

A grammar of Sanzhi Dargwa

Diana Forker

Languages of the Caucasus 2



Languages of the Caucasus

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1. Daniel, Michael, Nina Dobrushina & Dmitry Ganenkov (eds.). The Mehweb language: Essays on phonology, morphology and syntax.
2. Forker, Diana. A grammar of Sanzhi Dargwa.

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Forker, Diana. 2020. *A grammar of Sanzhi Dargwa* (Languages of the Caucasus 2).
Berlin: Language Science Press.

This title can be downloaded at:

<http://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/250>

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ISBN: 978-3-96110-196-2 (Digital)

978-3-96110-197-9 (Hardcover)

DOI:10.5281/zenodo.3339225

Source code available from www.github.com/langsci/250

Collaborative reading: paperhive.org/documents/remote?type=langsci&id=250

Cover and concept of design: Ulrike Harbort

Typesetting: Diana Forker, Felix Anker, Felix Kopecky

Proofreading: Ahmet Bilal Özdemir, Andrew Spencer, Aniefon Daniel, Daryl

MacDonald, Felix Kopecky, Ivica Jeđud , Jeroen van de Weijer, Jezia Talavera, Laura

Arnold, Laurentia Schreiber, Mykel Brinkerhoff, Jean Nitzke, Sebastian Nordhoff, Sune

Gregersen, Tom Bossuyt, Alena Witzlack, Yvonne Treis

Fonts: Libertinus, Arimo, DejaVu Sans Mono

Typesetting software: X_YLA_TE_X

Language Science Press

Unter den Linden 6

10099 Berlin, Germany

langsci-press.org

Storage and cataloguing done by FU Berlin

Freie Universität  Berlin

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Acknowledgments

This grammar could not have been written without the support of many people and institutions.

First of all I am indebted to the Sanzhi community, in particular to my main assistant and consultant Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, his wife Fatimat ('Batichaj') and his entire family. His passion for Sanzhi culture, history and language, his extraordinary patience in dealing with my endless questions and his linguistic intuitions made the work on this grammar possible and in fact a wonderful experience. He and his family hosted me during the entire project and allowed me to fully concentrate on my work while being their guest in Druzhba.

The grammar is one of the results of the language documentation project *Documenting Dargi languages in Dagestan – Shiri and Sanzhi* (2012–2019). The project was supported by many other members of the Sanzhi community in addition to Gadzhimurad, in particular by Isakadi Bakhmudov and Asabali Gadzhimuradov. A big *barkalla* goes to all of you!

The project has received financial support through a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation (DobeS program) to Diana Forker (Grant Number 86 357). This generous support is gratefully acknowledged. I am particularly thankful for the help of Vera Szöllösi (Volkswagen Foundation) and for the administrative support of Geoffrey Haig (University of Bamberg).

The project has been conducted by an international team of researchers, first of all Rasul Mutalov, whose idea it was to document endangered Dargwa languages and to apply for a grant from the Volkswagen Foundation. I also wish to thank my other two fellow project members, Oleg Belyaev and Iwona Kaliszewska, as well as the student assistants André Müller, Teresa Klemm, Felix Anker, and Nils Schiborr for scientific, technical and practical support at all stages of the project.

The grammar has profited from many discussions with researchers, colleagues and friends, especially the very active "Caucasian community" scattered around the globe, but united by the interest and the fascination for the languages of the Caucasus. In particular I want to thank the reviewers who kindly provided many comments, corrections and useful suggestions: Gilles Authier, Natasha Bogomolova, Ilya Chechuro, Denis Creissels, Misha Daniel, Nina Dobrushina, Dima Ganenkov, Linda Konnerth, Yura Lander, Timur Maisak, Zarina Molochieva, George Moroz, Jérémy Pasquereau, Stefan Schnell, Nina Sumbatova, and Jussi Ylikoski. I am also grateful to Sebastian Nordhoff, Felix Kopecky and the proof readers from Language Science Press for making it possible to publish high quality books that are accessible to everybody. Finally I am lucky to have the best family support I can think of.

Tanzt eure Revolution!

Spelling conventions

The writing system used in this grammar largely follows previous works on other Dargwa varieties (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003; Sumbatova & Lander 2014). Given below as well is the Cyrillic orthography, which I use with the Sanzhi community and which has been established in Forker & Gadzhimuradov (2017). It is almost identical to the established orthography of Standard Dargwa (plus sounds that Standard Dargwa lacks, minus sounds that do not exist in Sanzhi Dargwa). The letters given in brackets represent phonemes that occur only in loan words.

Cyrillic	orthographic	IPA	Cyrillic	orthographic	IPA
а	a	a	сс	s:	s:
б	b	b	т	t	t
в	w, ^w	w, ^w	тт	t:	t:
г	g	g	тІ	tʰ	tʰ
гІ	ʔ	ʔ, ʔ	у	u	u
гъ	ʁ	ʁ	(ф)	(f)	f
гь	h	h	х	χ	χ
д	d	d	хх	χ:	χ:
е	e, je	e, je	хъ	q	q
ж	ʒ	ʒ	хь	x	x
з	z	z	хьхь	x:	x:
и	i	i	хІ	ħ	ħ
й	j	j	ц	c	ts
к	k	k	цІ	cʰ	tsʰ
кк	k:	k:	ч	č	tʃ
кІ	kʰ	kʰ	ч:	č:	tʃ:
къ	q:	q:	чІ	čʰ	tʃʰ
кь	qʰ	qʰ	ш	ʃ	ʃ
л	l	l	шш, щ	ʃ:	ʃ:
м	m	m	ъ	ʔ	ʔ
н	n	n	э	e	e
(о)	(o)	o	уІ	u [◌]	u [◌]
п	p	p	ю	u [◌]	u [◌]
пІ	pʰ	pʰ	ю	ju	ju
р	r	r	я	a [◌]	a [◌]
с	s	s	я	ja	ja

Glosses and other abbreviations

Glosses

1	first person	IMP	imperative
2	second person	IN	location 'in'; preverb 'in';
3	third person		spatial case 'in, on, at,
ABL	ablative		among'
AD	spatial case 'at' animate reference point	INDEF	indefinite
ADD	additive	INDQ	embedded question
ADJVZ	adjectivizer	INF	infinitive
ADVZ	adverbializer	IN.FRONT	preverb 'in front'
ANTE	location 'in front' (spatial case, preverb)	IN.THE.HANDS	preverb 'in the hands'
ASSOC	associative plural	INTR	stem augment vowel for intransitive verbs in certain verb forms
AUX	auxiliary	IPFV	imperfective
BEHIND	spatial preverb 'behind'	LOC	locative (participle); locative case 'in, on, to'
CAUS	causative	M	human masculine singular
COMIT	comitative	MOD	modal
CONC	concessive	MODQ	modal interrogative
COND	conditional	MSD	masdar
COP	copula	N	neuter singular
CVB	converb	NEG	negation
DAT	dative	NMLZ	nominalizer
DD	definite description	NPL	neuter plural
DEM	demonstrative	NUM	numeral
DIR	directional case	OBL	oblique stem marker
DOWN	spatial preverb 'down'	OPT	optative
EMPH	emphatic particle	ORD	ordinal
EQ	equative enclitic	OUTSIDE	spatial preverb 'outside'
ERG	ergative	PFV	perfective
F	human feminine singular	PL	plural
GEN	genitive	POST	posteriority
GM	gender marker		temporal suffix 'since, after'; spatial case 'behind'
GROUP	derivation of group numerals	PRET	preterite
HAB	habitual	PROH	prohibitive
HITHER	preverb 'to the speaker, hither'		
HPL	human plural		
ICVB	imperfective converb		

Glosses and other abbreviations

PRS	present	SUB	location 'under' (spatial case, preverb)
PRT	particle	SUBJ	subjunctive
PST	past	TEN	derivation of numerals multiples of ten
PTCP	participle	THITHER	preverb 'away from speaker, thither'
PVB	preverb	TIME	derivation of multiplicative numerals
Q	question	UP	spatial meaning 'up(wards)'
REF	referential		
REFL	reflexive		
SG	singular		
SPR	spatial preverb 'on'		

Other abbreviations

A	agent	P	patient
C	consonant	pro.	pronoun
cond.	conditional	R	recipient
dem.	demonstrative	refl.	reflexive
ditr.	ditransitive	S	single argument of an intransitive clause
E	elicited example	S	subject
EXP	experiencer	s.o.	someone
G	goal	T	theme
intr.	intransitive	TAM	tense-aspect-mood
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet	tr.	transitive
lit.	literally	V	verb
N	noun	V	vowel
n	no	y	yes
NP	noun phrase		
O	object		

1 Introduction

1.1 The Sanzhi community and the Sanzhi language

Sanzhi Dargwa is an East Caucasian (i.e. Nakh-Dagestanian) language from the Dargwa (or Dargi) subbranch and belongs to the South Dargwa varieties (Glottocode: sanz1248). In the literature, there is no unique terminology referring to Dargwa languages, dialects or peoples, but several terms exist: Dargwa, Dargva, Dargi, or Darginskiy. For reasons of uniformity and unambiguousness I restrict myself to the label and the graphic representation *Dargwa* and will not use the other terms. Sanzhi Dargwa is spoken by approximately 250 speakers and is critically endangered. The self-designation of the Sanzhi people is *sunglan-te* (Sanzhi.person-PL) and the language is called *sunglan vaj* (lit. Sanzhi.person language).

More than 40 years ago, all Sanzhi speakers left the village of Sanzhi, their village of origin, in the Caucasian Mountains. Sanzhi is located in the Dakhadayevskiy rayon in central Dagestan (today part of the Russian Federation), which is predominantly inhabited by speakers of Dargwa languages.

The village of Sanzhi is located on the sunny side of the Ulluchay river valley, at an altitude of about 1,500 meters (Figure 1.5). The closest neighboring villages are Itsari, Shari, Khuduts, Ashty, and Amukh. The distance from Makhachkala is around 200 kilometers, from the regional center of the Dakhadayevskiy rayon, Urkarakh, it is 66 kilometers, and from Derbent around 150 kilometers. There is no direct road to Sanzhi. In order to reach the village, people go to Itsari by car or minibus and then walk around six kilometers until they reach Sanzhi. Currently, the Sanzhi territory is part of the nature park Itsari.

The village consists of approximately 30 houses, which are in very poor condition and not inhabited anymore (Figures 1.1–1.3). The only house with a roof that is relatively well kept is the former school building. Sanzhi people regularly go to Sanzhi in the summer to spend a few days fishing, berry picking, and doing other activities in their former village. The village is surrounded by terrace fields that have been used for centuries to grow crops such as rye, wheat, barley, oats, and in the recent past also carrots, radishes, potatoes, and others. The traditional occupations of the Sanzhi people were farming and breeding, in particular sheep breeding. Not far from the village, ancient rock paintings can be found that, according to the Sanzhi people, have been the subject of investigation by several researchers from Russia. Unfortunately, I was not able to find literature on the paintings or the research expeditions.

From 1968 onwards, within a relatively short time span, all Sanzhi people moved to the lowlands to ethnically and linguistically mixed settlements. The major reason for the resettlement was the difficult life in the mountains. There was and still is no road leading

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Figure 1.1: The village of Sanzhi in 2011 (courtesy of Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov)



Figure 1.2: The village of Sanzhi in 2013 (courtesy of Iwona Kaliszewska)

1.1 The Sanzhi community and the Sanzhi language



Figure 1.3: An old picture of Sanzhi, around 1957 (courtesy of the Sanzhi community)



Figure 1.4: The village of Druzhiba in the winter of 2014 (picture by Diana Forker)

to Sanzhi, and also no electricity. From grade five on, children had to walk by foot to the school in Itsari every day and in all weathers.

Today, the majority of Sanzhi speakers live in the village of Druzhba in the Dagestania lowlands (Kayakentskiy Rayon) (Figure 1.4) and to a lesser extent in other settlements in Dagestan and other parts of Russia. Druzhba is an ethnically and linguistically heterogeneous settlement with speakers of other South Dargwa varieties, other East Caucasian languages such as Tabasaran, Agul, Lezgian, and Lak, and also a very few Kumyk (Turkic) and Russian speakers. In Druzhba, people make a living by working in the local vineyards that used to be part of a *sovkhos* (Soviet state farm). Many inhabitants, especially men, commute to other parts of Russia to work there and support their families back home. A map of Dagestan with Sanzhi and Druzhba is given in Figure 1.5.

