG.GEN1 shirt give-PST
 ‘The mother gave the son his shirt.’

Another possibility is to add the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* to the reflexive pronoun: in this case the more prominent argument is preferred as antecedent, e.g.

- (1232) *?ali_i es-o zoq’^we-s xabar essu-qo_j*
 Ali.ERG tell-ICVB be-PST story brother-AT
*zon-łi=tow_{i/*j}*
 REFL.SG.OBL-ABST=EMPH
 ‘Ali_i talked to (his) brother_j about himself_{i/*j}}’

If only the demonstrative pronoun occurs, then a third party is the referent (1233).

- (1233) *?ali_i es-o zoq’^we-s xabar essu-qo_j hayło-łi_{*i/*j/k}}*
 Ali.ERG tell-ICVB be-PST story brother-AT he.OBL-ABST
 ‘Ali_i talked to his brother_j about him_{*i/*j/k}}’

The word order seems to have some influence on the interpretation. When the reflexive pronoun follows both noun phrases, they can both function as antecedents (1234a). When one of the noun phrases follows the reflexive pronoun, the most prominent argument is preferably interpreted as the antecedent (1234b, 1234c).

- (1234) a. *obu-y_i zok'-iš Pat'imat_j zonzoi_{i/j} beλe:*
 father-ERG beat-PST Patimat REFL.SG.GEN2 house.IN
 'The father beat Patimat in his/her house.'
- b. *obu-y_i zok'-iš zonzoi_{i/ʔj} beλe: Pat'imat_j*
 father-ERG beat-PST REFL.SG.GEN2 house.IN Patimat
 'The father beat Patimat in his (?her) house.'
- c. *Pat'imat_j zonzoi_{i/ʔj} beλe: obu-y_i zok'-iš*
 Patimat REFL.SG.GEN2 house.IN father-ERG beat-PST
 'The father beat Patimat in his (?her) house.'

The patient can function as the antecedent if the reflexive pronoun is replaced by a demonstrative pronoun, which also agrees in gender with its antecedent.

- (1235) *obu-y zok'-iš Pat'imat hayɫu-zo beλe:*
 father-ERG beat-PST Patimat she.OBL-GEN2 house.IN
 'The father beat Patimat in her house.'

24.1.2.6. Reflexive pronouns in the local domain

There is a clear role division of simple and reduplicated reflexive pronouns in the local (but also in the non-local) domain. In natural texts, simple reflexive pronouns never appear in core argument roles such as P, indirect object, or stimulus, but only as addressees (1219a), occasionally as beneficiaries, in various adjunct positions (1221a-1221c), and most frequently as possessors (1220a, 1220b). The reason is that in the appropriate context simple reflexive pronouns may refer to the first person (i.e. the speaker). For instance, in (1236a) the simple reflexive pronoun is preferably interpreted as referring to the speaker, not to the boy. In order to disambiguate the sentence, the reduplicated reflexive pronoun is used (1236b). In (1236c, 1236d), the first person is actually the only possible referent for the reflexive pronoun since in true reflexive constructions with extended intransitive predicates the antecedent must occur in the role more prominent than the reflexive pronoun; the other way around is not admissible (see Section 24.1.2.4 above). However, the use of the reflexive pronoun in reference to the speaker is only possible in a discourse which has already been established. It is impossible to start a new conversation or a new topic with a sentence like (1236c) or (1236d); but instead of the reflexive pronoun the personal pronoun *de* 'I' must be used.

- (1236) a. *uži zon-λ'o-r Ø-eze-s*
 boy(1) REFL.SG.OBL-SPR-LAT I-look-PST

- ‘The boy looked at me.’ or ‘The boy looked at himself.’
- b. *uži zoni.zon-λ'o-r* *Ø-eze-s*
 boy(I) RED.REFL.SG.OBL-SPR-LAT I-look-PST
 ‘The boy looked at himself.’
- c. *uži-λ'o-r zo* *Ø-eze-s*
 boy-SPR-LAT REFL.SG I-look-PST
 ‘I (masc.) looked at the boy.’
- d. *zo uži-λ'o-r* *Ø-eze-s*
 REFL.SG boy-SPR-LAT I-look-PST
 ‘I (masc.) looked at the boy.’

As shown in examples (1217a-1217d) and (1218) above, it is possible to elicit sentences with simple reflexive pronouns in P, indirect object or stimulus position but especially simple transitive clauses with a reflexive pronouns as P are very marginal. In these constructions normally reduplicated reflexive pronouns occur, or it is at least necessary to add the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* to the reflexive pronoun.

In contrast, the use of simple reflexive pronouns in postpositional phrases is obligatory. In a sentences such as (1221d) =*tow* can be added to the simple reflexive pronoun, but the pronoun can never be replaced by its reduplicated counterpart, e.g.

- (1237) * *Maḥama-z zoni.zonde* *igo tupi* *r-ike-s*
 Mahama-DAT RED.REFL.SG.ALOC near weapon(V) V-see-PST
 (Mahama saw a weapon near to himself.)

Beneficiaries and spatial arguments of extended intransitive predicates lie in a kind of border zone. That is, in natural texts beneficiaries are mostly expressed by reduplicated pronouns, but one or two examples with simple pronouns are also attested, and elicitation is easily possible. Spatial arguments of intransitive verbs are sometimes judged as possible and sometimes as odd, depending on the examples and on the speaker. In any case the use of the Emphatic enclitic highly improves the acceptability of such sentences. The use of simple and reflexive pronouns as well as simple reflexives with =*tow* is summarized in Table 85. ([]) means that such sentences are hardly grammatical, () means that they are marginally acceptable. This table confirms the hierarchy of reflexives given by Testelec & Toldova (1998), although Hinuq behaves differently from the three Nakh-Daghestanian languages that they looked at (Avar, Godoberi, Tsakhur).

The following sentences illustrate the use of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun in simple clauses. Except for experiencer and non-canonical agent con-

Table 85. Simple and reduplicated reflexive pronouns in the local domain

	P, indirect object, spatial argument	Experiencer	Beneficiary	Postpositional phrase
Simple reflexive	([+])	(+)	+	+
Simple reflexive + = <i>tow</i>	+	+	+	+
Reduplicated reflexive	+	+	+	-

structions, which are treated below, in all these clauses the first part of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun appears in the Ergative case and the second part takes the case marking appropriate for the role it has in the clause, e.g. beneficiary (1238a), addressee (1238b), or the goal of a gaze (1238c). The antecedent has the more prominent role in the clause, e.g. A in (1238a, 1238b) and S in the extended intransitive clause (1238c).

- (1238) a. *haʔu-y zoni.zonez k'ilik'-x'os goʔ*
 this.OBL-ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT wash-HAB be
 'It (i.e. a washbowl) washes for itself.' (N)
- b. *ʔali:=n essu-y=no zodi.zodu-go es-o*
 Ali.ERG=and brother-ERG=and RED.REFL.PL.OBL-AT tell-ICVB
zoq'we-s xabar
 be-PST story
 'Ali and (his) brother talked to themselves.'
- c. *y^we zoni.zonx'o-r b-eze-s*
 dog(III) RED.REFL.SPR-LAT III-look-PST
 'The dog looked at itself.'

The controller can be covert if it is retrievable from the context (1239a, 1239b). When reflexive pronouns are reduplicated, =*tow* can optionally be added (1239b). It can follow either the first pronoun or the second pronoun, and it can, in principle, also occur twice, once on each pronoun.

- (1239) a. *hoboži hagbe čeq-i b-iči-yo zoq'e-n [xižina=n*
 now they forest-IN HPL-be-ICVB be-UWPST hut(V)=and
r-u:-n zodi.zoduz=če]
 V-do-CVB RED.REFL.PL.DAT=EQ
 'They went into the forest and made themselves something like a hut.' (N)

- b. “*hayto-s res qaca-s goɬ*” [*zoni=tow*
 he.OBL-GEN1 throat wood-GEN1 be REFL.SG.ERG=EMPH
zonde Ø-aλ'i-yo Ø-iči-n] ...
 REFL.SG.ALOC I-talk-ICVB I-be-CVB
 “‘His mouth is made of wood,’ said (the man) to himself ...’ (N)

The reduplicated reflexive pronouns can be used in the biabsolutive construction (see examples (1214a, 1214b) above). In this case, the first reflexive pronoun takes the Ergative case and the second the Absolutive case, which is the Absolutive form of the reflexive pronoun (e.g. *zoni.zo* in the singular). The order of the reflexive pronoun and the controller can be reversed.

The experiencer construction and non-canonical agent constructions differ from all the examples presented so far because these constructions allow for the reversal of roles which is accompanied by the use of two morphologically different reflexive pronouns. In those sentences where the controllee takes over the higher role, the reflexive pronoun has the usual morphological shape consisting of the first part marked with the Ergative suffix and the second part with the appropriate case suffix of the higher role (i.e. Dative or AT-Essive). Examples illustrating this are (1229b), (1230c), and (1230d) above.

But if the controller appears in the higher role, then the reduplicated reflexive pronoun in the lower role cannot have the usual form Ergative plus the relevant case (e.g. *zoni.zonez* ‘RED.REFL.SG.DAT’) (1240a-1240c). Instead, the first part doubles the case marking of the controller (i.e. Dative in the experiencer construction, AT-Essive in the non-canonical agent constructions). The second part behaves as expected and takes the appropriate case marking (Absolutive). The relevant grammatical examples (1229a), (1230a), and (1230b) can be found above.

- (1240) a. * *Madina-z zoni.zo y-ike-s*
 Madina-DAT RED.REFL.SG II-see-PST
 (Madina sees herself.)
- b. * *ked-go zoni.zo zok'-eɬ-o gom*
 girl-AT RED.REFL.SG beat-POT-ICVB be.NEG
 (The girl cannot beat herself.)
- c. * *hayto-go zoni.zo Ø-uhe-n*
 he.OBL-AT RED.REFL.SG I-die-UWPST
 (He accidentally killed himself.)

Apparent counterexamples where a reduplicated pronoun in an experiencer clause has the case suffixes Ergative (*zoni*) and Dative (*zonez*), as illustrated in

(1241), do not contradict the above claim because in these examples the reduplicated reflexive pronoun occurs in the emphatic function not fulfilling any grammatical role in the clause (see Section 24.1.3 about the emphatic use of reflexive pronouns). Thus, the second part takes the same case marking as the role to which it refers and can additionally be marked with =*tow* in order to emphasize this meaning.

- (1241) *hayto-z Ø-uh-a Ø-eti-š goł zoni.zonez=tow*
 he.OBL-DAT I-die-INF I-want-RES be RED.REFL.SG.DAT=EMPH
 ‘He himself wants to die.’ (N)

24.1.3. The emphatic use of reflexive pronouns

Simple reflexive pronouns can fulfill a purely emphatic function stressing the fact that the referent of the argument by which they are controlled is alone involved in the situation described, probably contrary to the expectations of the hearer. In this function, they double the case of their controller and are normally marked with the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* (1242a, 1242b). With first and second persons it is usually enough to add the enclitic to the pronoun, though doubling is also possible, and the second pronoun takes =*tow* (see Section 24.1.5 below for a few examples). The reflexive pronoun does not have to be adjacent to the controller noun phrase.

- (1242) a. *Mahama-y zoni=tow gor-iš λ'u. hayto-z*
 Mahama-ERG REFL.SG.ERG=EMPH put-PST roof he.OBL-DAT
tu-y=qen kumak b-u:s-me
 who-ERG=at.least help(III) III-do-PST-NEG
 ‘Mahama himself put the roof; nobody helped him.’
- b. *ʔali-š zones=tow buxe goł*
 Ali-GEN1 REFL.SG.GEN1=EMPH house be
 ‘Ali himself has his own house.’

Ljutikova (1999) argues that in Tsakhur, another Nakh-Daghestanian language, the emphatic use of the reflexive pronouns lies at the origins of the development of reduplicated reflexive pronouns. In Tsakhur reduplicated reflexive pronouns the first part always doubles the case of the controller, whereas the second part has the case form according to the role of the pronoun. The doubling in the first part comes from the emphatic use of reflexive pronouns which is attested with simple reflexive pronouns. This argument seem to be transferable to Hinuq with one minor adjustment. The first part of reduplicated reflexive pronouns in

Hinuq does not always double the case of the controller, but is very often invariably *zoni*, i.e. a petrified form of the Ergative reflexive pronoun even if the controller is in the Absolutive (1226c), (1229b). Thus, it seems that in Hinuq the reduplicated reflexive pronoun is already more grammaticalized.

24.1.4. Long distance reflexivization

24.1.4.1. Logophoric reflexivization

Logophoric reflexivization occurs in reported speech contexts in which the quote is identical to the speech act except that coreference with the speaker is expressed by reflexive pronouns in the quote and the clause is marked with the Quotative enclitic =*λen*. For instance, in the original speech act the speaker refers to himself with the first person personal pronoun (1243a). But in the quoted clause in (1243b), which contains the same Imperative form that also occurred in the original speech act, a third person reflexive pronoun appears. This means, logophoric reflexives are third person in form, despite their coreference to the speaker.

- (1243) a. *de q'iloza-qo-s* *Ø-ekir-o!*
 I board.OBL.PL-AT-ABL I I-unbind-IMP
 'Unbind me (masc.) from the boards!'
- b. *exo-qo-r* *Malla Rasadan-i* *eλi-yo* "zo
 herdsman-AT-LAT Mullah Nasredin-ERG say-PRS REFL.SG
q'iloza-qo-s *Ø-ekir-o!"=λen*
 board.OBL.PL-AT-ABL I I-unbind-IMP=QUOT
 'Mullah Nasredin says to the herdsman "Unbind me from the boards!"'
 (N)

Similarly, (1244) contains a matrix verb of speech and four following clauses that represent reported speech. In all three clauses that convey what the zurna player said, the Simple Past has been used since he is talking about his own experiences. In the first clause again a simple reflexive pronoun occurs in reference to the speaker. In addition, there is another embedded clause that reports what the people said to the zurna player. This clause is also marked as reported speech, and the plural reflexive pronoun has been used because now the referents are the people at the various weddings.

- (1244) *zurmaqan-i* *eλi-š=eλ* "zonez *bišon taraw*
 zurna.player-ERG say-PST=NARR REFL.SG.DAT 100 besides
yuruš *y-aši-š-me*"=λen. "somoraxdi
 ruble(IV) IV-get-PST-NEG=QUOT often

berten-mo-ı-er *Ø-aq'e-s*, *amma zodi=n* *goı*
 wedding-OBL-CONT-LAT I-come-PST but REF.PL.GEN I=and be
zurmaqan-be"=λen "*Ø-uxer-ho* *zoq'w'e-s*"=λen
 zurna.player-PL=QUOT I-keep.CAUS-ICVB be-PST=QUOT
 'The zurna player said that he got nothing but 100 rubles. He came to
 many weddings, but (everywhere) they told him that they already have
 zurna players.' (N)

In these sentences even reduplicated reflexive pronouns are allowed:

- (1245) *Maħama-y* *eħi-š* "*zoni.zonzo* *essu-z* *buħe*
 Mahama-ERG say-PST RED.REFL.SG.GEN2 brother-DAT house(III)
b-ux-a *goı*"=λen
 III-buy-INF be=QUOT
 'Mahama said that he would buy a house for his brother.'

The use of reflexive pronouns is not obligatory in speech contexts. Demonstrative pronouns and first person pronouns can be used as well (1246a, 1246b), even when the Quotative enclitic indicates that it is reported speech. For more details on the use of reflexive pronouns in reported speech see Section 23.6. In fact, in most corpus examples similar to (1246a, 1246b) first person pronouns are used in the quote to indicate coreference with the speaker. Simple reflexive pronouns are also relatively frequent, but there is only one example where a demonstrative pronoun occurs.

- (1246) a. *Madina-y* *eħi-š* "*?ali: hayıu-z* *kumak*
 Madina-ERG say-PST Ali.ERG she.OBL-DAT help(III)
b-u:"=λen
 III-do=QUOT
 'Madina said that Ali would help her.'
- b. *hoboži Malla Rasadan-i* *eħi-š* "*diž Ø-uh-a dahaw*
 then Mullah Nasredin-ERG say-PST I.DAT I-die-INF few
zaman goı"=λen
 time be=QUOT
 'Then Mullah Nasredin said "There is only little time till I will die."' (N)

24.1.4.2. Long-distance reflexivization in complement clauses

In my corpus, only simple reflexive pronouns are used to indicate coreference between a main clause referent and the reflexive pronoun in the embedded clause,

e.g. between the experiencer and the spatial goal in (1247a) or between the experiencer and the P and the spatial goal in (1247b)

- (1247) a. *hoboži [zonqo-do haw y-ez-a] y-eti-n*
 now REFL.SG.AT-DIR she II-look-INF II-want-UWPST
dibir-ez
 mullah-DAT
 ‘The mullah wanted to make her look in his direction.’ (N)
- b. *hezzo haŋu-z bič’i r-iqqo [zo*
 then she.OBL-DAT understanding V-happen.PRS REFL.SG
q’orol-a-y y-aŋ’ir-iš-ti] [zonde-r
 widow-OBL-ERG II-betray-RES-ABST REFL.SG.ALOC-LAT
xoddo t’ok’aw Ø-aq’e-me-ŋ’os-ti]
 husband(I) anymore I-come-NEG-HAB-ABST
 ‘Then she understands that the widow had betrayed her, and that the husband would no longer come back to her.’ (N)

Since, as can be seen in examples (1247a) and (1247b) above, simple reflexive pronouns can be bound by an antecedent in the matrix clause, ambiguities may arise as to which noun phrase is the controller of the pronoun if the complement clause also contains a potential controller:

- (1248) a. *Pat’imat_i razi y-iqqo [iyo-y_j zonez_{i/j} buŋe*
 Patimat(II) happy II-be.PRS mother-ERG REFL.SG.DAT house(III)
b-uxxo=ŋen]
 III-buy.PRS=QUOT
 ‘Patimat_i is happy that (her) mother_j buys a house for her(self)_{i/j}.’
- b. *Anwar-ez_i b-eti-n [Šamil-i_j zonez_{i/j} buŋe*
 Anwar-DAT III-want-UWPST Šamil-ERG REFL.SG.DAT house(III)
b-uw-a]
 III-do-INF
 ‘Anwar_i wants Šamil_j to build a house for him(self)_{i/j}.’

Those ambiguities may be resolved by using the reduplicated reflexive pronouns: they are clause bounded, i.e. they must have their antecedent in the same clause. Thus, compare (1249a) below with (1248b) above: in (1249a) the antecedent of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun must be the A of the same clause, it cannot be the experiencer of the matrix clause. (1249b) shows that it is ungrammatical to have the antecedent and the reduplicated reflexive pronoun in

two different clauses. Sentence (1249b) is possible if the interpretation is different, i.e. if Mahama helped himself because in this case the reduplicated reflexive pronoun would be locally bound.

- (1249) a. *Anwar-ez_i b-eti-n [Šamil-i_j zoni.zonez_{*i/j}]*
 Anwar-DAT III-want-UWPST Šamil-ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT
buλe b-uw-a]
 house(III) III-do-INF
 ‘Anwar_i wants Šamil_j to build a house for himself_{*i/j}.’
- b. *ʔali_i rok'-λ'o-r r-aq'er-iš [Maħama-y_j]*
 Ali.ERG heart.OBL-SPR-LAT V-bring-PST Mahama-ERG
zoni.zonez_i kumak b-u:-λ'os-ħi]
 RED.REFL.SG.DAT help(III) III-do-HAB-ABST
 (Ali_i remembered that Mahama_j had helped him_i.)

When third person pronouns are used, then the local antecedent is excluded and instead the noun phrase in the matrix clause controls the pronoun or it refers to a third party.

- (1250) a. *Pat'imati razi y-iqqo [iyo-y_j hayħu-z_{i/*j/k} buλe]*
 Patimat(II) happy II-be.PRS mother-ERG she.OBL-DAT house(III)
b-uxxo=λen]
 III-buy.PRS=QUOT
 ‘Patimat_i is happy that (her) mother_j is buying a house for her_{i/*j/k}.’
- b. *ʔumar-ez_i r-eti-š zoq'^we-s Maħama-y_j hayħo-zo_{i/*j/k}]*
 Omar-DAT V-want-RES be-PST Mahama-ERG he.OBL-GEN2
iyo-z kumak b-uw-ayaz]
 mother-DAT help(III) III-do-PURP
 ‘Omar_i wanted Mahama_j to help his_{i/*j/k} mother.’

When the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* is added to the demonstrative pronoun, then the pronoun refers to the local antecedent noun phrase in the complement clause and never to the potential antecedent in the matrix clause:

- (1251) a. *ʔali_i rok'-λ'o-r r-aq'er-iš [[Maħama-y_j]*
 Ali.ERG heart.OBL-SPR-LAT V-bring-PST Mahama-ERG
*hayħoz=tow_{*i/j} kumak b-uw-a] b-aq'e-λ'os-ħi]*
 he.DAT=EMPH help(III) III-do-INF III-must-HAB-ABST
 ‘Ali_i remembered that Mahama_j had to help him_{*i}/himself_j.’

- b. *Anwar-ez_i b-eti-n* [*Šamil-i_j hayłoz=tow_{*i/j}*
 Anwar-DAT III-want-UWPST Šamil-ERG he.DAT=EMPH
buλe b-uw-a]
 house(III) III-do-INF
 ‘Anwar_i wants Šamil_j to build a house for him_{*i}/himself_j.’

The antecedent and the demonstrative pronoun marked with =*tow* cannot be separated by clausal boundaries (1252).

- (1252) * *ʔali-ž r-eq'i-yo* [*Anwar-ez_i b-eti-š-łi*
 Ali-DAT V-know-PRS Anwar-DAT III-want-RES-ABST
[hayłoz=tow_i kumak b-uw-a]
 he.OBL-DAT=EMPH help(III) III-do-INF
 (Ali knows that Anwar_i wanted to help himself_i.)

That is, the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* affects the coreference in the clause and across clausal boundaries when added to demonstrative pronouns. *Tow*-pronouns are more restricted in interpretation than simple demonstrative pronouns. With respect to complement clauses, they behave like reduplicated reflexives in the non-local domain. In the local domain they have only a very marginal function for indicating reflexivity. More frequently they have a non-reflexive meaning. When added to reflexive pronouns, whether simple or reduplicated, the Emphatic enclitic mainly has an emphatic meaning. For a more detailed account of coreference and control in complement clauses see Section 22.4.

24.1.4.3. Long-distance reflexivization in adverbial clauses

Simple reflexive pronouns are occasionally used to indicate coreference between arguments in adverbial clauses and the corresponding main clause, although zero anaphora or demonstrative pronouns are preferred for this purpose. Usually the reflexive pronoun appears in the adverbial clause and the controller in the main clause, independently of the order of both clauses (1253a). But in principle it is also possible to have the controller in the preceding adverbial clause and the coreferential reflexive pronoun in the subsequent main clause (1253b).

- (1253) a. *hoboži hado uži* *Ø-a:-ho zoq'e-n*, *Ø-a:-ho zoq'e-n*
 now this boy(I) I-cry-ICVB be-UWPST I-cry-ICVB be-UWPST
[zo Ø-ek'er-oλ'o]
 REFL.SG I-burn-SIM
 ‘The boy cried and cried while (she) was burning him.’ (N)

- b. [haʎu ked-i b-utir-no uži-ʎi=n
 this.OBL girl-ERG III-turn.CAUS-CVB boy-ABST=and
 gulu-ʎi=n raʎ'=no bex=no] zon-ʎi
 horse-ABST=and earth=and gras=and REFL.SG.OBL-ABST
 b-iqqo gulu
 III-become.PRS horse(III)
 'After the girl transforms the boy and the horse into land and grass,
 she becomes a horse.' (N)

Simple reflexive pronouns can be locally or non-locally controlled, i.e. in the example (1254) *ked-i* 'girl.ERG' in the preceding conditional clause, but also *iyoy* 'mother.ERG' in the main clause can function as controllers.

- (1254) [ked-i_i xu r-ux-o] iyoy_j zonez_{i/j} xok'o-be
 girl-ERG meat(V) V-buy-COND mother-ERG REFL.SG.DAT khinkal-PL
 r-u:
 NHPL-do
 'If the girl_i buys meat, the mother_j makes khinkal for her(self)_{i/j}.'

Reduplicated pronouns are always locally bound. That is, when in (1255) the simple reflexive pronoun is replaced by the reduplicated variant, only *iyoy* can be the controller:

- (1255) [ked-i_i xu r-ux-o] iyoy_j zoni.zonez_{*i/j}
 girl-ERG meat(V) V-buy-COND mother-ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT
 xok'o-be r-u:
 khinkal-PL NHPL-do
 'If the girl_i buys meat, the mother_j makes khinkal for her(self)_{*i/j}.'

Demonstrative person pronouns can be non-locally controlled, but only if the antecedent precedes the pronoun. However, an interpretation with disjoint reference is also available (1256). When asking whether adding =*tow* to the demonstrative pronoun changes the interpretation, my informants told me that then the sentence becomes ungrammatical and not interpretable. For a detailed account of coreference and control in adverbial clauses see Section 21.2.

- (1256) [ked-i_i xu r-ux-o] iyoy_j hayʎuz_{i/*j/k} xok'o-be
 girl-ERG meat(V) V-buy-COND mother-ERG she.DAT khinkal-PL
 r-u:
 NHPL-do
 'If the girl_i buys meat, the mother_j makes khinkal for her_{i/*j/k}.'

24.1.4.4. Long-distance reflexivization in relative clauses

Hinuq uses the ‘gap strategy’ for the formation of relative clauses, i.e. if the referent of the nucleus can easily be identified in the relative clause then there is no overt expression referring to it.¹³⁴ Thus, relative clauses normally do not contain reflexive pronouns fulfilling common roles such as S, A, P, experiencer, recipient, etc. Very occasionally, simple reflexive pronouns are used as resumptive pronouns if the speaker assumes that the hearer will have difficulties in establishing the function of the nucleus in the relative clause, e.g.

- (1257) [zon-*ti* *eli* *xabar es-o* *goʎa*] *rek'we*
 REFL.SG.OBL-ABST we.ERG story tell-ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
Kebura-ʎ *Ø-iči-yo*
 Bezhta-CONT I-be-PRS
 ‘The man about whom we talked lives in Bezhta.’

Any other referent in the relative clause that is coreferential with the most prominent argument in the main clause is reflexivized with a simple reflexive pronoun:

- (1258) a. *q'iliqan* *Ø-aq'e-s=eʎ* [_ *neteqen aldoyo*
 drummer(I) I-come-PST=NARR IN.LAT never formerly
zo *Ø-aq'e-s-me]* *seda* *aʎ-a-r*
 REFL.SG I-come-RES-NEG one.OBL village-IN-LAT
 ‘The drummer came to a village where he never came before.’ (N)
- b. *haʎo* *uži:* *es-o* [*zonez* _ *y-eti-yo*
 this.OBL boy.ERG tell-PRS REFL.SG.DAT ABS II-want-ICVB
goʎa] *ked-qo* [...] *suʎal*
 be.PTCP girl-AT question
 ‘The boy tells the girl who he loves the question.’ (N)

The controller must be the most prominent argument, e.g. in (1259a) it cannot be the addressee, but rather only the agent. The controller can be covert. For instance, the simple reflexive pronoun in (1259b) can be controlled by the zero agent in the relative clause. In (1259a) a similar interpretation is excluded for pragmatic reasons because it is impossible to steal one’s own horse. When in (1259b) =*tow* is added to the reflexive pronoun, then local control, where *zonez* is controlled by the zero agent, remains the only possible interpretation.

¹³⁴I use the term ‘nucleus’ as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term ‘head’ to refer to the relativized argument.

- (1259) a. *ʔali_i ʔumar-qo_j Ø-iker-iš [_ zones_{i/*j} gulu*
 Ali.ERG Omar-AT I-show-PST ERG REFL.SG.GEN1 horse(III)
b-ik'ekko goɫa] rek'^we
 III-steal.ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
 'Ali_i showed Omar_j the man who stole his_{i/*j} horse.'
- b. *ʔali-ž_i Ø-ike-s [_ zonez_{i/j} kampil-be*
 Ali-DAT I-see-PST ERG REFL.SG.DAT chocolate-PL
r-uxxo goɫa] rek'^we_j
 NHPL-buy.ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
 'Ali_i saw the man_j who bought chocolates for him(self)_{i/j}.'

As already seen for other complex clause types, reduplicated reflexive pronouns cannot be bound by antecedents from other clauses (1260a). They are only allowed when there is a local controller, even when the controller is not overtly expressed (1260b).

- (1260) a. * *ʔali_i ʔumar-qo_j Ø-iker-iš [_ zoni.zones_{*i/*j}*
 Ali.ERG Omar-AT I-show-PST ERG RED.REFL.SG.GEN1
gulu b-ik'ekko goɫa] rek'^we
 horse(III) III-steal.ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
 (Ali_i showed Omar_j the man who stole his_{*i/*j} horse.)
- b. *ʔali-ž_i Ø-ike-s [_ zoni.zonez_{*i/j} kampilbe*
 Ali-DAT I-see-PST ERG RED.REFL.SG.DAT chocolates
r-uxxo goɫa] rek'^we_j
 NHPL-buy.ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
 'Ali_i saw the man_j who bought chocolates for himself_{*i/j}.'

Demonstrative pronouns in relative clauses express coreference with either another main clause noun phrase besides the most prominent argument or with a third party. For instance, the Ergative pronoun in (1261a) is coreferential with the silent recipient in the matrix clause, whose identity is clear from the context of the story. Similarly, in (1261b) the demonstrative pronoun in the relative clause is controlled by the recipient-like (or addressee-like) argument of the main clause, not by its agent.

- (1261) a. *iyoy [hayɫoy _ eser-ho goɫa] šinab žo toɫɫo*
 mother-ERG he.ERG ABS ask-ICVB be.PTCP every thing give.PRS
 'The mother gives every thing that he asks.'

- b. *ʔali_i ʔumar-go_j Ø-iker-iš [_ hayʔos_{*i/j} gulu*
 Ali.ERG Omar-AT I-show-PST ERG he.GEN I horse(III)
b-ik'ekko goʔa] rek'we
 III-steal.ICVB be.PTCP man(I)
 'Ali_i showed Omar_j the man who stole his_{*i/j/k} horse.'

When in (1261b) =*tow* is added to the demonstrative pronoun, then only *Omar* functions as the antecedent. A reading where the pronoun refers to the third party becomes (almost) impossible.

24.1.4.5. The use of reflexive pronouns across sentence boundaries

Occasionally reflexive pronouns are used to indicate coreference across sentence boundaries. For example, in (1262a) two sentences are juxtaposed. The first contains the demonstrative pronoun *hadu* 'she'. In the second sentence the simple reflexive pronoun has been used to indicate the same referent. Similarly, in (1262b) four sentences follow each other. The reflexive pronoun *zo* in the last clause is controlled by the most prominent argument of the preceding sentences (*Ibrahim*). The Emphatic enclitic emphasizes that Ibrahim hid himself and not somebody else.

- (1262) a. *y-aq'e-n hadu hayʔu aʕ-a-r. hes*
 II-come-UWPST she that.OBL village-IN-LAT one
zonde bercinaw uži=n zoq'e-n
 REFL.SG.ALOC beautiful boy=and be-UWPST
 'She came to that village. With her was one beautiful boy.' (N)
- b. *Ibrahim-i ʔac=no xiši-yo [šula.y.u:n]. muq-be=n*
 Ibrahim(I)-ERG door(IV)=and lock-PRS fortify.IV-CVB line-PL=and
r-ikko. krest b-u:-ho. zo=tow zok'da:
 NHPL-beat.PRS cross(III) III-do-PRS REFL.SG=EMPH bunker.IN
Ø-uqiʔo
 I-hide.PRS
 'Ibrahim locks the door strongly. (He) draws lines. (He) makes a cross. (He) hides in the bunker.' (N)

However, normally ordinary third person pronouns are employed to indicate coreference between sentences.

24.1.5. Reflexivization of first and second persons

Hinuq does not have dedicated first and second person reflexive pronouns. For the same function where reflexive pronouns occur with third person reflexive pronouns, ordinary personal pronouns are used with first and second persons.

When expressing only emphasis without any true reflexive meaning (no control relation), the Emphatic enclitic =*tow* is added to the personal pronouns (for examples with reflexive pronouns see Section 24.1.3). The personal pronoun can also be doubled (1263c).

- (1263) a. *me=tow uryezi y-iq!*
 you.SG=EMPH think II-happen
 ‘Think yourself!’ (said to a woman)
- b. *de=tow y-oc’-iš aže*
 I.ERG=EMPH IV-cut-PST tree(IV)
 ‘I myself cut the tree.’
- c. *de de=tow y-oc’-iš aže*
 I.ERG I.ERG=EMPH IV-cut-PST tree(IV)
 ‘I myself cut the tree.’

In reflexive contexts where controller and controllee have differing case suffixes, in principle no Emphatic enclitic is needed (1264a). But =*tow* can always be added to stress the fact that two arguments in one and the same clause have the same referent (1264b).

- (1264) a. *elu-z eli b-eti-yo*
 we.OBL-DAT we HPL-want-PRS
 ‘We love ourselves.’
- b. *meži mežu-z=tow b-ik-oho*
 you.PL you.PL.OBL-DAT=EMPH HPL-see-PRS
 ‘You see yourselves.’

In reflexive contexts containing two pronouns fulfilling different roles but having the same form, the second pronoun is usually marked with =*tow*.¹³⁵ If both or none of the pronouns take =*tow*, the sentences become unacceptable, at least for some Hinuq speakers (1265c, 1265d).

- (1265) a. *me me=tow zok’-iš*
 you.SG.ERG you.SG=EMPH beat-PST

¹³⁵This concerns all personal pronouns because they use the same form for the Absolutive and the Ergative (Section 5.1).

- ‘You beat yourself.’
- b. *de=tow de zok’-iš*
I.ERG=EMPH I beat-PST
‘I beat myself.’
- c. ? *de de zok’-iš*
I.ERG I beat-PST
‘I beat myself.’
- d. ? *de=tow de=tow zok’-iš*
I.ERG=EMPH I=EMPH beat-PST
‘I beat myself.’

24.2. Reciprocalization

Reciprocal constructions are mostly expressed by means of the reciprocal pronoun *sedi.hes* for the Absolutive case and *sedi.sed-* for oblique cases (see Section 5.4 for the paradigm and a few examples). The reciprocal pronoun consists of a complete reduplication of the numeral *hes* ‘one’, which has the oblique form *sed-*; the first part is mostly *sedi* (one.ERG), but it can also have other case forms. The case suffixes appropriate to the function of the reciprocal pronoun in the clause are added to the second part *sed-*. The reciprocal pronoun is never accompanied by any morphological form of detransitivization on the verb. It takes an argument or an adjunct position in the clause, and it is marked with the corresponding case (1266a). In addition to the use of the reciprocal pronoun it is also possible to use the plural form of the reduplicated reflexive pronoun with a reciprocal interpretation. This is possible in those contexts that allow or even prefer a reciprocal reading instead of a reflexive reading. For instance, (1266b) has normally the interpretation ‘each other’ since to embrace is an action that is usually directed to another person. The reflexive reading is not very plausible in this context and therefore hardly available.

- (1266) a. *hagze-y sedi.sed-go aŕu b-ič’-no*
they.OBL-ERG REC.OBL-AT embrace(III) III-fill-UWPST
‘They embraced each other.’
- b. *hagze-y zodi.zodu-go aŕu b-ič’-no*
they.OBL-ERG RED.REFL.PL.OBL-AT embrace(III) III-fill-UWPST
‘They embraced each other.’

The reciprocal pronoun can have inanimate referents (1267). In this context the reciprocal pronoun can be replaced by a reflexive pronoun despite the fact that reflexive pronouns normally do not have inanimate referents.

- (1267) *mašina-be sedi.sed-go c'ox-iš*
 car-PL REC.OBL-AT enter-PST
 'The cars bumped into each other.'

It can take a wide range of positions in the clause, e.g. patient (1268a), possessor (1268b, 1268c), experiencer (1268d), recipient, or the Dative marked goal (1268e).

- (1268) a. *haze-y sedi.hes hałi-š*
 they.OBL-ERG REC push-PST
 'They pushed each other.'
- b. [*sedi.sed-es rok'we r-uher-mez*] [*da?ba roži gosme*]
 REC.OBL-GEN1 heart(V) V-break-PURP.NEG dispute word without
ʒuraw zaman b-ił'i-n
 much time(III) III-go-UWPST
 'Without breaking each other's heart, without quarrels, a long time went by.' (N)
- c. *hagbe sedi.sed-zo bełe-za-de-r*
 they REC.OBL-GEN2 house.OBL-OBL.PL-ALOC-LAT
b-ił'i-š
 HPL-go-PST
 'They went to each other's houses.'
- d. *hagbe zoq'we-n [sedi.sed-ez kutakalda b-eti-n]*
 they be-UWPST REC.OBL-DAT very HPL-want-CVB
dandeł-iš
 unite-RES
 'They were united and loved each other very much.' (N)
- e. *haze-y sedi.sed-ez tupi całi-š*
 they.OBL-ERG REC.OBL-DAT gun shoot-PST
 'They shot at each other.'

Reciprocal pronouns can also take positions marked with spatial cases, e.g. with the AT-Essive (1269a), the ALOC-Essive (1269b), the SPR-Essive (1274a), or the CONT-Essive (1269c). Note that in example (1269b) and (1269c) the reciprocal pronouns are governed by postpositions.

- (1269) a. *uži=n ked=no [...] hagandeł-no sedi.sed-go-r*
 boy=and girl=and be.astonished-CVB REC.OBL-AT-LAT
b-ez-o łex'we-s=eł
 HPL-look-ICVB remain-PST=NARR

‘The boy and the girl [...] were astonished and remained looking at each other.’ (N)

- b. *q'ono=n armi sedi.sed-de dandi-r b-ihī:-ž*
 two=and army REC.OBL-ALOC against-LAT HPL-fight-PURP
b-iḵ'i-yo goḷa ...
 HPL-go-ICVB be.PTCP

‘while the two armies went in order to fight against each other ...’
 (N)

- c. *balon-be=n sedi.sed-eḷ hezzo b-uxxo zoq'we-s*
 balloon-PL=and REC.OBL-CONT after III-buy.ICVB be-PST
nawuti
 petroleum(III)

‘One after the other bought petroleum bottles.’ (N)

The antecedent of the reciprocal pronoun always expresses an entity in the plural. That means that it can be a noun marked for plural (1267), a plural pronoun (1268d), a conjunction of nouns (1269a), a collective noun like *ahlu* ‘people’ (1270), or a noun modified with any numeral besides ‘one’ (1269b).

- (1270) *ahlu sedi.sed-ḡo b-ihī-š*
 people REC.OBL-AT HPL-fight-PST

‘The people fought against each other.’

The antecedent of the reflexive pronoun can be S, A (1268a), or an experiencer (1271a). It can be the most prominent argument of a verb assigning a spatial case. In my corpus it is predominantly an S argument.

- (1271) a. *hagze-z sedi.hes b-ike-s*
 they.OBL-DAT REC HPL-see-PST

‘They saw each other.’

- b. *haze-ḡo k'wezi r-iḡḡo gom [sedi.hes zok'-a]*
 they.OBL-AT be.able V-happen.ICVB be.NEG REC beat-INF

‘They cannot beat each other.’

The antecedent can be in the superordinate clause controlling a reciprocal pronoun in the subordinate clause (1268d), (1272a, 1272b). Often it is not overtly expressed in the clause but can be retrieved from the context (1268b), (1269c). The word order of antecedent and reciprocal pronoun can be reversed.

- (1272) a. *hadbe [sedi.sed-qo-r moqoli-be=n kur-no]*
 these REC.OBL-AT-LAT back-PL=and throw-UWPST
idu-za-do b-iλ'i-yo
 home-OBL.PL-DIR HPL-go-PRS
 'They, turning their backs to each other, went home.' (N)
- b. *hagbe [sedi.sed-λ'o-r qaλe-li:-ž] b-ułi-š*
 they REC.OBL-SPR-LAT shout-ANTIP-PURP HPL-begin-PST
 'They began to shout at each other.'

In contrast to other Tsezic languages (e.g. Khwarshi, see Khalilova 2009: 450–453), the reciprocal pronoun and its antecedent can usually not reverse their roles. For instance, in a transitive clause, the antecedent is necessarily the agent marked with the Ergative, and the reciprocal pronoun fulfills the role of the patient marked with the Absolutive case (1273a). By contrast, when the antecedent is in the Absolutive and the reciprocal pronoun is in the Ergative, the sentence is ungrammatical (1273b).

- (1273) a. *haze-y sedi.hes haλi-š*
 they.OBL-ERG REC push-PST
 'They pushed each other.'
- b. **hagbe sedi.sed-i haλi-š*
 they REC.OBL-ERG push-PST
 (They pushed each other.)

This constraint applies to many grammatical roles. The case marking of the antecedent and the reciprocal pronouns can normally not be switched. The most prominent argument must be the antecedent. In the Ergative construction, this is the Ergative A argument. In extended intransitive clauses, this is the Absolutive S argument (1274a). The other arguments (e.g. P or arguments marked with spatial cases in extended intransitive clauses) are lower in the hierarchy and thus cannot function as antecedents (1274b).

- (1274) a. *hagbe sedi.sed-λ'o boži b-iq-iš*
 they REC.OBL-SPR belief HPL-happen-PST
 'They believed in each other.'
- b. **hazeλ'o sedi.hes boži b-iq-iš*
 they.SPR REC belief HPL-happen-PST
 (They believed in each other.)

But as with reflexive constructions, there are two kinds of exceptions from this rule: (i) experiencer constructions and (ii) non-canonical agent constructions. Here various kinds of case assignments are possible. I will illustrate this first with the experiencer construction. The antecedent in the experiencer construction can be in the Dative case (1275a, 1275b). Note that the reciprocal pronoun can have two forms. First, it can have the usual form (1275a) with the petrified ergative case suffix on the first part (*sedi*) and the case suffix required by the role of the pronoun on the second part (*hes* = absolutive case since the pronoun serves as the stimulus). Second, the reciprocal pronoun can consist of the first part in the Dative case doubling the case marking of the controller and the second part again in the Absolutive required by the role of the pronoun (1275b). The reversal of roles with the controller in the absolutive and the pronoun in the dative case reserved for the experiencer is illustrated in (1275c, 1275d). Again the reciprocal pronoun can have two forms, one with a petrified Ergative case (1275c), and another one where the first part of the reciprocal pronoun has the Dative case required by the experiencer role that the pronoun plays in the sentence and the second part is in the Absolutive form (1275d).

- (1275) a. *hagze-z sedi.hes b-eti-yo*
 they.OBL-DAT REC HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’
- b. *hagze-z sed-ez hes b-eti-yo*
 they.OBL-DAT one.OBL-DAT one HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’
- c. *hagbe sedi.sed-ez b-eti-yo*
 they REC.OBL-DAT HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’
- d. *hagbe sed-ez hes b-eti-yo*
 they one.OBL-DAT one HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’

I do not have a parallel sentence with the involuntary agent construction in my data corresponding to (1275d). However, this variant is also possible with another type of non-canonical agent construction, namely with the potential construction:

- (1276) *sed-go hes ked-bi zok'-eł-o gom*
 one.OBL-AT one girl-PL beat-POT-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘The girls cannot beat each other’

Usually word order does not interact with case assignment. That is, the word order of controller and controllee can be reversed, at least in examples (1275a) and (1275c):

- (1277) a. *sedi.hes hagze-z b-eti-yo*
 REC they.OBL-DAT HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’
 b. *sedi.sed-ez hagbe b-eti-yo*
 REC.OBL-DAT they HPL-want-PRS
 ‘They love each other.’

Non-canonical agent constructions behave like experiencer constructions. That is, they allow for a reversal of the roles of controller and controllee whereby the controllee takes the higher role, and they also allow for different forms of the reciprocal pronouns. The examples of the involuntary agent construction in (1278a-1278c) below correspond to the examples with the experiencer construction above. Again, a word order change where the reciprocal pronoun appears in sentence-initial position is available, at least for (1278a) and (1278c).

- (1278) a. *haze-go sedi.hes b-uhe-n*
 they.OBL-AT REC HPL-die-UWPST
 ‘They accidentally killed each other.’
 b. *haze-go sed-go hes b-uhe-n*
 they.OBL-AT ONE.OBL-AT one HPL-die-UWPST
 ‘They accidentally killed each other.’
 c. *hagbe sedi.sed-go b-uhe-n*
 they REC.OBL-AT HPL-die-UWPST
 ‘They accidentally killed each other.’

Other non-canonical agent constructions that show the same reversal of roles with reciprocal pronouns are the potential construction (1279a, 1279b) and the causative construction (1279c, 1279d).

- (1279) a. *hagbe sedi.sed-go zok'-eɬ-me*
 they REC.OBL-AT beat-POT-NEG
 ‘They cannot beat each other.’
 b. *haze-go sedi.hes zok'-eɬ-me*
 they.OBL-ERG REC beat-POT-NEG
 ‘They cannot beat each other.’

- c. *Maḥama-y xexbe sedi.sed-ḡo hil-er-iš*
 Mahama-ERG child.PL REC.OBL-AT bite-CAUS-PST
 ‘Mahama made the children bite each other.’
- d. *Maḥama-y xexza-ḡo sedi.hes hil-er-iš*
 Mahama-ERG child.OBL.PL-AT REC bite-CAUS-PST
 ‘Mahama made the children bite each other.’

To sum up, in all clause types (e.g. simple and extended intransitive clauses, transitive clauses, experiencer clauses, and clauses with non-canonical agents) the behavior of reciprocal constructions conforms to the behavior of reflexive constructions.

Hinuq also has a number of lexical reciprocal, i.e. verbs with an inherent reciprocal meaning that do not require the use of the reciprocal pronoun. Some examples are *dandeṭ-* ‘meet’, *daʔbadezi -iq-* ‘argue’, *salam toλ-* ‘greet’, and *ṭek-* ‘mix’.

Chapter 25

Serial verb constructions

25.1. Introduction

Serial verb constructions in Hinuq consist of two juxtaposed verbs which act together as a single predicate.¹³⁶ The first verb appears only as a stem without any further suffixes but retains its agreement prefixes. The second verb takes all inflectional and derivational suffixes that apply to the whole complex. The syntax of serial verb constructions is treated Section 25.3 below.

Serial verbs describe what is conceptualized as a single event. Most Hinuq serial verbs present lexical idioms, in other words, there is no rule determining the semantics of many serial verbs. For the meaning of the serial verb, mostly the meaning of the first verb is crucial. The meaning of the second verb has a smaller influence on the meaning of the whole serial verb. Its meaning may even remain unclear (Section 25.2.4). If the first verb refers to a single occurrence of a certain event, then the serial verb construction often expresses an iteration of this event. The verbs belonging to this kind of serial verb construction do not form a closed class. It seems that there is no restriction on the verbs that can appear in the first position, but the number of verbs appearing in the second position is much more restricted. There is also one serial verb construction that has the grammatical function of forming causative verbs and therefore contains a specialized verb in the second position (Section 25.2.5). It is hard to tell whether the process by which those serial verbs that are lexical idioms are formed is productive or not. The dictionary lists about 20 serial verbs. There are clearly more such verbs not contained in the dictionary because speakers can autonomously produce more, but generally speaking, serial verbs are not very pervasive in my corpus. Many serial verbs belong to the semantic domain of verbs of motion and physical actions, but they cannot be characterized by other semantic criteria (e.g. they do not follow iconic principles, they do not denote culturally important concatenations of events). Serial verbs cannot be regarded as morphosyntactic devices (except for those expressing causative constructions, see Section 25.2.5).

The valency frames of serial verbs where both base verbs have differing valency frames are lexicalized, i.e. there is no rule that determines the valency frame of the resulting serial verb. It corresponds to the valency frames of either

¹³⁶It may be possible to analyze these verbs as verbal compounds, but serial verbs can easily be distinguished from other constructions consisting of two verbs (see Table 86); therefore, I analyze them here as constituting a separate class.

of the two verbs. The valency frames of the two base verbs may be identical. In this case, the serial verb construction has the same valency frame. Almost all of the serial verbs that have the same valency frame as both base verbs are intransitive, but there is also one monotransitive example. I did not come across labile serial verbs. Likewise, it seems that there are no serial verbs with an experiencer valency frame (i.e. governing the Dative and the Absolutive case). Finally, it seems that if both verbs are ditransitive, the resulting verb is nevertheless only monotransitive.

25.2. Types of serial verb constructions

25.2.1. Serial verbs that have the valency frame inherited from the first verb

(1280) <i>zok' -ik'</i> -	'beat' (ERG, ABS, INS)	<i>zok'</i> - 'beat' (ERG, ABS, INS)
<i>-aq'e toq-</i>	'consider, visit' (ABS)	<i>-ik'</i> - 'beat, kick' (ERG, ABS, DAT)
<i>-aši -eqe-</i>	'find' (ABS, AT)	<i>-aq'e-</i> 'come' (ABS)
<i>k'ek' -ik'</i> -	'move, shake' (ABS)	<i>toq-</i> 'hear' (DAT, ABS)
<i>šeše -oxe-</i>	'tear' (ERG, ABS)	<i>-aši-</i> 'find' (DAT/AT, ABS)
<i>-eze -iλ'i-</i>	'look around' (ABS, AT)	<i>-eqe-</i> 'come, go under' (ABS, LOC)
		<i>k'ek'</i> - 'move, shake' (ABS)
		<i>-ik'</i> - 'beat, kick' (ERG, ABS, DAT)
		<i>šeše-</i> 'tear' (ERG, ABS)
		<i>-oxe-</i> 'leave' (ABS)
		<i>-eze-</i> 'look at' (ABS, AT.LAT/SPR.LAT)
		<i>-iλ'i-</i> 'go' (ABS)

- (1281) a. *hagoλ'o=n zeru k'ek'-b-ik'-iš-me*
 at.that.time=and fox(III) move-III-beat-PST-NEG
 'At that time the fox did not move.' (N)
- b. [*šeše-y-oxe-n*] *idu-r y-iq'e-n hag hayłuy*
 tear-IV-leave-CVB home-LAT IV-bring-UWPST that she.ERG
 'Tearing it she brought it home.' (N)
- c. *uži Ø-eze-Ø-iλ'i-š aλ-a-qo*
 boy(I) I-look-I-go-PST village-OBL-AT
 'The boy visited the village.' (lit. 'looked around in the village')

25.2.2. Serial verbs that have the valency frame inherited from the second verb

(1282) <i>-uq'er -aq'e-</i>	'be on the right way' (ABS)	<i>-uq'er-</i> 'heal' (ERG, ABS)
		<i>-aq'e-</i> 'come' (ABS)
<i>haɣi caɣi-</i>	'butt, abut, bump' (several times) (ERG, ABS, DAT)	<i>haɣi-</i> 'butt, abut, bore into' (ERG, ABS)
		<i>caɣi-</i> 'throw, shoot, spill' (once), (ERG, ABS, DAT)
<i>ese -eq'ir-</i> ¹³⁷	'inquire' (ERG, ABS, AT.ABL2)	<i>ese-</i> 'say, tell' (ERG, ABS, AT)
		<i>-eq'ir-</i> 'get to know, make know' (ERG, ABS, AT.ABL2)
<i>-aɣ'i</i> ¹³⁸ - <i>exer-</i>	'betray' (ERG, ABS)	<i>-aɣ'i-</i> 'talk' (ABS)
		<i>-exer-</i> 'make turn up' (ERG, ABS)

- (1283) a. *hayɔy ɣ^wero-z t'oq haɣi-caɣi-š*
 he.ERG cow-DAT knife butt-throw-PST
 'He repeatedly hit the cow with the knife.'
- b. *de (maduhal-qo-zo) xabar ese-b-eq'ir-iš*
 I.ERG (neighbor-AT-ABL2) story(III) say-III-get.to.know-PST
 'I got to know the news (through the neighbor).'

25.2.3. Serial verbs that consist of two verbs that have the same valency frame

I found only intransitive (1284) and ditransitive (1286) serial verbs belonging to this type, but no experiencer verbs or simple transitive verbs.

(1284) <i>-ot' -ix-</i>	'relax' (ABS)	<i>-ot'-</i> 'lay' (ABS)
		<i>-ix-</i> 'get up' (ABS)
<i>-eki -et'e-</i>	'part' (ABS)	<i>-eki-</i> 'rip, undo, hole' (ABS)
		<i>-et'e-</i> 'rip, undo, part' (ABS)
<i>-iši -uti-</i>	'eat' (ABS)	<i>-iši-</i> 'eat' (ABS)
		<i>-uti-</i> 'turn' (ABS)
<i>kek -ece-</i>	'break' (several times), (ABS)	<i>keke-</i> 'break' (once) (ABS)
		<i>-ece-</i> 'melt, dissolve' (ABS)
<i>k'oɣe c'aq'i-</i>	'run around,	<i>k'oɣe-</i> 'run' (ABS)

¹³⁷This verb differs from the others because the meaning of the compound verb resembles more closely the meaning of the second verb than that of the first verb.

¹³⁸Note that the simple causative from *-aɣ'i-* is *-aɣ'ir-* and has roughly the same meaning as this verb, namely 'betray'.

	here and there’ (ABS)	<i>c’aq’i-</i> ‘impinge on’ (ABS, LOC)
<i>łaq’e -uti-</i>	‘finish, end’ (ABS)	<i>łaq’e-</i> ‘finish, end’ (ABS) <i>-uti-</i> ‘turn’ (ABS)

- (1285) a. [*sedi.sed-es b-eki-b-et’e-me-ł’os*] *hudul-be*
REC.OBL-GEN I HPL-rip-HPL-part-NEG-HAB friend-PL
‘inseparable friends’ (N)
- b. *hibayłi kek-Ø-ece gołi polnosty u kek-Ø-ece gołi de*
there break-I-melt be.IRR completely break-I-melt be.IRR I
‘There I (masc.) would be smashed off, completely smashed off.’ (N)

(1286) <i>całi -ik’-</i>	‘throw around’ (ABS, ERG)	<i>całi-</i> ‘throw, shoot, spill’ (once) (ERG, ABS, DAT) <i>-ik’-</i> ‘beat, kick’ (ERG, ABS, DAT)
<i>toł -ik’-</i>	‘trade’ (ERG, ABS)	<i>toł-</i> ‘give, sell’ (ERG, ABS, DAT) <i>-ik’-</i> ‘beat, kick’ (ERG, ABS, DAT)

- (1287) a. *aqila-y šeł’u toł-r-ikko zoq’we-s*
woman.OBL-ERG clothes(V) give-V-beat.ICVB be-PST
‘She was selling clothes.’
- b. *toho.noho-do hadbe=n całi-b-ik’-no ze*
here.and.there-DIR these=and throw-HPL-kick-CVB bear(III)
yeme-ł’o-s maqo-do b-oxe-s=eł
mill-SPR-ABL I outside-DIR III-leave-PST=NARR
‘Throwing them here and there, the bear left the mill.’ (N)

25.2.4. Serial verb constructions with nonsense verbs

These serial verb constructions behave like other serial verb constructions in Hinuq, but the second part of the serial verb does not exist as an independent word. The valency frame of the compound verb conforms to the valency frame of the first verb. In fact, all examples that I have found are intransitive. They often express a repetition of the action described by the first verb alone.

(1288) <i>-uži -uk’e-</i>	‘bend’ (ABS)	<i>-uži-</i> ‘bend’ (ABS)
<i>łož t’oži-</i>	‘wrinkle, pleat’,	<i>łož-</i> ‘pleat, crease’,

	‘crease’ (ABS)	‘squash’ (ABS)
<i>tek’ t’exe-</i>	‘mix’ (ABS)	<i>tek’-</i> ‘mix’ (ABS)
<i>-iq’^{wi} λuq’i-</i>	‘crumple’,	<i>-iq’^{wi}-</i> ‘crush’,
	‘rumple’ (ABS)	‘squash’ (ABS)
<i>li:- gexe-</i>	‘dress’ (ABS)	<i>li:-</i> ‘dress’ (ERG, ABS)

- (1289) a. [*cen=no kartuška=n tek’.t’exer-no hag=no*] *haylu-s*
 brynza=and potato=and mix-CVB those=and, that.OBL-GEN I
meču=n b-u:
 stuffing(III)=and III-do
 ‘Mixing brynza and potatoes, make a stuffing out of it.’ (N)
- b. *hoboy hago [li:gexe-n] Ø-ułi-n*
 then he dress-CVB I-go.out-UWPST
 ‘Then he dressed and went out.’ (S)
- c. *λ’oq’on b-iq’^{wi}.λuq’i-š*
 hat(III) III-crumple-PST
 ‘The hat was crumpled several times.’

25.2.5. Causative serial verb constructions

A third type of serial verb construction involves the causative auxiliaries *tok’-*, *tok’er-*, and *tok’erer-*. These three auxiliaries do not exist as independent verbs. Most of the lexical verbs in these causative constructions are from conjugation class 4 (i.e. ending with a long vowel). Some of these verbs denote sounds. They are mostly intransitive. My corpus contains only examples where the causative verb is *tok’er-*, but, in principle, it is possible to also use *tok’-* and *tok’erer-*. The verbs *tok’-* and *tok’er-* add one argument to the number of arguments of the base verb. The verb *tok’erer-* adds two arguments. The syntax of causative constructions is treated in Section 17.7.

- (1290) *hacciya: tok’-* ‘make sneeze’ *hacciya:-* ‘sneeze’
yocuq’a: tok’- ‘make spit’ *yocuq’a:-* ‘spit’
q’ap’iya: tok’- ‘make walk around’ *q’ap’iya:-* ‘walk around’
xira: tok’- ‘make snore’ *xira:-* ‘snore’
- (1291) [*šog=no hadur r-u:n*] [*te=n got’-no*] [*teł*
 pot(V)=and prepared V-do-CVB water=and pour-CVB inside
qoriya: tok’er-ayaz] *gor-no*
 make.boil-PURP put-UWPST

‘(The witch) prepared a pot, poured water, and threw in (the boy) in order to cook him.’ (N)

25.3. Syntactic properties of serial verb constructions

Nakh-Daghestanian languages do not belong to the languages that are generally known to employ verb serialization. Nevertheless, Hinuq serial verb constructions match well with Aikhenvald’s (2006) definition. They always consist of two verbs that together form a single predicate and have one single intonation contour. The two verbs are phonologically independent words, but they form one grammatical word, as can be seen by the argument structure and the agreement. Serial verbs share all arguments and modifiers and the agreement. If one of the verbs is transitive or ditransitive, but the serial verb is intransitive, both verbs show intransitive agreement (1292). And vice-versa, if one of the verbs is intransitive, but the serial verb is transitive, both verbs nevertheless show transitive agreement (1281b).

- (1292) *“hibagoχ’o me y-uq’er-y-aq’-a goł”=χen eχi-n*
 at.that.time you.SG II-heal-II-come-INF be=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘At that time you will be healed,’” he said.’ (N)

Serial verbs are characterized by contiguity, i.e. it is impossible to separate the verbs by other phonologically unbound lexical items, e.g. adverbs. Furthermore, the order of the two verbs cannot be changed.

- (1293) a. *de t’uberaw γ^wede Ø-ot’-Ø-ixxo zoq’^we-s*
 I whole day I-lay-I-get.up.ICVB be-PST
 ‘I (masc.) relaxed the whole day.’
- b. **de Ø-ot’ t’uberaw γ^wede Ø-ixxo zoq’^we-s*
 I I-lay whole day I-get.up.ICVB be-PST
 (I relaxed the whole day.)
- c. *hago neteqen Ø-uži.uk’-o gom*
 he never I-bend-ICVB be.NEG
 ‘He never prays.’ (lit. ‘He never bows.’)
- d. **hago neteqen Ø-uk’e.uži-yo gom*
 he never I-bend-ICVB be.NEG
 (He never prays.)

But it is possible to add enclitics to the first verb which in this way intervene between the two verbs (1294).

- (1294) *amma haw ked y-ug'er=tow-y-aq'-o zoq''e-n gom*
 but that girl(II) II-heal=EMPH-II-come-ICVB be-CVB be.NEG
haze-qa
 they.OBL-AT
 'But they could not heal the girl.' (N)

The verbs are juxtaposed without any overt morphological marking of the syntactic relationship between them (e.g. no suffixes for converbs, Infinitive, etc.). They share all inflectional verbal categories (tense, aspect, modality, polarity, evidentiality), which appear only on the second verb. Serial verbs appear in the same range of verbal forms as simple verbs (e.g. Simple Past in (1281a), Simple Unwitnessed Past (1281b), Compound Future (1292), etc.). Similarly, all derivational suffixes applying to the whole complex are added to the second root and function in the usual way, e.g. the causative suffix *-r* makes transitive verbs out of intransitive verbs: *ʔek'.t'ex-er-* 'mix-CAUS', *- ug'er-aq'e-r-* 'heal-CAUS'.

Serial verb constructions are easily distinguished from subordinated structures like adverbial or complement clauses, periphrastic verbal forms, and light verb constructions. Table 86 sums up the most important characteristics of all four constructions. The following examples serve as an illustration of the multi-verb structures that are compared in Table 86. In (1295a) an example of the Compound Unwitnessed Past illustrates periphrastic verb forms with the copula (for more information on periphrastic verbal forms see Section 7.5). Example (1295b) illustrates a light verb construction consisting of a Russian loan (*pereži-watsya* 'worry') and a Hinuq light verb *-iq-* 'happen, become'. More information on light verb constructions can be found in Section 9.3.2. The example in (1295c) shows a Narrative converb clause as an example for adverbial clauses. The syntax of adverbial clauses (including Narrative converb clauses) is treated in detail in Chapter 21.

- (1295) a. *r-ik-o zoq'e-n xalq'i-la-z*
 V-see-ICVB be-UWPST folk-OBL-DAT
 'The people saw it.' (N)
- b. *ked perežiwatsya y-iq-no*
 girl(II) worry II-happen-UWPST
 'The girl worried.' (N)
- c. *de [gamač'=no y-ux-no] caʔi-š haytu-z*
 I.ERG stone(IV)=and IV-take-CVB throw-PST that.OBL-DAT
 'I took a stone and threw it at it.'

Table 86. Formal and functional characteristics of multi-verb structures

	Periphrasis with 'be'	Light verbs	Serial verbs	Adverbial clauses
Number of verbs	two or three	two	two	two or more
Semantic classes of verbs (1+2)	free + restricted	loan + restricted	partially restricted	free
Prosody	unit	unit	unit	separate
Morphological marking on the first verb or word/in the adverbial clause	converb/ participle/ Infinitive/ Masdar/ Intentional	Infinitive/ Masdar	none	converb
Meaning of verbal categories	compositional	once expressed	once expressed	separate
Locus of verbal categories (inflection)	lexical verb and auxiliary	light verb	second verb	on both verbs, but absolute temporal reference on main verb
Locus of verbal derivation	lexical verb	light verb	second verb	independently on all verbs
Arguments	all shared	all shared	all shared	independent
Agreement	shared ¹³⁹	light verb	shared	independent
Locus of illocutionary force	auxiliary	light verb	second verb	partially independent
Illocutionary force	shared	shared	shared	partially independent
Contiguity	no	no	yes	no
Reversed word order	yes	yes	no	yes
Number of events	one	one	one	one or more
Clausality	monoclausal	monoclausal	monoclausal	biclausal
Answer to polar question	whole verbal complex or auxiliary only	whole complex or light verb only	whole verbal complex	

In order to facilitate the understanding of the information provided in Table 86, it is necessary to explain what is meant with the properties appearing in the first column:

- Number of verbs: How many verbs appear in the constructions?
- Semantic classes: Are there any semantic restrictions on the verbs?
- Prosody: Do the verbs form a prosodic unit?
- Morphological marking: Which suffix(es) appear(s) on the first verb or word or in the adverbial clause?
- Meaning of verbal categories: How do we arrive at the functional meaning of a verb form (i.e. tense, aspect, mood values)?
- Locus of verbal categories: Which verbal categories (i.e. finite verbal suffixes, converb suffixes, etc.) are expressed where (i.e. on the first or on the second verb)?
- Locus of verbal derivation: Where do derivational suffixes appear (i.e. on the first or on the second verb)?
- Arguments: Do the verbs need to share all arguments or not?
- Agreement: Is the gender/number agreement that is expressed by means of prefixes on most vowel-initial verbs, shared?
- Locus of illocutionary force: Where do suffixes expressing illocutionary force appear (i.e. on the first or on the second verb)?
- Illocutionary force: Do the verbs need to share the illocutionary force or not?
- Contiguity: Do the verbs need to be adjacent or not?
- Reversed word order: Can the order of the verbs be reversed or not?
- Number of events: How many events are encoded by the construction?
- Clausality: Is the construction monoclausal or biclausal?
- Answer to polar question: What does a normal answer to a polar question contain? (Note that Hinuq speakers rarely use interjections like ‘yes’ or ‘no’ as the only answer to a polar question.)

Light verb constructions but also serial verb constructions (and lexicalized Narrative converb clauses; see the following Section 25.4) have to be situated somewhere between morphosyntax and the lexicon, probably somewhat closer to the lexicon. Periphrastic verbal forms are a regular part of the verbal paradigm (therefore belonging to the lexicon), whereas ordinary adverbial clauses are one method of forming complex sentences and belong to the domain of syntax.

¹³⁹The only exception is the progressive biabsolute construction, where the lexical verb and the auxiliary with the P and the A respectively.

25.4. Narrative converb clauses that resemble serial verb constructions

Usually Narrative converb clauses are used to express a chain of events or describe the manner in which an action takes place (1296) (see Section 7.7.2.8 for more information on Narrative converb clauses).

- (1296) *ye ye Ø-iči-n Ø-aλ'i!*
 slowly I-be-CVB I-talk
 ‘Talk slowly!’ (said to a man)

In these clauses the first verb takes the Narrative converb suffix, and the second verb must appear in a main clause verb form. Normally both verbs function independently of each other, i.e. they head their own clauses, express their own agreement, can take derivational suffixes independently of each other, have their own semantic content, etc. (see Table 86). But there are two combinations of Narrative converb plus main clause verb that are much more similar to serial verbs than to the usual converb clauses because they describe one event. One is the combination *-et'e-* ‘separate, break, burst’ and *k'oλe-* ‘jump, run’ that together mean only ‘jump away’ (1297a), (1298). It is listed as a separate entry in the dictionary. The other combination is *-eze-* ‘look’ plus *-iči-* ‘be’, which are together translated with ‘wait’. The verb *-iči-* is usually employed as an auxiliary for the progressive aspect, but in this combination it does not necessarily express progressivity.

- (1297) a. [*“way”=χen qaλu=n r-ik'-no*] *y-et'e-n*
 oh=QUOT scream(V)=and V-beat-CVB II-separate-CVB
k'oλe-s=eλ ked
 jump-PST=NARR girl(II)
 ‘Screaming “Oh!”’, the girl jumped away.’ (N)
- b. *“deče de y-eze-n y-iči-š zoq'^we-y had y^wede*
 how.much I II-look-CVB II-be-RES be-Q this day(V)
nete=tow r-aq'-o”=χen?!
 when=EMPH V-come-PRS=QUOT
 ‘“How long did I (fem.) wait for this day to come?!” she said.’ (N)

Derivational suffixes appear on the second verb, but apply to the complex verb, e.g. suffixing the causative marker *-r* to *-et'en.k'oλe-* gives *-et'en.k'oλer-* ‘make jump’, and to *-ezen -iči-* results in *-ezen -ičir-* ‘make wait. Similarly, adding the Antipassive suffix *-li:* to *-et'en.k'oλe-* results in *-et'en-k'oλeli-* ‘jump several times’. In both combinations, the link between the verbs is not so tight, i.e. other material can be inserted, and it is generally possible in Narrative converb clauses (see Table 86 above).

- (1298) *hado uži [...] Ø-et'e-n al-λ'o-s k'oλ-o*
 this boy(I) I-burst-CVB branch.OBL-SPR-ABL1 jump-PRS
gulu-zo moqoli-λ'o-r
 horse-GEN2 back-SPR-LAT
 'The boy [...] jumps from the branch onto the horse's back.' (N)

The combinations seem to be monoclausal because all arguments and modifiers are shared and they have just one valency pattern that may differ from the valency patterns of the single verbs. The word order cannot be changed:

- (1299) * *ked giri-mo-λ'o=bito k'oλe-n y-et'e-s*
 girl(II) fence-OBL-SPR=TRANS jump-CVB II-separate-PST
 (The girl jumped over the fence.)

Chapter 26

Other minor constructions

26.1. Comparative constructions

In comparative constructions two or more items are examined in order to note similarities and differences between them (Dixon 2008: 787). Hinuq has several ways of expressing comparative constructions. For expressing inequality between two items, a spatial case is used (Section 26.1.1). In superlative constructions, degree adverbs occur (Section 26.1.2). For expressing equality or similarity, an enclitic (Section 26.1.4) and an adverb are used (Section 26.1.5).

26.1.1. Expressing inequality with the ALOC-Lative

26.1.1.1. *Standard comparative constructions*

Hinuq comparative constructions consist of the comparee, which is often, but not always the subject of the clause, the standard of comparison, and the parameter of comparison. For standard comparative constructions, Hinuq does not employ an index (as for instance *more* in English). In simple comparative constructions, the comparee and the standard are normally expressed by noun phrases (nouns, proper names, pronouns). The comparee is often a copula subject or in the S or A function (1301b). The standard is marked with a spatial case, i.e. to indicate its grammatical function, the ALOC-Lative suffix *-der* is added to the standard (see Section 3.5.25 for other functions of this case). Cross-linguistically, this is rather unusual. According to Dixon (2008: 791), in a fair number of languages the ablative or locative (i.e. essive) markers are preferably employed for indicating the standard of comparison. In fact, all other Tsezic languages have either a dedicated suffix for this function (Tsez, Hunzib), or they use an Essive (Bezhta) or a spatial case containing the Ablative (Tsez, Khwarshi). Furthermore, the ALOC suffix is predominantly employed with animate nouns, but in comparative constructions animate as well as inanimate nouns and other nominalized expression can take this case suffix. The construction is monoclausal. The word order is free. The comparee more frequently precedes the standard of comparison (1300a), but the reverse order is possible as well (1300b).