1.2 The sociolinguistic situation of Sanzhi

All languages of the Republic of Dagestan are official languages, but only 14 of them have the status of being officially written languages. Sanzhi Dargwa, like many other comparatively small languages and varieties spoken on the territory of Dagestan, does not belong to the written languages.

Before the arrival of Russian in the remote parts of the central Dagestania mountains, where the original village of Sanzhi is located, Kumyk served as the language of interethnic communication in the wider area. The main traces of contact with Kumyk are the numerous Turkic loan words (e.g. the first part in *ač barq'ij* 'open' originates from the Kumyk verb *ač-maq*, *baχča* 'garden' (identical in Kumyk), *q:^waz* 'goose' from Kumyk *qaz*, and many more). Nevertheless, among the Sanzhi speakers with whom I worked, nobody claimed to have a significant command of Kumyk. All villages, except for one¹ in the immediate neighborhood of Sanzhi, are Dargwa villages with Dargwa varieties closely related to Sanzhi, so that communication was and still is easily possible just by sticking to one's own variety.

Today, all Sanzhi speakers are bilingual or multilingual to various extents because they know at least some Russian. Russian serves as the main language of interethnic communication and is the only language used in education and administration, and more generally in the public sphere in Dagestan. The degree of bilingualism varies from speaker to speaker, but simplifying somewhat, it is possible to say that women of the oldest generation (60 years and older) are the only group for whom Sanzhi is the dominant language. Men of the oldest generation as well as many members of the middle generation (age 30 to 60) are more or less balanced bilinguals, and use the two languages in accordance with the different functional domains (public/official vs. private/speech community). All members of the youngest generation are dominant in Russian, but everybody has at least a passive command of Sanzhi and is able to use a simplified form of the language in communication with members of the oldest generation, e.g. in interaction between grandchildren and grandparents.

¹The exception is the village of Shara that was originally inhabited by speakers of Agul, but today it is also a Dargwa village according to my Sanzhi assistant.

1.2 The sociolinguistic situation of Sanzhi



Figure 1.5: Map of Dagestan

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Figure 1.6: Sanzhi men at the Uraza Bayram, the holiday at the end of Ramadan in 2013 (Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, who is dressed in dark clothes, is standing on the left side) (picture by Diana Forker)

Thus, the contact situation is largely language maintenance for the oldest and middle generation. Among the youngest generation language shift is observable, and it is reasonable to assume that members of the youngest generation in particular who are still children today will not pass on Sanzhi to their children. Some children and young people in Druzhba still learn Sanzhi as their first language (this depends on the family situation), but they come in contact with Russian right from the first day of their life. Russian becomes the dominant language at the latest when children start attending kindergarten. Therefore, they generally have a limited and mostly passive command of Sanzhi and prefer to speak only Russian. Sanzhi people of the young generation, including small children, speak predominantly Russian with each other. More and more Sanzhi people speak Russian not only to their neighbors in Druzhba, many of which are from other ethnic groups, but even at home. Although the people have a positive language attitude and are proud of speaking their own language, Russian is considered to be not only more prestigious, but extremely necessary for the future of their children (see Forker 2018c for more information).

Another factor influencing the linguistic situation is marriage between women and men from different ethnic groups, which usually does not lead to bilingual children acquiring both the language of the mother and of the father, but to children speaking only Russian at home, as the parents use Russian to communicate with each other. I estimate

that there are only a few families left in which both husband and wife are competent Sanzhi speakers that have grown up in the village of Sanzhi. We can assume that in the past the situation must have been different and the vast majority of wives were either from Sanzhi or from the surrounding villages (Itsari, Chakhri, Kunki, Duakar, Dzilebki are the main villages of origins of mothers and wives of the Sanzhi speakers with whom I worked).

Since Sanzhi Dargwa is not employed in the public domain (e.g. administration, education, media, court) the language is unwritten and used only for oral communication within the Sanzhi community. The only printed material so far is Forker & Gadzhimuradov (2017), a collection of traditional stories and other texts. In school, Sanzhi children have around two hours of mother tongue education per week, during which they learn Standard Dargwa. Sanzhi speakers do not understand literary Standard Dargwa, because Akusha Dargwa, the base for the standard language, is a Northern Dargwa variety and quite different from Sanzhi. Therefore, in spite of the school classes, Sanzhi children usually do not learn Standard Dargwa well and are not able to speak, write, or read in Standard Dargwa, or make use of the few newspapers and TV programs that exist.

1.3 Genealogical affiliation

Sanzhi (Glottocode: sanz1248) belongs to the Dargwa (Dargi) languages, which form a subgroup of the East Caucasian (Nakh-Dagestanian) language family. The exact number of languages belonging to this family is unknown, but it can be estimated to be around 40. The internal classification of the family has not yet been unanimously resolved. Figure 1.7 shows one of the possible classifications (namely the classification according to Kibrik 1996: xi). The internal division of the Dargwa branch into subvarieties is largely taken from Koryakov (2006). Dargwa languages are commonly divided into a Northern Dargwa group and a Southern Dargwa group, whereby Sanzhi belongs to the latter. The spelling of the names for languages and varieties in Figure 1.7 follows the conventions established in the literature and in the recent handbooks on East Caucasian languages (Polinsky 2020; Koryakov et al. Submitted). Unfortunately, in a few cases this leads to differences between the spelling of a village name and the spelling of the language spoken in it (e.g. the village of Itsari vs. Icari Dargwa).

1.4 Dargwa languages and the problem of the “Dargwa ethnicity”

Today, all languages spoken in the the Republic of Dagestan have the status of official languages (see the article 11 of the constitution of Dagestan, 2003). This includes Standard Dargwa and Russian, among others. There is a distinction between the so-called “unwritten” and the “written languages” of Dagestan. The latter are (in addition to Russian), Avar, Agul, Azerbaijani, Kumyk, Lak, Lezgian, Nohay, Rutul, Tabasaran, Tat, Tsakhur, and Chechen. Written languages of Dagestan are, in principle, taught in school and used

1 Introduction



Figure 1.7: A family tree of East Caucasian

to some extent in the media (e.g. newspapers, journals). Until 1928, speakers of Dargwa varieties used the Arabic script, but there was no standard orthography. From 1925 onwards, the first newspaper in a Dargwa language was published (Abdullaev 1954: 15). This newspaper, as well as most books and other materials, was published in Akusha Dargwa, the language which was later chosen as the basis for the literary standard Dargwa language. There are several reasons for this choice: Akusha was and still is the Dargwa variety with the most speakers, and the village of Akusha together with the surrounding villages formed an autonomous center (*vol'noe obščestvo*) for a long time. In 1930 at the first Dagestanian conference on orthography, Akusha was appointed to be the basis for the literary standard Dargwa language. In 1928, a Latin alphabet was developed for a number of Dagestanian languages including Dargwa, Avar, Lak, Lezgian, and Tabasaran. In 1938 the policy changed completely, and for all Dagestanian literary languages Cyrillic alphabets were introduced (Grenoble 2003: 48–51). In the following years the Dargwa alphabet underwent several changes.

Dargwa people are officially considered to be one group that shares a common ethnicity, and to speak various dialects of one and the same Dargwa language (see below for the viewpoint of linguistics on this). According to the data of the Russian census from 2010, for instance, about 510 000 people consider themselves to be ethnic Dargwa, and

thus represent the second biggest ethnic group in Dagestan (after the Avars). The vast majority of them claim to speak Dargwa.

Dargwa languages are spoken in the central part of Dagestan (traditionally in the districts Akushinskiy, Levashinskiy, Dakhadayevskiy, Sergokalinskiy, Kaytagskiy, and also partially in the districts of Gunibskiy, Buynakskiy, Karabudakhkentskiy, and Agulskiy), in a territory with a length of about 100 km and a breadth of about 70 km (Figure 1.8). In the west, this area borders on Lak and Avar territory. In the north and east, the Dargwa area borders on Kumyk lands, and in the south on Tabasaran lands.

The term *Dargwa* with its current reference was only introduced during Soviet times. There was a policy at the time to create names for peoples and languages that often lacked significance for the people themselves, and to introduce ethnic boundaries all over the Northern Caucasus (Grenoble 2003: 114). The use of these names is nowadays fully established and is largely maintained for political reasons (Šaxbanov 2009).

Historically, the term *Dargwa* (or *Dargi*) does not refer to an ethnic group (Abdullaev 1954: 13). There were seven unions of settlements in central Dagestan that referred to themselves with a proper name and the term *Dargwa*: Akusha Dargwa, Bukun Dargwa, Gutsi Dargwa, Kaba Dargwa, Utsmi (or Kaytag) Dargwa, Khamur Dargwa, and Sirkha Dargwa (Magomedov 1999: 13). That is, *Dargwa* referred to settlement centers that consisted of a number of small villages forming a unit, which were able to defend themselves and their own interests against enemies (*vol'noe obščestvo*). Other urban centers in the north, like Kadar and Gubden, whose inhabitants are also considered to be Dargwa people today (and to speak Dargwa varieties), did not belong to those units to which the term *Dargwa* was applied. They formed one administrative unit with Kumyk villages (Abdullaev 1954: 12), and used Kumyk as their lingua franca (Dobrushina et al. 2020; Wixman 1980: 58–59).

Similarly, there was not one single language with the name *Dargwa*, but a group of related languages, in reference to which the names of the urban centers were used (Uslar 1892: 1). But since Soviet times, the classification of the Dargwa varieties as dialects of one and the same Dargwa language has persisted in many publications and in all official documents (e.g. Abdullaev 1954; Gasanova 1971; Musaev 2002; WALS²; Ethnologue³).

Following the most recent publications on the internal classification of the East Caucasian language family (Koryakov 2006; Koryakov & Sumbatova 2007), the Dargwa branch consists of 19 languages and about 40 dialects (see Figure 1.7 above). The biggest are Akusha Dargwa (about 42 000 speakers), Mjurego-Gubden Dargwa (ca. 39 000), Urakhi Dargwa (ca. 35 000), followed by Kajtag Dargwa (ca. 21 000), and Tsudakhar Dargwa (ca. 19 000). Speakers of many Dargwa languages do not understand speakers of other Dargwa varieties, and the variation between them is much bigger than between the Andic languages, another subbranch of the East Caucasian family. The break-up of the Proto-Dargwa language can be estimated to have occurred about two millennia ago (Sumbatova, p.c.). However, the exact number of Dargwa languages is still subject to debate, because descriptions are lacking for many of the individual languages and dialects. Thus, Figure 1.7 will likely need to be corrected in the future.

²<http://wals.info/>

³<http://www.ethnologue.com/>

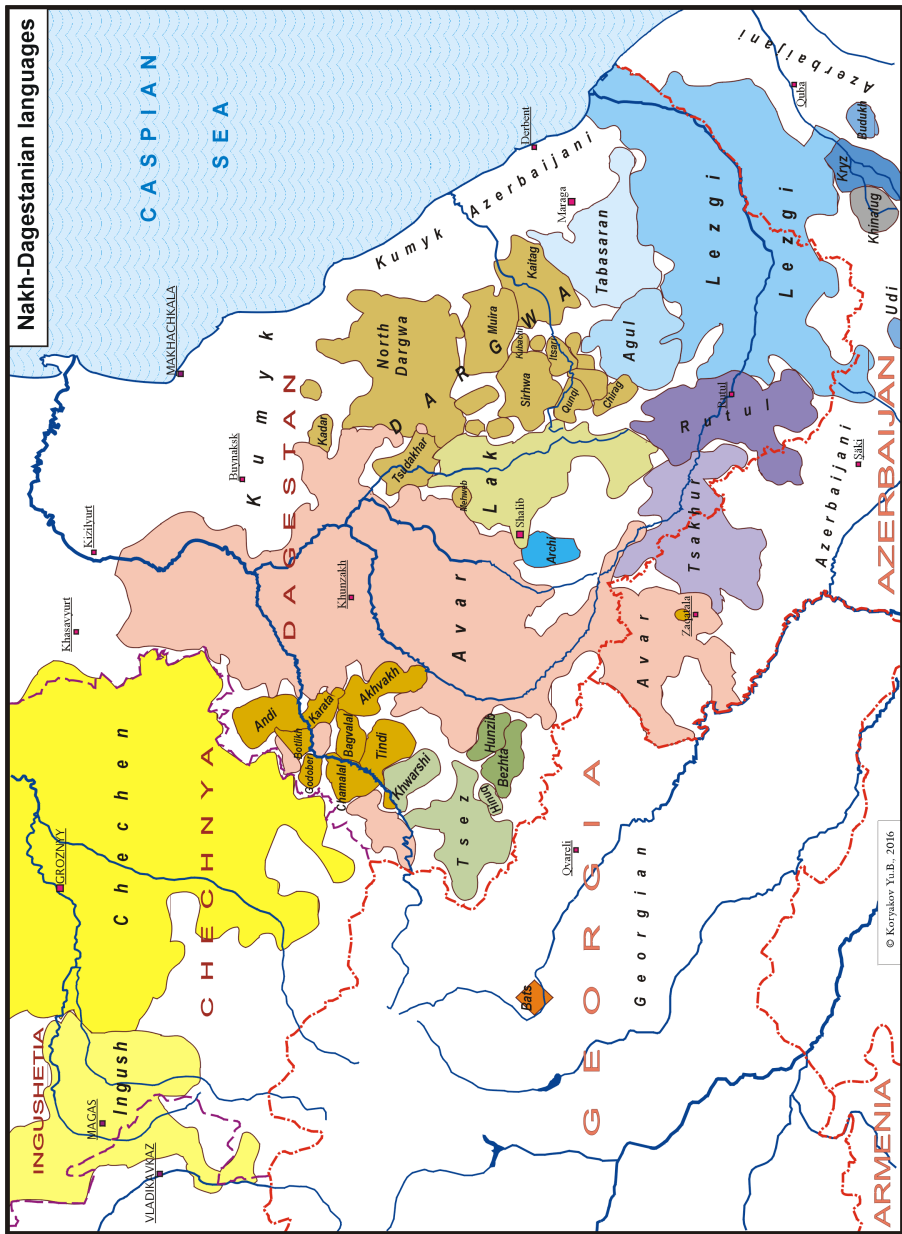


Figure 1.8: The East Caucasian (i.e. Nakh-Dagestian) language family (map courtesy of Yura Koryakov)