- (1300) a. *di essu dew-zo essu-de-r bercinaw goł*
I.GEN1 sister you.SG.OBL-GEN2 sister-ALOC-LAT beautiful be
'My sister is more beautiful than your sister.'

- b. *dew-zo essu-de-r di essu bercinaw goł*
 you.SG.OBL-GEN2 I.GEN1 sister sister-ALOC-LAT beautiful be
 ‘My sister is more beautiful than your sister.’

In simple comparative constructions the parameter, that is, the property, in whose respect the comparee and the standard are compared, can be just an adjective (1300a), an adjective with some modifier (1301a), or an adverb (1301b), (1303b).

- (1301) a. *di obu di-de-r qura santimetra*
 I.GEN1 father(I) I.OBL-ALOC-LAT twenty.OBL centimeter.IN
Ø-oxoru goł
 I-long be
 ‘My father is 20 cm taller than me.’
- b. *iyoy biša r-eg r-u:-ho zonzo*
 mother-ERG food(V) V-well V-do-PRS REFL.SG.GEN2
essu-de-r
 sister-ALOC-LAT
 ‘The mother makes the food better than her sister.’

In constructions expressing differences in age, it is possible to mark the standard of comparison not only with the ALOC-Lative, but, at least for some Hinuq speakers alternatively with the SPR-Ablative.¹⁴⁰

- (1302) a. *obu-de-r q^wena λeb-a Ø-[?]eži zoq^e-n hago*
 father-ALOC-LAT two.OBL year.OBL-IN I-big be-UWPST he
 ‘He was two years older than my father.’ (N)
- b. *hago di-λ^o-s łora λeb-a Ø-[?]eži goł*
 he I.OBL-SPR-ABL1 three.OBL year.OBL-IN I-big be
 ‘He is two years older than me.’

Since Hinuq does not have special comparative forms of adjectives or adverbs, the standard of comparison must obligatorily occur in every comparative construction. Otherwise the clause is just a copula construction or another kind of simple clause. For instance, compare example (1303a) and (1303b); both are identical except for the standard of comparison, which is absent from the first example, but occurs in the second example.

¹⁴⁰My main informant sees the use of the SPR-Ablative as ungrammatical. But note that the closely related languages Khwarshi and Tsez use the SPR-Ablative in all kinds of comparative constructions, not only for the expression of age differences.

- (1303) a. *hawsa?at hago Ø-oλo k'oλ-o*
 now he I-fast run-PRS
 'Now he runs fast.'
- b. *hawsa?at hago aldoɣo demu-de-r=no Ø-oλo k'oλ-o*
 now he formerly PRT-ALOC-LAT=and I-fast run-PRS
 'Now he runs faster than in earlier times.'

The comparee can fulfill various grammatical roles, e.g. single argument of an intransitive predicate (1300a), (1303b), (1301a), agent (1301b), patient/theme (1304a), experiencer (1304b), recipient (1316), instrument (1304c), goal (1304d), location, point in time (1304e), etc. Usually the standard is only marked with the ALOC-Lative, and the speaker must figure out to which of the items in the clause it is compared. But if the comparee has an adjunct role in the clause, then the standard may be marked first in the same (or similar) way as the comparee because they are both compared for the same grammatical role. And then it is followed by the particle *demu* to which in turn the ALOC-Lative is added in order to show the role of the standard in the comparative construction (1304d). This particle is frequently used in non-canonical comparative constructions (Section 26.1.1.2), but it also has other functions (see Section 13.2.2 for a comprehensive overview of all uses of *demu*).

- (1304) a. *hoboži ?oloqanaw ahlu-mo-y ma?arul*
 now young folk-OBL-ERG Avar
mec-ru-de-r b-eg b-aλ'ir-ho ?urus
 language-OBL-ALOC-LAT III-well III-talk.CAUS-PRS Russian
mec
 language
 'Now the young people know Russian better than Avar.'
- b. *dewzo obu-s sihirawni ?ilmu, diž*
 you.SG.GEN2 father-GEN1 sly science(IV) I.DAT
hayto-de-r ?aši y-eq'i-yo
 he.OBL-ALOC-LAT much IV-know-PRS
 'Concerning your father's tricks, I know more about this than he.'
 (N)
- c. *haytuy q'alam-mo-d xexti-λ'o caxxo ručka-de-r*
 she.ERG pencil-OBL-INS speed-SPR write.PRS pen-ALOC-LAT
 'She writes faster with a pencil than with a pen.'

- d. *eli šaharli-r ?aši b-aq'-o aλ-a-r*
 we town.IN-LAT often HPL-come-PRS village-IN-LAT
demu-de-r
 PRT-ALOC-LAT
 ‘We go more often to the town than to the village.’
- e. *ahlu ?aši vyxadni-λ'o razi b-iqqo panedelnik-λ'o*
 folk much holiday-SPR happy HPL-happen.PRS Modany-SPR
demu-de-r
 PRT-ALOC-LAT
 ‘People are happier on Sundays than on Mondays.’

If the comparee is a possessor, then the standard of comparison is first marked with the Second Genitive before the ALOC-Lative suffix is added, which leads to case-stacking (1305b).

- (1305) a. *eli buxe mezo bexe-de-r bercinaw*
 we.GEN1 house you.PL.GEN2 house.OBL-ALOC-LAT beautiful
goł
 be
 ‘Our house is more beautiful than your house.’
- b. *eli buxe mezo-de-r bercinaw goł*
 we.GEN1 house you.PL.GEN2-ALOC-LAT beautiful be
 ‘Our house is more beautiful than yours.’

It is possible to have comparative constructions where the standard of comparison is a number. In such a case the ALOC-Lative suffix follows the oblique stem of the last number.

- (1306) *Hinuq uq'ira qura-de-r ?aši xozyaystwo goł*
 Hinuq four.OBL twenty.OBL-ALOC-LAT much household be
 ‘In Hinuq there are more than 80 households.’

26.1.1.2. *Non-canonical comparative constructions*

Non-canonical comparative constructions are those comparative constructions where the comparee and/or the standard of comparison are not simple noun phrases, and the parameter is mostly not an adjective or adverb.

If the standard of comparison is not simply a noun phrase, but an adjective, adverb, a phrase, or a clause, then it must be marked with the particle *demu* (Section 13.2.2). This particle can be followed by the suffix *-ni*, which is used

for deriving adjectives (Section 13.1.2.9). In order to express a comparison, the ALOC-Lative suffix must be added to *demu(ni)*. Note that when *demu* is used for deriving nouns, it is phonologically bound to those nouns. In comparative constructions, however, *demu* occurs as a phonologically free particle.

In (1307a) the standard is an adjective derived from a temporal adverb, in (1307b) it is an adjective, and in (1307c) it is a spatial noun phrase.

- (1307) a. *xan Ø-aq'-o sasaqo [huʔ demu-ni-de-r]*
 khan(I) I-come-PRS in.the.morning yesterday PRT-ATT-ALOC-LAT
ʔora huneho ʔaʃi armi=n r-iq'e-n
 three.OBL times much army(V)=and V-bring-CVB
 'In the morning a khan comes and brings an army three times as big as the army (he brought) yesterday.' (N)
- b. *di buʎe b-oxoru goʔ [ʔat'idaw demu-de-r]*
 I.GEN1 house(III) III-long be wide PRT-ALOC-LAT
 'My room is longer than wide.'
- c. *hadi aʒe-be [x^win-za-qo demu-de-r] ossu*
 here tree-PL mountain-OBL.PL-AT PRT-ALOC-LAT high
r-iqqo
 NHPL-happen.PRS
 'Here the trees grow higher than in the mountains.'

The particle *demu* must directly follow the standard of comparison to which it refers. Any other order is ungrammatical. Thus, compare the grammatical example (1308a) with (1308b) and (1308c):

- (1308) a. *maʔiʃat [maʔaruq demu-de-r] hadi b-egiy*
 property(III) in.the.mountains PRT-ALOC-LAT here III-good
goʔ
 be
 'Here the economic life is better than in the mountains.' (N)
- b. * *maʔiʃat demu-de-r maʔaruq hadi b-egiy goʔ*
 property(III) PRT-ALOC-LAT in.the.mountains here III-good be
 (Here the economic life is better than in the mountains.)
- c. * *maʔiʃat maʔaruq hadi b-egiy goʔ demu-de-r*
 property(III) in.the.mountains here III-good be PRT-ALOC-LAT
 (Here the economic life is better than in the mountains.)

Both the comparee and the standard can also be clauses. In (1309), the comparee is an infinitival complement clause of copula constructions, and the param-

eter is an adjective. The Infinitive in the complement clause is followed by the particle *demu* to which the ALOC-Lative is added.

- (1309) *idu-s Ø-iλ'-a zaħmataw goł [idu-do nox-a*
 home-ABL I I-go-INF difficult be home-DIR come-INF
demu-de-r]
 PRT-ALOC-LAT
 'Going away from home is more difficult than coming home.'

Another possibility for a clause expressing a standard of comparison is by means of a Past participle to which the ALOC-Lative can be added (1310). In this case, the standard is an adverbial clause (see Section 7.7.3.3 for other types of adverbial clauses formed from the Past participle). In the example, two clauses are compared that do not share any argument.

- (1310) *Ayšat-i keč' b-eg qaλ-o [Maħama-y panduri*
 Ayshat-ERG song(III) III-well call-PRS Mahama-ERG pandura(III)
b-ik'-oru-de-r]
 III-beat-PTCP.PST-ALOC-LAT
 'Ayshat sings songs better than Mahama plays the pandura.'

But the standard can also be a General participle that modifies a noun serving as the parameter, which leads to a construction that resembles relative clauses (1311). In the following sentence the comparee and the standard are both clauses with the shared object *mecxer* 'money' expressed in the comparee clause.

- (1311) *hayħuy [de ħalt'ezi Ø-iq-no b-aši-yo goła*
 she.ERG I work I-happen-CVB III-get-ICVB be.PTCP
demu-de-r] [?]*aši mecxer b-uher-ho*
 PRT-ALOC-LAT much money(III) III-break-PRS
 'She spends more money than I (masc.) earn working.'

A last possibility for comparing two situations or events is to express only the comparee with a clause referring to the first situation and to have as the standard only a noun phrase marked with the ALOC-Lative, which serves as the head of a relative clause expressing the second situation:

- (1312) *Elmira-y puršina b-egiy b-u:-ho [Madina-y b-u:-ho*
 Elmira-ERG chudu(III) III-good III-do-PRS Madina-ERG III-do-ICVB
goła magala-de-r]
 be.PTCP bread.OBL-ALOC-LAT
 'Elmira makes better chudu than Madina makes bread.' (lit. 'Elmira makes better chudu than the bread that Madina makes.')

26.1.1.3. Ambiguity resolving in comparison

In comparative constructions based on clauses involving two human participants ambiguities arise if only a simple comparative construction is used. That means, if in such constructions, in principle, two clauses are compared, but the shared verb and argument are omitted, it remains unclear to which argument in the comparee clause the argument marked with the ALOC-Lative is compared. For example, whether the personal pronoun *dider* in (1313) is compared to the Dative experiencer or to the Absolutive theme is ambiguous. It seems that the first reading is slightly preferred, but in principle both readings are available.

- (1313) *debez* *Madina di-de-r* [?]*aši y-eti-yo*
 you.SG.DAT Madina I.OBL-ALOC-LAT much II-want-PRS
 ‘You love Madina more than (you love) me.’ or ‘You love Madina more than I (love her).’

In order to obtain only one interpretation, the standard must be a clause containing an overt case-marked argument. The case of this argument is identical with the case of the compared argument in the comparee clause. For example, in (1314a) the standard clause contains an overt pronoun in the Dative, indicating that it has the experiencer role. The shared argument is still omitted, and the verb in the standard clause is marked with the Past participle, to which the ALOC-Lative is added.

- (1314) a. *debez* *Madina [diž y-eti-yoru-de-r]* [?]*aši*
 you.SG.DAT Madina I.DAT II-want-PTCP.PST-ALOC-LAT much
y-eti-yo
 II-want-PRS
 ‘You love Madina more than I love (her).’
- b. *debez* *Madina [de y-eti-yoru-de-r]* [?]*aši*
 you.SG.DAT Madina I II-want-PTCP.PST-ALOC-LAT much
y-eti-yo
 II-want-PRS
 ‘You love Madina more than (you) love me.’

Note however, that it is possible to also overtly express the shared argument. Thus, compare (1314a) with the following example:

- (1315) *debez Madina ʔaši y-eti-yo [haw diž*
 you.SG.DAT Madina much II-want-PRS she I.DAT
y-eti-yoru-de-r]
 II-want-PTCP.PST-ALOC-LAT
 ‘You love Madina more than I love her.’

Similarly, in comparative ditransitive clauses with two animate nouns the target of the comparison remains ambiguous.

- (1316) *hazey elu-z mežuder ʔaši mecxer neliš*
 they.ERG we.OBL-DAT you.PL.ALOC.LAT much money give-PST
 ‘They gave us more money than you (gave us).’ or ‘They gave us more money than (they gave) you.’

The sentence can be disambiguated in a similar manner as (1313) above by doubling the verb and having an overt argument in the appropriate case in the standard clause. The other two arguments are still identical and are thus omitted.

- (1317) *hazey eluz [mežuz neλ-oru-de-r=gozon] ʔaši*
 they.ERG we.DAT you.PL.DAT give-PTCP.PST-ALOC-LAT=TOP much
mecxer neλ-iš
 money give-PST
 ‘They gave us more money than (they) gave you.’

Although Hinuq has a rich case inventory, and in case marking languages often ambiguities such as in (1313) and in (1316) do not arise (Dixon 2008: 810), in Hinuq two interpretations are possible. The reason is that in Hinuq, the index in a comparative construction is not a separate particle as in English, German, Russian, or other European languages but is rather expressed via a case suffix, which blocks a second case suffix that could indicate the role.¹⁴¹

26.1.2. Superlative constructions

There are two degree adverbs, with roughly the same meaning, which are used as an index in superlative constructions, the Avar loan *bišun* ‘most’, ‘very’ and the native word *ič’č’a* ‘very’, ‘most’ (for some more examples see Sections 6.10 and 10.4.4). Both must precede the adjectives they modify; the reverse order is ungrammatical. The adverbs modify not only adjectives but also nouns (1318c) or clauses (1318d).

¹⁴¹The only exception are sentences where the comparee is a possessor, since the ALOC-Lative can be added to the Genitive in these cases (1305b).

- (1318) a. *sasaqo b-ič-a goł devez bišun zaħmataw*
 in.the.morning III-be-INF be you.SG.DAT most difficult
suʔal
 question(III)
 ‘In the next morning there will be the most difficult question for you.’
 (N)
- b. *obu-s ič’č’a c’ik’araw-ni gulu-be=n r-ik’ek’-no*
 father-GEN1 most big-ATT horse-PL=and NHPL-steal-CVB
as-a r-iħ’i-ħ’os k’oħe-n b-ox-o hadbe q’ono=n
 sky-IN NHPL-go-HAB jump-CVB HPL-leave-PRS these two=and
 ‘Stealing father’s best horses that fly through the air, the two leave.’
 (N)
- c. *ič’č’a kiča-r de Ø-ix-no hay Ø-ike-nos ...*
 very top.IN-LAT I I-get.up-CVB there I-see-ANT
 ‘After (they) saw me (masc.) there having climbed to the very top (of the tree) ...’ (N)
- d. *ʔali=ħen zoq’e-s haħu c’unt’a rayon-ma [...] bišun ʔelmu*
 Ali=QUOT be-PST this.OBL Tsunta district-IN most science
gołiš rek’we
 be.CVB man
 ‘Ali was the most educated man in the Tsunta district.’ (N)

Another possibility of expressing superlative meaning is by using a comparative construction with the standard being specified as ‘all’ or with a universal indefinite pronoun.

- (1319) *haw ħu-de-r=no=tow / nišħa-za-de-r=no*
 she who-ALOC-LAT=and=EMPH / which-OBL.PL-ALOC-LAT=and
bercinaw goł
 beautiful be
 ‘She is more beautiful than anyone.’

26.1.3. Comparative constructions with other degree adverbs

In addition, Hinuq has a number of other adverbs expressing degrees and quantities which are all loans from Avar. All of them except for *kutakalda* can also be used as adjectives (see Section 10.4.4 for more examples). They modify nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and clauses.

(1320)	<i>c'aq'</i>	'very, much'	<i>kutakalda</i>	'very, strongly'
	<i>ʔezaʔan</i>	'much, very'	<i>dah(aw)</i>	'few, less, little'
	<i>ʔʕi</i>	'much, often, strongly'	<i>c'ik'un</i>	'much, very'
	<i>ʔuraw</i>	'much'		

In comparative constructions formed with the ALOC-Lative, only ²*aʕi* indicating 'more' and *dah(aw)* indicating 'less' occur as indices of comparison. Examples with ²*aʕi* are (1313) and (1316) above. The use of *dah(aw)* is illustrated by the following examples:

- (1321) a. *ʔali-ʕ [ʔumar-zo-de-r] bečeʕi dahaw goʕ*
 Ali-GEN1 Umar-GEN2-ALOC-LAT wealth few be
 'Ali is less rich than Umar.' (lit. 'Ali's wealth is fewer than Umar's.')
- b. *ʔali-ʒ [ʔumar-de-r] dah r-eq'i-yo ʒo*
 Ali-DAT Umar-ALOC-LAT less V-know-PRS thing(V)
 'Ali knows less things than Umar.'

Hinuq has four degree adverbs containing the Equative enclitic =*če* (Section 26.1.4). Three of them are derived from the roots of demonstrative pronouns: *hače*, *hibače*, and *izače* 'how much, so much, this much', and they modify adjectives, nouns or clauses (see Section 5.2.4 for their derivation). The fourth degree adverb, *deče* 'how much', is predominantly but not exclusively used as a pro-form in interrogative clauses (Section 5.5.5). All adverbs express equative comparison 'like/as X'.

- (1322) a. *izače b-ʔeʕi t'as=no b-ux sadaq teʕ-er r-uxir*
 this.much III-big bowl(III)=and III-take all in-LAT V-pour.out
 'Take a bowl of about this size and pour everything into it.' (N)
- b. *hoboʕi Ramazan essu=n hayʕo-go hače c'ik'araw*
 now Ramazan brother=and he.OBL-AT so.much big
ʔelmu=n zoq'e-s-me
 science=and be-PST-NEG
 'Now, brother Ramazan, he was not educated very much.' (as another man about whom a story had been previously told) (N)
- c. *hado uʕi hayʕu-ʕ'o-r=no Ø-eze-n oqondeʕ-no*
 this boy(I) she.OBL-SPR-LAT=and I-look-CVB wonder-CVB
ʕex^we-s zeq'^we-n deče=tow bercinaw zeq'^we-n
 remain-RES be-UWPST how.much=EMPH beautiful be-UWPST
hadu ked
 this girl

‘The boy stood there wondering and looking at her, so beautiful was the girl.’ (N)

26.1.4. The Equative enclitic =*če*

Hinuq has an Equative enclitic =*če*¹⁴² with the meaning ‘similar, like, about’ (see Section 13.1.2.2 for all functions of this enclitic). It can be added to various parts of speech, e.g. nouns (1324a), numerals (1323a), pronouns (1324b), adverbs, and verbs (1323c). With numerals it is added either to the root or to the Absolutive stem, depending on the numeral.

- (1323) a. *zek had q'ono=čey armi b-iq'-a goł*
 tomorrow these two=EQ army(HPL) HPL-bring-INF be
 ‘Tomorrow I will bring an army about twice as big.’ (N)
- b. *halt'ezi Ø-iq-iš kebura-ł oc'e=če λebu*
 work I-happen-PST Bezhta-CONT ten=EQ year
 ‘I (masc.) worked in Bezhta for about ten years.’ (N)
- c. “*žied b-eta:z=če b-iq-anu*”=*λen eλi-n*
 yet III-reap-PURP=EQ III-happen-MSD=QUOT say-UWPST
baru-y
 wife-ERG
 ‘The wife said that (the crop) is still not ripe.’ (N)

If =*če* is added to nouns or pronouns, they must be case-marked, in their oblique stem form (1323b), or in their direct stem form (1323a).¹⁴³ The word to which the enclitic is added functions as the standard of the comparison in a construction that expresses a high degree of similarity between the standard and some comparee.

- (1324) a. *hoboži hayłuy xode-n “waqi-čey q'imu*
 now she.ERG request-UWPST walnut(V)-EQ head(V)
r-iq-λo di-žo uži-š!”=*λen*
 V-become-OPT I.OBL-GEN2 son-GEN1=QUOT
 ‘She asked “May the head of my son become (as small) as a walnut!”’ (N)

¹⁴²A few speakers use =*čey* instead of =*če*.

¹⁴³In the neighboring language Tsez, the cognate equative suffix *-ce* can only be added to the oblique stem. Therefore, Comrie (2007: 1196) suggests treating this suffix as a case marker for Tsez. I will not adopt this analysis because in Hinuq =*če* can be added to the direct stem, in contrast to case suffixes.

- b. [*hoboy hado uži Ø-oxe-nos*] *λ'oq'ar kezi.y.iqgo y-eg^wey=gon*
 then this boy(I) I-leave-ANT towards meet.II.PRS I-small=TOP
hes ked hayto=če=tow / hago=če=tow
 one girl(II) he.OBL=EQ=EMPH / he=EQ=EMPH
 'After the boy leaves, he meets a small girl of the same age.'

The enclitic =*če* is used for comparative constructions of the correlative type 'the X-er the Y-er'. This construction is biclausal, and the verb of the first clause is a Past participle marked with =*če*. In these constructions, the occurrence of a verb in the first clause, to which the enclitic is added, seems to be obligatory. This verb takes the Past Participle suffix (for more examples see Section 7.7.3.3 on the Past Participle).

- (1325) a. [*amma r-oλo peλ-a r-uł-yoru=če*] *rek'^we*
 but V-strongly blow-INF V-begin-PTCP.PST=EQ man(I)
paltu-ł-edo Ø-uqił-o zoq'^we-n
 coat-CONT-DIR I-hide-ICVB be-UWPST
 'But the more the wind began to blow, the more the man wrapped into his coat.' (S)
- b. [*žo r-eq'i-yoru=če*] *di yira b-iq-iš*
 thing(V) V-know-PTCP.PST=EQ I.GEN I wish(III) III-become-PST
t'ot'er-ayaz
 learn-PURP
 'The more things I knew the bigger my wish became to learn.' (N)
- c. [*x^win ossu y-iq-oru=če*] *λ'ere-do*
 mountain(IV) high IV-happen-PTCP.PST=EQ upwards-DIR
b-ix-ayaz zaħmat r-iqgo
 HPL-raise-PURP difficulty V-happen.PRS
 'The higher the mountain the more difficult it is to climb.'

The enclitic is also used when two situations that are expressed by clauses are compared. This construction makes use again of the Past participle and is biclausal:

- (1326) *diž Madina [debez y-eti-yoru=če] [?]aši y-eti-yo*
 I.DAT Madina you.SG.DAT II-want-PTCP.PST=EQ much II-want-PRS
 'I love Madina as much as you love her.'

26.1.5. The equative adverbial *-iḥi*

Hinuq has an equative adverbial *-iḥi* that shows agreement. It is of verbal origin and thus agrees with the argument in the Absolutive case, the comparee, if there is any, e.g. *čaḡ'ar Ø-iḥi rek''we* 'jackal(III) I-like man(I)' (lit. 'a man like a jackal', i.e. a greedy person). The standard of comparison can be a noun (1327a), as well as an adjective (1327b), a participle (1327c), or a clause (1329c). It can precede or follow the adverbial.

- (1327) a. *haḡo-y eḥi-yo "hik'es r-iḥi ruk' toqḡo"*
 he.OBL-ERG say-PRS recently.GEN I V-similar sound(V) hear.PRS
 'He says "I hear the same sound as before."' (N)
- b. *eli q'oḡ'oru b-iḥi=tow b-iḡ'i-š, hay=no b-uw-a*
 we empty HPL-similar=EMPH HPL-go-PST there=and III-do-INF
b-aḡ'e-s Čačan-ḡ'o maḡišat
 III-must-PST Chechnya-SPR property(III)
 'We went with empty hands, and there in Chechnya we had to build up a living.' (N)
- c. *ḡ'adal-i b-iči-yo q'ono t'ot'er-iš Ø-iḥi rek''we, hes dibir*
 Tljadal-IN HPL-be-PRS two learn-RES similar man(I) one mullah
hes=gon rek''we
 one=ADD man(I)
 'In Tljadal there are two educated-like men, one mullah and another man.' (N)
- d. *iše-ḡ'o ḡ'ere-r=no b-uḥi-n b-uhe-yḡ'o*
 snow-SPR on-LAT=and III-go.down-CVB III-die-SIM
b-iḥi=tow b-iči-n
 III-similar=EMPH III-be-UWPST
 '(The crow) after falling down on the snow laid like dead.' (N)

In case there is no noun that can trigger the agreement (i.e. no comparee), the default agreement marker *r-* (gender V) is used, e.g.

- (1328) *hayḡoy zonde idu r-iḥi r-uz-ho*
 he.ERG REFL.SG.ALOC home V-similar V-do-PRS
 'He behaves as if he were at his house.'

The adverbial is also used when equating properties or situations. In (1329a) the parameter is an adjective, in (1329b) it is an adverb, and in (1329c) a clause. Just as in the other comparative constructions with the ALOC-Lative and the Equative enclitic, the Past participle is used when whole clauses are compared.

- (1329) a. *Madina iyo y-iṭi=tow bercinaw goṭ*
 Madina mother(II) II-similar=EMPH beautiful be
 ‘Madina is as beautiful as her mother.’
- b. *ʔali zones obu Ø-iṭi=tow Ø-eg Ø-edo:-ho*
 Ali REFL.SG.GEN1 father(I) I-similar=EMPH I-well I-work-PRS
 ‘Ali works as well as his father.’
- c. *ʔali keč’-be r-eg qaλ-o [Madina-z qocu*
 Ali song-PL NHPL-well call-PRS Madina-DAT dance(V)
r-eg’i-yoru] r-iṭi
 V-know-PTCP.PST V-similar
 ‘Ali sings songs as well as Madina dances.’

From this adverbial, an adjective with the meaning ‘alike’ can be derived by adding the Resultative participle suffix. This adjective modifies nouns (1330a) or appears in predicative clauses (1330b). The standard of comparison to which the adjective refers must be marked with the AT-Essive case. This is the only adjective that obligatorily requires case-marked arguments.

- (1330) a. [^ʔ*ac=no y-aṣi-n] y-aq’e-n hayṭo-zo*
 door(IV)=and IV-open-CVB II-come-UWPST he.OBL-GEN2
baru-ḡo y-iṭi-š šayt’an-za-s aqili
 wife-AT II-similar-RES devil-OBL.PL-GEN1 woman(II)
 ‘When he opened the door, a devil woman who looked like his wife came.’ (N)
- b. *“hadu mezo-ḡo b-iṭi-š gom”=λen eḷi-n*
 this you.PL.GEN2-AT III-similar-RES be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 ‘“This (guitar) is not similar to yours,” he said.’ (N)

From a syntactic point of view (1330a) contains a relative clause with *-iṭi-* functioning as the verb. This verb is an extended intransitive verb with an S argument in the Absolutive and a spatial argument in the AT-Essive (*baruḡo*). The Absolutive argument is not overtly expressed in the relative clause, but functions as its head (*aqili*). Note that the example in (1330b) represents another instance of case-stacking. Just as in the comparative construction in (1305b), it is the comparee that first takes the Genitive case and then the case required by the construction (which is the ALOC-Lative in the comparative construction and the AT-Essive in the equative construction.)

- b. [ʔera uži-ʔes] darsi cax-iš ʔora-y
 five.OBL boy-CONT.ABL1 homework write-PST three.OBL-ERG
 ‘Out of five boys, three wrote the homework.’

It is also possible to reverse the order of the two noun phrases, i.e. to have the subset preceding the domain noun phrase:

- (1333) sadaq iżho-ʔ=no b-aq'e-n b-uhe-s goʔ, [q'ono
 all avalanche-CONT=and HPL-come-CVB HPL-die-RES be two
 qu rek'u-ʔes]
 twenty man.OBL-CONT.ABL1
 ‘All of the 40 men came into the avalanche and died.’ (N)

Partitive constructions where the domain noun phrase is a unit of measure are expressed as Genitive phrases: the domain noun phrase predominantly follows the subset noun phrase (1334a), but the order of the two noun phrases may occasionally be reversed (1334b).

- (1334) a. di-žo sumka-ma magala-s kusok=qen gom
 I.OBL-GEN2 bag-IN bread.OBL-GEN1 piece=at.least be.NEG
 ‘In my bag there is not even a small piece of bread.’
 b. kudari-ma mut'=če=qen ʔe-yi-š gom
 jug-IN drop=EQ=at.least water-OBL-GEN1 be.NEG
 ‘In the jug there is not even a drop of water.’

These measure phrases behave like normal Genitive phrases: the subset noun phrase is in the First Genitive if the domain noun phrase is in the Absolutive (1334a, 1334b), and it is in the Second Genitive otherwise. Thus, in (1335) the unit of measure, *q'oka* ‘group’, is in the Ergative, and therefore the dependent noun phrase *ahlu* ‘people’ must be in the Second Genitive.

- (1335) Kebura-zo ahlu-mo-zo seda q'oka-y r-oc'-iš
 Bezhta-GEN2 folk-OBL-GEN2 one.OBL group-ERG NHPL-cut-PST
 had aže-be
 those tree-PL
 ‘One group of people from Bezhta cut those trees.’

26.3. Substitutive constructions

Substitutive constructions with the meaning ‘instead of X’, where X is a noun phrase, consist of a Genitive noun phrase with the head noun *moča*: ‘place.IN’

and X marked with the Second Genitive. The noun *moča*: cannot be omitted in this construction. Various nominal participants can be substituted (S, A, P), and the participant with which X is replaced is pragmatically inferred from the context (1336a, 1336b).

- (1336) a. *iyoy xok'o-zo moča: čorpa r-u:s*
 mother-ERG khinkal-GEN2 place.IN soup(V) V-do-PST
 'Mother made soup instead of khinkal.'
- b. *dada-y xok'o-be r-u:ho essu-zo moča:*
 aunt-ERG khinkal-PL NHPL-do-PRS sister-GEN2 place.IN
 'The aunt instead of the sister made khinkal.'

When noun phrases bearing other grammatical roles are substituted, then the construction gets more complicated because an entire nominalized clause containing the relevant noun phrase is used. The clause is headed by a verb in the Masdar form to which the Second Genitive can optionally be added (1337a, 1337b).

- (1337) a. [*t'oq-ru-d xu r-oc'-anu-zo*] *moča: ?ali:*
 knife-OBL-INS meat(V) V-cut-MSD-GEN2 place.IN Ali.ERG
og-ru-d r-oc'-iš
 ax-OBL-INS V-cut-PST
 'Instead of cutting the meat with a knife, Ali cut it with an ax.'
- b. [*idu Ø-ič-anu-(zo)*] *moča: hawsa?at haytoy ?umru*
 home I-be-MSD-GEN2 place.IN now he.ERG life(III)
b-u:ho zoro-λ
 III-do-PRS barn-SUB
 'Instead of living in the house, he lives now in the barn.'

When actions are substituted, there are two strategies. One strategy is again the Masdar strategy. The Masdar takes the Second Genitive suffix and keeps all arguments that the verb serving as its base has.

- (1338) a. [*idu mos b-aλ-anu-zo*] *moča: ked-i šeλ'u*
 home broom(III) III-sweep-MSD-GEN2 place.IN girl-ERG clothes
k'ilik'-iš
 wash-PST
 'Instead of sweeping the house, the girl washed clothes.'
- b. [*darsi-be cax-anu-zo*] *moča: Maħama-y t'ek t'ot'er-iš*
 lesson-PL write-MSD-GEN2 place.IN Mahama-ERG book read-PST
 'Instead of doing the homework, Mahama read a book.'

The other strategy for expressing the substitution of actions is to use a relative clause formed with the General participle and *moča*: as the nucleus:¹⁴⁴

- (1339) a. *essu idu-r Ø-aq'e-s [maždik-a-r Ø-iλ'i-yo*
 brother home-LAT I-come-PST mosque-IN-LAT I-go-ICVB
goła] *moča*:
 be.PTPC place.IN
 ‘The brother came home instead of going to the mosque.’
- b. *obu-y moči b-eλe-s [qešu r-u:ho goła]*
 father-ERG field(III) III-plough-PST wall(V) V-do-ICVB be.PTCP
moča:
 place.IN
 ‘The father ploughed the field instead of building the wall.’

Sentences containing two nouns which can be interpreted as substitutes are ambiguous:

- (1340) *Madina-y Elmira zok'-iš Ayšat-zo moča*:
 Madina-ERG Elmira beat-PST Ayshat-GEN2 place.IN
 ‘Madina beat Elmira instead of Ayshat (beating Elmira).’ or ‘Madina beat Elmira instead of (Madina beating) Ayshat.’

The ambiguity can be resolved by making the omitted clause and all its arguments explicit. If the substitute refers to the agent, then the nominalized clause contains an anaphoric pronoun in the Ergative coreferential with the agent (1341a). If the patient is substituted, then the noun referring to it is repeated (1341b).

- (1341) a. *Madina-y Elmira zok'-iš zoni Ayšat*
 Madina-ERG Elmira beat-PST REFL.SG.ERG Ayshat
zok'-anu-zo moča:
 beat-MSD-GEN2 place.IN
 ‘Madina beat Elmira instead of (her beating) Ayshat.’
- b. *Madina-y Elmira zok'-iš Ayšat-i Elmira zok'-anu-zo*
 Madina-ERG Elmira beat-PST Ayshat-ERG Elmira beat-MSD-GEN2
moča:
 place.IN
 ‘Madina beat Elmira instead of Ayshat (beating Elmira).’

¹⁴⁴I use the term ‘nucleus’ as introduced by Lehmann (1984) rather than the term ‘head’ to refer to the relativized argument.

The ambiguity is more pragmatic than syntactic in nature. That is, if the two nouns cannot both be interpreted as substitutes then no ambiguity arises. In other words, it is not the syntactic structure alone that can lead to ambiguities. For instance, (1342a) and (1342b) have the same syntactic structure as (1340), but only one meaning since in (1342a) the two nouns *t'ek* 'book' and *žurnal* 'journal' can only function as objects of the verb *t'ot'er-* 'read', and in (1342b) *essu* 'sibling' can only be interpreted as substituting the agent but never the patient of the same verb 'read'.

- (1342) a. *de t'ek t'ot'r-iš žurnal-zo moča:*
 I.ERG book read-PST journal-GEN2 place.IN
 'I read the book instead of the journal.'
- b. *de t'ek t'ot'r-iš essu-zo moča:*
 I.ERG book read-PST brother-GEN2 place.IN
 'I instead of my brother read the book.'

26.4. Appositional phrases

Appositional phrases consist of two (or more) noun phrases with the same reference, and the noun phrases immediately follow each other. As indicated by modifiers and case marking, appositional phrases behave like a single noun phrase in their clause (see below for the relevant examples). They typically involve a proper name plus a kinship term (1343a) or a profession or another characterizing term plus a 'dummy noun' *rek''w*e 'man' or *aqili* 'woman' (1343b, 1343c). Occasionally a name plus a profession (1348a) or a toponymic expression occur (1350a). The typical order is name plus kinship term/profession/toponym and profession plus 'dummy noun'.

- (1343) a. *seda zaman-a-ł hapiz žumar essu Ø-iλ'i-yo*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT Hapiz Umar brother(1) I-go-PRS
Yiq'o-do hayłi qazaq-za-ł-er
 Yiqo-DIR there Georgian-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT
 'One time, brother Hapiz Umar goes to Yiqo, there to the Georgians.'
 (N)
- b. *čanaqan rek''we=xa [...], wali rek''we zoq'e-s goł hago*
 hunter man=EMPH saint man be-PST be he
 'He was a hunter, he was a sacred man.' (N)
- c. *haw zoq''we-n šayix aqili*
 she be-UWPST saint woman
 'She was a sacred woman.' (N)

Case is only on the second noun phrase marked (1344a, 1344b). The apposition always remains in the Absolutive (1344a, 1344b).

- (1344) a. *q'orol aqila-y xan-es ked sweru*
 widow woman.OBL-ERG khan-GEN1 daughter(II) around
y-ayi-yo
 II-open-PRS
 'The widow made the khan's daughter tell everything (lit. open her around).' (N)
- b. *hibayto rek'u-zo, exo rek'u-de-r*
 that.OBL man.OBL-GEN2 shepherd man.OBL-ALOC-LAT
beže-ho-r r-ołłoku neši b-ił'i-yo hadbe
 house.OBL-ILOC-LAT V-half at.night HPL-go-PRS they
 'At midnight they go to that man – the shepherd's house.' (N)

Modifiers syntactically refer to the second noun phrase, e.g. demonstrative pronouns appear in the oblique form, or possessive pronouns must have the Second Genitive case if the second noun is in an oblique case (1345), (1347a).

- (1345) *hayto ħabib ħaži obu-s zoq'e-s goł łeno uži=n hes*
 that.OBL Habib Gadzhi father-GEN1 be-RES be five son=and one
ked=no
 daughter=and
 'Father Habib Gadzhi had five sons and one daughter.' (N)

Occasionally the typical order is reversed, i.e. the name can follow the kinship term or the profession, especially if the appositional phrase is modified by several modifiers because in this manner the modifiers that semantically belong to the kinship term directly precede this term (1346). But usually the order is fixed, e.g. to change the order of the profession and the dummy noun in a phrase like (1343b) is ungrammatical.

- (1346) *hezzo-r Ø-oxer-no hado. askarbit=no Ø-u:-n di*
 back-LAT I-drive.away-UWPST he insult=and I-do-CVB I.GEN1
hago Ø-²ežinnu obu Maħama ħaži
 that I-old father(I) Mahama Gadzhi
 '(They) threw him out and offended my grandfather Mahama Gadzhi.'
 (N)

In any case, it is only the second noun, or, if two or more names appear in a sequence, it is only the last name that can be case marked (1347a, 1347b). In

other words, it is the order of the two nouns that is important, and none of the nouns can be claimed to represent the head of the appositional phrase.

- (1347) a. *di-žo* \emptyset -²*ežinnu obu* *Muḥamad haži:*
 I.OBL-GEN2 I-old father(I) Mohamed Gadzhi.ERG
 [*caʕi-n*] *mihna=tow* *b-aq'er-no* *geʔ q'idi-r*
 throw-CVB bird(III)=EMPH III-bring-UWPST down down-LAT
 'My grandfather Mohamed Gadzhi shot and brought the bird itself down.' (N)
- b. *di-žo* \emptyset -²*ežinnu obu* *ḥapiz ʔumar-es* *essu Pari=ʕen*
 I.OBL-GEN2 I-old father Hapiz Umar-GEN1 sister Pari=QUOT
eʕi-n *goʔ*
 say-CVB be
 'My grandfather Hapiz Umar has a sister called Pari.'

The combination of a name plus a profession, which seems to be less frequently used, is quite tolerant with both word orders. The second noun phrase, be it the profession or the name, takes the case marking (1348a, 1348b).

- (1348) a. *Šamil exo-y* *ɣ^we zok'-iš*
 Šamil herdsman-ERG dog beat-PST
 'The herdsman Šamil beat the dog.'
- b. *učitel Maḥama-y* *maʔarul mec* *toʕʕo*
 teacher Mahama-ERG Avar language give.PRS
 'The teacher Mahama teaches Avar.'

If, however, the apposition and its noun phrase are separated by a pause, they do not form a single phrase anymore. Only in this case is it possible to add case suffixes to both noun phrases:

- (1349) *di-žo* *essu-y,* *Maḥama-y* *ɣ^wedes r-uxxo* *xu*
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG, Mahama-ERG daily V-buy.PRS meat(V)
 'My brother, Mahama, buys meat every day.'

For toponymic expressions preceded by a proper name, the same rules apply as for the appositional phrases described above. The name precedes the common noun. The reverse order is ungrammatical. Only the common noun takes case markers. With other nouns, which are not toponymic expressions, Genitive phrases are used, e.g. *Hinužas mec* 'Hinuq language' (see Chapter 14 for more details on place names, language names, ethnic names, etc.).

- (1350) a. *de Ø-u:-s Hinuq aλ-a*
 I I-do-PST Hinuq village-IN
 ‘I (masc.) was born in the village of Hinuq.’ (N)
- b. *Abdukarim ħaži Buynaksk šahar-mo-s imam goł*
 Abdukarim Gadzhi Buynaksk town-OBL-GEN1 imam be
 ‘Abdurkarim Gadzhi is the imam of the city of Buynaksk.’ (N)

However, often only the names are used when referring to a place, e.g. when referring to the city of Makhachkala, Hinuq speakers only use the proper name *Maħačqala* without any additional common noun.

Chapter 27

Word order

27.1. Introduction

Hinuq is a head-final language at the phrase level as well as at the clause level. At the clausal level, word order in main clauses is considerably more variable than word order in subordinate clauses. Apart from this, word order is largely determined by pragmatics.

27.2. Word order in the noun phrase and in the postpositional phrase

Noun phrases are head-final. All types of modifiers precede their heads: demonstratives (1351a), adjective phrases (1351c), numerals and other types of quantifiers (1351b, 1351d), Genitive noun phrases (1351a, 1351b), and relative clauses (1351d).

- (1351) a. *haw di iyo*
that I.GEN1 mother
'that mother of mine' (N)
- b. *xan-es łono uži*
khan-GEN1 three son
'the khan's three sons' (N)
- c. *hes c'uddu [mali-š iy b-iți] gulu*
one red nose.OBL-GEN1 blood(III) III-similar horse(III)
'one horse, red like the nose's blood' (N)
- d. *[t'ot'er-ho goła] boł'arab žo*
read-ICVB be.PTCP any.desired thing
'all desired things that (he) read' (N)

This also includes complex modifiers like the equative phrase in (1351c), which consists itself of a particle with a Genitive phrase, or local modifiers. In (1352) a Genitive, a spatial modifier, and an adjective phrase precede the head noun.

- (1352) *xiriyaw kirpič-mo-s ał-a bišun b-²eži buže*
expensive brick-OBL-GEN1 village-IN most III-big house(III)
'the biggest house in the village (made of) expensive bricks'

The order of modifiers with respect to each other is relatively free. In short noun phrases with only two modifiers, native speakers accept most possible orders. For example, instead of having the possessor preceding the numeral as in (1351b) above, the reverse order is also possible. The same is true for the order of numeral and demonstratives or adjectives: both orders are readily accepted (1353b, 1353c).

- (1353) a. *q'ono=n zones omoq'i=n*
 two=and REFL.SG.GEN1 donkey=and
 'and two of his donkeys' (N)
- b. *ʔono had t'ek / had ʔono t'ek*
 three these book / these three book
 'these three books'
- c. *ʔono y-egiy t'ek / y-egiy ʔono t'ek*
 three IV-good book(IV) / IV-good three book(IV)
 'three good books'

Similarly, although possessor pronouns far more frequently follow demonstratives (1351a), the other way around is also attested (1354a). The order of adjectives and demonstratives in the noun phrase is variable (1354b). The example in (1354c) shows a long noun phrase consisting of the head noun modified by a quantifier, a numeral, and two possessors, one of them a pronoun and the other a Genitive phrase.

- (1354) a. *debe haw buʔe*
 you.SG.GEN1 that house
 'that house of yours' (N)
- b. *očordiyu hado rek''we / hado očordiyu rek''we*
 old this man / this old man
 'this old man'
- c. *č'ek'k'u=tow ʔono=n haʔo-s [ked-zo] obu-s*
 all=EMPH three=and this.OBL-GEN1 girl-GEN2 father-GEN1
suʔal-be
 question-PL
 'all three of his, the girl's father's, questions' (N)

27.2.1. Scope properties in noun phrases with two modifiers

In many cases of noun phrases with two (or more) modifiers, the order is flexible and there is no perceivable difference in meaning, but there is a difference in

frequency; e.g. in (1353c) both orders are fine, but the first order is more common. In other cases there may be semantic differences between different orders reflecting different scope relations, especially when Genitives and other modifiers are combined. Thus, modifiers preceding the Genitive can be interpreted as either belonging to the Genitive or to the head of the Genitive (1355a, 1355b). Pragmatics can play a role in such cases, e.g. in (1355b) the second reading is more easily available since it is more common to speak of the beauty of a woman than of a man's beauty.

- (1355) a. *č'ek'k'u aλ-a-za-s* *kedbi*
 all village-OBL-OBL.PL-GEN1 girl.PL
 'girls of all villages' or 'all girls from the villages'
- b. *bercinaw-ni Maħama-s ked*
 beautiful-ATT Mahama-GEN1 daughter
 'the daughter of the beautiful Mahama' or 'Mahama's beautiful daughter'

In contrast, if the Genitive precedes the second modifier, then both are interpreted as belonging to the following head:

- (1356) a. *aλ-a-za-s* *č'ek'k'u kedbi*
 village-OBL-OBL.PL-GEN1 all girl.PL
 'all girls from the villages'
- b. *Maħama-s bercinaw-ni essu*
 Mahama-GEN1 beautiful-ATT sister
 'Mahama's beautiful sister'

27.2.2. Word order in the Genitive phrase

Hinuq has two Genitive cases. The First Genitive case is used for head nouns in the Absolute case, and the Second Genitive case is used in all other contexts (see Section 3.5.4 for more details on the Genitive). The Genitive normally precedes the head noun and other modifiers like adjectives (1357a), quantifiers (1357b), numerals, and demonstratives (1357c).

- (1357) a. *geni-mo-s r-ežinnu karzina*
 pear-OBL-GEN1 v-big basket(V)
 'a big basket of pears' (S)
- b. *hayto-s č'ek'k'u k'it'ri-be*
 he.OBL-GEN1 all cucumber-PL
 'all his cucumbers' (N)

- c. *qazaq-zo haytu xun-za-χ'o*
 Georgian-GEN2 that.OBL mountain-OBL.PL-SPR
 'on that Georgian mountain' (N)

Phrases in which the Genitive follows the head noun are only very occasionally attested in my corpus, although direct elicitation fails in these cases. A Genitive following the head noun may be interrupted by other material (see Section 27.2.4 below on discontinuous word order).

- (1358) a. *hes taypa ahlu-mo-s*
 one clan folk-OBL-GEN1
 'one group of people' (N)
- b. *had essni haŋo-s*
 these brother.PL he.OBL-GEN1
 'these brothers of his' (N)
- c. *mežu-ŋo-r hari goŋ di, [de Ø-uhe-nos] ...*
 you.PL.OBL-AT-LAT request be I.GEN1 I I-die-ANT
 'my only request for you is, after I (masc.) die ...' (N)

In complex noun phrases with many modifiers, the Genitive frequently appears in the first position (1357a-1357c), (1359a). The reason is that modifiers preceding the Genitive may in principle be interpreted as referring to the Genitive (see (1355a) and (1355b) above). Numerals or adjectives may also precede the Genitive (1359b), but 'mixing' is forbidden, i.e. inserting the Genitive between the other modifiers (1359c).

- (1359) a. *Maħama-s q'ono kabadu gulu*
 Mahama-GEN1 two black horse
 'Mahama's two black horses'
- b. *q'ono kabadu Maħama-s gulu*
- c. **q'ono Maħama-s kabadu gulu*

Pronominal Genitives prefer a position closer to the head noun (see also (1351a) above). In (1360a) a quantifier and in (1360b) a demonstrative pronoun precede the possessive pronouns in the Genitive case.

- (1360) a. *ʔuraw eli ahlu*
 many we.GEN1 people
 'many of our people' (not: 'people of many our') (N)

- b. *hayto di-žo obu-de-r*
 that.OBL I.OBL-GEN2 father-ALOC-LAT
 ‘to that father of mine’ (not: ‘to the father of that mine’) (N)

In principle, both examples are syntactically ambiguous, but since the alternative reading is extremely unlikely because personal pronouns are hardly ever modified, the examples are semantically unambiguous. In (1359b) another reading where the numeral and the adjective modify the Genitive is also excluded on semantic and pragmatic grounds. In contrast, in (1361) the adjective clearly refers to the Genitive, not to the head noun. But this is due to the fact that *miskin rek’we* is a fixed lexicalized expression whereas there is no lexicalized expression *miskin uži*. In principle a phrase with the structure adjective-genitive-noun can be ambiguous as shown in example (1355b) above.

- (1361) *miskin rek’u-s uži*
 poor man.OBL-GEN1 son
 ‘a poor man’s son’ (not: ‘a man’s poor son’) (N)

In a nested Genitive phrase, the noun(s) marked with the Second Genitive case necessarily precede(s) the noun marked with the First Genitive case, all other orders being ungrammatical. Genitives can be nested within each other as long as the speaker and the hearer can keep track of them.

- (1362) a. *obu-zo baru-s ked*
 father-GEN2 wife-GEN1 daughter
 ‘father’s wife’s daughter’ (N)
- b. *di-žo iyo-zo iyo-s obu*
 I.OBL-GEN2 mother-GEN2 mother-GEN1 father
 ‘my mother’s mother’s father’ (N)
- c. *dew-zo řeř-ru-zo saň-mo-s muh-be*
 you.SG.OBL-GEN2 flax-OBL-GEN2 2,5kg-OBL-GEN1 grain-PL
 ‘your 2,5kg of grains of flax’ (N)

When a plausible meaning results, two Genitive noun phrases may modify the same head noun. In (1363b) one Genitive precedes and one follows the head.

- (1363) a. *di mesedliš t’oq*
 I.GEN1 gold.GEN1 knife
 ‘my golden knife’
- b. *seda šahi-mo-s žo rek’u-s*
 one.OBL five.kopeck-OBL-GEN1 thing man.OBL-GEN1
 ‘one five kopeck coin of a stranger’ (N)

27.2.3. The position of the relative clause

Relative clauses almost exclusively precede the nucleus (1364a, 1364b). Relative clauses that follow the nucleus are rarely found in the corpus (1364c), but they can be elicited through translation from Russian, which has postponed relative clauses. Relative clauses are generally the first constituents of their noun phrases. Thus, in (1364a) the relative clause precedes a quantifier and in (1364b) a demonstrative pronoun.

- (1364) a. [*hayłoy* _ *eser-ho gołta*] *šinab žo*
 he.ERG ABS ask-ICVB be.PTCP every thing
 ‘everything that he asked’ (N)
- b. [*hało-z* _ *y-eti-yo gołta*] *hibaw ked*
 he.OBL-DAT ABS II-want-ICVB be.PTCP that girl(II)
 ‘that girl who he loves’ (N)
- c. *se r-iq-i?* *Ø-aši-ye hago uži* [*_ c’udu gulu gołta*?]
 what V-happen-Q I-find-Q that boy(I) ABS red horse be.PTCP
 ‘What happened? Did (they) find the boy with/on the red horse?’ (N)

If other modifiers preceded the relative clause, these would be relatively far away from their head nouns and would either be interpreted as belonging to the relative clause (1365a), or the phrase becomes ungrammatical (1365b). To resolve this problem modifiers must preferably be placed between the relative clause and the head noun (1365c).

- (1365) a. [*_ očordiyu qešu r-u:-ho gołta*] *rek’we*
 ERG old wall(V) V-do-ICVB be.PTCP man
 ‘the man who builds the old wall’
- b. **łono* [*_ šeł’u k’ilikko gołta*] *ked*
 three ERG clothes wash.ICVB be.PTCP girl
 (three girls who wash clothes)
- c. [*_ qešu r-u:-ho gołta*] *očordiyu rek’we*
 ERG wall(V) V-do-ICVB be.PTCP old man
 ‘the old man who builds the wall’

When this preference is in conflict with the preference that the Genitive noun phrase should be the first constituent of the noun phrase (Section 27.2.2), both orders are possible. If the Genitive is just a simple pronoun, it directly precedes the head noun (1366).

- (1366) [*šahali-do Ø-iχ'i-yo goła*] *dižo essu-s buxe*
 town.IN-DIR I-go-ICVB be.PTCP I.GEN2 brother(I)-GEN1 house
 ‘the house of my brother, who went to town’

If the Genitive follows the head noun, the relative clause is usually interpreted as modifying the Genitive and not the head of the Genitive (1367a). In principle, another interpretation where both the relative clause and the Genitive modify the head noun is possible if it is semantically plausible (1367b, 1367c).

- (1367) a. [*hało-de χ'oq'ar goła*] *seda nartaw-es hači*
 he.OBL-ALOC in.front.of be.PTCP one.OBL giant-GEN1 sneezing
 ‘the sneezing of one giant in front of him’ (N)
- b. [*idur Ø-aq'-o goła*] *Murad-es hudul*
 home-LAT I-come-ICVB be.PTCP Murad-GEN1 friend
 ‘the friend of the home-coming Murad’
- c. [*idur Ø-aq'-o goła*] *Murad-es hudul*
 home-LAT I-come-ICVB be.PTCP Murad-GEN1 friend
 ‘the friend of Murad, who came home’ (i.e. The friend came home.)

If, however, the Genitive precedes the head noun, then it cannot function as the nucleus of the relative clause. Therefore, it is either interpreted as belonging to the relative clause (1368a) or as modifying the head together with the relative clause (1368b) depending on the semantics and pragmatics of the phrase in question.

- (1368) a. [*Mahama-s aže y-occo goła*] *uži*
 Mahama-GEN1 tree(IV) IV-cut.ICVB be.PTCP son
 ‘the son who cut Mahama’s tree’ (not: Mahama’s son who cut the tree)
- b. *Murad-es* [*idur Ø-aq'-o goła*] *hudul*
 Murad-GEN1 home-LAT I-come-ICVB be.PTCP friend
 ‘Murad’s friend, who came home’ (i.e. the friend came home)

27.2.4. Uncommon word orders

Word order is relatively free in Hinuq. But different word orders are often associated with different pragmatic values. A more detailed account of the relationship between word order and information structure is given in Section 29.2. Here only a few examples at the noun phrase level are discussed.

Postponed modifiers express pragmatic salience. They often have a contrastive interpretation, as in (1369a) where the younger brother is contrasted with his elder brothers. Another possibility for modifiers following their head is to express new information, i.e. focus. This can be seen as a kind of afterthought of the speaker, who assumes that the head noun alone does not represent enough information and adds some information. For instance, in (1369b) the adjective plus Genitive at the end of the second clause modify *q'uč'a* 'oat porridge', i.e. the speaker gives some new information about the ingredients of this porridge. Example (1369c) is similar to (1369b). In (1369d) the postponed double Genitive gives more information about the head *ked* 'girl' by restricting the domain among which the referent of the head noun has to be chosen.

- (1369) a. *hało uži-λ'o Ø-eg^w ennu*
 this.OBL son(I)-SPR I-small
 'on the younger son' (N)
- b. *aλ-a q'uč'a r-u:ho zoq'e-n. q'uč'a-λ'o*
 village-IN oat.flour(V) V-do-ICVB be-UWPST oat.flour-SPR
bet'erbaqi zoq'e-s kabaxu at'-es
 life be-PST black flour-GEN1
 '(They) made porridge in the village; they lived from porridge, (made of) black flour.' (N)
- c. *ʒumru=n b-egiy zoq'e-s elu-s hayteł*
 life(III)=and III-good be-PST we.OBL-GEN1 there
 'Our life there was good.' (N)
- d. *hadu goł di xiriyaw ked aλ-a-zo*
 this be I.GEN1 dear girl village-OBL-GEN2
ked-bi-ža-s-λa
 girl-PL-OBL.PL-GEN1-ATT
 'This is my dear girl from the girls of the village.' (N)

There is a very strong tendency for the elements of a constituent to be adjacent, but occasionally there are examples of discontinuous noun phrases. Thus, in (1370a) the adjective *bercinaw* 'beautiful' is separated from its head *rek^we*.

- (1370) a. *hače=tow bercinaw žied diž rek^we Ø-ike-n*
 how.much=EMPH beautiful yet I.DAT man(I) I-see-CVB
zeq^we-s-me
 be-PST-NEG
 'Such a beautiful man I never saw.' (N)

- b. *dessu xan-i amru b-u:y?*
 which khan-ERG command(III) III-do-Q
 ‘Which command did the khan make?’ (N)

27.3. Word order at the clause level

Like noun-phrase-internal and adjective-phrase-internal word order, clause-level word order is generally head-final, i.e. verb-final. This order can be found in pragmatically neutral main clauses, including many elicited simple sentences. The most frequent templates are S-V, A-P-V and A-R-T-V. Word orders other than those are also possible. The word order at the clause level in main clauses is by far more flexible than the word order at the noun phrase level. For word order in questions see Chapter 28 and Section 29.3.

27.3.1. Main clauses

The overwhelming majority of clauses follow the above given templates. This is illustrated by (1371a), (1371b), and (1371c) and by numerous other examples in this grammar.

- (1371) a. S-V

nesa:s mix b-aq'e-n
 in.the.evening-GEN1 hour(III) III-come-UWPST
 ‘The evening time came.’ (N)

- b. A-P-V

ked-i čakar kek-er-iš
 girl-ERG sugar break-CAUS-PST
 ‘The girl broke the sugar.’ (N)

- c. A-R-T-V

hoboži hayło obu-y hagze-z hozu buλe=n
 now that.OBL father-ERG they.OBL-DAT separately house=and
toλ-no
 give-UWPST
 ‘The father gave them a separate house.’ (N)

Under certain conditions a different word order is preferred. For example, in reported speech, the matrix verb often precedes the quote which represents its direct object argument (1372), or it follows the quote and is, in turn, followed by

its S or A argument. More examples of reported speech can be found in Section 22.2.1 and in Chapter 23.

- (1372) *haṭu gulu-y eḵi-yo “de zeq’w e-s devez nasibaw*
 this.OBL horse-ERG say-PRS I be-PST you.SG.DAT predestinated
gulu”
 horse
 ‘The horse says “I was your predestinated horse.”’ (N)

In principle, all logically possible orders are attested or can be elicited (1373a-1373f). In intransitive clauses S-V is more frequent than V-S. In transitive clauses V-P-A is the least frequent word order, though it is admissible (1373f). The templates representing the most frequent patterns show that arguments normally precede the verb, and the A precedes all other arguments and R precedes T in ditransitive clauses.

- (1373) a. A-P-V
ked-i magalu b-u:-s
 girl-ERG bread(III) III-do-PST
 ‘The girl made bread.’
- b. A-V-P
ked-i bu:s magalu
- c. P-V-A
magalu bu:s ked-i
- d. P-A-V
magalu ked-i bu:s
- e. V-A-P
bu:s ked-i magalu
- f. V-P-A
bu:s magalu ked-i

Free adjuncts, especially temporal adverbs, often appear in clause initial position (1374a, 1374b), and spatial, directional, and manner adverbs show a greater tendency for clause-medial position between S or A and P or the verb, but clause-initial position is also quite common. Clauses beginning with *seda zamanat* often introduce new referents, and therefore have VS or AVP word order (1374b).

- (1374) a. *hezzodoy hadbe b-iḵ’i-yo zoq’e-n*
 then they HPL-go-ICVB be-UWPST
 ‘Then they went away.’ (N)

- b. *seda zaman-a-ł hało-z kezi.y.iq-no hes ked*
 one.OBL time-OBL-CONT he.OBL-DAT meet.II-UWPST one girl(II)
 ‘At one time he met a girl.’ (S)
- c. *me řadlu-ł’o uži Ø-ičir-o!*
 you.SG.ERG discipline-SPR son(I) I-put-IMP
 ‘You will look after the boy!’ (lit. ‘put him on discipline’) (N)
- d. *hado adaru=tow xexłi-ł’o k’ołe-n*
 he naked=EMPH speed-SPR jump-UWPST
 ‘He, being naked, jumped fast.’ (N)

In general, word orders that deviate from the most frequent patterns are associated with particular pragmatic meanings. In Section 29.2, a more detailed account of the various word orders, their frequencies, and their information structures can be found.

27.3.2. Subordinate clauses

In subordinate clauses, verb-final word order is almost obligatory, e.g. (1375a) shows a relative clause, and (1375b) an adverbial clause. Adverbial clauses that violate this condition are attested, but they are not very frequent (see Section 21.4 for examples). Complement clauses where the verb is not in clause final position can be elicited (1375c, 1375d), but I did not find any examples in my corpus. They carry a special information structure since the element in clause final position is highlighted. Relative clauses with the verb in a position other than clause-final are ungrammatical.

- (1375) a. *[q’^wena ł’ere-r gulu k’oł-er-ho gołq] rek’u-z*
 two.OBL up-LAT horse jump-CAUS-ICVB be.PTCP man.OBL-DAT
di ked-bi r-iq-a goł
 I.GEN1 daughter-PL HPL-happen-INF be
 ‘My daughters will be for the man who makes the horse jump onto the second floor.’ (N)
- b. *[hado uži [...] ažey-ł’o-r Ø-ix-nos] hayło-z*
 this boy(I) tree-SPR-LAT I-climb-ANT he.OBL-DAT
b-aši-n hay mihna
 III-find-UWPST there bird(III)
 ‘After the boy climbed up the tree he found a bird there.’ (S)
- c. *hayło-z r-eti-n [kařat cax-ayaz de]*
 he.OBL-DAT V-want-UWPST letter write-PURP I.ERG

‘He wants ME to write the letter.’

- d. *dīž y-eq'i-yo [hayłoy t'ot'er-iš-ti t'ek]*
I.DAT IV-know-PRS he.ERG read-RES-ABST book(IV)

‘I know that he read the BOOK.’

Chapter 28

Questions

28.1. Introduction

Hinuq has Interrogative suffixes and a cognate Interrogative enclitic. The form of the Interrogative suffix/enclitic is partially determined by phonological rules, partially by the tense-aspect-mood form of the verb to which it is attached, and partially by emphasis. For more information on these suffixes/enclitic see Section 13.1.2.1. The use of the suffixes is obligatory in questions with past time reference and the evidentiality meaning ‘neutral’ (e.g. Simple Past). The use of the enclitic is optional and relatively common. Interrogative suffixes/enclitics occur in polar and in WH-questions.

28.2. Polar questions

Polar questions (i.e. yes-no-questions) are normally marked with the Interrogative suffix/enclitic added to the verb (1376b). In periphrastic verb forms the marker appears on the last word of the verbal complex, i.e. the auxiliary (1376c).

- (1376) a. *me razi goɬ=e xem-za-qo=n Ø-ece-n*
you.SG content be=Q stone.OBL-OBL.PL-AT=and I-tie-CVB
raɬad-li-ɬ-er kur-ayaz?
sea-OBL-CONT-LAT throw-PURP
‘Do you agree to be thrown into the sea tied to stones?’ (N)
- b. *bič’i b-iq-e devez?*
understanding III-happen-Q you.SG.DAT
‘Do you understand (it)?’ (N)
- c. [*meži di-qo es-a*] *behezi.r.iqgo gom=e?*
you.PL.ERG I.OBL-AT tell-INF allow.V.ICVB be.NEG=Q
‘Are you not allowed to tell me that?’ (N)

When the Interrogative marker appears on the finite verb, then the question has a neutral information structure value (i.e. predicate-focus structure), where the predicate represents the focus (1376a-1376c). But it is also possible to add the enclitic to some other word. The constituent bearing the Interrogative enclitic is always in focus (1377a, 1377b). More information on the information structure of polar questions is provided in Section 29.3.2.

- (1377) a. *kiy y-iq-λ'os=e goł mežu-de? Aha.*
 blueberry(IV) IV-happen-HAB=Q be you.PL.OBL-ALOC yes
 'ARE there blueberries at your place? Yes.' (N)
- b. *debe og=e goł?*
 you.SG.GEN I ax=Q be
 'Do you have an AX?'

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Simple Past and all periphrastic verb forms with the evidentiality value 'neutral' (i.e. all forms containing *zoq'wes* 'be.PST') behave differently from all other verbal forms because they lose the normal suffix *-s* and take the Interrogative suffix instead if they occur in questions. This concerns not only polar questions but also WH-questions with both affirmative and negative polarity (whereby the negation suffix follows the Interrogative suffix.)

- (1378) a. *aže goliš buže b-aši-ye?*
 tree be.CVB house(III) III-find-Q
 'Did you find the house where the tree is?' (S)
- b. *r-iker-i-me de dew-qo ax?*
 V-show-Q-NEG I.ERG you.SG.OBL-AT cheese(V)
 'Did I not show you the cheese?' (N)

It can sometimes be difficult to distinguish between questions where the Simple Past has been used and questions where the General tense has been used. Both questions are headed by a verb to which only an Interrogative suffix/enclitic is added. Thus, we can compare the minimal pair consisting of (1376b) above and (1379), which strongly resemble each other. But as can be seen when looking at both examples, the forms of the Interrogative markers in the two tenses differ from each other. In other words, not only the context but the form of the marker itself helps to distinguish the tenses when they occur in questions. For a more detailed comparison of the question forms of verbs from all four conjugation classes in the Simple Past and in the General tense see Section 13.1.2.1.

- (1379) *bič'i r-iq-iyē?*
 understanding V-happen-Q
 'Did (you) understand (that)?' (N)

Questions formulated in the Simple Present do not contain an Interrogative enclitic added to the verb. Verbs that have a stem-final /e/ may use the more emphatic Simple Present suffix *-oho* instead of the usual *-o* (1380b).

- (1380) a. *debez r-eti-yo iyo-s xok'o-be?*
 you.SG.DAT NHPL-want-PRS mother-GEN1 khinkal-PL
 'Do you love mother's khinkal?'
 b. *hadi goŧ uži=n λoči=n γ^we=n. b-ik-oho?*
 here be boy=and frog=and dog=and HPL-see-PRS
 'Here are a boy, a frog, and a dog. Do you see them?' (S)

As in all other verbal forms, the Interrogative enclitic appears on focused referents in questions coded with the Simple Present. Compare (1380a) above with the following example:

- (1381) *debez r-eti-yo iyo-s=e xok'o-be?*
 you.SG.DAT V-like-PRS mother-GEN1=Q khinkal-PL
 'Do you like MOTHER'S khinkal?'

The word order in polar questions is the same as in assertions, i.e. predominantly verb-final, but all other word orders are also accepted. Also as in assertions, focused constituents can be clefted (1382b).

- (1382) a. *ʔali q'idi Ø-iči-š goŧ=e paradala:?*
 Ali(1) down I-sit-RES be=Q balcony.IN
 'Is Ali sitting on the balcony?'
 b. *ʔali goŧ=e q'idi Ø-iči-š paradala:?*
 Ali(1) be=Q down I-sit-RES balcony.IN
 'Is ALI sitting on the balcony?'

The answer to a polar question generally consists only of the verb form, with any additional words required for expansion on the answer (1383a-1383c). It is in principle possible to repeat the whole clause (with the appropriate polarity), but this is rather uncommon.

- (1383) a. *me caxxo kaγat? caxxo gom*
 you.SG.ERG write.PRS letter write.ICVB be.NEG
 'Are you writing a letter? No, I am not.'
 b. *čay gotto? got'-om!*
 tee pour-PRS pour-PROH
 'Should (I) pour (you) tea? No, do not pour!'
 c. *me-zo aλ-a iškola goŧ=e? goŧ*
 you.SG.OBL-GEN2 village-IN school be=Q be
 'Is there a school in your village? There is.' (N)

- d. *“ha, Ø-iči-yo gom=e me”=λen eλi-n*
 hey I-stop-ICVB be.NEG=Q you.SG.ERG=QUOT say-UWPST
“ešer-mez?” “Ø-iči-yo gom”=λen eλi-n
 ask-PURP.NEG I-stop-ICVB be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘Hey, you do not stop asking?’ (she) said. ‘(I) will not stop,’ (he) said.’ (N)

Another possibility is to use only the particles *aha* ‘yes’ or *oʔo* ‘no’, but such short answers are not very common (1384). In affirmative answers, it is also possible to use the particle *heλ’e* ‘right’.

- (1384) *hay λemo gom=e toho λ’ere? aha.*
 there stairway be.NEG=Q there upwards yes
 ‘Is there not a bridge upwards? Yes.’ (S)

The particles can also be combined with the respective verb forms in order to have a full answer (1385a, 1385b).

- (1385) a. *iškola-de r-oλλo=bito r-iži-ye? aha, r-iži-š.*
 school-ALOC V-in.the.middle=TRANS V-take-Q yes V-take-PST
 ‘Did you take (the way) through in the middle of the school? Yes, (I) took it.’ (S)
- b. *“debe r-ič’-iš gom=e?”=λen eλi-n. “oʔo,*
 you.SG.GEN1 V-fill.up-RES be.NEG=Q=QUOT say-UWPST no
r-ič’-iš gom”=λen eλi-n haytu boc’-i
 V-fill.up-RES be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST that.OBL wolf.OBL-ERG
 “‘Is your (belly) not filled?’ (the fox) said. ‘No, it is not filled,’ said the wolf.’ (N)

As can be seen in (1385b) and (1386b), answering ‘no’ (plus a negative verb form) to the polar question with negative polarity confirms the supposition, which the speaker expresses with the question, i.e. that a certain situation does not obtain. If, in contrast, the answer is *aha* ‘yes’, then the supposition of the speaker is rejected (1386c). But note that short answers consisting only of the particle are clearly uncommon. They may easily be misunderstood.