The place of the Dargwa languages inside the East Caucasian family is also debated. Some authors consider them to form a separate branch of the East Caucasian language family (Gigineishvili 1977; Kibrik 1996: 142), others group them together with Lak (Haspelmath 1993; Koryakov 2006; van den Berg 2005).

1.5 Typological overview

Sanzhi Dargwa is typologically similar to other East Caucasian languages. It has a relatively large consonant inventory including pharyngeal and ejective consonants, and a medium number of vowels. With respect to its morphosyntactic structure, Sanzhi is predominantly dependent-marking with a rich case inventory. The grammatical cases are ergative, absolutive, dative, and genitive. In addition, there is a plethora of spatial cases. The morphology is concatenative and predominantly suffixing. Sanzhi has an elaborate system of TAM forms. Verbal stems come in pairs that express imperfective and perfective aspect, and many can take spatial preverbs. Salient traits of the grammar are two largely independently operating agreement systems: gender/number agreement and person agreement. Gender/number agreement operates at the phrasal and at the clause level. Within the clause, it is mainly controlled by arguments in the absolutive case and shows up on verbs, adverbs, and on nouns in some of the spatial cases. Person agreement operates at the clausal level only, and functions according to a person hierarchy. Sanzhi has ergative alignment at the level of morphology. SOV is the most frequent constituent order.

Features of Dargwa languages that have attracted the attention of typologists and linguists working within various theoretical frameworks include gender and person agreement (Sumbatova 2011; 2013; Belyaev 2013; 2017a,b; Ganenkov 2018; Forker 2016b), complement constructions including reported speech (Ganenkov 2012; Forker 2019c), experiencer constructions (Comrie & van den Berg 2006; Ganenkov 2006; 2013), local and long-distance reflexivization (Forker 2014), backward control and long-distance agreement (Serdobolskaya 2009; 2010; Belyaev 2016), the expression of space (Ganenkov 2010; Forker 2019a), information structure (Sumbatova 2009; Forker & Belyaev 2016; Forker 2016b), and the problem of finiteness (Kalinina & Sumbatova 2007).

1.6 Literature on Dargwa languages, Dargwa people, and previous works on Sanzhi

In comparison to some other Dagestanian languages, the description of Dargwa languages has a relatively long tradition. However, despite the impressive number of monographs and articles that have been dedicated to various Dargwa languages, the scope and the quality of many of these works cannot satisfy modern scientific standards. Thus, in the following I will mention only those works that are still in use and represent valuable documentations and analyses of Dargwa. For a more detailed overview on the history of the study of Dargwa languages, see Magometov (1983) and also the references in Temirbulatova (2005).

1 Introduction

The first scientific treatment of a Dargwa language (Urakhi) comes from Uslar (1892), who visited the Caucasus in the second half of the 19th century. The next key scholar is Said Abdullaev, who published a Russian-Dargwa (i.e. Akusha) dictionary and a grammar of Akusha (Abdullaev 1950; 1954). Since the 1950s, Saida Gasanova has written many articles and books about various Dargwa languages and dialects, concentrating mainly on Muiri, Mjuregi, Urakhi, and Tsudakhar (e.g. Gasanova 1961; 1971). Other important scholars are Zapir Abdullaev, who worked on Standard Dargwa and occasionally on Urakhi and Kajtag (e.g. Abdullaev 1961; 1969; 1971; 1986; 1993; Abdullaev et al. 2014), and Magomed-Said Musaev, who investigated various Dargwa varieties, including Chirag and Akusha (e.g. Musaev 1975; 1978; 1983; 1980; 1984). There are also works on Sikhi (Kadibagomedov 1998), on Kajtag (Temirbulatova 2005) and most notably on Kubachi (Magometov 1963). Recently, two new dictionaries have been published (Jusupov 2005; 2009). Rasul Mutalov, one of the key participants in the language documentation project resulting in this grammar, has written a number of papers and books on Icar Dargwa and Standard Dargwa (Mutalov 1992; 2002; 2018).

In 1999, the first book in English on a Dargwa language (Akusha), written by van den Berg was published, followed by a descriptive grammar of Icar Dargwa, which was co-authored by Nina Sumbatova and Rasul Mutalov (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003). Icar Dargwa is closely related to Sanzhi Dargwa; the two varieties are mutually intelligible and the Icar grammar was a fruitful source of inspiration for this grammar of Sanzhi.

In Moscow, a group of linguists works on a number of Dargwa languages, of which the major results are comprehensive studies of Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014), Shiri (Belyaev In Preparation), Mehweb (Daniel et al. 2019), Ashti (Belyaev 2012) and Chirag (Ganenkov Submitted). Other important works from the same group are Kalinina & Sumbatova (2007), Sumbatova (2009; 2010; 2011; 2013), Lander (2008; 2010), and Serdobolskaya (2009; 2010). Sumbatova (Submitted) provides a recent overview on Dargwa varieties. Sketch grammars in preparation include Ganenkov (Submitted) and Forker (Submitted).

Topics in the morphosyntax of Sanzhi and other aspects of Sanzhi have been treated in Forker (2016b; 2014; 2019b; 2018c; 2019c; Accepted). A collection of texts with Russian translations and a Sanzhi-Russian and Russian-Sanzhi dictionary is Forker & Gadzhimuradov (2017).

There is not much to say with respect to the ethnographic literature on Dargwa people. There are only two older monographs (Schilling 1949; Gadžieva et al. 1967).

1.7 Documenting and describing Sanzhi Dargwa

This grammar is the result of a language documentation project, *Documenting Dargi languages in Dagestan – Shiri and Sanzhi*, funded by the DoBeS program of the Volkswagen Foundation. The project officially started in 2012 and ran until 2019. Within this project, three linguists (Diana Forker, Rasul Mutalov, Oleg Belyaev), one anthropologist (Iwona Kaliszewska), and student assistants from the Universities of Bamberg and Leipzig (André Müller, Teresa Klemm, and Felix Anker) documented, described, and analyzed the two endangered East Caucasian languages Shiri Dargwa and Sanzhi Dargwa.

Detailed information about the project, the languages and many texts, recordings and pictures can be found on the project website.⁴ All materials gathered in the project are accessible upon request via the Language Archive hosted by the MPI Nijmegen.⁵ The major results of the project are, in addition to the grammar of Sanzhi, a book with narratives, legends and other texts for the Sanzhi community (Forker & Gadzhimuradov 2017), the electronic corpus of Sanzhi texts with audio recordings for every text and many video recordings (around 24 hours of natural speech), and an electronic dictionary. Around 15 hours of speech have been transcribed in ELAN, translated into Russian, and are deposited in the Language Archive.⁶ A subcorpus of around 10 hours, which amounts to more than 46 000 word tokens, has been fully glossed with FLEx⁷ and translated into Russian and English. The texts have almost exclusively been recorded by myself in the village of Druzhba. During the recordings I was accompanied by Rasul Mutalov, my fellow project member, linguist and native speaker of the neighboring Icari dialect, or by Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, my main language assistant, who led the conversation and explained the aims of the project to the Sanzhi speakers. After recording the text were transcribed in ELAN by using a Cyrillic orthography (page xvii) and by making use of the help of native speakers. They also provided a Russian translation. In the ELAN file I added a Latin transliteration following the orthography, which is also employed in this grammar (page xvii). From the transcribed texts I chose a subcorpus, transferred the Latin transcription into FLEx, glossed it and partially added English translations to the Russian translations.

The glossed corpus has been put on the internet and is freely accessible.⁸ This corpus consists of 75 texts from 24 speakers of Sanzhi who were between 21 and 80 years old when the texts were recorded (mostly between 2012 and 2015). Only three of the speakers were 35 years or younger, whereas most were older than 50. Slightly more than half of the speakers were female, but the majority of texts originate from male speakers.

The corpus contains the following types of texts:

- 32 fairy tales, legends, anecdotes
- 8 fairy tales translated from Standard Dargwa and Russian
- 10 autobiographical narrations and texts about the history of the village
- 4 recipes and other instructions or procedural texts
- 3 poems
- 3 natural conversations

⁴<http://www.kaukaz.net/dargwa/sanzhi/lexicon/index.htm>

⁵http://dobes.mpi.nl/projects/shiri_sanzhi/

⁶<https://archive.mpi.nl/>

⁷<https://software.sil.org/fieldworks/>

⁸http://web-corpora.net/SanzhiDargwaCorpus/search/index.php?interface_language=en

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- 11 descriptions, conversations and narratives from the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012) (additionally archived with PARADISEC, in the collection SocCog⁹)
- 4 narrations produced by means of stimuli (two “Pear Stories”, two stories “Frog, where are you?”)

The natural data has been complemented by many hours of elicitation. All natural examples originating from the corpus are not further marked in this grammar. All examples which have been elicited are marked by (E).

The electronic dictionary of Sanzhi was built up with Lexique Pro¹⁰ and has been published with *Dictionaria*.¹¹ The dictionary contains around than 5 500 entries written with Cyrillic and Latin script, Russian and English translations, grammatical information, and example sentences as well as audio recordings for (almost) every entry. The dictionary is also accessible via the project homepage.¹²

In August 2017, my main assistant Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov and I were able to print a book with community materials and present it to the Sanzhi community in Druzhba (Figure 1.9). The book contains 42 texts of various genres taken from the corpus (fairy tales, legends, anecdotes, descriptions of games and recipes, oral history, and a poem) written in the Cyrillic Sanzhi script with a sentence-by-sentence translation in Russian, as well as a Sanzhi-Russian and a simplified Russian-Sanzhi dictionary, which is also available on the project website.

Within the project I have undertaken more than ten field trips to Druzhba (including two short trips to Sanzhi in 2013 and 2016) in order to gather materials on the language. My major language assistant and consultant during all these years was and is Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov (Figure 1.6), a videographer and cameraman from Druzhba, who was born in Sanzhi. After spending his first five years there, his family moved to Druzhba, but he has ever since kept close relationships with the village and is a strong patriot in the best sense. Without the support and friendship of him and his family, in particular his wife Batichay, neither the grammar nor the entire project could have been realized. Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov not only helped me to gather, transcribe, and translate materials, he also made many recordings by himself, translated texts into Sanzhi and raised the interest of the Sanzhi community in the project. Patiently he sat down endless hours with me to go through morphological and syntactic paradigms. This grammar could not have been written without his assistance.

⁹<http://catalog.paradisec.org.au/collections/SocCog>

¹⁰<http://www.lexiquepro.com/>

¹¹<https://dictionaria.clld.org/contributions/sanzhi>

¹²<http://www.kaukaz.net/dargwa/sanzhi/lexicon/index.htm>

1.7 Documenting and describing Sanzhi Dargwa



Figure 1.9: Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov presenting the first book in Sanzhi (courtesy of Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, 2017)

Part I

Phonology

2 Phonology

Sanzhi phonology is typical for East Caucasian languages with its relative large consonant inventory (§2.1) and medium vowel inventory (§2.2). Other topics covered in this chapter are the syllable structure (§2.3), pharyngealization (§2.4), stress (§2.5), and phonological and morphophonological alternations (§2.6).