- (1386) a. *me šahali-do y-iλ’i-yo gom=e?*
 you.SG town.IN-DIR II-go-ICVB be-NEG=Q
 ‘You (fem.) are not going to the town?’
- b. *y-iλ’i-yo gom /gom /oʔo*
 II-go-ICVB be.NEG / be.NEG / no

‘I (fem.) am not going.’ or ‘No.’ (= the speaker is not going to the town)

c. *y-iλ'i-yo / aha*

II-go-PRS / yes

‘I (fem.) go.’ or ‘Yes.’ (= the speaker goes to the town)

The first element of a compound verb can be left out in the answer, leaving only the light verb in the answer.

(1387) a. *razi Ø-iq-iyē Šamil?*

content I-be-Q Šamil

‘Did Šamil agree?’

b. *Ø-iq-iš*

I-be-PST

‘(He) agreed.’

c. *Ø-iq-iš-me*

I-be-PST-NEG

‘(He) did not agree.’

Alternative polar questions can be expressed by formulating two (or more) clauses each containing an Interrogative enclitic (1388a). It is also possible to combine the clauses or just two (or more) constituents by a disjunction (1388b, 1388c), e.g. the Avar loan *yagi* ‘or’ (see Sections 19.2.2 and 19.3.2 for more information on disjunctions). In both examples the illocutionary force is only expressed by the intonation.

(1388) a. *Šamil-i kayat=e caxxo t'ek=e t'ot'er-ho? Šamil-i*

Šamil-ERG letter=Q write.ICVB book=Q read-PRS Šamil-ERG

kayat-be=n caxxo t'ek=no t'ot'er-ho

letter-PL=and write.ICVB book=and read-PRS

‘Is Šamil writing a letter or reading a book? Šamil is writing letters and reading a book.’

b. *haw žiqu y-aq'e yagi y-aq'e-me?*

she today II-come or II-come-NEG

‘Will she come today or not?’

c. *Derbent-λ'o yagi Maħačqala-λ'o y-iči-yo haw?*

Derbent-SPR or Makhachkala-SPR II-be-PRS she

‘Does she live in Derbent or in Makhachkala?’

- d. *Derbent-λ'o y-iči-yo.* / *Derbent-λ'o*
 Derbent-SPR II-be-PRS / Derbent-SPR
 '(She) lives in Derbent.' or 'In Derbent.'

28.3. WH-questions

WH-questions (=content questions, constituent questions, parametric questions) use interrogative pronouns (Section 5.5). The phrase containing the interrogative pronoun is usually either in preverbal position (1389a) or in clause-initial position (1389b), or occasionally in another position (1398c). It can never follow the verb (1389c). Again, the word order is predominantly verb-final, but other orders are also grammatical (see Section 29.3.1 for more information on the word order in WH-questions and the pragmatics related to different word orders).

- (1389) a. *di ked ni xece-y meži?*
 I.GEN1 daughter where let-Q you.PL.ERG
 'Where did you leave my daughter?' (N)
- b. *se goł xabar?*
 what be story
 'What is the news?' (N)
- c. **Madinay r-ux-i se?*
 Madina-ERG V-take-Q what
 (What did Madina buy?)

In short WH-questions representing copula constructions the copula is omitted (1390a, 1390b), especially in formulaic expressions such as (*Debe se hal?* 'How are you?'). In this case the question word may also occur in clause-final position (1390b).

- (1390) a. *ni debe xoddo?*
 where you.SG.GEN1 husband
 'Where is your husband?' (N)
- b. *ec'endiyu xabar se?*
 new story what
 'What is the news?' (N)

WH-questions can contain the Interrogative enclitic on a contrasted constituent, but it is less frequently used than in polar questions (1391a). In questions headed by a verb form with the evidentiality value 'neutral' is the use of Interrogative suffix on the verb is obligatory (1391b).

- (1391) a. *ni heλ'e hag=e?*
 where therefore that=Q
 'Where is THAT then?' (N)
- b. *me ĩne-z hadi-do nox-i?*
 you.SG what.OBL-DAT here-DIR come-Q
 'Why did you come here?' (N)

In WH-questions any constituent can be questioned, whether argument or modifier. Only verbs are excluded from this rule. The following examples illustrate various possibilities. In (1392), the Ergative argument is questioned:

- (1392) *ĭu-y huł q'w at'-ma Madina-go-r k'oħlo toλ-i?*
 who-ERG yesterday street-IN Madina-AT-LAT ball give-Q
 'Who gave the ball to Madina yesterday on the street?'

The Absolutive argument can be questioned. This can be S (1393a), P (1393b), or the stimulus of an experiencer verb (1393c).

- (1393) a. *se r-iq-i?*
 what v-happen-Q
 'What happen?' (N)
- b. *se Šamil-i toλ-i Madina-go-r huł q'w at'-ma?*
 what Šamil-ERG give-Q Madina-AT-LAT yesterday street-IN
 'What did Šamil give to Madina yesterday on the street?'
- c. *se devez diqo-s r-eti-š goł?*
 what you.SG.DAT I.AT-ABL1 v-want-RES be
 'What do you want from me?' (N)

Non-core arguments and non-canonical agents can be questioned, e.g. the recipient in the AT-Lative (1394a) or the potential agent marked with the AT-Essive case (1394b).

- (1394) a. *ĭu-go-r Šamil-i huł q'w at'-ma k'oħlo toλ-i?*
 who-AT-LAT Šamil-ERG yesterday street-IN ball give-Q
 'To whom did Šamil give the ball yesterday on the street?'
- b. *mežuł ĭu-go keč' qaħe-ł-o?*
 you.PL.CONT who-AT song sing-POT-PRS
 'Who among you can sing a song?'

The spatial adjunct is questioned:

- (1395) *me ni zoq'w e-y?*
 you.SG where be-Q
 'Where have you been?' (N)

The temporal adjunct is questioned:

- (1396) *nete Šamil-i Madina-qo-r k'oħlo toħ-i?*
 when Shamil-ERG Madina-AT-LAT ball give-Q
 'When did Shamil give the ball to Madina?'

In a comparative construction, which consists of the comparee in the Absolutive and the standard of comparison in the ALOC-Lative case, both referents can be easily questioned since the case marking on the arguments indicates the roles (1397b, 1397c).

- (1397) a. *Maħama ħali-de-r Ø-²eħi goħ*
 Mahama Ali-ALOC-LAT I-old be
 'Mahama is older than Ali.'
- b. *ħu-de-r Maħama Ø-²eħi goħ? ħali-de-r.*
 who-ALOC-LAT Mahama I-old be Ali-ALOC-LAT
 'Mahama is older than who? Than Ali.'
- c. *ħu ħali-de-r Ø-²eħi goħ? Maħama*
 who Ali-ALOC-LAT I-old be Mahama
 'Who is older than Ali? Mahama.'

Further examples of different types of parametric questions are given in (1398a, 1398b, 1398c), and in the section on interrogative pronouns (Section 5.5).

- (1398) a. *somo sapar b-u:y me*
 how.much journey(III) III-do-Q you.SG.ERG
Maħačqala-ħ'o-r?
 Makhachkala-SPR-LAT
 'How often did you travel to Makhachkala?' (N)
- b. *dessu ħ'er beħ'-es zeq'w e-y?*
 which color sheep-GEN1 be-Q
 'Which color were the sheep?' (N)
- c. *me sira san=gen Ø-iš-o gom?*
 you.SG why one.OBL=at.least I-eat-ICVB be.NEG
 'Why do you (masc.) never eat?' (N)

It is also possible to question for noun phrases of Genitive phrases. Questions like ‘Whose X is that?’ or ‘Whose is that X?’ asking for the owner or family origin usually lack a copula, and the question word *ti* appears at the end of the verbless clause (1399a, 1399b).

- (1399) a. *hado uži ti, iyo?*
 this son whose mother
 ‘Whose son is this, mother?’ (N)
- b. *“had ʔomokil-be [haze-λ'o-r λ'ere goʔa] q'ay=no*
 these camel.OBL-PL they.OBL-SPR-LAT on be.PTCP thing=and
ti?”=λen. “ti r-ič-a r-aq'o?”
 whose=QUOT whose NHPL-be-INF NHPL-must-PRS
 “‘These camels and the things on them, whose are they?’ ‘Whose
 must they be?’” (N)
- c. *ʔuzo uži: b-eλe-me moči?*
 who.GEN2 son.ERG III-plough-NEG field(III)
 ‘Whose son did not plough the field?’

Other constituents of noun phrases can also be questioned. The following examples illustrate a questioned adjective (1400a) and a questioned cardinal numeral (1400b).

- (1400) a. *q'uya nišʔa essu λex^we-y elu-s?*
 other who brother remain-Q we.OBL-GEN1
 ‘Which other brother remained of ours?’ (N)
- b. *somo λoči b-aši-y?*
 how.much frog(III) III-find-Q
 ‘How many frogs did they find?’ (S)

In a conjoined noun phrase it is possible to question only one of the conjunctions:

- (1401) a. *me [xu=n r-ac'-no] q'^wiya=gozon se?*
 you.SG.ERG meat(V)=and V-eat-CVB other=ADD what
 ‘You ate meat and what else?’
- b. *Madina=n ʔu=n x^winza-do? b-iλ-i?*
 Madina=and who=and mountain.PL.IN-DIR HPL-go-Q
 ‘Madina and who went to the mountains?’

In a postpositional phrase the case marked constituent can be questioned:

- (1402) *ʔineλ geʔ goʔ k'et'u?*
 what.SUB under be cat
 'Under what is the cat?'

Although not attested in my corpus, it is in principle possible to question constituents of subordinate clauses. However, if the main clause has the evidentiality value 'neutral', then the verb in the main clause must appear with the Interrogative enclitic and not in the assertive form (1403a, 1403c, 1403d), although the situation denoted in the main clause is presupposed and the scope of the WH-word refers only to a referent in the subordinate clause. (1403a) illustrates a relative clause containing a WH-word, (1403b, 1403c) complement clauses, and (1403d, 1403e) adverbial clauses.

- (1403) a. [*iyo-y ʔu-qo-r toλλo goʔa*] *ʔiy y-oč'č'u*
 mother-ERG who-AT-LAT give.ICVB be.PTCP milk(IV) IV-cold
zoq^we-y?
 be-Q
 'Who was it that the mother gave cold milk?'
- b. *Maħama [se geg^w-ayaz] Ø-uλλo?*
 Mahama what lose-PURP.NEG I-be.afraid.PRS
 'What is Mahama afraid to lose?'
- c. *se Madina-z [k'ilik'-mez xec-a] r-eti-ye?*
 what Madina-DAT wash-PURP.NEG let-INF V-want-Q
 'What did Madina not like to wash?'
- d. [*se ħadur r-u-n ʔaq'e-γλ'or*] *Madina idu y-ič-a*
 what prepared V-do-CVB finish-POST Madina(II) home II-be-INF
y-aq'-o zoq^we-y?
 II-must-ICVB be-Q
 'Madina must stay at home until she finishes preparing what?'
- e. [*ʔu-z ʔeno r-aši-yo*] *iyo-obu razi b-iqqo?*
 who-DAT five V-get-COND mother-father happy HPL-happen.PRS
 'If who gets a five, the parents are happy?'

WH-questions may contain more than one WH-word. The first WH-word refers to the context, i.e. in a situation where the human referent is topical and currently at the center of the conversation (e.g. in front of a group of people), a question like (1404a) can be used. In contrast, when inanimate referents are of interest (e.g. in front of a mass of objects), a question like (1404b) is appropriate. Since human referents are usually more topical, WH-words referring to humans mostly precede WH-words with a non-human/inanimate referent (1404c)

- (1404) a. *ʔu-z se r-eti-yo?*
 who-DAT what V-want-PRS
 ‘Who wants what?’
- b. *se ʔu-z r-eti-yo?*
 what who-DAT V-want-PRS
 ‘Who wants what?’
- c. *ʔu nišʔa etaž-ma Ø-iči-yo?*
 who which floor-IN I-be-PRS
 ‘Who lives on which floor?’

When both WH-words have inanimate referents, it is again pragmatics that determines the word order: WH-words referring to potential topics occur in first position.

- (1405) a. [The books are the topic of the conversation.]
nišʔa t'ek nete me t'ot'er-i?
 which book when you.SG.ERG read-Q
 ‘Which (of these) books did you read when?’
- b. [Points in time are the topic of the conversation.]
nete nišʔa t'ek me t'ot'er-i?
 when which book you.SG.ERG read-Q
 ‘When did you read which (of these) books?’

WH-words cannot constitute the nucleus of a relative clause, because the nucleus of a relative clause is topical and WH-words constitute the focus of the clause (1406a). Therefore, a dummy noun that refers to the WH-word must be added as the nucleus (1406b).

- (1406) a. **[ʔac-mo-ʔo t'eq' b-ik'-ʔ'os] ʔu ʔoʔ?*
 door-OBL-AT knock(III) III-beat-HAB who be
 (Who is it that knocks at the door?)
- b. *[ʔac-mo-ʔo t'eq' b-ik'-ʔ'os] rek''we ʔu ʔoʔ?*
 door-OBL-AT knock(III) III-beat-HAB man who be
 ‘Who is the person who knocks at the door?’

28.4. Subordinate questions and questions in reported speech

There is no special means for expressing subordinate polar questions. Instead, the conditional converb is used.

- (1407) *b-ez-an* [hay^htuy uborka *b-u-n*
 HPL-look-INTFUT she.ERG cleaning(III) III-do-CVB
b-ese-yo]
 III-be.probable-COND
 ‘We will see whether she has done the housework.’

Complement clauses can contain subordinate WH-questions. In contrast to clauses where a constituent of a complement clause is questioned, these sentences are assertions, and the question is indirect. The intonation is that of an assertion, and on the verb of the main clause no Interrogative enclitic appears. Compare (1408a) with (1408b): both examples strongly resemble each other since the complement in each of the sentences contains a WH-pronoun, but the verb forms of the main clauses vary. In (1408a) the verb in the main clause bears an Interrogative enclitic, and the whole sentence represents a question. In contrast, the verb in (1408b) appears in the assertive form since the sentence is an assertion.

- (1408) a. *ioy-z* *r-eq'i-ye* [Madina-y *se* *r-uxi-š-ti]*?
 mother-DAT V-know-Q Madina-ERG what V-buy-RES-ABST
 ‘Did the mother know what Madina bought?’
 b. *Šamil-ez* *r-eq'i-š* [ti *mexer* *c'oholi:*
 Šamil-DAT V-know-PST whose money(III) thief.ERG
b-ik'ek'-iš-ti]
 III-steal-RES-ABST
 ‘Šamil knew whose money the thief stole.’

Reported speech constructions do not represent genuine subordination (see Chapter 23 for more information on reported speech). In reported speech, polar questions, but also WH-questions, are possible. The quote has basically the properties of a main clause, but it is additionally marked with the Quotative enclitic =*χen* and sometimes additionally with the Narrative converb of the verb *eχi-* ‘say’ (1409c). Example (1409a) illustrates a polar questions where the verb heading the quote is in the Simple Past carrying the Interrogative suffix; and in (1409b) the Interrogative enclitic is attached to a verb in the Unwitnessed Past. The quote in (1409c) represents a WH-question lacking an Interrogative marker.

- (1409) a. “*waħ, obu, me* *ƶadal.iq-i*”=*χen* *eχi-yo*
 wow father you.SG become.stupid.I-Q=QUOT say-PRS
 “*wasiyat* *b-uw-ayaz?*”
 testament(III) III-do-PURP

“‘Wow, father, have you become stupid to make (your) testament?’
(he) says.’ (N)

- b. *xan-i ked-go eser-no “ked, devez*
khan-ERG daughter-AT ask-UWPST daughter you.SG.DAT
bikor-ho y-iλ'-a Ø-eti-n=e?”=λen
snake.OBL-ILOC II-go-INF I-want-UWPST=Q=QUOT
‘The khan asked his daughter “Girl, do you want to marry the snake?”’
(N)
- c. *hało-y eλi-yo “somo mazhab goł?”=λen eλi-n.*
he.OBL-ERG say-PRS how.many way be=QUOT say-CVB
hało-y eλi-yo “uq'ino”=λen eλi-n
he.OBL-ERG say-PRS four=QUOT say-CVB
‘He says “How many ways (of the Islam) are there?” He says “Four.”’
(N)

Occasionally reported speech constructions lack a verb of speech and only the Quotative enclitic indicates that the preceding clause is in fact a quote and not just a normal main clause (1410). Note also that in this example a deictic shift occurs since the original question of the khan was directed to his daughter (‘What happened to you?’), but the quote contains a third person demonstrative pronoun. In contrast, in (1409b) no such deictic shift occurs and the quote contains a second person personal pronoun. Having a second person pronoun in the reported speech which refers to the addressee (1409b) is generally preferred over coding the addressee with a demonstrative pronoun (1410). For a more detailed account of reported speech see Chapter 23.

- (1410) [*duri b-u:n] k'oλ-o hado xan ked-de-r*
acceleration(III) III-do-CVB run-PRS this khan daughter-ALOC-LAT
“se haytu-z r-iq-i?”=λen
what she.OBL-DAT V-happen-Q=QUOT
‘The khan runs fast to his daughter (and asks) “What happened to her?”’
(N)

28.5. Rebuttals and affirmations

A rebuttal is like an answer to a question in that it minimally repeats the verb or the auxiliary in case of periphrastic verbal forms (1411a). It also reverses the polarity. But just like answers to questions it can also be a full clause, occasionally accompanied by the negative particle *o?o* ‘no’ (1411b).

- (1411) a. “*de y-uλ'er-ayaz nox-iš goł me*”=λen eλi-n.
 I II-frighten-PURP come-RES be you.SG=QUOT say-UWPST
 “*gome, gome*”=λen eλi-n
 be.NEG be.NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
 “‘You came in order to frighten me.’ she said. ‘No, no.’ they said.’
 (N)
- b. “*b-ix, b-eze zok'da!*” “*o?o, me b-ix!*”=λen
 III-get.up III-look bunker.IN no you.SG III-get.up=QUOT
 “‘Get up and look in the bunker!’ ‘No, you get up!’” (N)

Similarly, an affirmation indicating agreement with what the speaker has said repeats either the entire clause or just its verb, or it consist only of the affirmative particle *aha* ‘yes’ (1412).

- (1412) “*me ?adlu-λ'o uži Ø-iči-r-o!*”=λen “*aha*”=λen
 you.SG.ERG discipline-SPR boy(I) I-be-CAUS-IMP=QUOT yes=QUOT
 eλi-n
 say-UWPST
 “‘You look after the boy!’ ‘Yes.’ she said.’ (N)

Chapter 29

Information structure

29.1. Introduction

The central notions of information structure used in this chapter are ‘topic’ and ‘focus’ as understood by Lambrecht (1994). He defines ‘topic’ as “the thing which the proposition expressed by the sentence is ABOUT” (Lambrecht 1994: 118). ‘Focus’, in Lambrecht’s terms, is “the element of information whereby the presupposition and the assertion differ from each other [...]. It is the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance.”

Since in Hinuq word order is heavily influenced by information structure, this chapter starts with the analysis of how topic and focus are expressed via word order (Section 29.2). The three major focus types, i.e. predicate focus (topic-comment sentences), argument focus (identificational sentences), and sentence focus (thetic sentences), are treated. This section also includes left and right dislocation and cleft-like constructions. In Section 29.3 the information structure of interrogative clauses and in question-answer pairs is described. Section 29.4 briefly examines enclitics and two other constructions that manipulate the information structure. Some more information on the interplay of word order and information structure as well as on particles with an certain impact on the information structure in Hinuq and other Nakh-Daghestanian languages can be found in Belyaev & Forker (In preparation).

29.2. Word order in declarative main clauses

The most frequent word order in main transitive clauses with two overt arguments is APV, but Hinuq also admits all the other five logical possibilities. In my corpus word orders can be arranged according to their frequency with APV>AVP>PVA>VAP/PAV>VPA. There is a strong tendency for the agent to precede the patient and the verb. The two most frequent word orders APV and AVP are at the same time the most neutral, unmarked options without any clear function regarding information structure. Patients in clause-initial position (PVA, PAV) are often contrastive topics or other extremely salient topics. In intransitive clauses SV is more frequent than VS. SV is the neutral word order whereas VS is associated with a certain pragmatic value (Section 29.2.8.2). For more general information on word order see also Chapter 27.

29.2.1. Unmarked word orders

APV is by far the most frequent word order for transitive clauses, but AVP is also quite frequent. Both orders seem to have a neutral information structural value, i.e. none of the arguments is particularly emphasized. Thus, both word orders are used for the unmarked subject-predicate sentence type in which the subject (plus any other topical element) is the topic and the predicate is focused ('topic-comment sentences' or 'predicate-focus structure'). Cross-linguistically, it is well known that there is a strong correlation between topic and 'subject'. That is, in the absence of any contrary indications, the subject of a sentence will be interpreted as its topic and the predicate as a comment about this topic. In (1413a, 1413b) the topic (agent) is an unaccented pronoun; it may even be omitted. The accent falls on the last word of the predicate which is an auxiliary in both examples.

- (1413) a. [What is your brother doing right now?]
[hayloy]^{TOP} kayat caxxo goʔ
 he.ERG letter write.ICVB be
 'He is writing a letter.'
- b. [Malla Nasrudin beat the donkey]
hoboy [haʔu-y]^{TOP} gotto zoq'e-n mecxer
 then this.obl-erg pour.icvb be-uwpst money
 'Then it poured money.' (N)

29.2.2. Patient focus

New referents, especially inanimate referents, are often introduced as patients into the discourse. In such cases, APV word order is possible (1414a). See for instance Du Bois (1987), who notes that objects are the preferred grammatical role for introducing new discourse referents. The tendency observed by Du Bois to introduce new referents as patients (or single arguments of intransitive verbs) rather than as agents has been confirmed for Hinuq narratives by Forker (2007). But since APV is the neutral word order, it is not associated with patient focus. Thus, for explicit patient focus PVA word order can be employed. Testelec (1998b) observes that other Daghestanian languages such as Archi also use PVA to put the patient in focus. In (1414b) the patient *karzinkabe* 'baskets' is introduced as a new referent into the story. The focalized patient in (1414c) is non-referential and contrasted with the wife, who the man lost. At the same time the agents in the examples below are topics, and are therefore expressed as pronouns.

- (1414) a. [Two persons are meeting, one is suggesting to the other:]
[debez de]^{TOP} [lataxu]^{FOC} neλ-an, [me diž]^{TOP}
 you.SG.DAT I.ERG lataxa give-INTFUT you.SG.ERG I.DAT
[č'adi]^{FOC} neλ!
 flat.cake give
 'I'll give you LATAXA, you give me Č'ADI!' (N)
- b. [A man stood on a tree gathering pears.]
[karzinka-be]^{FOC} r-ič'-iš hayłoy
 basket-PL NHPL-fill-PST he.ERG
 'He filled BASKETS.' (S)
- c. *[t'ok'aw aqili=n]^{FOC} y-iq'e-n gom hałoy-y*
 more woman(II)=and II-bring-CVB be.NEG he.OBL-ERG
 'And he did not marry ANY OTHER WOMAN.' (N)

However, occasionally the patient in a clause with PVA can be a topic. For instance, the patient in (1415a) was the topic of previous clauses, but the clauses immediately preceding (1415a) are about other people, so the sentence-initial pronoun newly activates a previous topic that was inactive for some time. In addition, contrasted topics occur sentence-initially, which is true not only when the contrasted topics are patients (1415b), but also for other contrasted topics (1414a).

- (1415) a. *[haw]^{TOP} y-ike-n q'wiya aqila-z*
 she II-see-UWPST other woman.OBL.PL-DAT
 'The other women saw her.' (N)
- b. [The end of a story about a wolf and a fox.]
[boc'e]^{TOP} b-uher-ho hayłoy. [zeru sihirawni]^{TOP} b-ox-o
 wolf(III) III-kill-PRS he.ERG fox(III) sly III-leave-PRS
 'He kills the wolf. The sly fox leaves.' (N)

Another possibility of focalizing the P is to put it in clause-final position. In this position it may be preceded by the topical agent, which leads to postverbal topic and focus and means that postverbal focus is not strictly verb-adjacent (1416a, 1416b). However, such a combination of topic and focus following the verb is rather rare, because, in general, it is not very common to have two noun phrases following the verb.

- (1416) a. *Ø-ežinnu uži-ž r-aš-a goł [hayło-z]^{TOP} [nasibaw*
 I-old son-DAT V-find-INF be he.OBL-DAT predestinated
žo]^{FOC}
 thing(V)
 ‘The oldest son will find the thing predestinated to him.’ (N)
- b. *sasaqo b-aq’-o [hadbe]^{TOP} [obu-de-r]^{FOC}*
 morning HPL-come-PRS they father-ALOC-LAT
 ‘In the morning they come to the father.’ (N)

29.2.3. Topicalizing the patient

Since there is already a strong correlation between ‘subject’ (i.e. A or S) and topic, there is usually no correlation between objects/patients (P) and topics. In other words, special constructions are needed to topicalize the patient. In order to code patients as topics, Hinuq often uses otherwise infrequent word orders and detachment constructions. PAV word order produces sentences like *Mary, I never saw*. In Hinuq, this word order is mainly used for highly topical referents such as first and second person pronouns (1417a) or otherwise topical referents as in (1417b) where the speaker shows a picture (= the topic) to the hearer. In contrast to other Daghestanian languages analyzed by Testelec (1998b), Hinuq does not seem to make special use of PAV word order to put the agent in focus.

- (1417) a. *[me]^{TOP} hayłoy Ø-ał’ir-iš*
 you.SG he.ERG I-betray-PST
 ‘He betrayed you (masc.).’ (N)
- b. [The son is showing a picture to the father. The father asks “Who made that?”]
“[haw]^{TOP} de b-iγ-iš goł”=λen eλi-n
 that I.ERG III-bring.out-RES be=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘As for that, I made it.’ (N)

Besides PAV constructions Givón distinguishes another type of detachment construction with a clause-initial patient, namely left dislocation (*Mary, I never saw her there*). The function of left dislocation is to code a not-yet-active topic referent in the form of a referring expression placed in a syntactically autonomous position to the left of the clause. In my Hinuq corpus, there are a few examples of left dislocation. The pronoun can have various functions in its clause: stimulus (1418b), A (1418a), P, oblique, adjunct, or it can even be a complement clause.

The case marking of the dislocated element is most often, though not always, Absolutive, regardless of the case marking of the *in situ* pronoun (which is ergative in (1418a)). The left-dislocated element may be a coordinated noun phrase such that only one of the conjuncts has an antecedent in the clause (1418b). There is often no clear accent on the left-dislocated element, and no pause between it and the clause.

- (1418) a. *[pulanaw hibago dibir]^{TOP} y^wedes de te-y-λ'o y-iλ'-aṭi,*
 certain that mullah daily I water-OBL-SPR II-go-SIM
hibayṭi maḏdik-ho igo de bito y-iλ'i-ya, neten diqo
 there mosque-ILOC near I there II-go-PTCP.LOC always I.AT
hayṭoy šaḷu y-ikko
 he.ERG whistle(IV) IV-beat.PRS
 'A certain mullah, daily when I go for water, when I pass there near
 the mosque, he always whistles at me.' (N)
- b. *se r-iq-i, [haw c'udduk'a gulu=no hago uži=n]^{TOP},*
 what V-happen-Q that red horse=and that boy(I)=and
xan-i Ø-ašir-no hago?
 khan-ERG I-catch-UWPST he
 'What happened, the red horse and the boy, did the khan catch him?'
 (N)

29.2.4. Right dislocation

Hinuq not only has left dislocation but also right dislocation. Right dislocation displays slightly different formal properties than left dislocation, and it serves a different function. Speakers use right dislocation when they assume that the referent is active (e.g. coded as a pronoun), but after a brief reflection (pause) change their mind and re-code the referent with a full lexical noun phrase. Right dislocation is far more common than left dislocation and occurs with various constituents, e.g. S (1419a), A (1419b), stimulus (1420b), P (1420a), beneficiary, adjunct (1419b), etc. Unlike in left dislocation, the intonational break in right dislocation is often quite prominent and clear; the construction is thus identifiable even without pronominal resumption. Also in contrast to left dislocation, the case marking of the right-dislocated element is always appropriate to the role of the pronoun or zero in the clause (1419b).

- (1419) a. *hoboži b-aq'e-n hagbe, [oḷno=n essu]^{TOP}*
 then HPL-come-UWPST they seven=and brother
 'Then they came, the seven brothers.' (N)

- b. *hoboži sasaqo-λ'o haw ked=no y-ac'-no*
 now in.the.morning-SPR that girl(II)=and II-eat-UWPST
haytu-y, [aždaħ-i]^{TOP} hoboy haw ked=ħun
 that.OBL-ERG dragon-ERG then that girl=as
b-iħi-n hayteħ, [xižina-ma]^{TOP}
 III-become-UWPST there hut-IN
 'In the morning it ate the girl, the dragon. Then it turned into that girl there, in the hut.' (N)

Contrary to Lambrecht (2001), the right-dislocated element can be separated from the clause by more than one clause boundary (1420a). Like left dislocation, right dislocation may consist of a coordinated noun phrase such that only one of the conjuncts is coreferential with an argument or adjunct in the clause. In right dislocation constructions, the resumptive element is often a full noun phrase and not a pronoun. This is typically encountered in afterthoughts extending the noun phrase encountered in the clause (1420b).

- (1420) a. *hibayru goħa haħo-y b-uħer-no haw, xemu=n*
 like.that be.PTCP he.OBL-ERG III-kill-UWPST that stone=and
caħi-n, [aq'we]^{TOP}
 throw-CVB mouse(III)
 'Being like this, he killed it, throwing a stone, the mouse.' (N)
- b. *debez b-eti di mus b-et'er-no, [hes mus=no*
 you.SG.DAT III-want I.GEN I hair(III) III-tear-CVB one hair=and
di-žo ħ'oq'wa-s]^{TOP}?
 I.OBL-GEN2 forehead.OBL-GEN I
 'Dou you want a hair from me, one hair from my forehead?' (N)

29.2.5. Clause-initial position of the verbal complex

In practice, the word order in verb-initial clauses is always VAP. Of sentences with VPA word order, though possible, I did not find clear examples in my corpus.¹⁴⁵ Testelec (1998b) claims that in Daghestanian languages verb-initial clauses are contrastive and occur if the action denoted by the relevant verb is contrasted with some other action. In fact, there seem to be a few such cases in my corpus where predicates are contrastive and thus occur clause-initially, e.g. in (1421a) two actions (reading and knowing) are contrasted with each other. Both

¹⁴⁵There may well be one or two such examples, but the only VAP-like sentence that I came across seems to be rather a right detachment construction.

actions have already been topics of the preceding discourse. Example (1421b) is similar, but here cleft constructions have been used.

- (1421) a. [In contrast to what had been claimed about a man:]
haq'iq'atalda t'ot'er-ho zoq'we-s haytoy č'egen amma
 really read-ICVB be-PST he.ERG Koran(IV) but
y-eq'i-yo zoq'we-n gom
 IV-know-ICVB be-UWPST be.NEG
 'In reality he read the Koran, but he did not know it.' (N)
- b. [*q'idi Ø-iči-yo goła*] *Mahama goł*, [*Ø-iči-ru Ø-iči-yo goła*] *ʔali (goł)*
 down I-be-ICVB be.PTCP Mahama(I) be I-be-PTCP.PST I-be-ICVB
 be.PTCP Ali(I) (be)
 'The one who is sitting is Mahama; the one who is standing is Ali.'

However, the majority of the few VAP clauses that occur in my corpus do not encode contrastive predicates but seem to background A and/or P (1422a, 1422b).

- (1422) a. [A man collects pears, having climbed a tree.]
b-ut'e-s haytoy haw
 III-collect-PST he.ERG that
 'He collected it.' (S)
- b. [A story about a man who had lots of lice on his body:]
y-iq'e-n haytoy baru
 II-bring-UWPST he.ERG wife(II)
 'He took a wife.' (N)

29.2.6. Heavy constituents in clause final position

Heavy constituents are often placed to the right end of the clause. This applies not only to arguments (1423a) but also to adjuncts (1423b). These constituents can be newly introduced and therefore be focal (1423a), or topical (1423b).

- (1423) a. *hało-y y-iq'e-n [maduhalti-go-s=tow*
 he.OBL-ERG II-bring-UWPST neighbourhood-AT-ABL1=EMPH
y-edo:-ħ'os ʔadlu tadbir gołiś ʔagarłi-ś aqili]
 II-work-HAB discipline education be.CVB relatives-GEN1 woman
 'He married a relative woman from the neighborhood with discipline and education, who was used to work.' (N)

- b. *hibaytu q'ayda-χ'o Ø-ihī:-ho hado uži [hayto*
 that.OBL method-SPR I-fight-PRS this boy(I) that.OBL
xan-i-žo armi-de dandi]
 khan-OBL-GEN2 army-ALOC against
 'In that manner the boy fights against the army of that khan.' (N)

29.2.7. Dislocating the auxiliary

In periphrastic verbal forms, the auxiliary mostly follows the lexical verb. However, it is possible to manipulate the information structure of a sentence by means of an auxiliary that is positioned right after an emphasized constituent. All authors that have analyzed such constructions for other Daghestanian languages conclude that the referent immediately preceding the auxiliary is necessarily in focus (cf. Testelec (1998b) on Archi and Chamalal, Kazenin (2001b) on Bagvalal, Kazenin (1999) on Tsakhur, Testelec (1998a) on Godoberi, Kalinina & Sumbatova (2007) Icarī Dargwa, etc.). Kazenin (2002), who looks at Lak and Avar, proposes to analyze these constructions as clefts because the lexical verb must occur in the same participle form that is also employed for relative clauses.

Yet for Hinuq the focus-construction approach seems to be too simplistic. In Hinuq the lexical verb in these constructions is often a participle, but occasionally also a converb, since both participles and converbs are used in periphrastic verbal forms. Dislocated auxiliaries have two basic functions: (i) they express contrast, and (ii) they emphasize a highly topical referent. Both functions will be looked at in more detail now.

29.2.7.1. Focus and contrastive focus

Dislocated auxiliaries can express simple and contrastive focus of arguments and modifiers. Usually the focused constituents do not become topics afterwards; they are just introduced in the clause containing the dislocated auxiliary. In my corpus dislocated auxiliaries predominantly follow locative modifiers that are simply emphasized (1424a-1424c) and sometimes also contrasted (1424d).