2.1 Consonant inventory

Table 2.1 displays the consonant inventory for Sanzhi. The table gives the phonemic value of the consonants and displays the orthographic representation used in this grammar in italics (see also page xvii for the Cyrillic orthography). The three series of stops are, in the order given in the table: voiceless non-ejective, voiced, and voiceless ejective. The two series of fricatives are voiceless and voiced. All velars and uvulars also occur in labialized form. All voiceless non-ejective stops and fricatives (except for the pharyngeal/epiglottal and the glottal sounds) also occur as geminates (i.e. tense).

The uvular stops /q/ and /q^w/ have strong friction that makes them sound almost like affricates /qχ/ and /qχ^w/. The friction is absent from the ejective /qʔ/ and the geminates /q:/ and /q:^w/.

The phonemic glottal stop is found in the noun *beʔe* ‘blood’ and at the end of some words, for instance in the root-final position of two verbs *ha-ʔ* (PFV)/*h-erʔ-* (IPFV) ‘say’ and *b-erʔ-* (PFV)/*b-uʔ-* (IPFV) ‘rot’ and the numeral *k:aʔ-al* ‘eight’. Except for *beʔe* ‘blood’, only loan words and names contain the glottal stop in root-medial position (e.g. *daʔim* ‘continuation’, in the male name *ʒaʔbraʔil*).

A non-phonemic glottal stop, which is not written, occurs before word-initial non-pharyngealized vowels, e.g. *aba* [ʔaba] ‘mother’, including vowel-initial words in compounds, for example *ca-ibil* [tsaʔibil] ‘first’ (one-ORD), or occasionally at other morpheme boundaries of inflected words, for example, *a-uk-un* ‘not eating’ (NEG-eat.IPFV-ICVB) can be pronounced [aʔukʊn] or [aʊkʊn].

The semivowel /w/ is realized as a voiced labiodental fricative [v] or as a labial-velar approximant [w].

In addition to the segments listed in Table 2.1, the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ is attested in the ideophone *uf b-ik^w-ij* ‘blow’ (whew HPL-say.IPFV-INF) and in loan words, mostly from Russian, e.g. *forel* ‘trout’. In older loans it had been replaced with /p/, e.g. *purma* ‘uniform’ (< *forma*).

All plain consonants occur in word-initial, word-medial, and word-final position. Geminates are never found in syllable-final position. Three labialized consonants (/q^w/, /χ^w/, /ʁ^w/) are also not attested in syllable-final position. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of

2 Phonology

Table 2.1: The consonant inventory of Sanzhi Dargwa

	bilabial	alveolar	postalv	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal/ epiglottal	glottal
stop	/p/ /b/ /p'/ p b p'	/t/ /d/ /t'/ t d t'			/k/ /g/ /k'/ k g k' /k ^w / /g ^w / /k ^w '/ k^w g^w k^w'	/q/ /q'/ q q' /q ^w / /q ^w '/ q^w q^w'	/ʔ/ /ʔ'/ ʔ ʔ'	/ʔ/ /ʔ'/ ʔ ʔ'
	/p:/ p:	/t:/ t:			/k:/ k: /k: ^w / k:^w	/q:/ q: /q: ^w / q:^w		
fricative		/s/ /z/ s z	/ʃ/ /ʒ/ š ž		/x/ /x ^w / x x^w	/χ/ /β/ χ β /χ ^w / /β ^w / χ^w β^w	/ħ/ /ħ' ħ ħ'	/h/ /h' h h'
		/s:/ s:	/ʃ:/ /ʒ:/ š: ž:		/x:/ x:	/χ:/ χ: /χ: ^w / χ:^w		
affricate		/tʃ/ /tʃ'/ c c' /tʃ:/ c:	/tʃ/ /tʃ'/ č č' /tʃ:/ č:					
nasal	/m/ /m' m m'	/n/ /n' n n'						
liquid		/r/ /r' r r'	/l/ /l' l l'					
semivowel	/w/ /w' w w'			/j/ /j' j j'				

consonants by means of example words. The table contains a number of morphologically complex words for which the relevant sound happens to occur at the end of the root, but within the stem because the root is followed by suffixes (the root is given in boldface).

Final voiced stops do not undergo devoicing. Final voiceless non-ejective stops (/p/, /t/, /k/, /q/) are post-aspirated. Stops in final position are released. They are also released when a homorganic consonant follows, e.g. *urek-c'al* 'sixty', *ħa'žat-ce* 'necessary' (NEED-3.SG), *c'elt-ne* 'gravestone-PL', *le-d=nu* (EXIST-NPL=PRT). If the voiceless stops /t/, /k/, or the voiceless affricate /tʃ/ occur at morpheme boundaries and are followed by homorganic consonants, all consonants are fully pronounced and released (1). Neither /t/ nor /k/ nor /tʃ/ become geminates under the described conditions, although gemination is otherwise a frequent process that applies across morpheme boundaries (§2.6.11). However, the ejective stop /k'/ can turn into a plain stop as shown in the examples in (1c).

Table 2.2: Distribution of consonants

	initial	medial	final
<i>p</i>	<i>puq</i> 'a nest'	<i>qupi</i> 'hoe'	<i>t'up</i> 'finger'
<i>b</i>	<i>bec</i> 'wolf'	<i>heba</i> 'then'	<i>urχ:ab</i> 'mill'
<i>p'</i>	<i>p'aq'</i> 'shake off'	<i>q'a p'i</i> 'shutter'	<i>lap'</i> 'wave'
<i>p:</i>	<i>p:iha</i> 'la feather'	<i>k'ap:ur</i> 'leaf'	—
<i>t</i>	<i>tum</i> 'hill'	<i>k:a'ta</i> 'cat'	<i>it</i> 'that'
<i>d</i>	<i>du</i> '1SG'	<i>juldaš</i> 'friend'	<i>ca-d</i> 'is' (COP-N)
<i>t'</i>	<i>t'up</i> 'finger'	<i>k:at'i</i> 'scarf'	<i>t'ult</i> 'bread'
<i>t:</i>	<i>t:a'm</i> 'trap'	<i>t:ut:u</i> 'beak'	—
<i>k</i>	<i>kabc</i> 'skin, fell'	<i>dukala</i> 'apron'	<i>dek</i> 'dung'
<i>g</i>	<i>gurmedi</i> 'type of kerchief'	<i>zigar</i> 'hurry'	<i>dig</i> 'meat'
<i>k'</i>	<i>k'ap:ur</i> 'leaf'	<i>nik'a</i> 'little, small'	<i>hek'</i> 'this/that (up)'
<i>k^w</i>	<i>k^wač'a</i> 'paw'	<i>mik^wa</i> 'fingernail'	<i>nek^w</i> 'straw'
<i>g^w</i>	<i>g^warg^wal</i> 'onion'	<i>targ^wa</i> 'weasel'	<i>merg^w</i> 'lair, den'
<i>k^w</i>	<i>k^wel</i> 'two'	<i>r-ik^w-ij^a</i> 'say' (F-say.IPFV-INF)	<i>erk^w</i> 'river'
<i>k:</i>	<i>k:a'ta</i> 'cat'	<i>k:alk:i</i> 'tree'	—
<i>k:^w</i>	<i>k:^wac:a</i> 'mare'	ak: '-ar' 'without' (COP.NEG-PRS)	—
<i>q</i>	<i>qa'r</i> 'pear'	<i>b-aqil</i> 'much'	<i>q:aq</i> 'back'
<i>q'</i>	<i>q'a p'i</i> 'shutter'	<i>puq'a</i> 'nest'	<i>aq'</i> 'flock'
<i>q^w</i>	<i>q^wes:a</i> 'ashes'	ha-lq^w-an 'the climbing one' (UP-direct.IPFV-PTCP)	<i>da'rq^w</i> 'barn'
<i>q^w</i>	<i>q^wa'l</i> 'cow'	b-elq^w-ij 'break' (N-break.PFV-INF)	—
<i>q:</i>	<i>q:ap</i> 'sack'	<i>q:u'lq:u</i> 'scythe'	—
<i>q:^w</i>	<i>q:^waz</i> 'goose'	miriq: '-e' 'worms' (worm-PL)	—
<i>s</i>	<i>sala</i> 'in front, before'	<i>qusmuk</i> 'cupboard'	<i>dus</i> 'year'
<i>z</i>	<i>zija</i> 'horsefly'	<i>zize</i> 'strawberry'	<i>keruz</i> 'slope'
<i>s:</i>	<i>s:ika</i> 'bear'	<i>mus:a</i> 'place'	—
<i>š</i>	<i>šal</i> 'direction, side'	<i>haniša</i> 'summer'	<i>juldaš</i> 'friend'
<i>ž</i>	<i>žerg^wa</i> 'wasp'	<i>ižal</i> 'today'	<i>hež</i> 'this'
<i>š:</i>	<i>š:i</i> 'village'	<i>deš:a</i> 'ancient'	—
<i>x</i>	<i>xujal</i> 'five'	<i>xurxe</i> 'sobber'	<i>c'erx</i> 'fat'
<i>x^w</i>	<i>x^wit</i> 'whistle' (<i>ideophone</i>)	ix^w-le 'early'	<i>dirix^w</i> 'fog'
<i>x:</i>	<i>x:amx:a</i> 'foam'	<i>dirx:a</i> 'stick'	—
<i>χ</i>	<i>χat'a</i> 'bowl'	<i>alχni</i> 'saw'	<i>maχ</i> 'barrow'
<i>β</i>	<i>βajal</i> 'twenty'	<i>p:urβum</i> 'carriage'	<i>q:abaβ</i> 'pumpkin'
<i>χ^w</i>	<i>χ^wal-le</i> 'much, a lot'	b-iχ^w-ij 'be, become' (N-be.PFV-INF)	—
<i>β^w</i>	<i>β^wab</i> 'ploughshare'	<i>aβ^wal</i> 'four'	—
<i>χ:</i>	<i>χ:ula</i> 'big, tall'	<i>duχ:u</i> 'clever'	—
<i>χ:^w</i>	<i>χ:^we</i> 'dog'	ha-d-erχ:^w-ij 'fulfill' (UP-N-fulfill.PFV-INF)	—
<i>c</i>	<i>ca</i> 'one'	<i>q'aca</i> 'he-goat'	<i>kabc</i> 'skin, fell'
<i>c'</i>	<i>c'il</i> 'then'	<i>imc'a</i> 'superfluous'	<i>bec</i> 'wolf'
<i>c:</i>	<i>c:ab</i> 'sky'	<i>k:anc:a</i> 'step'	—
<i>č</i>	<i>čina-b</i> 'where-N'	<i>ža'ci</i> 'work'	<i>deč</i> 'drinking'
<i>č'</i>	<i>č'an</i> 'wind, storm'	<i>k^wač'a</i> 'paw'	<i>ža'mč'</i> 'May it peel off!' (peel.PFV.OPT)
<i>č:</i>	<i>č:a'žal</i> 'tomorrow, morning'	<i>eč:a</i> 'she-goat'	—

^aThe relevant roots of morphologically complex words are given in boldface. In these words, the respective sound occurs at the end of the root, but within the stem because the root is followed by suffixes.

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	initial	medial	final
ʔ	<i>aba</i> ‘mother’	<i>beʔe</i> ‘blood’	<i>b-aʔ</i> ‘begin’
h	<i>haʔsak</i> ‘pot’	<i>pihaʔla</i> ‘feather’	<i>ʔaʔh</i> ‘good’
ʔ	<i>ʔaʔbal</i> ‘three’	<i>ɕ:aʔaʔl</i> ‘tomorrow, morning’	<i>daʔʔ</i> ‘face’
h	<i>hel</i> ‘that’	<i>buhem</i> ‘bundle’	<i>b-ah</i> ‘owner’
m	<i>mik^wa</i> ‘fingernail’	<i>gurmendi</i> ‘type of kerchief’	<i>t'em</i> ‘smell’
n	<i>nek^w</i> ‘straw’	<i>haniša</i> ‘summer’	<i>arin</i> ‘too much’
r	<i>ruci</i> ‘sister’	<i>rursi</i> ‘girl, daughter’	<i>q'ar</i> ‘herbs’
l	<i>lazun</i> ‘dough’	<i>ʔuʔla</i> ‘wheel’	<i>hel</i> ‘that’
w	<i>weral</i> ‘seven’	<i>gawhar</i> ‘pupil’	<i>alaw</i> ‘around’
j	<i>jangi</i> ‘new’	<i>zija</i> ‘horsefly’	<i>hej</i> ‘this’

- (1) a. *b-uʔc-ce/b-uʔc-te* ‘thick’ (N-thick-DD.SG/N-thick-DD.PL)
 b. *tunt-ce/tunt-te* ‘daring’
 c. *ikʔ-ka / hekʔ-ka* ‘from that’ (DEM.UP-ABL) (alternatively *ik-ka / hek-ka*)

All velar and uvular consonants occur in plain and labialized forms. The labialized velars and uvulars can be followed by all vowels except /u/. Labialization is mostly found with syllable-initial consonants, but as Table 2.2 shows, there are also words with labialized consonants in final position. In most words, labialization is restricted to one consonant per root, but there are a number of words with two labialized consonants, e.g. *g^wag^wa* ‘flower’, *g^warg^wal* ‘onion’, and *x^wix^wit* ‘pipe’. In addition to labialization in roots, deletion of the vowel /u/ triggers labialization of the preceding consonant or following consonant (§2.6.10). Labialized consonants are mostly found in nouns, numerals, adjectives, adverbs, and verbs and also attested in a few particles, but not in pronouns or suffixes. Labialization is absent from Standard Dargwa and therefore speakers who have been trained in the Standard Dargwa orthography do not write them in Sanzhi, although they pronounce them. Younger speakers often replace labialized consonants by plain consonants and change a preceding or following *a* to *o* (in speech and writing). Minimal pairs for some labialized consonants are given in (2).

- (2) a. *d-elqʔ-ij* (PFV) ‘grind’ *d-elqʔ^w-ij* (PFV) ‘break’
 b. *b-ixʔ-ij* (PFV) ‘tie, fasten’ *b-ixʔ^w-ij* (PFV) ‘be, become, be able’
 c. *akri* ‘Akri’ (place name) *ak^wri* ‘be not’ (COP.NEG.MSD)
 d. *ikʔ-i-j* ‘for this / that up’ *ikʔ^w-ij* ‘say’ (say.M.IPFV-INF)
 (DEM.UP-OBL-DAT)

Geminates are always voiceless, non-ejective, and unaspirated. All voiceless non-ejective obstruents, except for pharyngeal/epiglottal and glottal segments, occur as geminates, and even a number of labialized consonants are geminates. The phonemic status of geminates is proven by the minimal pairs and minimal oppositions in (3).

- (3) a. *ixʔ-i-j* ‘for this / that down’ *ixʔ-i-j* ‘guard, protect, care’
 (DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT)
 b. *b-uq-ij* (PFV) ‘run, go’ *b-uq-i-j* ‘carry, bring’

- | | |
|--|--|
| c. <i>bus-ij</i> ‘rain’ | <i>b-us:-ij</i> ‘sleep, fall asleep’ |
| d. <i>b-ač-ij</i> (PFV) ‘smear, spread’ | <i>ač:-ij</i> ‘strike, hit oneself’ |
| e. <i>b-ac-ij</i> (PFV) ‘plough’ | <i>ac:i-j</i> ‘to the uncle’ (uncle-DAT) |
| f. <i>het-i-j</i> ‘for that’ (DEM-OBL-DAT) | <i>het:i</i> ‘those’ |

Geminate fricatives are not always easy to identify because fricatives can be tense in emphatic pronunciation. But geminate stops and affricates are clearly audible as such, because there is a significant difference in the closure duration between singletons and geminates. Gemination can probably be analyzed as a difference between lax and tense consonants, but the exact phonetic properties of geminates still need to be clarified by future research.

In addition to their occurrence in stems, geminates occur at morpheme boundaries (see §2.6.11 below). A few sonorants can also occur as tense consonants within roots (/n/, /m/, /l/, /r/, and /w/) and/or at morpheme boundaries, but their phonemic status needs further clarification. Only geminates of /n/, /r/, and /l/ are found in native items (4); the other sonorants are only found in loan words (5).

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| (4) <i>t'unneq</i> ‘basket’ | = <i>malle</i> (emphatic particle) |
| <i>-lla/-la</i> (genitive suffix) | <i>-lle/-le</i> (adverbializing suffix) |
| <i>urra</i> ‘foreign’ | |
| (5) <i>Allah</i> ‘Allah’ | <i>amma</i> ‘but’ |
| <i>s:urrat</i> ‘picture’ | <i>Ma ħa ħmma</i> (male personal name) |

2.2 Vowel inventory

Sanzhi has four plain vowels and three pharyngealized vowels, of which one (*i*) is very rare and whose phonemic status needs further clarification. Pharyngealized vowels and pharyngealization are treated in §2.4. The vowels *i*, *e* and *u* have lax and tense variants, whose distribution is not entirely clear. Table 2.3 shows the vowel inventory with the orthographic symbols used in this grammar.

There is a long vowel [a:], which is not phonemic, but occurs relatively frequently. It shows up only as sequences of homorganic vowels at morpheme boundaries (6) (most often in negated verb forms), and occasionally as a stressed variant of short vowels. Long vowels mostly occur in open syllables, but can occasionally also be found in closed syllables. The negative present-tense copula-auxiliary normally has a short vowel, but when it is used as existential or locational copula, the first vowel becomes long (6d).

- | |
|--|
| (6) a. <i>a:gur</i> < <i>a-ag-ur</i> ‘did not go’ (NEG-go.PFV-PRET) |
| b. <i>ač:ib</i> < <i>a-ač:-ib</i> ‘did not get’ (NEG-get.PFV-PRET) |
| c. <i>čia:žib</i> < <i>či-a-w-až-ib</i> ‘did not see’ (SPR-NEG-M-see.PFV-PRET) |
| d. <i>b-a:k:u</i> ‘does not exist’ vs. <i>ak:u</i> ‘is not’ (COP.NEG.PRS) |

The long high front vowel [i:] is rarely found when spatial preverbs are prefixed to some verbs having [i] as stem vowel (see §2.6.5 below for examples).

Table 2.3: The vowel inventory of Sanzhi Dargwa

	front	central	back
high	/i/ [ɪ], [i]; [i̠], [i̠̠] i; i̠		/u/, /u̠/ [u], [u̠]; [u̠̠] u; u̠
mid	/e/ [ɛ], [e] e		
low		/a/; /a̠/ [a]; [a̠] a; a̠	

Sanzhi also has four diphthongs [ɔ̠ɪ], [a̠ɪ], [ɛɪ], and [a̠ɔ̠] that can be analyzed as consisting of two phonemes, a vowel, and a semivowel. Examples are given in (7).

- (7) *čuj* ‘for themselves’ (REFL.PL.DAT) *nejg* ‘milk’
ɬaj ‘word, talk’ *alaw* ‘around’
caw ‘is’ (COP.PRS.M); ‘himself’ (REFL.SG.M)

2.3 Syllable and word structure

The minimal syllable consists of a single vowel. Initial vowels are always preceded by a non-phonemic glottal stop not indicated in the orthography. The syllables in monomorphemic native words are V, VC, VCC, CV, CVC and CVCC. In other words, syllables never have complex onsets, but can have complex codas. The general syllable structure is shown in (8).

- (8) (C)V(C)(C)

In the onset, every consonantal phoneme can occur (see Table 2.2 above for examples), whereas in the coda not all consonants are allowed. Note, however, that simple underived verbs have stronger restrictions because they can basically only have /l/ and /r/ in the onset as well as the pharyngeal stop /ʔ/ (in addition to gender exponents and consonants used in the deixis/elevation preverbs, see §11.2 for more details on the structure of verbs). Labialized consonants in syllable-final position are rarer than in syllable-initial position, but they are attested. Ejective consonants are also found (Table 2.2). By contrast, geminate (i.e. tense) consonants are prohibited in the coda of syllables. Thus, geminate consonants in roots that happen to occur at the end of syllables in morphologically complex words, for instance after suffixation, are regularly shortened (see §2.6.11 for examples). The nucleus consists of one vowel, which under certain circumstances can be long (§2.2). The minimal syllable (and word) consists of the nucleus only (9). Some

words can be seen as containing diphthongs, but diphthongs are analyzed as a sequence of a vowel and a semivowel. The most frequent syllable type is CV (10), but VC (11) and CVC (12) are also relatively common. By contrast, syllables of the type V are relatively rare, and *u* ‘you’ is the only native word that consists just of a minimal syllable.

- (9) V
u ‘you’ 2SG *a.law* ‘around’
- (10) CV
ʃ:i ‘village’ *qu* ‘field’
χ:ʷe ‘dog’ *vuˀ.ra* ‘hare’ *a.ba* ‘mother’
du.ra.zi ‘threshing floor’
- (11) VC
at ‘to / for you’ (2SG.DAT) *eb.la* ‘in spring’
- (12) CVC
dus ‘year’ *ʋaj* ‘word, talk’
mi.riqʷ ‘worm’ *ʒaˀ.jar* ‘dance’
ʒaˀn.ç:i ‘earth, clay’ *qaˀ.ʃ.qaˀr* ‘scab’

As mentioned in §2.2, there are no phonemic long vowels. Long vowels occasionally show up at morpheme boundaries or when the vowels are stressed or emphasized.

The only types of superheavy syllables are VCC (13) and CVCC (14), with only sonorants (/r/, /l/, /n/, /m/, /j/) and /b/ permitted in the position of the first consonant in the coda. Up to now I found only one exceptional noun that has a fricative before the second consonant, this being *qʰast* ‘aim, intention, plan’. This noun is a loan ultimately from Arabic (*qaṣd*); in Standard Dargwa its form is *qʰas*. The syllable-final consonants of superheavy syllables can only be plain stops, fricatives, or affricates including ejectives, geminates, and labialized stops (i.e. obstruents). Although they are mostly voiceless, there are also a few examples of voiced fricatives in the final position of (C)VCC syllables (13), (14).

- (13) VCC
ims ‘moth’ *alχ.ni* ‘saw’
arʋ ‘weather’ *irk* ‘threshing board’
- (14) CVCC
laˀbz ‘mortar’ *daˀrqʷ* ‘barn’
nejg ‘milk’ *laˀmc* ‘lightning’
kabc ‘skin, fell’ *cʰult.mi* ‘plum’
jebʃ ‘base’ *tʰult* ‘bread’
b-ark ‘inside’ *b-arx* ‘direct, straight’
ku.bart ‘pressed dung’ *quˀ.ʃ.t:unk* ‘rolling pin’
qʰast ‘target, intention, idea’

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There are no native words with syllable-initial consonant clusters. Consonant clusters in (older) loans are broken up by insertion of epenthetic vowels either between initial consonant clusters or before them. In the first case, the vowels vary and are often identical to the following vowel, as the first three words in (15) show. In the second case, the vowel is /i/, as in the last two words:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (15) | <i>purust'in</i> 'bed sheet' | < Russian <i>prostynja</i> |
| | <i>k:alas</i> 'class' | < Russian <i>klass</i> |
| | <i>kiniga</i> 'book' | < Russian <i>kniga</i> |
| | <i>ispirit</i> 'alcohol' | < Russian <i>spirit</i> |
| | <i>ispakulan</i> 'speculator' | < Russian <i>spekuljant</i> |

Another possibility is to apply metathesis, though this process is very rare, for example Russian *brigadir* > Sanzhi *birgadir* 'brigadier'.

The minimal word (i.e. free root) has the shape V (see the example in (9) above). Minimal bound roots seem to consist of a single consonant and are only found among verbs. Examples are *ha-ʔ-* (PFV) 'say' and *ka-x^w-/ha-x^w-* (PFV) 'pour, add'. These verbs obligatorily contain preverbs and the vowel can be analyzed as either belonging to the preverb (which results then in the monosegmental verb stems) or to the verbs, or two both (*ha- + aʔ-* > *ha:ʔ-* > *haʔ-*).

2.4 Pharyngealization

The most frequent pharyngealized vowel is /a^ˁ/, but /u^ˁ/ is also relatively common, whereas [i^ˁ] is restricted to very few words. The vowel /a^ˁ/ has phonemic status in Sanzhi as the following minimal pairs and minimal oppositions show (16).