- (1424) a. *[raʔalʔi-χ'o]^{FOC} zoq'w e-n r-u:-s hag saq'dari*
 edge-SPR be-UWPST V-do-RES that church(V)
 'It was AT THE EDGE (of the village) that the church had been built.' (N)
- b. *[seda xozyaystwo-ʔ]^{FOC} zoq'w e-s b-iči-yo ʔono uq'ino-ho*
 one.OBL household-CONT be-PST HPL-be-ICVB three four-ILOC
 'IN ONE HOUSEHOLD lived three, four households.' (N)

- c. *[pureɫ=bito]^{FOC} zoq'e-s y-iλ'i-yo*
 near=TRANS be-PST II-go-ICVB
 'It was NEAR BY that she came.' (S)
- d. *čas eli, počti q'ono quno oc'eno=če xozyaystwo*
 part we.GEN1 almost two twenty ten=EQ household(HPL)
[Kizlyarskij rayon-ma]^{FOC} goɫ guč'in.b.iq-no, čas [hateɫ]^{FOC} goɫ
 kizlyar district-IN be move.HPL-CVB part here be
λex^we-s
 remain-PST
 'A part from our (people), almost 50 households moved to the KIZ-
 LJAR DISTRICT, a part stayed HERE.' (N)

Besides locatives other modifiers may also be emphasized by means of a following auxiliary, e.g. in (1425a) a kind of infinitival complement verb and in (1425b) a complement of a verb of speech are highlighted.

- (1425) a. *de [perežiwatsya]^{FOC} zoq'e-s y-iq-o*
 I worry be-PST II-happen-ICVB
 'I (fem.) was WORRYING.' (N)
- b. *[“grammotnejši dom sowet”=λen]^{FOC} zoq'e-s hayɫo-qo-r*
 most.educated house soviet=QUOT be-PST he.OBL-AT-LAT
eλi-λ'os
 say-HAB
 'It was “the most educated house of the soviet” that they called his
 house (lit. him).' (N)

Dislocated auxiliaries can of course also be used to introduce focused core arguments such as S (1426a), A, and P (1426b, 1426c). It seems that patients occur more frequently in this construction than S or A arguments.

- (1426) a. *[sadaq ahlu]^{FOC} zoq'^we-s sot'i bak'arzi b-iq-iš*
 all folk be-PST around collect HPL-be-RES
 'ALL PEOPLE had been united around.' (N)
- b. *hayɫoy [kedbi]^{FOC} zoq'e-n b-ik'ekko. [ɣoriš-be]^{FOC}*
 he.ERG girl.PL be-UWPST HPL-steal.ICVB cow.PL
zoq'e-n r-ik'ekko
 be-UWPST NHPL-steal.ICVB
 'It was GIRLS that he stole. It was COWS that he stole.' (N)
- c. *hayɫu-z [ʔuraw žo]^{FOC} zoq'^we-n r-eq'i-yo*
 she.OBL-DAT many thing(V) be-UWPST V-know-ICVB
 'She knew MANY THINGS.' (N)

29.2.7.2. *Dislocated auxiliaries as topicalizing devices*

The expression preceded by the dislocated auxiliary is not necessarily newly introduced and thus in focus. More often it is a highly topical referent that had been introduced into the discourse in the immediately preceding clause or it was already the topic of a number of clauses in the preceding discourse. It can also be a contrastive topic. In other words, dislocated auxiliaries often follow clause-initially occurring topics, which can of course be contrastive (1427a), or just simple topics (1427b, 1427c). In all following examples dislocated auxiliaries occur right after typical presentational sentences used for the beginning of stories.

- (1427) a. *hes zoq'w e-n xoddo=n baru=n. [xoddo]^{TOP} zoq'w e-n*
 one be-UWPST husband=and wife=and husband(1) be-UWPST
Ø-edo:-z Ø-eti-š halt'i-go Ø-ay^wi-me-λ'os,
 I-work-PURP I-want-RES work-AT I-eat.one's.fill-NEG-HAB
[baru]^{TOP} zoq'w e-n k'^waħalaw
 wife be-UWPST lazy
 'As for the husband, he loved to work, and could not work enough to be satisfied, but the woman was lazy.' (N)
- b. *hes zoq'e-n rek'u. [haytoy]^{TOP} zoq'e-n b-utto*
 one be-UWPST man he.ERG be-UWPST III-collect.ICVB
geni
 pear(III)
 'There was one man. He was gathering pears.' (S)
- c. *haytu aħ-a goł hes xan, [hago=n]^{TOP} goł r-iħħo*
 that.OBL village-IN be one khan he=and be V-ache.ICVB
 'In that village there is a khan, and he is ill.' (N)

But dislocated auxiliaries do not only highlight newly introduced topics. Other topics such as first and second person pronouns (1428b) or contrastive topics (1428c) are also marked with this construction. Note that usually in this construction the linear order of auxiliary and lexical verb is reversed, i.e. the auxiliary is located somewhere before the lexical verb. Only in (1428b) the linear order of auxiliary and lexical verb is the usual one (that is, the lexical verb precedes the auxiliary), but both verbs are interrupted.

- (1428) a. *[eli xalq'i]^{TOP} goł²aši t'ot'er-iš*
 we.GEN1 people be much read-RES
 'As for our people, they have studied a lot.' (N)

- b. *hayɔ-z kumak b-u:-ho [de=n]^{TOP} zoq 'we-s*
 he.OBL-DAT help(III) III-do-ICVB I.ERG=and be-PST
 ‘And I helped him.’ (N)
- c. *hayi žo, [hayru]^{TOP} gom hag r-iq-iš*
 such thing(V) so be.NEG that V-happen-RES
 ‘Such a thing, it was not so, that it happened.’ (N)

29.2.8. Sentence-focus structure (thetic sentences)

Thetic utterances are simple assertions: the entire situation is asserted as a whole without distinguishing an argument or a predicate. They are contextually relatively independent and can be felicitously uttered out of the blue. Lambrecht (1994) takes as definitional criterion the non-topic marking of the subject. The focus extends over both the subject and the predicate (minus any topical non-subject elements). The following two subsections present different kinds of thetic sentences.

29.2.8.1. Event-reporting and impersonal sentences

These sentences display the standard word order of intransitive sentences. There are no dummy subjects. The accent falls on the verb. Therefore, there is no structural difference between intransitive thetic and topic-comment sentences: they have the same word order and the same intonation.

- (1429) a. [What did you find out when you came to town yesterday?]
[xan Ø-uhe-n]^{FOC}
 khan(I) I-die-UWPST
 ‘The king died.’
- b. [Looking out of the window, seeing that the ground is wet.]
[qema r-aq'e-n]^{FOC}
 rain(V) V-come-UWPST
 ‘It rained.’

29.2.8.2. Presentational and existential sentences

Presentational and existential sentences introduce a (brand-new) animate referent into a discourse and make it available for subsequent predication (1430a,

1430b). Presentational sentences make use of indefinite or definite accented lexical noun phrases and a limited set of predicates. The predicates are mostly intransitive (e.g. ‘be’, ‘come’, ‘go by’, ‘live’, ‘arrive’, ‘appear’) and occasionally experiencer verbs (e.g. ‘meet’, ‘see’).

- (1430) a. *hayto-de-r* [*Ø-aq'-o* *Ø-eg^wey xexbe*]^{FOC}
 he.OBL-ALOC-LAT I-come-PRS I-small child(I)
 ‘A small child is coming to him.’ (S)
- b. *hezzo=gozon* [*b-oλλo* *huni kezi.b.iq-no* *boc'e*]^{FOC}
 back=TOP III-in.the.middle way.IN meet.III-UWPST wolf(III)
 ‘Then in the middle of the way (they) met a wolf.’ (N)

A common subtype of presentational sentences are existential sentences that assert the existence of some referent and have the copula as the only predicate. The following two clauses illustrate existential clauses as they are typically used in narrations.

- (1431) a. [*hes zoq'e-n* *rek^we*]^{FOC}
 one be-UWPST man
 ‘There was a man.’ (S)
- b. [*zeq^we-n=eλ* *zeq^we-n gom=eλ* *hes miskinaw* *Ø-²eži*
 be-UWPST=NARR be-UWPST be.NEG=NARR one poor I-old
očordiyu rek^we]^{FOC}
 old man(I)
 ‘Once there was an old, old poor man.’ (N)

In all sentences of the presentational type, including existential sentences, the new referent follows the verb (e.g. VS word order for intransitive presentational predicates). Locative and other adjuncts may precede or follow the verb. The numeral ‘one’ is often used to mark thematically important referents.

29.3. The information structure of interrogative clauses

Not all interrogative clauses have a peculiar marking. Those interrogative clauses that are headed by a verb form with past time reference and the evidentiality value ‘neutral’ must be marked with a special suffix (*-i*, *-y*, *-(y)e*, and *-iye*) attached to the stem of the predicate instead of the usual Simple Past suffix *-s* (1433a, 1433c). All other interrogative clauses may but do not have to have the Interrogative enclitic on the verb. Very rarely the Interrogative enclitic appears on another constituent which is not the verb (cf. 29.3.2)

29.3.1. WH-questions

The position of the WH-word in WH-questions depends on its semantic role. If the agent in a transitive clause or the subject of an intransitive clause is questioned, then the WH-word normally occurs clause-initially (1432a, 1432b).

- (1432) a. “*ʔu b-ʔeži-yo?*”=*ʔen eʔi-n*
 who HPL-win-PRS=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘Who wins?’ (N)
- b. *ʔu-y hibadu iši b-aq'er-iš goʔ hibaʔu ked-ez?*
 who-ERG this apple(III) III-bring-RES be this.OBL girl-DAT
 ‘Who has brought the apple to the girl?’ (N)

For all other semantic roles, the preverbal position, which seems to be a preferred focus position, is favored (1433a, 1433b, 1433c).

- (1433) a. *di-žo obu-y se ʔono eʔa suʔal devez*
 I.OBL-GEN2 father-ERG what three ORD question you.SG.DAT
neʔ-i?
 give-Q
 ‘What third question did my father give to you?’ (N)
- b. “*ʔu-z b-eti-yo*”=*ʔen eʔi-n “maymalak?”*
 who-DAT III-want-PRS=QUOT say-CVB monkey(III)
 ‘“Who wants a monkey?” he said.’ (N)
- c. “*haw=gon ʔine-z b-iq'e-y?*”=*ʔen eʔi-n*
 that=TOP what.OBL-DAT III-bring-Q=QUOT say-CVB
 ‘As for that, why did (you) bring it?’ (N)

But WH-words occur also in sentence-initial position (1434a), especially when they do not refer to S or A and have scope over the whole clause (1434b).

- (1434) a. *se me žiqu y^wede-r r-u:ho?*
 what you.SG.ERG today day-LAT V-do-PRS
 ‘What do you do today the whole day long?’ (N)
- b. *sira me k'al y-uxxo gom?*
 why you.SG.ERG fasting(IV) IV-keep.ICVB be.NEG
 ‘Why do you not fast?’ (N)

Very occasionally a WH-word is found in the middle of its clause as in (1435a) where the agent is topicalized. Testelec (1998b) reports for two other Daghestanian languages, Archi and Tabasaran, that those orders in transitive

WH-questions where the WH-phrase immediately follows the verb are ungrammatical. In fact, in my HInuq corpus there is no example at all where the verb precedes the WH-phrase and informants reject elicited examples as ungrammatical. Only in copula constructions lacking an overt verbal predicate does the WH-word occur in clause-final position (1435b).

- (1435) a. “*me sira biša r-u:y-me?*”=*λen eλi-n*
 you.SG.ERG why food(V) V-do-Q-NEG=QUOT say-UWPST
xoddo-y
 husband-ERG
 ‘‘As for you, why did you not prepare the food?’’ said the husband.’
 (N)
- b. *hag ĉurγan ĩi?*
 that headscarf whose
 ‘That headscarf, whose is it?’ (N)

In elliptical WH-questions where the focus is only on the WH-word because there is no other constituent, and in other WH-questions where only the WH-word is in focus, the Interrogative enclitic may appear on the WH-word (1436).

- (1436) *ĭu=ye?*
 who=Q
 ‘WHO?’ (N)

The position of the WH-word may influence the interpretations of the interrogative clause. For example, in (1437a) the WH word appears clause-initially and the spatial adjunct clause-finally. This question is preferred when standing in front of a group of children, i.e. the scope of the WH-word is restricted to a specific group of people. In contrast, in (1437b) the question is neutral in the sense that its scope is open to everyone, present or not present at the moment of speech, but the spatial adjunct *iškolar* is topicalized. In principle, both questions can be used in the same range of situation, but (1437b) is more frequent than (1437a).

- (1437) a. *ĭu Ø-iλ'i-me iškola:r?*
 who I-go-NEG school.IN-LAT
 ‘Who (from you) did not go to school?’
- b. [*iškola:r*]^{TOP} *ĭu Ø-iλ'i-me?*
 school.IN-LAT who I-go-NEG
 ‘Who did not go to school?’

29.3.2. Polar questions

In WH-questions the WH-phrase is in focus. In polar questions the focus may be indicated by the position of the Interrogative marker and is very often the verb (1438a, 1438d). However, any other constituent besides the verb can also be in focus, not only in main clauses (1438b), but also in subordinate clauses (1438c). It is possible to have an Interrogative suffix and an Interrogative enclitic in one clause if the verb is in the Simple Past (1438d) because verbs in the Simple Past that appear in interrogative clauses are obligatorily marked with the Interrogative suffix.

- (1438) a. *se r-uw-an hało uži-ž, Ø-uher-an=e hado?*
 what V-do-INTFUT this.OBL boy(I)-DAT I-kill-INTFUT=Q he
 ‘What shall we do to this boy, should we KILL him?’ (N)
- b. *“hału-s hunar=e devez b-iker-a
 she.OBL-GEN I ability(III)=Q you.SG.DAT III-show-INF
 b-eti-n?”=χen
 III-want-UWPST=QUOT
 ‘Do you want (me) to show her ABILITY to you?’ (N)*
- c. *[oχra=ye beχra=ye de goła] tok
 seven.OBL=Q eight.OBL=Q I be.PTCP electricity(III)
 b-aq’e-s aχ-a-r
 III-come-PST village-IN-LAT
 ‘When I was in the SEVENTH or EIGHTH class, electricity reached
 the village.’ (N)*
- d. *ni-š had mežu-z r-aš-i? xan-i=ye neχ-i?
 where-ABL I this you.PL.OBL-DAT V-get-Q khan-ERG=Q give-Q
 ‘Where did you get this from? Was it the KHAN, who gave it (to
 you)?’ (N)*

29.3.3. Argument focus in question-answer pairs

In identificational sentences the focus identifies the missing element in a presupposed open proposition. The phrase expressing the focus denotatum is the only accented constituent in the sentence. Argument-focus is most easily identified in question-answer pairs.

If the question focuses on the S or A argument, then the focal argument in the answer occupies the first position (1439a) and/or may directly precede the verb. In the last case the word order (in transitive clauses) is either AVP (1439b) or PAV (1439c) when explicitly topicalizing the patient (see also (1417b)).

- (1439) a. [Who built this house?]
[di-žo essu-y]^{FOC} hadu buλe b-u:-s goł
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG this house(III) III-do-RES be
 ‘My brother built the house.’
- b. *[di-žo essu-y]^{FOC} b-u:-s hadu buλe*
 I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG III-do-PST this house(III)
 ‘My brother built the house.’
- c. *hadu buλe [di-žo essu-y]^{FOC} b-u:-s*
 this house(III) I.OBL-GEN2 brother-ERG III-do-PST
 ‘My brother built the house.’

In answers to questions where the WH-word refers to the patient, the unmarked word order APV is preferred. In the question the WH-word appears clause-initially or in some other position before the verbal predicate.

- (1440) a. *me se hay r-u:-ho zoq'e-y?*
 you.SG.ERG what there V-do-ICVB be-Q
 ‘What did you do there?’
- b. *se me hay r-u:-ho zoq'e-y?*
 what you.SG.ERG there V-do-ICVB be-Q
 ‘What did you do there?’
- c. *de [biša r-uxxo zoq'e-s]^{FOC}*
 I.ERG food(V) V-buy.ICVB be-PST
 ‘I bought food.’

Temporal adjuncts that are in focus often appear in the preverbal position (1441a), but the first or the last position in the clause may also host an adjunct in focus (1441b, 1441c).

- (1441) a. [For how long has your son been coughing?]
hayło-λ'o [saʔat-ma] xomore b-aq'e-s
 he.OBL-SPR hour-IN cough(III) III-come-PST
 ‘He coughed for one hour.’
- b. *hago xomorya:-s [seda saʔat-ma]*
 he cough-PST one.OBL hour-IN
 ‘He coughed for one hour.’
- c. *[saʔat-ma] b-aq'e-s hayło-λ'o xomore*
 hour-IN III-come-PST he.OBL-SPR cough(III)
 ‘He coughed for one hour.’

Local adjuncts that are focalized appear normally immediately before the verb. The WH-word occurs either in clause-initial position or in preverbal position.

- (1442) a. *ni ɬe-yi-ɬ hadu bercinaw mesed-li-š besuro*
 where water-OBL-CONT this beautiful gold-OBL-GEN1 fish(III)
debez b-aš-i? [ix-iɬ]^{FOC} b-aši-š
 you.SG.DAT III-find-Q river-OBL-CONT III-find-PST
 ‘Where in the water did you find this beautiful fish? I found it in the river.’ (N)
- b. *me ni zoq^we-y? wallah de pulanab [daram-mo-ho]*
 you.SG where be-Q oh.God! I certain trade-OBL-ILOC
Ø-iɬ ‘i-yo zoq^we-s
 I-go-ICVB be-PST
 ‘Where have you been? By God, I (masc.) went trading.’ (N)

Answers to constituent questions are very often elliptical, consisting only of the word or the phrase that answers the question.

- (1443) a. *dessu ɣ'er beɣ'-es zoq^we-y? [kabadu amu*
 which color sheep-GEN1 be-Q black charcoal(III)
b-iɬi]^{FOC}
 III-similar
 ‘Which color were the sheep? Black like charcoal.’ (N)
- b. *dessu y^wede goɬ zek? hat'an*
 which day be tomorrow sunday
 ‘Which day is tomorrow? Sunday.’ (N)

In identificational sentences it is also possible to have contrastive focus where two expressions are contrasted to each other, and at least one expression represents new information. The other expression may be contained in the question, or the answer contrasts both expressions, whereby the second part of the answer is typically elliptical. Expressions that bear contrastive focus (arguments, but also modifiers and adjuncts) are often found at the right border of the clause, but they also appear in preverbal position. If there is any clear accent, it falls on those focal expressions which occupy the rightmost position.

- (1444) a. [What did Patimat and Ayshat prepare?]
Pat'imat-i b-u:s [xok'o]^{FOC}, Ayšat-i [magalu]^{FOC}
 Patimat-ERG III-do-PST khinkal(III) Ayshat-ERG bread

‘Patimat made khinkal, Ayshat bread.’

- b. [Where do you learn Avar?]

eli maʔarul mec b-eq'ir-ho [iškola]^{FOC},
 we.ERG Avar language(III) iii-learn-PRS school.IN
maʔarulza-y [idu]^{FOC}
 Avar-OBL.PL-ERG home

‘We learn Avar in school, but the Avar people (learn it) at home.’

- c. [Did your brother finish the letter quickly?]

hayłoy kayat caxxo [ɣeye r-iči-n]^{FOC}
 he.ERG letter write.PRS slowly V-be-CVB

‘He is writing the letter slowly.’

- d. [Has the house always been red?]

oʔo, aldoɣo haw [aldiyu]^{FOC} zoq'e-s
 no formerly that white be-PST

‘No, earlier it was white.’

29.4. Other means of manipulating the information structure

Hinuq has a number of enclitics to influence the information structure. These enclitics are: =*gozo*/=*gon*/=*gozon* express topic, contrastive topic, repetition / addition, and ‘even’; =*tow*, =*xa* are emphatic enclitics; =*n* ‘and, even, also, too’ is a focus-sensitive particle; =*m* expresses doubt; =*te* ‘in fact, really’; =*čo* ‘still, however, yet, already’; =*qen* ‘at least, even’.

Among the the three topicalizing enclitics, the Emphatic enclitic =*tow*, and the Coordinative enclitic =*n* are by far the most frequently occurring enclitics. Each enclitic is described in detail in Chapter 13 with many examples illustrating all functions. Further information on =*tow* and =*n* and their equivalents in other Nakh-Daghestanian languages can be found in Belyaev & Forker (In preparation).

Furthermore, Hinuq speakers employ more subtle means in order to manipulate the information structure of clauses. These means are long distance agreement in complement clauses and biabsolutive constructions. These constructions affect the morphosyntax of clauses and are restricted to certain clause types and/or certain predicates. Long distance agreement occurs in complement clauses with a small number of complement-taking predicates. In this construction the matrix predicate shows gender/number agreement with the embedded Absolutive argument, which leads to emphasis on this argument (1445). This construction including its pragmatics is analyzed in detail in Section 22.3.

- (1445) *Saʔida-z y-eq 'i-yo [uži: yiy ga:-s-4i]*
 Saida-DAT IV-know-PRS boy.ERG milk(IV) drink-RES-ABST
 ‘Saida knows that the boy drank the MILK.’

The other construction that has a certain influence on the information structure is the biabsolute construction. It is restricted to transitive predicates and animate agents and seems to topicalize the agent (1446). For more information on this construction see Section 17.10.

- (1446) *obu moči b-eλ-o zoq'we-s*
 father field(III) III-plough-ICVB be-PST
 ‘As for the father, he was ploughing the field.’

Chapter 30

A Hinuq text

Zurmaqanno q'ilianno 'The zurna player and the drummer'

This story was told by Nabi Isaev, my main informant, in September 2006 in the village of Hinuq. He is not only the narrator of the story, but also its author.

- (1) *seda aλ-a žumru b-u:-n zoq''we-n [rok'-be*
 one.OBL village-IN life(III) III-do-CVB be-UWPST heart.OBL-PL
sedi.sed-eł žubazi r-iq-iš] [sedi.sed-es
 REC.OBL-CONT unite NHPL-happen-RES REC.OBL-GEN1
beki.bet'e-me-λ'os] hudul-be – zurmaqan-i=n
 part-NEG-HAB friend-PL – zurna.player-ERG=and
q'iliqan-i=n
 drummer-ERG=and
 'In one village lived two friends, a zurna player and a drummer, who were best, inseparable, friends.'
- (2) *[hagbe žaqal b-iq-iš-me] suħmat berten*
 they participation HPL-happen-RES-NEG celebration wedding(V)
r-iqqo zoq''we-n gom
 V-happen.ICVB be-CVB be.NEG
 'There was no wedding celebration without their participation.'
- (3) "hale b-aq'-o maq''ware=n meq'u=n"=λen eλi-yo
 well HPL-come-PRS needle=and thread=and=QUOT say-ICVB
zoq''we-n [maxsara.ħališ r-u:-n] aλ-a-zo
 be-UWPST joke(V) V-do-CVB village-OBL-GEN2
ahlu-mo-y [godek'an-i-λ'o-r hagbe b-aq'e-yλ'o]
 people-OBL-ERG godekan-OBL-SPR-LAT they HPL-come-SIM
 'Well, here come the needle and the thread, said the villagers joking, when they came to the godekan.'
- (4) *maxsara-mo-z haze-y=no maxsara-mo-λ'o=ħun žawab*
 joke-OBL-DAT they.OBL-ERG=and joke-OBL-SPR=as answer
toλλo zoq''we-n
 give.ICVB be-UWPST

‘To a joke they answered with a joke.’

- (5) [xalq'i-mo-y hurmat b-u:-λ'os] aλ-a-z=tow
 people-OBL-ERG respect(III) III-do-HAB village-OBL-DAT=EMPH
 hažataw hadbe [aλ xece-n] maqo=n b-eq'i-yo
 necessary they village let-CVB outside=and HPL-know-ICVB
 zoq'we-n
 be-UWPST

‘Having the people’s respect, also outside the village (people from other) villages knew them.’

- (6) [xexza-s rihin.c'ay b-u:-yλ'o] [hagbe
 child.OBL.PL-GEN1 wedding(III) III-do-HAB they
 berten-i-ǰ-er eλi-n] meqi aλ-a-s=no
 wedding-OBL-CONT-LAT say-CVB far village-OBL-ABL1=and
 ahlu b-aq'-o zoq'we-n
 people HPL-come-ICVB be-UWPST

‘When their children got married, also people from villages far away came and called them to the wedding.’

- (7) [berten-i-ǰ b-iči] [bat'i.bat'iyaw kompaniya-za-ǰ
 wedding-OBL-CONT III-be different company-OBL.PL-CONT
 b-iči] [b-aši-yo goła] mecxeer hudul-za-y
 III-be III-get-ICVB be.PTCP money(III) friend-OBL.PL-ERG
 [kapek-mo-s hilla rek' b-u:-mez] biλ'izi
 kopek-OBL-GEN1 trick meanness(III) III-do-PURP.NEG divide
 b-u:-ho zoq'we-n
 III-do-ICVB be-UWPST

‘The money that they got at weddings and at other events the friends divided without betraying each other, not even out of a penny.’

- (8) [sedi.sed-es rok'we r-uher-mez] [da?ba roži gosme]
 REC.OBL-GEN1 heart(V) V-break-PURP.NEG dispute word without
 žuraw zaman b-iλ'i-n
 much time(III) III-go-UWPST

‘Without breaking each other’s hearts, without quarrels, much time passed by.’

- (9) [saqu [rek'u-zo moča: berten-i-ǰ b-aši-yo
 once man-OBL-GEN2 place.IN wedding-OBL-CONT III-get-ICVB
 goła] mecxeer=no b-ux-no] [aλ-a-do nox-λ'os] [[q'wena
 be.PTCP money=and III-take-CVB village-IN-DIR come-λ-HAB two.OBL

raq-ma-do hune biλ'izi r-iq-a-r]
 direction-IN-DIR way(V) divide V-happen-PTCP.LOC-LAT
b-aq'e-nos] [ʔoloqbe [ħalki b-uw-a] q'idi b-iči-nos]
 HPL-come-ANT youth repose(III) III-do-INF down HPL-sit-ANT
[[hayi-š hadi-š xabar ese-n] ʔaq'e-yλ'o] [b-iš-no] [hezzo
 there-ABL1 here-ABL1 story tell-CVB finish-SIM HPL-eat-CVB then
mecxer aldo ʔo-r=no b-iγ-no] [t'ot'er-a] b-ułi-yo
 money(III) in.front-LAT=and III-take-CVB count-INF HPL-begin-PRS
 'Once they took the money that they got at a man's wedding, and when they went back to the village they came to a place where the way divided into two parts, they sat down in order to relax, when they finished talking about this and that and after they ate, they took the money and began to count it.'

- (10) *seda huneho t'ot'er-iš=eλ. k'ox t'ot'er-iš=eλ. ʔox*
 one.OBL times count-PST=NARR twice count-PST=NARR three.times
t'ot'er-iš=eλ. [deče t'ot'er-on] ʔeno ʔuruš c'ik'izi
 count-PST=NARR how.much count-CONC five ruble(IV) grow
y-iq-iš=eλ
 IV-happen-PST=NARR
 'They counted once. They counted twice. They counted a third time. How ever often they counted, five rubles remained.'
- (11) *“ħag diž y-ič-a y-aq'e”=λen hes, “diž y-ič-a*
 that I.DAT IV-be-INF IV-must=QUOT one I.DAT IV-be-INF
y-aq'e”=λen hes b-ułi-š=eλ
 IV-must=QUOT one HPL-begin-PST=NARR
 'One began, that must be mine, the other began, that must be mine.'
- (12) *daʔba-roži r-oxore ʔ-iš=eλ*
 dispute-word NHPL-last-PST=NARR
 'The dispute went on for a while.'
- (13) *ħu-z=qen Ø-eg^we-n Ø-ič-a r-eti-yo*
 who-DAT=at.least I-lose-CVB I-be-INF V-want-ICVB
zoq'^we-s-me=eλ
 be-PST-NEG=NARR
 'Nobody wanted to lose.'

- (14) [*č'amuč' r-iqqo r-iλ'i-λ'o*] [*q'iliqan-es cim*
 bothersome V-become.ICVB V-go-SIM drummer-GEN I anger(III)
b-ixxo] [*daʔba-mo-s axir gor-a b-eti-n*] *haytoy*
 III-spread.ICVB dispute-OBL-GEN I end put-INF III-want-CVB he.ERG
eλ-iš=eλ
 say-PST=NARR
 'When it became bothersome and the drummer became angry, he wanted
 to finish the dispute and said.'
- (15) “[*hayru daʔbadezi b-iq-o*] *eli b-iči-yo neši=n*
 so dispute(III) III-happen-COND we HPL-be-PRS at.night=and
hadi=tow, [λex^we-λ'os] hal b-ik-o.”
 here=EMPH remain-HAB condition(III) III-see-PRS
 'If the dispute goes on like this, I see that we will stay here all night.'
- (16) [*daway, buq b-oλex-a-do hes Ø-iλ'-a*] [*buq*
 let.us sun(III) III-appear-PTCP.LOC-DIR one I-go-INF sun(III)
b-iλ'i-ya-do hes Ø-iλ'-a] [*hayi-ža*
 III-go-PTCP.LOC-DIR one I-go-INF there-OBL.PL
berten-mo-za-ʔ ʔaqal b-iq-no]
 wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT participation(III) III-happen-CVB
 [[*b-aši-yo goʔa*] *mecxer=no b-ux-no*] [*hibadi-r dandetezi*
 III-get-ICVB be.PTCP money(III)=and III-take-CVB that-LAT gather
b-iq-a] [*c'ik'un mecxer b-aši-yo goʔa*]-z *ʔeno*
 HPL-happen-INF very.much money(III) III-get-ICVB be.PTCP-DAT five
yuruš=no toλ-ayaz
 ruble=and give-PURP
 'Let us, one going in the direction of the rising sun, one going in the
 direction of the setting sun, taking the money that (we) get participating
 in weddings, let us meet here again and to the one who receives the most
 money, the five rubles will also be given.'
- (17) *zurmaqan haytu-λ'o razi Ø-iqqo*
 zurna.player(I) that.OBL happy I-happen.PRS
 'The Zurna player agrees with that.'
- (18) [*hezzor b-uti-n b-aq'e-yλ'or*] [*hibay=tow goʔa*]
 back HPL-turn-CVB HPL-come-POST there=EMPH be.PTCP
y-²ežiy-a xem-eʔ ʔeno yuruš=no gor-ho
 IV-big-OBL stone.OBL-CONT five ruble(IV)=and put-PRS

‘Before coming back, (they) put the five rubles under a big stone that was there.’

- (19) *[[zurmaqan buq b-oλex-a-do] [q'iliqan buq*
zurna.player sun(III) III-appear-PTCP.LOC-DIR drummer sun(III)
b-iλ'i-ya-do] b-eze-n] b-iλ'i-š=eλ
 III-go-PTCP-LOC-DIR HPL-look-CVB HPL-go-PST=NARR
 ‘They went, the zurna player looking in the direction of the rising sun,
 the drummer looking in the direction of the setting sun.’
- (20) *[zaħmataw [r-oši-r-oqi-š] hune-be=n xece-n]*
 difficult NHPL-bend-NHPL-stick.into-RES way-PL=and let-CVB
[ʔat'idaw awlaq-be xece-n] [x^win ixu y-iγ-no]
 wide lowlands-PL let-CVB mountain river(IV) IV-take-CVB
[čeq r-oc'-no] b-iλ'i-š=eλ, b-iλ'i-š=eλ hadbe
 forest(V) V-cut-CVB HPL-go=NARR HPL-go=NARR they
 ‘Leaving behind difficult curved ways, wide lowlands, crossing moun-
 tains and rivers, cutting through forests, they went and went.’
- (21) *[somodi γ^wede=n qešir-no] marč'ik'u-ł-edo q'iliqan*
 several day=and make.bright-CVB evening-CONT-DIR drummer(I)
Ø-aq'e-s=eλ [neteqen aldoγo zo Ø-aq'e-s-me]
 I-come-PST=NARR never formerly REFL.SG I-come-RES-NEG
seda aλ-a-r
 one.OBL village-IN-DIR
 ‘After several days passed by, towards the evening, the drummer came to
 one village where he had never come before.’
- (22) *[ni-do Ø-iλ'-an Ø-eq'i-mez] [Ø-eq'i-λ'os rek'^we=n*
 where-DIR I-go-INTFUT I-know-PURP.NEG I-know-HAB man(I)=and
Ø-iq-omeλ'o] [aλ-a-zo raʔal-łi-go y-aši-yo
 I-happen-SIM.NEG village-OBL-GEN2 edge-ABST-AT IV-find-ICVB
goła] seda heγa-r Ø-ułi-š=eλ
 be.PTCP one.OBL hayloft(IV).IN-LAT I-enter-PST=NARR
 ‘Not knowing where to go, since (there) was no known person, he went
 to one barn that he found at the edge of the village.’
- (23) *hag heγu y-oλoku bex-o-s y-ič'-iš zoq'^we-n*
 that hayloft(IV) IV-half gras-OBL-GEN1 IV-fill-RES be-UWPST
 ‘The hayloft was half filled with hay.’

- (24) [*Ø-iš-no*] [*Ø-uti-n*] [*bex-o-λ* *teʔe-do* *oqru=n*
I-eat-CVB I-turn-CVB grass-OBL-SUB inside-DIR hole(IV)=and
y-u:-n] [*Ø-ot'-ayaz*] *teʔe-do* *Ø-uʔi-š=eλ*
IV-do-CVB I-lay-PURP inside-DIR I-go.down-PST=NARR
'He ate and then made a hole in the hay and entered it to sleep.'
- (25) *aldoyo bito dahaw=tow qod=no xece-s=eλ. [r-u:-n*
in.front there few=EMPH hole=and let-PST=NARR V-do-CVB
bex-o-s *k^wet'=no*] *gor-iš=eλ. k^wet'-o-λ* *geʔ*
grass-OBL-GEN1 sheaf=and put-PST=NARR sheaf-OBL-SUB under
q'ili=n *gor-iš=eλ*
drum=and put-PST=NARR
'In front (of him) he left a small hole. Making a sheaf of hay, he put it there. Under the sheaf he put the drum.'
- (26) *g^wanyaraw buce-y=no [aλ-a=bito* *toq-λ'os]*
bright moon-ERG=and village-IN=TRANS hear-HAB
y^we-yi-žā-zo *ħapni-mo-y=no* *moλu*
dog-OBL-OBL.PL-GEN2 bark-OBL-ERG=and sleep
kekir-iš-me=eλ
let-PST-NEG=NARR
'The bright moonlight and the barking of the dogs that was audible throughout the village did not let (him) sleep.'
- (27) [*Ø-ix-no*] [*bogoles kak=no* *r-u:-n*] [*Ø-ot'-an=λen*
I-get.up-CVB nightly prayer(V)=and V-do-CVB I-lay-INTFUT=QUOT
goʔa] *rek'u-zo* *rore-s* *haraλ'* *toq-iš=eλ*
be.PTCP man.OBL-GEN2 foot-GEN1 voice hear-PST=NARR
'He got up, said his evening prayer, and as he wanted to sleep he heard the footsteps of a person.'
- (28) *xexʔi-λ'o* *bex-o-ʔ-edo* *k'oλe-s=eλ*
speed-SPR grass-OBL-CONT-DIR jump-PST=NARR
'He jumped fast into the hay.'
- (29) [[*puršina-za-s* *b-ič'-iš*] *k'ot'o=n* *b-ux-no*]
chudu-OBL.PL-GEN1 III-fill-RES plate(III)=and III-take-CVB
y-aq'-o *ʔoloqanaw* *ħisab* *gosme* *bercinaw* *baħaray*
II-come-PRS young supposition without beautiful bride(II)
y-iʔi *gexe-s* *ked*
II-similar dress-RES girl(II)

‘A beautiful young girl dressed like a bride goes unsuspecting, taking a plate full of chudu.’