- | | | | |
|------|----|---|---------------------------------------|
| (16) | a. | ʃa ^ˁ m 'candle' | ʃam 'one year old ram' |
| | b. | q:a ^ˁ p (preverb) 'twitch' | q:ap 'sack' |
| | c. | b-a ^ˁ ? 'leaf, side, face' | b-aʔ 'end, beginning, edge' |
| | d. | wa ^ˁ ħ (or <i>wah</i>) (interjection) | w-ah 'owner' (masc. singular) |
| | e. | ʔa ^ˁ b ^w a-l 'fat' (fat-ADVZ) | ab ^w -al 'four' (four-NUM) |
| | f. | χ:a ^ˁ b 'grave' | urχ:ab 'mill' |

The vowel /u^ˁ/ is far less frequent than /a^ˁ/, and thus I so far have found only one minimal pair and only a few examples of minimal oppositions in which the pharyngealized vowels only occur after uvular and pharyngeal sounds (17).

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|------------------------------------|
| (17) | a. | ru ^ˁ q:-u ^ˁ l / ru ^ˁ q:-ul 'educating' (educate-ICVB) | r-uq:-ul 'bringing' (F-bring-ICVB) |
| | b. | bu ^ˁ b-e 'potatoes' (potato-PL) | q:ajbu-be 'sorrows' (sorrow-PL) |
| | c. | ʔa ^ˁ χ:u ^ˁ l 'guest' | duχ:u-l 'cleverly' (clever-ADVZ) |
| | d. | ʔu ^ˁ la 'wheel' | ul-la 'eye's' (eye-GEN) |

There are a few words that seem to have a pharyngealized high front vowel, e.g. *b-iḥ-i^ˆb* ‘they fought’ (HPL-fight.PFV-PRET), *w-irʔ-i^ˆb* ‘(they) betrayed him’ (M-betray.PFV-PRET), *b-i^ˆʔ-i^ˆj* ‘steal’ (N-steal.PFV-INF), *č-i^ˆħri* (village name). However, speakers are uncertain about the presence of [i^ˆ] in Sanzhi words. Furthermore, I do not have any (near-)minimal pairs with pharyngealized and non-pharyngealized high front vowels, and thus further research is needed.

The vast majority of pharyngealized vowels occur in the adjacency of the uvular or pharyngeal consonants (see Table 2.2). When pharyngealized vowels occur in roots that contain those consonants, the vowels most frequently follow the consonants, but can also precede them (18). The respective consonants are /q/, /q^ˆ/, /qː/, /χ/, /ʁ/, /χː/, /ʔ/, /ħ/ for /a^ˆ/ and /u^ˆ/, and for /a^ˆ/ also the labialized consonants /q^w/, /q^w/, /χ^w/, and /ʁ^w/. The remaining uvular and pharyngeal consonants (/qː^w/, /χː^w/) are in general rare and I have not found any words that contain both the consonants and pharyngealized vowels.

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (18) | <i>ʔu^ˆrʔ-e</i> ‘chickens’ (chicken-PL) | <i>ʔa^ˆnč:i</i> ‘clay, earth’ |
| | <i>q^ˆa^ˆlči</i> ‘foot’ | <i>bu^ˆc</i> ‘arrow’ |
| | <i>na^ˆq^ˆiš</i> ‘drawing’ | <i>q^wa^ˆl</i> ‘cow’ |
| | <i>da^ˆrq^w</i> ‘barn’ | |

The pharyngeal stop /ʔ/ cannot be followed by non-pharyngealized /a/ or /u/, but only by non-pharyngealized /e/ or /i/, that is */ʔa/ and */ʔu/ (18). And the pharyngealized vowels /a^ˆ/ and /u^ˆ/ are never followed by the glottal fricative /h/, but only by the pharyngeal fricative /ħ/, that is */a^ˆh/, */u^ˆh/.

Nevertheless, pharyngeal /a^ˆ/ and to a lesser extent /u^ˆ/ can also be found in stems that do not contain uvular or pharyngeal phonemes (19) (see also the first minimal pair in (16) above).

- | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (19) | <i>na^ˆs</i> ‘dirt’ | <i>ba^ˆs</i> ‘argument’ |
| | <i>la^ˆbz</i> ‘mortar’ | <i>ča^ˆč</i> ‘haircut’ |
| | <i>t^ˆu^ˆ</i> ‘leg’ | <i>ča^ˆt</i> ‘mud’ |
| | <i>ja^ˆlči</i> ‘worker’ | <i>šu^ˆra</i> ‘puddle’ |

There are a number of words that contain two pharyngealized vowels. The vowels can be either identical (i.e. both vowels are /a^ˆ/ or both vowels are /u^ˆ/ or they are /a^ˆ/ and /u^ˆ/ in either order (20).

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| (20) | <i>mu^ˆʔa^ˆlim</i> ‘teacher’ | <i>da^ˆqu^ˆp:e</i> ‘wounds’ |
| | <i>qa^ˆjq^ˆjte</i> ‘jaw’ | <i>ʔa^ˆχ^ˆu^ˆl</i> ‘guest’ |
| | <i>q^ˆa^ˆq^ˆa^ˆ</i> ‘basin’ | <i>na^ˆqa^ˆ</i> ‘oat’ |
| | <i>ʔa^ˆrʔa^ˆ</i> ‘chicken’ | <i>da^ˆrχa^ˆ</i> ‘evening’ |
| | <i>q:u^ˆlq:u^ˆ-l</i> ‘by means of a/the scythe’ | <i>q:u^ˆnq:u^ˆp:e</i> ‘noses’ |
| | (scythe-ERG) | |

There is also some variation with those words that contain two pharyngealized vowels, in the sense that some speakers pharyngealize only one vowel whereas others pharyngealize both. The vowel that is optionally pharyngealized can be the first (21) or the second vowel (22).

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- (21) pharyngealization of first vowel or both vowels
- pu^ːʃ:u^ːk^ˀ/pu^ːʃ:uk^ˀ* ‘blister’
 - ma^ˀlʔu^ˀn/ma^ˀlʔun* ‘snake’
 - ʔu^ˀru^ˀs/ʔu^ˀrus* ‘Russian’
- (22) pharyngealization of second vowel or both vowels
- da^ˀʔa^ˀna/da^ˀʔa^ˀna* ‘secret, secretly’
 - dur^hu^ˀ/du^ˀr^hu^ˀ* ‘boy, son’

I found very few words that contain only one vowel that can optionally be pharyngealized (23).

- (23) a. *du^hi/du^ˀi* ‘snow’
b. *za^ˀnʁ/zanʁ* ‘ring’ (ideophone)
c. *ča^ˀvir/ča^ˀvir* ‘wine’

There are also two derivational suffixes containing pharyngealized vowels. The suffixes are *-q^ˀa^ˀ* and *-u^ˀq^ˀ*. They are not productive and derive agent nouns from other nouns, infinitives, and parts of compound verbs form (§3.5.2). These suffixes do not have allomorphs with plain vowels.

Pharyngealization is a suprasegmental feature that spreads to inflectional prefixes and suffixes, even in those words that do not contain pharyngealized vowels in the root, but uvular/pharyngeal consonants. Only those prefixes and suffixes are affected that start with the vowels /a/ and /u/ such that in affixes only the pharyngealized vowels /a^ˀ/ and /u^ˀ/ occur, but no other pharyngealized vowels. Other affixes that contain the same vowels but start with a consonant do not have pharyngealized variants, for instance the vowel in the local participle suffix *-na* cannot be pharyngealized (24).

- (24) *guči d-urq-a^ˀdi* ‘I gathered’ vs. *guči d-urq-na* ‘the place of gathering’

In the case of the negation prefix *a-* this leads to a long pharyngealized vowel (see §2.6.5 for long vowels resulting from sequences of identical vowels):

- (25) a. *či-a^ˀ-a^ˀħ-un* > *či-a^ˀ:ħ-un* ‘did not fly on (something)’ (SPR-NEG-fly.PFV-PRET)
b. *a^ˀ-w-a^ˀq-ib* > *a^ˀ-a^ˀq-ib* > *a^ˀ:q-ib* ‘did not hit’ (MSC.) (NEG-hit.PFV-PRET)

Furthermore, only affixes in immediately preceding or following syllables are affected. Pharyngealization does not spread over the entire word. For nouns the suffixes containing pharyngealized vowels are the plural and oblique plural suffixes, as well as one suffix deriving action nouns (*-a*; §3.5.5). For verbs, the suffixes can be derivational (the causative suffix, the spatial preverbs) or inflectional (negation prefixes *a-* and *ma-*, various TAM suffixes). Examples are provided in (26).

- (26) a. *q:u^hnq:-u^hp:e* ‘noses’ (nose-PL)
 b. *baliq-a^h-lla* ‘of the fish’ (fish-OBL.PL-GEN)
 c. *ru^hrq-u^hl* ‘boiling’ (boil-ICVB)
 d. *b-i^h-a^hq-ib* ‘made fight’ (HPL-fight-PFV-CAUS-PRET)
 e. *b-i^h-u^hn* ‘stole’ (N-steal.PFV-PRET)
 f. *b-a^hq-a^hja^h* ‘hit it!’ (N-hit.PFV-IMP.PL)

The pharyngealized articulation associated with the vowel is maintained when the vowel changes, that is when there is vowel mutation *a > u*, as, for instance, with plural forms of some nouns (27).

- (27) a. *ʔa^hrʔa^h* ‘chicken’ > *ʔu^hrʔ-e* ‘chickens’ (chicken-PL)
 b. *q^hwa^hl* ‘cow’ > *q^hu^hl-e* ‘cows’ (cow-PL)

There is one verb ‘go’ that occurs without a root vowel when prefixes are attached and with a root vowel that can be pharyngealized or plain otherwise. The suffixes used with this verb are obligatorily pharyngealized (28a), (28b), whereas for prefixes pharyngealization is optional (28c).

- (28) a. *ma^h-q^h-a^ht:a* ‘do not go!’ (PROH-go-PROH.SG)
 b. *b-uq^h-a^hq-ij* ‘to make it go’ (N-go-CAUS-INF)
 c. *sa^h-q^h-a^hn* vs. *sa-q^h-a^hn* ‘going’ (HITHER-go-PTCP)

At least with some affixes, pharyngealization is optional, and one can find one and the same inflected word form with and without affixes that contain pharyngealized vowels (29).

- (29) a. *b-a^hh-u^hn-ce* vs. *b-a^hh-un-ce* ‘wet’ (N-become.wet.PFV-DD.SG)
 b. *guči b-a^hq-a^hraj* vs. *b-a^hq-araj* ‘gather’ (gather HPL-assemble-SUBJ)
 c. *ka^h-q-a^hja!* vs. *ka-q-a^hja!* ‘drag!’ (DOWN-drag.PFV-IMP.PL)

Pharyngealization includes loan words, even recent borrowings from Russian (30), which are not pharyngealized in the donor language. It is even noticeable when (older) Sanzhi people speak Russian.

- (30) *ča^hj* ‘tea’ < Russian *čaj*
ša^hbk’a ‘hat’ < Russian *šapka*
ʔa^hšibk:a ‘mistake’ < Russian *ošibka*
šlja^hp’a ‘hat’ < Russian *šljapa*
ʔa^hčk:abe ‘glasses’ < Russian *očki*
lu^hk:ujte ‘lungs’ < Russian *legkie*

of identical vowels might lead to the deletion of one vowel or to vowel deletion in combination with mutation (§2.6.7). Second, the initial vowel of the negative auxiliary is deleted when the auxiliary is used as an enclitic (33).

- (33) a. *bixuble + ak:u > b-iχ-ub-le=k:u* (N-become.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG)
 b. *q:uʷace + ak:u > q:uʷa-ce=k:u* (beautiful-DD.SG=COP.NEG)
 c. *kabiš:ible + ak:ʷadi > ka-b-iš:-ib-le=k:ʷadi*
 (DOWN-N-PUL.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP.PST.NEG.1)
 d. *χʷalle + ak:ʷi > χʷal-le=k:ʷi* (big-ADVZ=COP.PST.NEG)

Third, there is one verb ‘go, direct oneself, move’ of which the root vowel *u* is deleted when the gender agreement is masculine singular and the verbal root is preceded by the deixis/elevation preverbs or the negation prefixes (34). These preverbs and prefixes end in *a*. The process is accompanied by the labialization of the root consonant, that is, the labial feature turns from a vowel feature into a consonantal feature. See §2.6.10 below for more examples with the same verb stem.

- (34) *ha-(w)-ulq-an > halqʷan* ‘the one that goes upwards’
 (UP-M-direct.IPFV-PTCP) (compare with *ha-b-ulq-an* UP-N-direct.IPFV-PTCP)

As for nominal morphology, vowel deletion that is not caused by sequences of vowels is a regular component of plural formation. The deletion of *a*, *i*, or *u* in the final syllable of mostly disyllabic nouns is found with the suffixes *-be*, *-me*, *-re*, *-e*, *-ne*, *-up:e*, *-urbe*, and *-ube* (§3.2). If the last (usually stem-final) obstruent is a geminate it undergoes degemination. Examples are:

- (35) a. *šuša > šuš-ne* ‘bottle’
 b. *durħu[°] > durħ-ne* ‘boy, son’,
 c. *da[°]qa[°] > da[°]q-u[°]p:e* ‘wound’
 d. *rurs:i > rurs-be* ‘girl, daughter’
 e. *murgul > murgl-e* ‘man’
 f. *k’ap:ur > k’apr-e* ‘leaf’

2.6.2 Alternations in the form of enclitics/suffixes

There are suffixes and enclitics that have allomorphs whose use depends on the syllable structure of the item to which the suffixes or enclitics are added. The general rule is that suffixes/enclitics consisting of a single consonant are attached to vowel-final words and suffixes/enclitics of the form CV or VC to consonant-final words. Relevant suffixes and enclitics are:

- the ergative suffix *-l/-li* (§3.4.1.2), e.g. *du-l* (1SG-ERG) vs. *kulpat-li* (family-ERG)
- the adverbializer *-l/-le* (§9.6.3), e.g. *razi-l* ‘happily’ vs. *c’aq’-le* ‘strongly’

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- the emphatic enclitic =n/=nu (§9.4.4), e.g. *ak:u=n* (COP.NEG.PRS=PRT) vs. *le-d=nu* (exist-NPL=PRT)
- the enclitic for polar questions =w/=uw (§28.1) *arg-ul=de=w?* (go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q) ‘Are you going?’ vs. *le-b=uw?* (exist-N=Q) ‘Does it exist?’

The last enclitic has another allomorph =ew that only occurs after the imperfective converb suffix *-ul*, perhaps to avoid having two identical vowels in two adjacent syllables (although this is generally allowed).

One can argue that the underlying form of the suffixes is the one with the vowel (*-li*, *-le*) and that the vowel is deleted in the appropriate contexts. However, there is no phonotactic need for such a deletion and it even goes against the general preference of open syllables in final position (§2.3).

2.6.3 Glide insertion

Glide insertion represents a regular form of allomorphy. It is only found with the palatal glide *j* and only before certain suffixes or enclitics that start with the vowel *a*. The respective suffixes and enclitics are:

- the derivational suffix used to form the numerals 2–10, 20, as well as 100: *-al/-jal*, e.g. *ab^w-al* ‘four’ vs. *xu-jal* ‘five’
- the derivational suffix ‘X-times’ for the formation of multiplicative numerals *-na/-jna*, e.g. *ab^w-na* ‘four times’ vs. *ʔa^ɛ-jna* ‘three times’
- one of the allomorphs of the spatial case suffix of the LOC-series: *-a/-ja*, e.g. *kis-n-a-b* ‘in the pockets’ (pocket-PL-OBL.LOC-N) vs. *tusnaq:a-ja-b* ‘in the prisons’ (prison.OBL.PL-LOC-HPL)
- optional marker for non-indicative verb forms that serves as address particle for plural addressees *-a/-ja*, e.g. in the imperative plural suffix *-ene-ja* (alternative variant of *-ene*); the particle *ma* vs. *ma-ja* ‘Here, take!’
- the enclitic marking content questions: =e after consonants and =ja after vowels, e.g. *čina-b=e?* ‘Where is it?’ (where-N=Q) vs. *ča=ja?* ‘Who?’ (who=Q)
- the enclitic marking embedded questions and forming specific indefinite pronouns: =el after consonants and =jal after vowels, e.g. *ča=jal* ‘somebody’, *ce=jal* ‘something’ vs. *čina-b=el* ‘somewhere’

2.6.4 Glottal stop insertion

Another means of avoiding two adjacent vowels is the insertion of a glottal stop. This occurs when spatial preverbs and negation prefixes are added to vowel-initial verbs. In the following examples the glottal stops are given (although they are normally not written in this position).

- (36) a. *iʔa:* *biʔat'un* < *b-i-at'-un* 'stuck into' (N-IN-stick.PFV-PRET)
 b. *aʔi:* *maʔis:it* 'Don't take it!' (alternative: *majs:it*)
 c. *uʔi:* *guʔičib* < *gu-ič-ib* 'occurred under' (SUB-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET)
 d. *uʔa:* *gu-ʔagur* 'went under' (SUB-go.PFV.PRET)
gu-ʔa-lik'-un 'is not listening' (SUB-NEG-listen-ICVB)
 e. *aʔa:* *sa-ʔargul* 'is coming' (HITHER-go.IPFV.ICVB)
 (alternative: *sa:rgul*)
 f. *iʔi:* *čiʔiʔij* 'understand'
 g. *iʔi:* *biʔiʔit:e* 'you add it inside' (N.INSIDE.add.IPFV.2SG)
 (alternative: *bi:ʔit:e*)

As can be seen in the above examples, in some cases alternative processes can be applied, namely the formation of a long vowel in the case of a sequence of two identical vowels (36e), (36g), and the change from /i/ to /j/ if the first vowel is /a/ and the second is /i/ (36b). The same can be observed for combinations of three vowels or compound verbs. For instance, if the verb form *sa-ʔargul* given in (36e) is negated, we get *sa-a-ʔargul*. In principle, it is possible to pronounce all three vowels separately, although this is not the preferred variant in practice. Similarly, in compound verbs the first part can be pronounced as a phonologically independent word or the two vowels can fuse across word boundaries, for example *dak'u uqandel* vs. *dak'u:qandel* 'if he appeared'. The precise conditions of glottal stop insertion still require clarification.

2.6.5 Sequences of identical vowels

Long vowels can be the result of a sequence of two identical vowels or of the vowel /i/ plus the semivowel /j/. The latter happens when the dative suffix is added to nominals. The only long vowels are /a:/, /a':/, /i:/, and in one case after vowel mutation /e:/. The emergence of long vowels from two identical vowels is in many cases optional, with the insertion of a glottal stop being the usual alternative. Two identical vowels at morpheme boundaries occur only with verbs, either when the negation prefixes *a-* and *ma-* are used or with spatial preverbs. Note that in particular with the negation prefix it is the long vowel that carries the meaning of negation. If the two identical vowels would be shortened, the resulting verb form would be identical to the affirmative verb form and the negative meaning would be lost. Examples of the sequence are given in (37) and for the long pharyngealized low central vowel in (25).

- (37) a. *a-ag-ur* > *a:gur* 'did not go' (NEG-go.PFV-PRET)
 b. *sa-arg-ul* > *sa:rgul* 'coming here' (HITHER-go.IPFV-ICVB)
 (alternative: *saʔargul*, (36e))
 c. *qum a-art-u* > *qum a:rtu* 'does not forget'
 (forget NEG-forget.IPFV-PRS.3)
 d. *sa-a-ka-b-iš:-ib* > *sa:kabiš:ib* 'did not put down'
 (IN.FRONT-NEG-DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET)

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- e. *a-erč-ur* > *e:rčur/a?erčur* ‘did not saw’ (NEG-saw.PFV-PRET)
- f. *b-i-iB-it:e* > *bi:bit:e* ‘you add it in’ (N-IN-add.IPFV-PRS.2SG)
(alternative: *bi?iBit:e*, (36g))

Furthermore, the masculine singular agreement prefix *w-* can optionally be deleted when it occurs between two identical vowels (and, more generally, before /i/). This process also leads to long vowels [a:] and [i:] (38).

- (38)
- a. *a-w-at-ur* > *a:tur* ‘did not let him’ (NEG-M-let.PFV-PRET)
(alternative: *a-w-at-ur*)
 - b. *ma-w-ax-ut:a* > *ma:xut:a* ‘do not go!’ (PROH-M-go-PROH.SG)
(alternative: *ma-w-ax-ut:a*)
 - c. *w-i-a-w-ax-an=de* > *wi?a:xande* ‘you will not go inside’
(M-IN-NEG-M-go-PTCP=2SG) (alternative: *w-i-a-w-ax-an=de*)
 - d. *či-w-ig-ul=de* > *či:gulde* ‘you see him’ (SPR-M-see.IPFV-ICVB=2SG)
(alternative: *čiwigulde*)

2.6.6 Other general processes affecting vowels: Pharyngealization and formation of diphthongs

Pharyngealization is a frequent process that is attested with verbal and nominal affixes containing *u* or *a*. The pharyngealization feature of verbal and nominal stems spreads to the closest prefixes or suffixes, but not to the entire word. The nominal affixes that have pharyngealized allomorphs are the plural suffix *-up:e*, oblique plural suffix *-a* and the suffix *-a* deriving actions nouns from verbs. The verbal suffixes are a variety of derivational and inflectional suffixes. See §2.4 above for more details and relevant examples.

There are two diphthongs that arise when vowels are followed by the semivowels /w/ and /j/. The diphthongs [a_ɣ] and [a_ɣɯ], written *aj* and *aw*, are found in a few roots, e.g. *ʋaj* ‘word, talk’, *alaw* ‘around’; more are given in (7). They also arise during certain inflectional or derivational processes. The first diphthong is attested with verbs having *i* as the root vowel and consisting only of one consonant, that is, verbs of the structure (b-)iC(:). They may have or may not have gender prefixes. When a spatial preverb *ka-*, *ha-*, *sa-*, or the negation prefixes (*a-*, *ma-*) are added, the result is *a + i* > *aj*. For verbs with gender prefixes the process only applies when the gender prefix *w-* for masculine singular is omitted, which is always possible for verbs that have the root vowel *i*. The forms with the gender prefixes *b-* or *r-* that do not contain the diphthong are given in brackets.

- (39) *a + i* > *aj* (iC(:) > jC(:))
- a. *ha-(w)-ic-ij* > *hajc:ij* ‘to stand up’ (UP-M-stand.PFV-INF) (*ha-b-ic-ij*)
 - b. *a-(w)-iχ^w-ij* > *ajχ^wij* ‘to not be able’ (NEG-M-can.PFV-INF) (*a-b-iχ^w-ij*)
 - c. *ma-is-it* > *majs:it* ‘Do not shave!’ (NEG-shave.IPFV-PROH.SG)

This process is optional to some degree. This means that under certain circumstances that need further investigation, the two adjacent vowels *a* and *i* can be pronounced separately, not forming a diphthong. For instance, *majs:it* can alternatively be pronounced *maʔis:it* (36b).

The diphthong [aɔ̯] arises when spatial preverbs or negation prefixes with the final vowel *a* are added to verbs with the root vowel *u*. This can be verbs with a gender prefix (*b-uC(:)-*) that are inflected for masculine singular gender agreement (§2.0.2). The masculine singular prefix *w-* is regularly dropped before verbs with the root vowel *u* (e.g. *uc-ib* ‘caught him’ vs. *r-uc-ib* ‘caught her’), and then the combination of the two subsequent vowels turns into a diphthong that will be written *aw* (40). In the following examples forms with overt agreement prefixes *b-* or *d-* are given in brackets at the end of the example lines.

- (40) $a + u > aw$ ($uC(:) > wC(:)$)
- a. *t:ura-(w)-uq-un* > *t:urawqun* ‘he went outside’ (OUTSIDE-M-go.PFV-PRET) (vs. *t:ura b-uq-un*)
 - b. *sa-(w)-uq-un* > *sawqun* ‘he came’ (HITHER-M-go.PFV-PRET) (vs. *sa-b-uq-un*)
 - c. *gu-sa-(w)-uc-ib* > *gusawcib* ‘kept him’ (DOWN-HITHER-M-keep.PFV-PRET) (vs. *gu-sa-b-uc-ib*)
 - d. *a-(w)-uq’-idel* > *awq’idel* ‘should I not go’ (NEG-M-go-MODQ) (vs. *a-d-uq’-idel*)

The same happens to verbs that do not have a gender prefix (*uC(:)-*) when the root is preceded by prefixes ending in *a* (41). And again there are exceptions to the rule, e.g. in *sauq’ij* ‘go towards, go to meet’ the two vowels do not form a diphthong, but are separated by a glottal stop.

- (41) $a + u > aw$ ($uC(:) > wC(:)$)
- a. *ka-ut:-ij* > *kawt:ij* ‘tear off, rip off’ (DOWN-tear.IPFV-INF)
 - b. *ha-ut:-ij* > *hawt:ij* ‘pull out, disassemble, take apart’ (UP-tear.IPFV-INF)
 - c. *ha-uχ:aq-ij* > *hawχ:aqij* ‘ignite, set fire’ (UP-sparkle-CAUS-INF)

2.6.7 Vowel mutation (apophony)

Vowel mutation is found with inflected nouns and verbs. In the case of nouns, it is triggered by suffixation, in the case of verbs by prefixation.