- (30) [ked bečedaw rek'u-s goliš-ŋi] lagi-λ'o-zo
 daughter rich man.OBL-GEN1 be.CVAB-ABST body.OBL-SPR-GEN2
 šeλ'u-ro-y=tow=no es-o zoq'w'e-s=eλ
 clothes-OBL-ERG=EMPH=and tell-ICVB be-PST=NARR

‘The clothes on (her) body told that she was a rich man’s daughter.’

- (31) [igo-do y-aq'e-yλ'o] b-ike-s=eλ haytu-zo
 near-DIR II-come-SIM III-see-PST=NARR she.OBL-GEN2
 ŋiλ'-za-qo mesed-li-š kiči=n, [moc'-o-qo
 finger.OBL-OBL.PL-AT gold-OBL-GEN1 ring=and neck-OBL-AT
 kur-iš] žaržali=n, axxa-za-qo xet'a-be=n
 throw-RES necklace=and ear-OBL.PL-AT earring-PL=and

‘As she passed by (he) saw the golden rings on her fingers, the necklace on her neck, and the earrings on her ears.’

- (32) ked q'iliqan-de igo y-iŋi q'idi y-iči-š=eλ [yeye
 girl drummer-ALOC near II-similar down II-sit-PST=NARR slowly
 b-iči-n keč'=no eλi-yo]
 III-be-CVB song(III)=and say-ICVB

‘The girl sat down near the drummer while slowly singing a song.’

- (33) zaman-a-λ'o=bito heya-r Ø-aq'e-s=eλ g^wanyaraw
 time-OBL-SPR=TRANS hayloft.IN-LAT I-come-PST=NARR bright
 [b-iče-s] humer-li-š Ø-oxoru bercinaw uži
 III-clear.up-RES face-OBL-GEN1 I-long beautiful boy(I)

‘After some time a tall handsome boy with a bright clear face came into the hayloft.’

- (34) [haytoy gex-o goŋa] šeλ'u-ro-y es-o
 he.ERG dress-ICVB be.PTCP clothes-OBL-ERG tell-ICVB
 zoq'w'e-s=eλ [hago miskin rek'u-s uži goliš-ŋi]
 be-PST=NARR he poor man.OBL-GEN1 son be.CVAB-ABST

‘The clothes that he wore told that he was a poor man’s son.’

- (35) hayto-qo zoq'w'e-n basriyaw učuzaw material-mo-s šeλ'u
 he.OBL-AT be-UWPST stained cheap material-OBL-GEN1 clothes

‘He had clothes from stained, cheap material.’

- (36) [*ʔumru-ʔ sedi.sed-qo urqezi b-iq-oʔ'o*] *b-iʔi*
 life-CONT REC.OBL-AT be.sad HPL-happen-SIM HPL-similar
ked-i=n uʒi:=n aʕu-be r-ič'-iš=eʔ
 girl-ERG=and boy.ERG=and embrace-PL NHPL-fill-PST=NARR
 ‘Behaving as if they had not seen each other for a whole life, the girl and
 the boy embraced each other.’
- (37) *q'iliqan-ez toq-iš=eʔ [ked-i eʕi-yo]*
 drummer-DAT hear-PST=NARR girl-ERG say-PRS
 ‘The drummer heard that the girl said.’
- (38) “*deče de y-eze-n y-iči-š zoq''we-y had y''ede nete=tow*
 how.much I II-look-CVB II-be-RES be-Q this day(V) when=EMPH
r-aq'-o”=*ʕen*
 V-come-PRS=QUOT
 ‘How long I have been waiting for this day finally to come.’
- (39) [*hibayru eʕi-yo=tow*] *ked-i uʒi-žo q'imu-ʔ'o-s*
 so say-ICVB=EMPH girl-ERG boy-GEN2 head-SPR-ABL I
ʔ'oq'on b-iʔ-iš=eʔ. [ʔ'er-ʔ'er kur-ʔ'os] mesed-li-š
 hat(III) III-take-PST=NARR color-color throw-HAB gold-OBL-GEN I
kočori ʔ'ila-ʔ'o-r b-aq'e-s=eʔ
 hair ear-SPR-LAT III-come-PST=NARR
 ‘While talking like that the girl took away the hat from the boy’s head.
 Golden hair of various colors fell on his ears.’
- (40) *wah had se ʔalamaʔi eʕi-š=eʔ q'iliqan-i [nete=n*
 wow this what wonder say-PST=NARR drummer-ERG when=and
r-ike-s-me žo=n r-ike-n]
 V-see-RES-NEG thing(V)=and V-see-CVB
 ‘Wow, said the drummer, what is this for a wonder, seeing something
 that he never had seen before.’
- (41) *hezzo bič'i r-iq-iš=eʔ [uʒi ʔadataw*
 then understanding(V) V-happen-PST=NARR boy common
gosme-ʔi]. hezzo=gon eʕi-š=eʔ “ʔadada zoq''we-n gom
 without-ABST then=TOP say-PST=NARR in.vain be-UWPST be.NEG
[miskinaw rek'u-zo uʒi-qo bečedaw ked-es roʔ'i
 poor man.OBL-GEN2 boy-AT rich girl-GEN1 love(III)
kezi.b.iq-no]”=*ʕen*
 meet.III-UWPST=QUOT

‘Then he understood that the young man was uncommon. And then he said (to himself) that it will not be in vain that a poor man’s son found the love of a rich girl.’

- (42) “*b-iči, b-iči, de koλ’e-r-an*
 HPL-stop HPL-stop I.ERG be.able-CAUS-INTFUT
mežu-z”=λen eλi-š=eλ q’iliqan-i, [deru=če
 you.PL.OBL-DAT=QUOT say-PST=NARR drummer-ERG how=EQ
koλ’e-r-o-či!]
 be.able-CAUS-COND-IRR
 ‘Wait, wait, I will show you what I am able (to do), said the drummer (to himself), how I will show it to you!’
- (43) [*uži=n ked=no [aλu-be=n r-ič’-no] bex-o-λ’o*
 boy=and girl=and embrace-PL=and NHPL-fill-CVB grass-OBL-SPR
q’uq’e b-ac’-li:ho goła] r-eq’i-mez ked-es
 knead HPL-eat-ANTIP-ICVB be.PTCP V-know-PURP.NEG girl-GEN I
k^wezey c’ox-iš=eλ q’ili-mo-λ’o
 hand(V) fall-PST=NARR drum-OBL-SPR
 ‘While the boy and the girl were embracing each other and flirting, the girl’s hand fell accidentally on the drum.’
- (44) [*bikor-λ’o c’ox-oλ’o r-iči]* [“way”=λen *qaλu=n*
 snake.OBL-SPR fall-SIM V-similar oh=QUOT scream(V)=and
r-ik’-no] y-et’e-n k’oλe-s=eλ ked. “had se
 V-beat-CVB II-burst-CVB jump-PST=NARR girl(II) thad what
di-žo k^weze-ra-λ-er qoqoru žo kezi.r.iq-iš”=λen
 I.OBL-GEN2 hand-OBL-SUB-LAT hard thing(V) meet.V-PST=QUOT
eλi-yo
 say-PRS
 ‘As if (she) had touched a snake, the girl jumped away, screaming ‘Oh!’. What hard thing did my hand touch, she says.’
- (45) *hibayλu zaman-a-ł maq’λu Ø-iči [bex-o-ł-es*
 that.OBL time-OBL-CONT lightning I-similar grass-OBL-CONT-ABL I
maqo-r=no k’oλe-n] q’iliqan haze-de aldoyo
 outside-LAT=and jump-CVB drummer(1) they.OBL-ALOC in.front
Ø-iči-š=eλ [caλi-λ’o muq’ Ø-iči]
 I-stand-PST=NARR throw-SIM column I-similar
 ‘At that time the drummer jumped out of the grass like a lightning and stood in front of them like a column.’

- (46) *uži=n ked=no [roži=n r-eq'i-mez] [hagandeł-no]*
 boy=and girl=and word(V)=and V-know-PURP.NEG be.astonished-CVB
[sedi.sed-qo b-ez-o] λex^we-s=eλ
 REC.OBL-AT HPL-look-ICVB remain-PST=NARR
 ‘The boy and the girl remained without knowing a word (to say) astonished, looking at each other.’
- (47) *[ked-es mecu=n uži k'oboy-a-s reλ'a=n]*
 girl-GEN1 forearm=and boy shirt-OBL-GEN1 sleeve=and
r-ašir-no] q'iliqan-i qaλe-n eλi-š=eλ
 NHPL-keep-CVB drummer-ERG call-CVB say-PST=NARR
 ‘Taking the girl’s forearm and the sleeve of the boy’s shirt the drummer shouted.’
- (48) “*hale, b-aši-š di-qo meži, [žiqu-r]*
 well HPL-find-PST=NARR I.OBL-AT you.PL today-LAT
b-aši-mez zoq^w-o gołta] ahlu”=λen
 HPL-find-PURP.NEG be-ICVB be.PTCP folk=QUOT
 ‘Well, I have found you, the people who I did not find until today.’
- (49) *[hesqen žo r-eq'i-š-me b-iłi hadbe b-iči-λ'o]*
 nothing thing(V) V-know-RES-NEG HPL-similar they HPL-stand-SIM
q'iliqan-i [ked-λ'o-r ıiλ'i=n b-iži-n]
 drummer-ERG girl-SPR-LAT finger(III)=and III-take-CVB
eλi-š=eλ
 say-PST=NARR
 ‘While they stood as if not knowing anything, the drummer said, pointing with his finger at the girl.’
- (50) “*de goł [dewzo obu-y mecxer=no neλ-no]*
 I be you.SG.GEN2 father-ERG money=and give-CVB
[debe-ł hezzo xal b-ux-ayaz] xece-s] rek^we
 you.SG.OBL-CONT after gaze(III) III-take-PURP let-RES man
[debez toq-no r-ese-yomen]”
 you.SG.DAT hear-CVB V-be.probabale-CONC.NEG
 ‘I am the man to whom your father gave money in order to look after you, even if you did not hear about that.’

- (51) “*deru me niči y-iq-i-me [hibało [basriyaw šeł'u*
 how you.SG shame II-become-Q-NEG this.OBL stained clothes
goła] rek'u-de igo-r y-iq'-ayaz]?”
 be.PTCP man.OBL-ALOC near-LAT II-bring-PURP
 ‘How can you not be ashamed to come close to this man in stained
 clothes?’
- (52) “*deru me namusłizi y-iqgo gom*
 how you.SG be.ashamed II-happen-ICVB be.NEG
[iyo-obu-qo-s bałgo roł'i r-uw-ayaz]?”
 mother-father-AT-ABL1 secretly love(V) V-do-PURP
 ‘How can you not be ashamed to secretly love behind your parents’
 (back)?’
- (53) “*de zek=tow [r-ik-o goła] šinaw žo*
 I.ERG tomorrow=EMPH V-see-ICVB be.PTCP every thing(V)
dewzo iyo-obu-qo es-a goł. me [[žawab toł-a]
 you.SG.GEN2 mother-father-AT tell-INF be you.SG answer give-INF
hadur y-iq-no] y-iči”
 be.prepared II-happen-CVB II-be
 ‘Tomorrow I will tell your parents everything that I saw. Be prepared to
 answer.’
- (54) *ked kutakalda y-uł'-iš=eł. [žežmu-y kur-oł'o]*
 girl(II) strongly II-be.afraid-PST=NARR trembling-ERG throw-SIM
y-iči sorodizi y-iq-iš=eł
 II-similar tremble II-become-PST=NARR
 ‘The girl was very afraid. She was trembling and shaking.’
- (55) *[y-a:ho] [Allah-li-š ce=n r-iγ-no] harizi*
 II-cry-ICVB Allah-OBL-GEN1 name(V)=and V-take-CVB request(V)
r-u:s=eł. hawsa?at=tow devez mecxer, mesed
 V-do-PST=NARR now=EMPH you.SG.DAT money gold
neł-an.
 give-INTFUT
 ‘Crying, she begged: In the name of Allah, now I will give you silver and
 gold.’

- (56) *taliḥ neḵ-o, hari.madad goḷ. iyo-qo=n obu-qo=n*
 happiness give.PRS request be mother-AT=and father-AT=and
zon-ḫi xabar b-u:yom! [b-eq'i-yo] obu-y
 REFL.SG.OBL-ABST story(III) III-do-PROH III-know-COND father-ERG
de y-uher, c'aq' cim xexaw rek'we=xa di obu
 I II-kill very anger fervent man=EMPH I.GEN1 father
 'I will give you a fortune, (but) I have a request. Do not tell my mother
 and my father about me. If my father hears this story, he will kill me
 (fem.). My father is a very angry, hot-tempered man.'

- (57) *[[ked-ḵ'o goḷa] y^wede=n r-ike-n] [q'iliqan-es*
 girl-SPR be.PTCP sorrow(V)=and V-see-CVB drummer-GEN1
ḥaq'iq'aldagi rok'we gurhezi r-iq-no] amma
 indeed heart(V) feel.sorry.for V-happen-CVB but
hayḷu-s gosme, hayḷo-s pikru=n ižey-be=n
 she.OBL-GEN1 without he.OBL-GEN1 thought=and eye-PL=and
[zonez r-aši-ḵ'ozo] žo-yla-ḷ hezzo
 REFL.SG.DAT V-get-HAB.OBL thing(V)-OBL-CONT after
zoq'we-s=eḵ
 be-PST=NARR
 'When the drummer saw the sorrows of the girl, he felt indeed sorry
 for her, but his thoughts and his eyes were already on the things that he
 would get.'

- (58) *iš-i b-iḫi muši=n kur-no axir-ḵ'o-do q'iliqan-i*
 bull-ERG III-similar air=and throw-CVB end-SPR-DIR drummer-ERG
eḵi-š=eḵ
 say-PST=NARR

'Breathing heavily (lit. like a bull), the drummer finally said:'

- (59) *[mesed mecxer neḵ-o b-ese-yo] bat'iyaw iš*
 gold money(III) give-ICVB III-be.probable-COND other affair
goḷ. hagoḵ'o ese-mez xec-a k^wezi r-iq, [amma
 be at.that.time tell-PURP.NEG stop-INF be.able(V) V-happen but
Ø-aḵ'ir-o] debe kutakalda rok'we buḥizi r-iq-a
 betray-COND you.SG.GEN1 strongly heart(V) suffer V-happen-INF
goḷ, r-eq'i-n r-iči
 be V-know-CVB V-be

‘If you give me silver and gold, it is another thing. At that time I can stop talking. But if you betray me, you should know that you will strongly regret it.’

- (60) [hawsaʔat [b-iq'e-n] nox-an=ʎen eʎi-yo] uži=n
 now III-bring-CVB come-INTFUT=QUOT say-PRS boy=and
 q'iliqan-i-de xece-n ked idu-r y-iʎ'i-š=eʎ
 drummer-OBL-ALOC let-CVB girl(II) home-LAT II-go-PST=NARR
 ‘Saying “now I will come and bring it”, the girl left the boy with the drummer and went home.’
- (61) [[q'idi-r kur-ho goʎa] yocu quqe-yʎ'or] hezzor
 downwards throw-ICVB be.PTCP spittle dry-POST back
 y-uti-n y-aq'e-s=eʎ
 II-turn-CVB II-come-PST=NARR
 ‘Before the spittle on the earth dried, she came back.’
- (62) [mesed mecxeṛ teʔ goʎa] torpa q'iliqan-qo-r toʎʎo
 gold money inside be.PTCP bag drummer-AT-LAT give.PRS
 ‘She gives the drummer a bag with silver and gold inside.’
- (63) [[hayʎoy nagaḥ ʔayibda b-uw-an=ʎen] rok'ʎ'o-r
 he.ERG if blame(III) III-do-INTFUT=QUOT heart.SPR-LAT
 pikru=n kezi.b.iq-no] [zonzo ʎiʎ'za-qo-s
 thought(III)=and meet.III-CVB REFL.SG.GEN2 finger.OBL.PL-AT-ABL I
 r-iʎ-no kiči-be=n] [axxa-za-qo-s r-iʎ-no
 NHPL-take-CVB ring-PL=and ear-OBL.PL-AT-ABL I NHPL-take-CVB
 xet'a-be=n] [meca-qo-s b-iʎ-no aka=n]
 earring-PL=and forearm.OBL-AT-ABL I III-take-CVB bracelet(III)=and
 toʎ-iš=eʎ
 give-PST=NARR
 ‘Thinking that the drummer might blame her, she took the rings from her fingers, she took the earrings from her ears and she took the bracelet from her arm and gave them (to him).’
- (64) [mecxeṛli-š ʎili=n r-ič'er-no] [mesed-li-š
 money.OBL-GEN1 belly(V)=and V-fill-CVB gold-OBL-GEN1
 b-ič'-a-li torpa=n k^wa: b-ux-no] [“hoboži
 III-fill-INF-ATT bag(III)=and in.the.hands III-take-CVB now

mežu-z q'o.mex.ʔik''=ʔen eʔi-n] q'iliqan-i
 you.PL.OBL-DAT good.bye=QUOT say-CVB drummer-ERG
maqo-do hune r-ece-s=eʔ
 outside-DIR way(V) V-tie-PST=NARR

'The drummer took a bag filled with money, a bag filled with gold, the drummer said "Good bye to you!" and went outside on his way.'

- (65) [*ʃahra-mo-s hes kilometro=če xece-nos] sedayo hune*
 way-OBL-GEN1 one kilometer=EQ let-ANT in.one.place way(V)
geʔ r-iʔi basriyaw yeme r-ike-s=eʔ
 down V-similar stained mill(V) V-see-PST=NARR

'After he had gone about one kilometer he saw in one place down the way an old mill.'

- (66) [*hayi-do Ø-iʔ'-a] haʔo-s=no pikru*
 there-DIR I-go-INF he.OBL-GEN1=and thought(III)
b-iq-iš=eʔ. [akeʔ-oʔ'o] moʔa-y Ø-ux-a
 III-happen-PST=NARR get.tired-SIM sleep.OBL-ERG I-take-INF
Ø-utir-iš=eʔ
 I-turn.CAUS-PST=NARR

'And while he thought of going there, sleep almost took him away.'

- (67) [*hayʔi Ø-aq'e-yʔ'o] [y-exe-n] [[y-aši-yo goʔa] basriyaw*
 there I-come-SIM IV-hang-CVB IV-find-ICVB be.PTCP stained
k'alk'ač=no ʔ'ere-r y-aq'er-no] Ø-ot'-iš=eʔ hado
 fur=and on-LAT IV-put-CVB I-lay-PST=NARR he

'When he came there, he covered himself with an old fur that he found hanging there and laid down.'

- (68) [*ʔac=no y-aʔi-n] [ʔac teʔ-edo y-aʔi-ʔ'os zoq''w-e-n]*
 door(IV)=and IV-open-CVB door inside-DIR IV-open-HAB be-UWPST
teʔ-er ze b-aq'e-s=eʔ
 into-LAT bear(III) III-come-PST=NARR

'When he opened the door, the door opened from inside, a bear went inside.'

- (69) [*rek''w-e Ø-ike-yʔ'o] ze b-uʔ'-oru-qo [seda*
 man(1) I-see-SIM bear(III) III-be.afraid-PTCP.PST-AT one.OBL
moča: sot'i b-ut-a] b-uʔi-š=eʔ
 place.IN around III-turn-INF III-begin-PST=NARR

‘When the bear saw the man, it began to turn around in one place because of fear.’

- (70) [rok'λ'o=n Ø-aši-n haylu-de-r=gozon] uλ'at'u
 heart.SPR=and I-find-CVB that.OBL-ALOC-LAT=TOP timid
 q'iliqan-i q'ili maqo-r b-iŷ-iš=eλ. [b-ik'-a]
 drummer-ERG drum(III) outside-LAT III-take-PST=NARR III-beat-INF
 Ø-uŷi-š=eλ
 I-begin-PST=NARR
 ‘Being more afraid than it (i.e. the bear), the drummer took the drum and began to beat it.’

- (71) ze aldoŷo hezzor lida-za-λ'o-r sot'i sot'i
 bear(III) in.front back paw.OBL-OBL.PL-SPR-LAT around around
 b-ut-ayaz b-uŷi-š=eλ
 III-turn-PURP III-begin-PST=NARR
 ‘The bear began to turn around and ahead and back on his paws.’

- (72) qaŷti kekir-iš b-iŷi zaman-a-ŷ [warani-be=n
 dawn send-RES III-similar time(III)-OBL-CONT camel-PL=and
 miλ'oqoy-a-ho r-ux-no] [λ'ere xiri-xiriyaw q'ay=no
 bridle.OBL-OBL-ILOC NHPL-keep-CVB on expensive thing=and
 gor-no] bazargam-be [hune r-ux-no] b-iλ'i-yo
 put-CVB merchant-PL way(V) V-take-CVB HPL-go-ICVB
 zoq'^we-s=eλ
 be-PST=NARR
 ‘At about the time of dawn, there came merchants on that way, leading camels by the bridle, loaded with expensive things.’

- (73) [yeme-λ'o-do igoŷ-nos] [q'ili-mo-s haraλ'=no toq-no]
 mill-SPR-DIR approach-ANT drum-OBL-GENI voice=and hear-CVB
 [b-ič-a] haλi-š=eλ [enekezi b-iq-ayaz]
 HPL-stand-INF stop-PST=NARR listen HPL-happen-PURP
 ‘When the merchants approached the mill, they stopped in order to listen when they heard the drum’s voice.’

- (74) [“yeme-λ'o berten b-ič-a b-aq'-o”=λen
 mill-SPR wedding(III) III-be-INF III-must-PRS=QUOT
 pikru=n b-iq-no] [hayi-do b-ut-ayaz]
 thought(III)=and III-happen-CVB there-DIR HPL-turn-PURP
 b-eti-š=eλ [ixtilat.kep b-uw-ayaz]
 III-want-PST=NARR merriment(III) III-do-PURP

‘Thinking that there must be a wedding at the mill, the merchants wanted to go there in order to have fun.’

- (75) *Ø-eg^w ennu-y=no Ø-oλλo-demu-y=no* “*b-iλ'-ayaz*”=*λen*,
I-small-ERG=and I-in.the.middle-PRT-ERG=and HPL-go-PURP=QUOT
Ø-[?]ežinnu-y “*hažat gome*”=*λen eλi-š=eλ*
I-old-ERG need be.NEG=QUOT say-PST=NARR

‘The younger and the middle one suggested to go; the older one said that there is no need.’

- (76) *deru=n Ø-eg^w ennu-y=no Ø-oλλo-demu-y=no*
how=and I-small-ERG=and I-in.the.middle-PRT-ERG=and
[*ħal b-aq'er-mez*] *b-iλ'i-š=eλ yeme-λ'o-do*
condition(III) III-put-PURP.NEG HPL-go-PST=NARR mill-SPR-DIR

‘The smaller and the middle one did not yield at all and went to the mill.’

- (77) *ħu-z=qen r-eq'i-me [se r-iq-λ'os-ħi,*
who-DAT-at.least V-know-NEG what V-happen-HAB-ABST
taliħ=e balah=e elu-z] ħadur b-u:s goł
happiness=Q misfortune=Q we.OBL-DAT prepared(III) III-do-RES be

‘Nobody knows what will happen to us, good things or bad things, we are prepared.’

- (78) [*b-eq'i-š q'ede*] *b-iλ'-a zoq'^we-ye bazargam-be yeme-λ'o?*
III-know-PST IRR HPL-go-INF be-Q merchant-PL mill-SPR

‘If they had known, would the merchants have gone to the mill?’

- (79) *hay, hay, b-iλ'-a zoq'^we-s-me*
hey hey HPL-go-INF be-PST-NEG

‘Of course, they would not have gone.’

- (80) *se hezzo r-iq-iš-ħi es-an dahaw yaħ*
what then V-happen-RES-ABST tell-INTFUT few patience(III)
b-uw-o!
III-do-IMP

‘I will tell what happened then, be a little patient!’

- (81) [*maqo-zo warani-be=n r-ece-n*] [*[?]ac y-aγi-n*]
outside-ABL2 camel-PL=and NHPL-tie-CVB door(IV) IV-open-CVB
[*tełedo rore gor-an=λen gołta*] [*toho.noho-do*]
inside.DIR foot put-INTFUT=QUOT be.PTCP here.and.there-DIR

hadbe=n caʕi b-ik'-no] ze yeme-ʕ'o-s maqo-do
 these=and throw III-kick-CVB bear(III) mill-SPR-ABL I outside-DIR
b-oxe-s=eʕ
 III-leave-PST=NARR

‘When they tied the camels outside, opened the door and wanted to enter, the bear, throwing them here and there, escaped from the mill outside.’

- (82) *[unti-mo-y kur-oʕ'o] Ø-iʕi qaʕe-li:-ʒ*
 disease-OBL-ERG throw-SIM I-similar shout-ANTIP-PURP
Ø-uʕi-š=eʕ q'iliqan
 I-begin-PST=NARR drummer

‘Like mad the drummer went outside shouting.’

- (83) “*mežu-ʕ'o-r balah kur-an; b-eq'i-me,*
 you.PL.OBL-SPR-LAT misery throw-INTFUT III-know-NEG
meži diž r-u:y?”
 you.PL.ERG I.DAT V-do-Q

“‘I curse you; you do not know what you did to me?’”

- (84) “*meži [[xan-i-žo ked-zo berten-i-ʕ*
 you.PL.ERG khan-OBL-GEN2 girl-GEN2 wedding-OBL-CONT
qoca-ʕ'o k'oʕ-ayaz] hadur b-u:-ʕ'os] ze maqo-do
 dance.OBL-SPR jump-PURP prepared(III) III-do-HAB bear outside-DIR
kekir-iš”
 let-PST

“‘You let the bear outside that I trained in order to dance at the wedding of the khan’s daughter.’”

- (85) “*[xan-i t'adq'ay t'ubazi b-u:-n b-aši-yo-me] [di*
 khan-ERG task be.fulfilled III-do-CVB III-find-COND-NEG I.GEN I
moc' b-oc'-mez] xece-me”
 neck(III) III-cut-PURP.NEG let-NEG

“‘If I do not fulfill this task for the khan, he will not stop without cutting off my head.’”

- (86) “*meži sabawʕun de og-ru-ʕ q'imu gor-me*”
 you.PL because.of I.ERG ax-OBL-SUB head put-NEG
 ‘I will not put my head under an ax because of you.’

- (87) “*meži=tow gor-ho b-iči. de xec-o!*”
 you.PL.ERG=EMPH put-ICVB HPL-be I let-IMP

“You yourselves will put (your head) and let me in peace!”

- (88) “*sira me hače qara-li:ho; se r-iq-iš*
 why you.SG.ERG how.much shout-ANTIP-PRS what V-happen-RES
žo?”=*λen eλi-š=eλ bazargan-za-y [tamaša*
 thing=QUOT say-PST=NARR merchant-OBL.PL-ERG wonder(III)
b-u:-n] “eli [me es-o goła] žo-yla-ł
 III-do-CVB we you.SG.ERG tell-ICVB be.PTCP thing-OBL-CONT
xaduyezi b-iqgo gom”
 understand HPL-happen.ICVB be.NEG

“Why do you shout like this; what is it that happened?” said the merchants wondering. “We do not understand what you say.”

- (89) “*mežu-z [de eλi-yo goła] mec bič’izi*
 you.PL.OBL-DAT I.ERG say-ICVB be.PTCP language understand
b-iqgo gom=e?”=*λen eλi-š=eλ q’iliqan-i*
 HPL-happen.ICVB be.NEG=Q=QUOT say-PST=NARR drummer-ERG
“mažarul mec-ra-λ’o de eλi-š mežu-qo-r”
 Avar language-OBL-SPR I.ERG say-PST you.PL.OBL-AT-LAT

“You do not understand the language that I talk?” said the drummer. “I talked to you in Avar.”

- (90) “*zek xan-zo ked-es berten goł. [hayti*
 tomorrow khan-GEN2 daughter-GEN1 wedding be there
qoca-λ’o k’oλ-a ruhun b-uw-a”=*λen] “[t’adq’ay=no*
 dance.OBL-SPR jump-INF habit III-do-INF=QUOT task=and
neλ-no] yeme-λ’o-s meži ze maqo-do kekir-iš”
 give-CVB mill-SPR-ABL1 you.PL.ERG bear(III) outside-DIR let-PST
 “Tomorrow is the wedding of the khan’s daughter. You let the bear that I had to train to dance there, out of the mill onto the street.”

- (91) “*haw=no uryuntow kekir-iš. haytu-za xan-i meži*
 that=and intentionally let-PST that.OBL-OBL.PL khan-ERG you.PL
moc’-be r-oc’ čara gosme”
 neck-PL NHPL-cut means without

“You did that on purpose. For that, the khan will cut off your heads without mercy.”

- (92) “*de haytu-z žawab toλ-me, toq-iyē hoboži=qen? zek*
 I.ERG that.OBL-DAT answer give-NEG hear-Q now=at.least tomorrow
meži de sadaq xan-i-de-r b-iλ'-a b-aq'e
 you.PL I together khan-OBL-ALOC-LAT HPL-go-INF HPL-must
 [[*r-iqgo goła*] *žo es-ayaz*]
 V-happen.ICVB be.PTCP thing(V) tell-PURP
 “I will not take the responsibility for that (lit. ‘answer for that’); did you understand that? Tomorrow you must come with me to the khan in order to tell what happened.”
- (93) *bazargam-be λ'er-mo-λ'o-s b-iλ'i-š=eλ.*
 merchant-PL color-OBL-SPR-ABL I HPL-go-PST=NARR
yeλa-r aq^we kek-a r-ixwi-š=eλ
 trousers.IN-LAT urine(V) break.free-INF V-come-PST=NARR
 ‘The merchants became white. Their urine went into their trousers.’
- (94) *b-uλ'-oru-go [eλ-a žo r-eq'i-mez],*
 HPL-be.afraid-PTCP.PST-AT say-INF thing(V) V-know-PURP.NEG
[hezzo r-eq'i-nos] [hardezi b-iq-a] b-uλi-š=eλ
 then V-know-ANT beg HPL-happen-INF HPL-begin-PST=NARR
 ‘Because of the fear they did not know what to say. Then when they became conscious again they began to beg.’
- (95) “*eli xan-i-de-r b-iži-yom!*”=λen, “*elu-z*
 we khan-OBL-ALOC-LAT HPL-take-PROH=QUOT we.OBL-DAT
b-uh-a b-eti-š gom. elu-qo b-eze-n idu
 HPL-die-INF HPL-want-RES be.NEG we.OBL-AT HPL-look-CVB home
baru=n xexbe=n goł”
 wife=and children=and be
 ““Do not take us to the khan!” they said, “We do not want to die. At home our wives and children wait for us.”
- (96) “*eli warani-be=n devez, haytu-λ'o λ'ere*
 we.GEN I camel-PL=and you.SG.DAT that.OBL-SPR on
q'ay-mataħ=no devez, eli kekir-o!”=λen *hardezi*
 thing-commodity=and you.SG.DAT we let-IMP=QUOT beg
b-iq-a b-uλi-š=eλ
 HPL-happen-INF HPL-begin-PST=NARR
 ““Our camels and the things on them are for you, leave us!” they began to beg.’

- (97) “*diž=e? meži warani-be=n, [haze-λ'o λ'ere goła]*
 I.DAT=Q you.PL.GEN1 camel-PL=and they.OBL-SPR on be.PTCP
q'ay-matah=no, hažat b-iq-iš gom”=λen
 thing-commodity(III)=and need III-happen-RES be.NEG=QUOT
eλi-š=eλ q'iliqan-i
 say-PST=NARR drummer-ERG
 “‘For me? Your camels and the things on them, I do not need that.’ said the drummer.”
- (98) “*[mesed-li-š r-ič'-iš oλok'-be r-ese-yon]*
 gold-OBL-GEN1 NHPL-fill-RES leather.bag-PL V-be.probable-CONC
de kamizi r-u:-mez xan-i-λ'o λ'ere-r
 I.ERG be.lacking NHPL-do-PURP.NEG khan-OBL-SPR up-LAT
r-aq'er”
 NHPL-bring
 “‘Even if there were bags filled with gold, I would bring them to the khan without losing any of them.’”
- (99) “*de Ø-uλλo [[hagbe r-aq'er-on] xan-i-š cim*
 I I-be.afraid.PRS these NHPL-bring-CONC khan-OBL-GEN1 anger
q'uł-an=em=λen]. [hayło-qo Ø-aši-yo goła]
 appease-INTFUT=DOUBT=QUOT he.OBL-AT I-find-ICVB be.PTCP
tameh-qo-s biha.miq'a Ø-ik'eł-me”
 punishment-AT-ABL1 easily I-disappear-NEG
 “‘I am afraid that even if I brought them, the khan’s anger would not be appeased. The one who he finds cannot easily disappear from the punishment.’”
- (100) “*[deru r-iq-on] [meži žayib=no λ'ere-r*
 how V-happen-CONC you.PL.GEN1 blame(III)=and up-LAT
b-ux-no] [rok'w=e=n gurhezi r-iq-oλ'o] de meži
 III-take-CVB heart(V)=and feel.sorry.for V-happen-SIM I.ERG you.PL
kekir-no xec-o”
 let-CVB let-PRS
 “‘Whatever happened, I take your fault upon me because I feel sorry for you, I let you leave.’”
- (101) “*[hibadu raλ' xece-n] boλ'araw moča-do b-iλ'i! [nagaħ diž*
 this earth let-CVB any.desired place.IN-DIR HPL-go if I.DAT
b-ike-yo] žayib-no b-u:-yom!”
 HPL-see-COND blame(III)=and III-do-PROH

“Leave this place and go wherever you want! If I see you again, I will not forgive you!”

- (102) *“tameh-mo-qo-s meži b-ik'eł-a gome!”*
 punishment-OBL-AT-ABL1 you.PL HPL-disappear-INF be.NEG
 “You will not escape from the punishment!”
- (103) *[hezzor b-uti-yo] [somoraxdi barkala tołxo] [q'iliqan-zo*
 back HPL-turn.ICVB often thanks give.ICVB drummer-GEN2
k^weze-ra-ł'o ubay-be=n r-u:n] [[noxxo goła] huni
 hand-OBL-SPR kiss-PL=and NHPL-do-CVB come.ICVB be.PTCP way.IN
hezzor b-uti-n] b-ił'i-š=eł bazargam-be
 back HPL-turn-CVB HPL-go-PST=NARR merchant-PL
 ‘The merchants went away on the path on which they came, after turning around, thanking again and again and kissing the drummer’s hand.’
- (104) *[aldoyo c'uk'-no] [[xiri-xiriyaw q'ay-mo-s*
 in.front drive-CVB RED-expensive thing-OBL-GEN1
ʔomokilza-ł'o mesed mecxeli-š b-ič'-iš] torpa=n
 camel.OBL.PL-SPR gold money.OBL-GEN1 III-fill-RES bag(III)=and
b-ux-no] q'iliqano hune-ho Ø-ułi-š=eł
 III-take-CVB drummer way-ILOC I-go.out-PST=NARR
 ‘The drummer took the bags filled with gold, money, and expensive things that were on the camels driven in front of him and went on his way.’
- (105) *[nosod-es mix b-aq'e-ył'or] [hune q'^wena-yo-do*
 at.noon-GEN1 time(III) III-come-POST way(v) two.OBL-LOC-DIR
bił'izi r-iq-a-r] Ø-aq'e-š=eł
 divide V-happen-PTCP.LOC-LAT I-come-PST=NARR
 ‘Before the time of noon, he came to the place where the way divides into two parts.’
- (106) *aldoyo=tow hayłi-r Ø-aq'e-n hayło-qo Ø-eze-n*
 formerly=EMPH there-LAT I-come-CVB he.OBL-AT I-look-CVB
Ø-aši-š=eł zurmaqan
 I-find-PST=NARR zurna.player
 ‘There he found the zurna player waiting for him, who had long before come there.’

- (107) “*As-salamu ?alaykum!*”=*χen* [*haraχ’=no b-ixer-no*] *salam*
 As-salam alaykum=QUOT voice(III)=and III-raise-CVB greeting
toχ-iš=eχ q’iliqan-i zurmaqan-ez [*k^wezey r-ux-a*]
 give-PST=NARR drummer-ERG zurna.player-DAT hand(V) V-take-INF
[igo-r Ø-aq’e-yχ’o]
 near-LAT I-come-SIM
 “‘As-salam alaykum!’ said the drummer, raising his voice and greeting
 the zurna player as he came near in order to take the hand.’”
- (108) “*wa ?alaykum as-salam!*”=*χen* [*toq-no toq-mez*] *salam*
 and alaykum as-salam=QUOT hear-CVB hear-PURP.NEG greeting(III)
b-uti-r-iš=eχ zurmaqan-i [[*q’idi-r r-uti-ho*
 III-turn-CAUS-PST=NARR zurna.player-ERG down-LAT V-turn-ICVB
goła] *q’imu=n r-ixer-no*]
 be.PTCP head(V)=and V-raise-CVB
 “‘Wa aleykum as-salam!’ said the zurna player almost inaudibly, raising
 his head.’”
- (109) *zurmaqan-i hibaytu minut-ma=tow eser-iš=eχ* “*had*
 zurna.player-ERG that.OBL minute-IN=EMPH ask-PST=NARR these
?omokil-be, [haze-χ’o-r χ’ere goła] q’ay=no
 camel.OBL-PL they.OBL-SPR-LAT on be.PTCP thing=and
ti?”=*χen*
 whose=QUOT
 ‘That moment the zurna player asked “The camels and the things on
 them, whose are they?’”
- (110) “*ti r-ič-a r-aq’-o, di=xa!*”=*χen*
 whose NHPL-be-INF NHPL-must-PRS I.GEN I=EMPH=QUOT
eχi-š=eχ paxruči-χ’o q’iliqan-i. “[*di*
 say-PST=NARR pride-SPR” drummer-ERG I.GEN I
r-iq-iš-me q’ede hadbe=n] [*aldoyo c’uk’-no*] *de hadi-r*
 NHPL-happen-PST-NEG IRR these=and in.front drive-CVB I here
Ø-aq’-a zoq^we-s-me?”
 I-come-INF be-PST-NEG
 “‘Whose should they be, mine!’ said the drummer proudly, “‘If they were
 not mine, would I come here driving them in front?’”

- (111) *[hibayru=n eʕi-n] q'iliqan-i [mesed mecxeli-š*
 so=and say-CVB drummer-ERG gold money.OBL-GEN1
b-ič'-iš] torpa zurmaqan-de aldoɣo-r kur-iš=eʕ
 III-fill-RES bag(III) zurna.player-ALOC in.front-LAT throw-PST=NARR
 'Talking like that the drummer put a bag filled with gold and money in
 front of the zurna player.'
- (112) *hayʕu-ʕ'o ʕ'ere gor-iš=eʕ mesed-li-š xet'a-be,*
 that.OBL-SPR on put-PST=NARR gold-OBL-GEN1 earring-PL
kiči-be, aka-be
 ring-PL bracelet-PL
 'On that he put golden earrings, rings, and bracelets.'
- (113) *[maqo-r k'oʕ-ače] [iže.ra-za-ʔ=no og^we-n]*
 outside-LAT run-TERM eye.OBL-OBL.PL-CONT=and move.apart-CVB
[haqu=n y-aɣi-n] [haqa ʔe r-ux-oʕ'o] Ø-iʔi
 mouth(IV)=and IV-open-CVB mouth.IN water(V) V-keep-SIM I-similar
ʔažaʔib Ø-iq-iš=eʕ zurmaqan
 wonder I-happen-PST=NARR zurna.player
 'Until they (almost) came out, the zurna player with eyes popping out
 opened his mouth widely, the mouth full of spittle, and was wondering.'
- (114) *[[hibay bečedaw dawla=n b-ux-no] halmay Ø-aq'e=ʕen]*
 such rich wealth(III)=and III-keep-CVB friend(I) I-come=QUOT
zurmaqan-zo neteqen rok'ʕ'o r-aq'e-s-me=eʕ
 zurna.player-GEN2 never heart.SPR V-come-PST-NEG=NARR
 'The zurna player never imagined that his friend would come bringing
 such wealth.'
- (115) *[rok'ʕ'o Ø-aši-n] zurmaqan-i eʕi-š=eʕ "zonez*
 heart.SPR I-find-CVB zurna.player-ERG say-PST=NARR REFL.SG.DAT
bišon taraw ɣuruš y-aši-š-me"=ʕen
 100 besides ruble(IV) IV-get-PST-NEG=QUOT
 'When he came to his senses again, the zurna player said that he did not
 get more than 100 rubles.'

- (116) “*somoraxdi berten-mo-ɬ-er Ø-aq'e-s, amma*
often wedding-OBL-CONT-LAT I-come-PST but
«*zodi=n goɬ zurmaqan-be*»=*ɣen Ø-uxer-ho*
REFL.PL.GEN I=and be zurna.player-PL=QUOT I-keep-CAUS-ICVB
zoq'w'e-s»=*ɣen*”
be-PST=QUOT
“‘I came to many weddings, but everywhere they told me, we already
have zurna players.’” he said.’
- (117) “*ax r-ič'-ače biša=qen neɣɣo zoq'w'e-s-me*”=*ɣen*
belly(V) V-fill-TERM food=at.least give.ICVB be-PST-NEG=NARR
“‘Not even enough food to fill my belly they gave me.’” he said.’
- (118) “*de=ɣa bečedaw rek'u-zo berten-mo-za-ɬ-er*
I=TOP rich man.OBL-GEN2 wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT
kezi.iq-iš”=*ɣen ese-s=eɣ q'iliqan-i [[č'uhi*
meet.I-PST=QUOT tell-PST=NARR drummer-ERG pride(III)
b-uq-ayaz] ħarakat=no b-u:-n]
III-hide-PURP effort(III)=and III-do-CVB
“‘I came to rich men’s weddings.’” said the drummer, making efforts to
hide his pride.’
- (119) “*baħaraw-za-y qoca-ɣ'o k'oɣ-a Ø-ix-o zoq'w'e-s.*
young-OBL.PL-ERG dance.OBL-SPR jump-INF I-get.up-ICVB be-PST
[moqu b-ič'-no] mecxer ɣ'ere-r kur-ho zoq'w'e-s “*ħerba-s*
palm(III) III-fill-CVB money on-LAT throw-ICVB be-PST guest-GEN I
ħurmat-qatir b-uw-a b-aq'e”=*ɣen*”
respect-honor(III) III-do-INF III-must=QUOT
“‘The young people made me dance. They threw hands filled with money
on me saying that guests must be respected.’”
- (120) “*hes q'ono ɣw'ede de xan-i-žo ked-zo*
one two day(V) I.ERG khan-OBL-GEN2 daughter-GEN2
berten-i-ɬ=no r-iɣ-iš”=*ɣen eɣi-š=eɣ*
wedding-OBL-CONT=and V-spend-PST=QUOT say-PST=NARR
q'iliqan-i [dahaw Ø-iči-n]
drummer-ERG a.little I-be-CVB
“‘A few days I spent at the wedding of the khan’s daughter.’” said the
drummer, waiting a little.’

- (121) “[*mesed mecxer toλ-iš*] [*?ezi b-iq-mez*]
 gold money(III) give-RES suffice III-happen-PURP.NEG
 [*xiri-xiriyaw q’ay-mo-s=no r-ič’-no*] *?omokilu-be=n*
 RED-expensive thing-OBL-GEN I=and NHPL-fill-CVB camel-PL=and
aldoxo c’uk’-iš, [*“ħažat r-iq-me”=λen de qaλe-li:ho*
 in.front drive-PST need(V) V-happen-NEG=QUOT I call-ANTIP-ICVB
Ø-iči-yon”]
 I-be-CONC
 “‘Having given me gold and silver, this was not enough; they also drove camels filled with expensive things in front of me, although I said that there is no need.’”
- (122) “[*debez ħažat r-iqgo r-ese-yo-me*]
 you.SG.DAT need(V) V-happen.ICVB V-be.probable-COND-NEG
?aga-božaraw-za-s toλ-o sayyat ħisab-mo-λ’o!”
 relative-faithful-OBL.PL-GEN I give-IMP present supposition-OBL-SPR
 “‘If you do not need it, give it to your relatives as a present!’”
- (123) [*b-u:ho goła*] *q’ut’i-mo-λ’o req’un q’iliqan*
 III-do-ICVB be.PTCP agreement-OBL-SPR in.accordance drummer(I)
Ø-²eži-š=łun rik’zi.u:s=eλ. ħayło-z ħeno yuruš=no
 I-win-RES=as respect.I-PST=NARR he.OBL-DAT five ruble(IV)=and
y-aši-š=eλ
 IV-get-PST=NARR
 ‘In accordance with the agreement they had made, the drummer was seen as the winner. He also got the five rubles.’
- (124) [*eλi-yo keč’=no*] [*aldoxo c’uk’-no ?omokilu-be=n*] [*q’ili*
 say-ICVB song=and in.front drive-CVB camel-PL=and drum(III)
b-ikko] *q’iliqan=no*, [*q’idi-r kur-no q’imu=n*] [*baλ’iya*
 III-beat.ICVB drummer=and down throw-CVB head=and pocket.IN
bišon yuruš taraw gosme] *zurmaqan=no aλ-a-r*
 100 ruble besides without zurna.player=and village-IN-LAT
b-aq’e-s=eλ
 HPL-come-PST=NARR
 ‘The drummer went, singing a song, driving the camels in front and beating the drum, and the zurna player went with his head down and nothing besides 100 rubles in his pocket; so they came into the village.’

- (125) [*ʔoloqbe q'iliqan-zo beʔe-ho-do b-uti-yo*]
 youth drummer-GEN2 house.OBL-ILOC-DIR HPL-turn-ICVB
hayʔi-r q''iya-be=n b-iʔ'i-š=eʔ [čaxizi.b.iq-no]
 there-LAT other-PL=and HPL-go-PST=NARR run.HPL-CVB
 ‘As the young people went to the drummer’s house, also other people
 went there running.’
- (126) *b-²ežinnu b-eg^wennu q'iliqan-qo xan-i-qo b-iʔ'i dandč''^way*
 HPL-old HPL-young drummer-AT khan-OBL-AT HPL-go meeting
 ‘The old and the young people met the drummer like a khan.’
- (127) *zurmaqan=no dandč''^way b-uw-a Ø-aq'e-s=eʔ hes q'ono*
 zurna.player=and meeting(III) III-do-INF I-come-PST=NARR one two
rek''^we
 man(1)
 ‘But only a few people came to meet the zurna player.’
- (128) *ahlu-mo-y eser-iš=eʔ “hes ʔomokilu-be=n, haze-ʔ'o*
 folk-OBL-ERG ask-PST=NARR one camel-PL=and these.OBL-SPR
ʔ'ere q'ay=no mesed mecxeli-š torpa=n b-ič'-no
 on thing=and gold money-OBL-GEN1 bag(III)=and III-fill-CVB
hes''=ʔen eʔi-yo, “hesqen gosme Ø-aq'e-yoru-s ʔilla
 one=QUOT say-ICVB nothing without I-come-PTCP.PST-GEN1 reason
se?''=ʔen
 what=QUOT
 ‘The people asked, “What is the reason that one came back with camels
 and on them things and bags filled with silver and gold, and the other
 came home without anything?”’
- (129) *q'iliqan-i ese-s=eʔ [ʔeno yuruš sababʔun b-iqqo*
 drummer-ERG tell-PST=NARR five ruble because.of III-happen.ICVB
goʔa] daʔba.roži-ʔi-žo
 be.PTCP controversy-ABST-GEN2
 ‘The drummer told about their controversy that happened because of five
 rubles.’

- (130) “[*hes buq b-oλex-a-do, hes buq*
 one sun(III) III-appear-PTCP.LOC-DIR one sun(III)
b-iλ'i-ya-do b-eze-n b-iλ'-a] kezi.b.iqo
 III-go-PTCP.LOC-DIR HPL-look-CVB HPL-go-INF meet.HPL.ICVB
r-u:-s”
 V-do-PST
 “‘We agreed that one would go in the direction of the rising sun and one
 in the direction of the setting sun.’”
- (131) “*zonez bit' kezi.b.iq-no bečed Ø-iq-no*
 REFL.SG.DAT success(III) meet.III-CVB richly I-become-CVB
Ø-aq'e-s”
 I-come-PST
 “‘I got success and came back having become rich.’”
- (132) “*zurmaqan-es taliħ bit'un b-iq-no gom.*
 zurna.player-GEN I happiness(III) right III-happen-CVB be.NEG
hayto-z žo=tow r-aši-n gom”
 he.OBL-DAT thing=EMPH V-get-CVB be.NEG
 “‘The zurna player was not lucky. He did not get anything.’”
- (133) “[*hago Ø-iλ'i Ø-iλ'i-ya] zurmaqan-be eli=n*
 he I-go I-go-PTCP.LOC zurna.player-PL we.GEN I=and
deče b-eti-yo gołe=n”
 how.many HPL-want-ICVB be=and
 ‘Everwhere he came, (they told him), that they have zurna players as
 many as they need.’
- (134) “*Allahli: toλ-iš-me taliħ b-aši-me*”
 Allah.ERG give-PST-NEG happiness(III) III-find-NEG
 “‘To whom Allah did not give luck, that one does not find luck.’”
- (135) *q'iliqan-i [zonde-r b-aq'-o goła] šinaw*
 drummer-ERG REFL.SG.ALOC-LAT HPL-come-ICVB be.PTCP every
hesqen rek'we [sayyat toλ-mez] hezzor
 anybody man(I) present give-PURP.NEG back
Ø-uti-r-iš-me=eλ
 I-turn-CAUS-PST-NEG=NARR
 ‘The drummer did not send any of the people who came to him back
 without giving them a present.’

- (136) *ʔaga. ʔunt'araw šinaw [mesed mecxer toλ-no] razi*
 relative every gold money give-CVB happy
Ø-u:-s=eλ
 I-do-PST=NARR
 'Every relative (he) gave gold and silver and made them happy.'
- (137) *toq-iš zurmaqan-i zones=tow q'imu zokko*
 hear-PST zurna.player-ERG REFL.SG.GEN1=EMPH head(V) beat-ICVB
zoq'w'e-s=eλ, "nido r-uti-n me zoq'w'e-y?"=λen
 be-PST=NARR where V-turn-CVB you.SG be-Q=QUOT
 '(The people) heard that the zurna player beat himself on the head, say-
 ing, "Where did I turn my head?"'
- (138) *hagoλ'o=šid haze-s hudul-ʔi r-uhe-s=eλ.*
 at.that.time=on they.OBL-GEN1 friend-ABST V-die-PST=NARR
[berten-i-ža-ʔ-er yaʔuni q'w'iyā
 wedding-OBL-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT or other
kompaniya-za-ʔ-er hagbe cadaq b-iλ'i-n]
 company-OBL.PL-CONT-LAT they together HPL-go-CVB
ʔu-z=qen b-ike-s-me=eλ
 who-DAT=at.least HPL-see-PST-NEG=NARR
 'From that time on their friendship was broken. Nobody saw them any-
 more going together to weddings or other parties.'
- (139) *q'iliqan-i xiriyaw kirpič-mo-s aλ-a bišun b-ʔeži*
 drummer-ERG expensive brick-OBL-GEN1 village-IN most III-big
buλe=n b-u:-s=eλ. xiriyaw q'ay.q'ono=n
 house(III)=and III-do-PST=NARR expensive inventory(III)=and
b-ux-iš=eλ
 III-buy-PST=NARR
 'The drummer built an expensive brick house, the biggest house in the
 village. He bought expensive things.'
- (140) *aλ-a bišun bečedaw rek'u-s bišun bercinaw*
 village-IN most rich man.OBL-GEN1 most beautiful
ked=no y-iq'e-s=eλ
 daughter(II)=and II-bring-PST=NARR
 'He married the most beautiful daughter of the richest man in the village.'

- (141) *duniyal-mo-zo raʔalʔi-ʔ'o-r toq-iš berten*
 earth-OBL-GEN2 edge-SPR-LAT hear-RES wedding(III)
b-u:-s=eʔ
 III-do-PST=NARR
 'He made a wedding about which people heard everywhere up to the edge of the world.'
- (142) *[hayʔi-r Ø-aq'e-s-me=n] [hayʔi Ø-iši-š-me=n] rek'we*
 there-LAT I-come-RES-NEG=and there I-eat-RES-NEG=and man(I)
ʔexwe-s-me=eʔ. hayʔi de=n zoq'we-s
 remain-PST-NEG=NARR there I=and be-PST
 'There did not remain anybody who did not go there and who did not eat there. I was also there.'
- (143) *[q'idi-r Ø-iʔ'-ače] qoca-ʔ'o=n k'oʔe-s. [eʔwada-ʔ*
 down-LAT fall-TERM dance.OBL-SPR=and jump-PST sweat-SUB
Ø-eq-ače] keč'=no qaʔe-s. [ʔoloqanaw
 I-cover.oneself-TERM song=and call-PST young
qizan-mo-s sayʔi ʔumru harizi r-u:-n] t'akani
 family-OBL-GEN1 health life request V-do-CVB glass(IV)
y-ixer-iš
 IV-raise-PST
 'I danced until I fell down. I sang songs until I was buried under sweat. I wished the young family health in their life and raised my glass.'
- (144) “*se zurmaqan-ez r-iq-iš?*”=ʔen, *eser meži.*
 what zurna.player-DAT V-happen-PST=QUOT ask you.PL.ERG
hayʔo-zo ʔumru-s žo toq-a r-eti-n?
 he.OBL-GEN2 life-GEN1 thing(V) hear-INF V-want-UWPST
 ‘‘What happened to the zurna player?’’ you will ask. You want to hear about his life?’
- (145) *hago, aldoʔo Ø-iʔi, zonzon=tow iyo-obu-zo*
 he formerly I-similar REFL.SG.GEN2=EMPH mother-father-GEN2
basriyaw idu ʔumru b-u:-ho goʔ. zo Ø-iʔi miskinaw
 stained home life(III) III-do-ICVB be REFL.SG I-similar poor
ʔaša=ʔen ked=no y-iq'e-n=eʔ, haw=no šuqariyamu
 Asha=QUOT girl(II)=and II-bring-UWPST=NARR she=and limping
 'He, like before, lives in the old house of his parents. He married a poor girl called Asha, she was also lame.'

- (146) *haze-s berten zoq^we-ye, zoq^we-y-me? diž*
 they.OBL-GEN I wedding(III) be-Q be-Q-NEG I.DAT
b-eqⁱ-me, de hayti-r Ø-aq^e-s-me, Ø-aq^e-s-me žo
 III-know-NEG I there-LAT I-come-PST-NEG I-come-RES-NEG thing
se de es-an
 what I.ERG tell-INTFUT
 ‘Did they have a wedding or not? I do not know, I did not go there. So
 what will I tell you about something where I did not go.’
- (147) *wa as-salam wakalam*
 and as-salam wakalam
 ‘Wa as-salam wakalam.’

Appendix

31.1. Orthographical conventions

Tables 87-87 show the orthography used in this grammar and in previous works on Hinuq (namely in the works of (Bokarev 1959), (Lomtadze 1963), (Imnajšvili 1963), and (Khalilov & Isakov 2005)). Note that the Cyrillic-based orthography is almost uniform. The same is true for the Latin-based orthography used by the Georgian scholars. Therefore, both these orthographies are merged in one column each in Tables 87 and 87.

Table 87. Hinuq orthography (Part 1)

This grammar	Bokarev (1959), Khalilov & Isakov (2005)	Lomtadze (1963), Imnajšvili (1963)
a	а	a
b	ბ	b
c	ц	c
c'	ц	ç
č	ч	č
č'	ч	č̣
d	д	d
e	е, ¹⁴⁶ ε	e
(f)	- / ф	-
g	г	g
ɣ	гъ	ɣ
h	гъ	h
ḥ	х	ḥ, h'
i	и	i
k	к	k
k'	к	ḳ
l	л	l
ḷ	лъ	ḷ
λ	ლ	l'
λ'	кь	ł
m	მ	m
n	н	n

¹⁴⁶ε indicates /e/ in initial position; e is used for medial and final position.

Table 88. Hinuq orthography (Part 2)

This grammar	Bokarev (1959), Khalilov & Isakov (2005)	Lomtadze (1963), Imnajšvili (1963)
o	o	o
p	п	p
p'	п	p̣
q	хЪ	q
q'	кЪ	q̣
r	р	r
s	с	s
š	ш	š
t	т	t
t'	т	ṭ
ü	й̣	i°
w	в	v
x	х	x
y	й	j
z	з	z
ž	ж	ž
ʔ	г	ω
ʔ'	- / ъ	ʔ
w	в	v
ʔ	./	ʔ
:	v̄	v̄
ya	я ¹⁴⁷	ja

31.2. Index of affixes and enclitics

This section gives a list of all prefixes, suffixes, and enclitics, including those suffixes that do not have glosses. The lists include the name of the item, the glossing (if there is any), and the number of the chapter or section where the item is treated.

31.2.1. Prefixes

Ø-	gender I singular (I) (Chapter 4)
y-	1. gender II singular (II) (Chapter 4)
	2. gender IV singular (IV) (Chapter 4)

¹⁴⁷This letter has only been used by Bokarev.

- b-* 1. gender III singular (III) (Chapter 4)
2. human plural (HPL) (Chapter 4)
- r-* 1. human plural (HPL) (Chapter 4)
2. non-human plural (NHPL) (Chapter 4)

31.2.2. Suffixes and enclitics (including all allomorphs)

- a* 1. Infinitive (INF) (Section 7.7.5.1)
2. Local participle (PTCP.LOC) (Section 7.7.3.1)
3. IN-Essive (IN) (Section 3.5.12)
4. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- ače* Terminative converb (TERM) (Section 7.7.2.2)
- amin* Negative Intentional Future (INTFUT.NEG) (Section 7.4.2)
- an* 1. Intentional Future (INTFUT) (Section 7.4.2)
2. Reduplication (RED) (Section 9.5)
- aŋi* Simultaneous converb (SIM) (Section 7.7.2.3)
- aru* Masdar (MSD) (Section 7.7.5.2)
- ayaz* Purposive converb (PURP) (Section 7.7.2.12)
- as* Indefinite future (FUT) (Section 7.4.1)
- be* Plural (PL) (Section 3.3)
- če/=če* 1. Terminative converb (TERM) (Section 7.7.2.2)
2. Equative enclitic (EQ) (Section 13.1.2.2)
- či* Irrealis suffix (IRR) (Section 13.1.2.3)
- =čo* Emphatic enclitic (EMPH) (Section 13.1.1.3)
- d* Instrumental case (INS) (Section 3.5.6)
- de* Animate location (ALOC) (Section 3.5.24)
- (=)demu* Particle (PRT) (Section 6.7.1.5), (Section 3.6.7)
- di* Indefinite (INDEF) (Section 5.6.2)
- do* 1. Directional case (DIR) (Section 3.5.7)
2. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- do:* Antipassive (ANTIP) (Section 9.2.5)
- e/=e* 1. IN-essive (IN) (Section 3.5.12)
2. Interrogative enclitic/suffix (Q) (Section 13.1.2.1)
- ek'* Causative (CAUS) (Section 9.2.3)
- eŋ* 1. Location with contact (CONT) (Section 3.5.8)
2. Potential/inchoative (POT) (Section 9.2.4)
- eŋ/=eŋ* 1. Location under (SUB) (Section 3.5.14)
2. Narrative enclitic (NARR) (Section 8.3.3)
- =em* Enclitic signalling doubt (DOUBT) (Section 13.1.1.6)
- er* 1. Lative case (LAT) (Section 3.5.7)
2. Causative (CAUS) (Section 9.2.2)
- =gon* 1. Topic (TOP) (Section 13.1.1.1)
2. Additive (ADD) (Section 13.1.1.1)
3. Even (Section 13.1.1.1)
- =gozo* 1. Topic (TOP) (Section 13.1.1.1)

	2. Additive (ADD) (Section 13.1.1.1)
	3. Even (Section 13.1.1.1)
=gozon	1. Topic (TOP) (Section 13.1.1.1)
	2. Additive (ADD) (Section 13.1.1.1)
	3. Even (Section 13.1.1.1)
-yo	Local (LOC) (Section 3.5.30)
-ho	1. Inanimate location (ILOC) (Section 3.5.27)
	2. Simple Present (PRS) (Section 7.4.4)
	3. Imperfective converb (ICVB) (Section 7.7.2.9)
-i	1. Ergative case (ERG) (Section 3.5.3)
	2. IN-Essive (IN) (Section 3.5.12)
	3. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
	4. Interrogative suffix (Q) (Section 13.1.2.1)
-iš	1. Simple Past (PST) (Section 7.4.5)
	2. Resultative participle (RES) (Section 7.7.4.5)
-iye	Interrogative suffix (Q) (Section 13.1.2.1)
-k'	Causative (CAUS) (Section 9.2.3)
-k'a	Adjectivizer (ADJ) (Section 6.7.2.2)
-la	Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
-li	1. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
	2. Relative clause forming suffix (REL) (Section 13.1.2.8)
-li:	Antipassive (ANTIP) (Section 9.2.5)
-ł	1. Location with contact (CONT) (Section 3.5.8)
	2. Simultaneous converb (SIM) (Section 7.7.2.3)
	3. Potential/inchoative (POT) (Section 9.2.4)
-li	Abstract suffix (ABST) (Section 13.1.2.7)
-łe	Enclitic meaning 'really' (Section 13.1.1.4)
=łun	Comparative enclitic meaning 'as' (Section 13.1.2.4)
-ł/=ł	1. Location under (SUB) (Section 3.5.14)
	2. Narrative enclitic (NARR) (Section 8.3.3)
-ła/=ła	1. Indefinite (INDEF) (Section 5.6.2)
	2. Modifier (MOD) (Section 13.1.3.2)
	3. Topic enclitic (TOP) (Section 13.1.3.2)
-łi	Purpose (PURP) (Section 13.1.2.10)
-ło	Optative (OPT) (Section 7.6.4)
=ł'en	Quotative enclitic (QUOT) (Section 13.1.2.6)
-ł'o	1. Location 'on' (SPR) (Section 3.5.16)
	2. Simultaneous converb (SIM) (Section 7.7.2.3)
-ł'or	Posterior converb (POST) (Section 7.7.2.1)
-ł'os	Habitual participle (HAB) (Section 7.7.4.4)
-ł'ozo	Oblique Habitual participle (HAB.OBL) (Section 7.7.4.4)
=m	Enclitic signalling doubt (DOUBT) (Section 13.1.1.6)
-ma	IN-Essive (IN) (Section 3.5.12)
-me	Negative (NEG) (Section 7.2.3)
-mez	Negative Purposive converb (PURP.NEG) (Section 7.7.2.12)

- mo* Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- min* Negative Intentional Future (INTFUT.NEG) (Section 7.4.2)
- n/=n*
 1. Unwitnessed Past (UWPST) (Section 7.5.10)
 2. Intentional future (INTFUT) (Section 7.4.2)
 3. Narrative converb (CVB) (Section 7.7.2.8)
 4. Coordinative enclitic ‘and’ (Section 13.1.3.3)
- na* Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- ni* Attributive suffix (ATT) (Section 13.1.2.9)
- no/=no*
 1. Unwitnessed Past (UWPST) (Section 7.5.10)
 2. Narrative converb (CVB) (Section 7.7.2.8)
 3. Coordinative enclitic ‘and’ (Section 13.1.3.3)
- nos* Simple Anterior converb (ANT) (Section 7.7.2.6)
- nu* Masdar (MSD) (Section 7.7.5.2)
- o*
 1. Simple Present (PRS) (Section 7.4.4)
 2. Imperative (IMP) (Section 7.6.2)
 3. Imperfective converb (ICVB) (Section 7.7.2.9)
 4. Realis Conditional converb (COND) (Section 7.7.2.10)
 5. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- oho*
 1. Simple Present (PRS) (Section 7.4.4)
 2. Imperfective converb (ICVB) (Section 7.7.2.9)
- oλ'o* Simultaneous converb (SIM) (Section 7.7.2.3)
- oλ'or* Posterior converb (POST) (Section 7.7.2.1)
- om* Prohibitive (PROH) (Section 7.6.3)
- omen* Concessive converb (CONC.NEG) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- omeλ'o* Negative Simultaneous converb (SIM.NEG) (Section 7.7.2.3)
- on* Concessive converb (CONC) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- ono* Concessive converb (CONC) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- oru* Past participle (PTCP.PST) (Section 7.7.4.3)
- orun* Immediate Anterior converb (IMANT) (Section 7.7.2.7)
- =*qen* Enclitic meaning ‘at least, even’ (AT.LEAST) (Section 13.1.3.1)
- qo* Location at (AT) (Section 3.5.20)
- r*
 1. Lative case (LAT) (Section 3.5.7)
 2. Causative (CAUS) (Section 9.2.2)
- ra* Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- ro* Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- ru*
 1. Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
 2. Past participle (PTCP.PST) (Section 7.7.4.3)
 3. Intentional (INT) (Section 8.2.3)
- s*
 1. First Genitive (GEN1) (Section 3.5.4)
 2. First Ablative (ABL1) (Section 3.5.7)
 3. Simple Past (PST) (Section 7.4.5)
 4. Resultative participle (RES) (Section 7.7.4.5)
- š*
 1. First Genitive (GEN1) (Section 3.5.4)
 2. First Ablative (ABL1) (Section 3.5.7)
 3. Simple Past (PST) (Section 7.4.5)

= <i>tow</i>	4. Resultative participle (RES) (Section 7.7.4.5) 1. Emphatic enclitic (EMPH) (Section 13.1.1.2) 2. Enclitic meaning ‘self’ (SELF) (Section 13.1.1.2)
- <i>u</i>	Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
= <i>xa</i>	Emphatic enclitic (EMPH) (Section 13.1.1.5)
- <i>y</i>	Interrogative suffix (Q) (Section 13.1.2.1)
- <i>ya</i>	Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- <i>ye/=ye</i>	Interrogative enclitic/suffix (Q) (Section 13.1.2.1)
= <i>yem</i>	Enclitic signalling doubt (DOUBT) (Section 13.1.1.6)
- <i>yi</i>	Oblique stem marker (OBL) (Section 3.2.2)
- <i>ymeλ'o</i>	Negative Simultaneous converb (SIM.NEG) (Section 7.7.2.3)
- <i>yo</i>	1. Simple Present (PRS) (Section 7.4.4) 2. Realis Conditional converb (COND) (Section 7.7.2.10)
- <i>yom</i>	Prohibitive (PROH) (Section 7.6.3)
- <i>yomen</i>	Concessive converb (CONC.NEG) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- <i>yon</i>	Concessive converb (CONC) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- <i>yono</i>	Concessive converb (CONC) (Section 7.7.2.11)
- <i>yλ'o</i>	Simultaneous converb (SIM) (Section 7.7.2.3)
- <i>yλ'or</i>	Posterior converb (POST) (Section 7.7.2.1)
- <i>yoru</i>	Past participle (PTCP.PST) (Section 7.7.4.3)
- <i>yorun</i>	Immediate Anterior converb (IMANT) (Section 7.7.2.7)
- <i>yu</i>	Vocative suffix (VOC) (Section 13.1.2.5)
- <i>z</i>	1. Dative case (DAT) (Section 3.5.5) 2. Purposive converb (PURP) (Section 7.7.2.12)
- <i>za</i>	Oblique plural (OBL.PL) (Section 3.4)
- <i>zo</i>	1. Second Genitive case (GEN2) (Section 3.5.4) 2. Second Ablative (ABL2) (Section 3.5.7)
- <i>ž</i>	1. Dative case (DAT) (Section 3.5.5) 2. Purposive converb (PURP) (Section 7.7.2.12)
- <i>ža</i>	Oblique plural (OBL.PL) (Section 3.4)
- <i>žo</i>	1. Second Genitive case (GEN2) (Section 3.5.4) 2. Second Ablative (ABL2) (Section 3.5.7)

31.2.3. Derivational suffixes that are not glossed

- <i>či</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9)
- <i>damu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.1)
- <i>dīyu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.2.3)
- <i>duk'a</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.2.3)
- <i>ku</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9)
- <i>k'u</i>	for deriving nouns (3.6.3)
- <i>lamu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.1)
- <i>lu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.4)
- <i>λa</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9)
- <i>λu</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9)

<i>-mu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.1)
<i>-nak'u</i>	for deriving nouns (3.6.3)
<i>-naxu</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9)
<i>-ni</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.8)
<i>-nnu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.2.1)
<i>-qan</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.4)
<i>-qu</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.5)
<i>-ramu</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.1)
<i>-ro</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.6)
<i>-ryo</i>	for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.6)
<i>-t'u</i>	for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.2)
<i>-xu</i>	1. for deriving nouns (Section 3.6.9) 2. for deriving adjectives (Section 6.7.1.3)

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