The vowel *a* in the final syllable of nouns ending in a consonant is raised and backed when one of the plural suffixes *-e*, *-te*, *-be*, and *-re* containing close-mid vowels is added, that is, there is vowel mutation $a > u$ (including $a^\circ > u^\circ$). The process can be accompanied by delabialization (§2.6.10 shows examples). There are also one instance each of $e > u$ and $e > i$ under the same conditions. Relevant examples are given in (42). See §3.2 for more nouns.

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- (42) $a > u; e > u; e > i$
- $q:ap > q:up-re$ ‘sacks’
 - $\chi abar > \chi abur-te$ ‘stories, news’
 - $nez > nuz-be$ ‘lice’
 - $\text{vez} > \text{viz-be}$ ‘hairs’

Vowel mutation with verbs occurs when the spatial preverbs or negation prefixes with the final vowel *a* are prefixed. The first type of verbal vowel mutation happens with verbs containing the stem vowel *i* that are inflected for masculine singular or lack gender agreement prefixes. The gender prefix is dropped and the two vowels merge. Verb forms with overt gender prefixes are given in brackets at the end of the example lines for comparison.

- (43) $a + i > e$
- $sa-(w)-irb-an > serban$ ‘the one that comes’ (HITHER-M-COME-PTCP) (vs. $sa-b-irb-an$)
 - $a-(w)-ir\chi^w-ar > er\chi^w ar$ ‘cannot’ (NEG-M-be.able.IPFV-PRS.3) (vs. $a-b-ir\chi^w-ar$)
 - $ka-(w)-irg-an=da > kerganda$ ‘I will sit down’ (DOWN-M-be.IPFV-PTCP=1) (vs. $ka-r-irg-an=da$)

This process is optional, but again the circumstances under which alternatives are allowed need to be clarified (44).

- (44) a. $han a-w-irk-u > han awirku/han.erku/han.a?irku$ ‘does not remember him’ (remember NEG-M-OCCUR.IPFV-PRS.3)
- b. $a-irb-ib=da > ersibda/a?irbida$ ‘I did not understand’ (NEG-understand.PFV-PRET=1)

The second type of verbal vowel mutation happens with verbs that have the stem vowel *e* and lack gender agreement prefixes (45). Note that in the first verb given below the vowel mutation results in a long vowel because the negation prefix *a-* assimilated to the stem vowel and this, in turn, leads to a sequence of two identical vowels, which then becomes a long vowel. This process commonly occurs when the negation prefix is added to verbs beginning with the vowel *a* because if the sequence would be shortened, the negated form would be identical to the affirmative form and negation could not be expressed (37). The same logic applies to $e:r\check{c}ur$ (45a).

- (45) $a + e > e$
- $a-er\check{c}-ur > a?er\check{c}ur/e:r\check{c}ur$ (NEG-saw.PFV-PRET)
 - $ha-er?-\text{ul} > her?ul$ (UP-say.IPFV-ICVB)

Finally, the combination of spatial preverbs ending with *i* and a verb without a gender prefix and *a* as stem vowel or a following preverb *ha-* ‘upwards’ also leads to vowel mutation. In the second case, when two preverbs combine, then the vowel mutation is

initiated by the disappearance of the glottal fricative. The affected preverbs are *či-* ‘on’ + *ha-* > *če-*, *k^wi-* ‘in the hands’ + *ha* > *k^we-*, *hit:i-* ‘behind, after’ + *ha* > *hit:e-*, *b-i* ‘in, inside’ + *ha-* > *be-*. We can analyze this process as lowering of the vowel of the second preverb (46). Again the process is optional and does not occur in slow, careful speech.

- (46) $i + a > e$
- a. *či-ag-ur* > *čegur* ‘s/he went’ (SPR-go.PFV-PRET)
 - b. *či-ha-b-iš:-ib* > *čebiš:ib* ‘s/he put it up’ (SPR-UP-N-put.PFV-PRET)
 - c. *k^wi-ha-b-uc-ib* > *k^webucib* ‘s/he kept it in the hands’
(IN.HANDS-UP-N-keep.PFV-PRET)

2.6.8 Assimilation

Progressive assimilation occurs with all verbal and nominal suffixes that have initial *l*. The liquid assimilates to a preceding sonorant *n* or *r* (47). The following suffixes are affected:

- genitive case: *-la* > *-na/-ra*
- LOC-series (spatial case): *-le* > *-ne/-re*
- ergative case/oblique stem marker: *-li* > *-ni/-ri*
- perfective converb/adverbializer: *-le* > *-ne/-re*
- anteriority/causality converb *-la* > *-na/-ra*

- (47) $n + l > nn; r + l > rr$
- a. *cin-la* > *cinna* ‘his/her’ (REFL.SG.OBL-GEN)
 - b. *tuxtur-li* > *tuxturri* (doctor-ERG)
 - c. *b-uč'-un-le* > *buč'unne* ‘have read’ (N-read.PFV-PRET-CVB)

With many words the process is optional, and in careful speech no assimilation takes place.

2.6.9 Palatalization

Palatalization of velar consonants occurs with verbs when the causative suffix *-aq* or suffixes starting with the front vowels *i* (48a), (49), (50a), (50b) or *e* (48b), (50c) are added, or occasionally when the masdar suffix *-ni* is following (50d).

- (48) $x > \check{s}, x: > \check{s}:$
- a. *či-ka-b-ix:-a* ‘put it on!’ (SPR-DOWN-N-put.PFV-IMP.SG)
vs. *či-ka-b-iš:-ij* ‘to put it on’ (SPR-DOWN-N-put.PFV-INF)
 - b. *b-ax-ul* ‘going’ (N-go-ICVB)
vs. *w-aš-e!* ‘Go!’ (M-go-IMP.SG)

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- (49) $g > \check{z}$
b-ug-ul ‘remaining’ (N-stay-ICVB)
 vs. *b-už-ib* ‘remained’ (N-stay-PRET)
- (50) $k > \check{c}$, $k: > \check{c}:$, $k' > \check{c}'$
- b-uk-ul* ‘gathering’ (N-gather-ICVB)
 vs. *b-uč-ib* ‘gathered it’ (N-gather-PRET)
 - b-ik-a* ‘give it!’ (N-give.PFV-IMP.SG)
 vs. *b-ič-ib* ‘gave it’ (N-give.PFV-PRET)
 - er w-erk'-araj* ‘in order to look at him’ (look M-look.PFV-SUBJ)
 vs. *er w-erč'-e* ‘Look!’ (look M-look.PFV-IMP.SG)
 - b-ebk'-a* ‘death’ (N-die.PFV-NMLZ)
 vs. *b-ebč'-ni* ‘death’ (N-die.PFV-MSD)

When the masdar suffix is added the process is optional, at least with some verbs (51) (although it occurs when other suffixes are added). However, with a few verbs such as *er b-ik'^w-ni* ‘looking’ (look -N-say.IPFV-MSD) it is ungrammatical.

- (51) a. *ubč'-ni/ubk'-ni* (die.M.IPFV-MSD) < *b-ubk'-* (N-die.IPFV-)
 b. *b-arč-ni/b-ark-ni* (N-find.PFV-MSD) < *b-ark:-* (N-find.PFV-)

2.6.10 Labialization and delabialization

There are two instances of labialization of stops triggered by the round vowel *u*. In the first instance, a preceding vowel is lost and the loss is compensated for by labializing the following stop (another example with the same verb has been provided in §2.6.1 above):

- (52) *w-i-ha-(w)-ulq-an* > *wihalq^wan* ‘the one that goes inside’
 (M-IN-UP-(M)-go.IPFV-PTCP) (compare with *b-i-ha-b-ulq-an*)

The second instance represents the combination of the two spatial preverbs *gu-* ‘under’ and *ha-* ‘upwards’. The glottal fricative between the two vowels is lost and the round vowel disappears, leaving the initial stop labialized, that is *gu-ha-* > *g^wa-* (53).

- (53) $c'a$ $g^w a-b-iq'-un$ $ca-b$
 fire FROM.UNDER.UP-N-set.fire.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘(She) set up a fire.’

Delabialization is a more widespread and predictable process. It occurs when verbs that contain labialized stem consonants take suffixes beginning with the round vowel *u* (i.e. one of the preterite allomorphs *-ub*, *-ur*, or *-un*):

- (54) a. *b-elk'^w-ij* ‘write’ > *b-elk-un* ‘wrote’ (N-write.PFV-PRET)
 b. *kax^w-ij* ‘kill’ > *kax-ub* ‘killed’ (kill.PFV-PRET)
 c. *erg^w-ij* ‘sieve’ > *erg-ur* ‘sieved’ (sieve.PFV-PRET)

With nouns delabialization occurs in the formation of the plural. When the plural suffix or the oblique plural suffix is added to nouns that have a vowel a/a^ϵ in the root that undergoes vowel mutation $a/a^\epsilon > u/u^\epsilon$, then the mutation is accompanied by delabialization of a stop that precedes or follows the mutated vowel. Furthermore, plural suffixes containing u also trigger delabialization of preceding consonants when they are added (55).

- (55) $da^{\epsilon}rq^w$ ‘barn’ > $du^{\epsilon}rq-be$ $q^w a^{\epsilon}l$ ‘cow’ > $q^{\epsilon}u^{\epsilon}l-e$
 $q^w az$ ‘goose’ > $q:uz-re$ $mik^w a$ ‘fingernail’ > $mik-up:e$
 $\chi^w e$ ‘dog’ > $\chi:-ude$

Other plural suffixes do not lead to vowel mutation, and thus labialized consonants are preserved, for example:

- (56) $k^w ac:a$ ‘mare’ > $k^w ac-ne$ $targ^w a$ ‘weasel’ > $targ^w-ne$
 $g^w ag^w a$ ‘flower’ > $g^w ag^w-ne$ $\check{z}ilix^w a$ ‘saddle’ > $\check{z}ilix^w-me$

2.6.11 Gemination and degemination

Gemination is not a common process, whereas degemination is frequent. There is optional gemination in combination with devoicing, which always involves at least one gender affix. This process occurs only with the gender affixes b (neuter singular/human plural) and d (neuter plural/first and second person plural). The two lax voiced consonants become tense and devoiced when they are preceded or followed by an identical consonant. This can either be the same gender affix or the past tense enclitic $=de$, the attributive plural suffix $-te$ or occasionally when a preverb ending in p is used in a complex verb (there are no preverbs ending in d). Examples are given in (57) and (58). In careful speech the two consonants are pronounced individually, and no gemination and devoicing take place.

- (57) $d + d/t > t:$
 a. $\check{c}i-d-d-i\chi-un$ > $\check{c}it:i\chi un$ ‘(they) tied them’ (SPR-NPL-NPL-tie.PFV-PRET)
 b. $le-d=de$ > $le:t:e$ ‘we were there’ (exist-NPL=PST) ($le-b=de$)
 c. $xari-d-te$ > $xarit:e$ ‘the ones down’ (down-NPL-DD.PL) ($xari-b-te$)
- (58) $b/p + b > p:$
 a. $gu-b-b-i\check{c}i-b$ > $gup:i\check{c}ib$ ‘it lost’ (SUB-N-N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET)
 b. $\chi:ap b-arq'-ib$ > $\chi:ap:arq'ib$ ‘grabbed it’ (grab N-do.PFV-PRET)

Gemination does not occur when two voiceless consonants follow each other, for example $\check{h}a^{\epsilon}\check{z}at-te$ (need-DD.PL).

Furthermore, a number of verbal suffixes such as the habitual present suffixes contain geminates, e.g. $-t:e$ (-2SG.PRS) (§13.1). These suffixes are probably diachronically complex in their morphology, but since they synchronically function as entire morphemes that are not further split up, they are not treated here.

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Geminates are regularly degeminated when they end up in syllable-final position, because geminates in syllable-final position are prohibited (see §2.1, §2.3). Therefore, when suffixation leads to resyllabification, then degemination takes place, that is, tense consonants become lax. Voicing is not affected. Within the nominal morphology we find degemination of stops, fricatives, and affricates when the plural suffixes *-be*, *-ne*, and *-me* are added (59).

- (59) *rur.s:i* > *rurs-be* ‘girl, daughter’ *c.a.c:i* > *c:ac-be* ‘thorn’
c’el.t:a > *c’elt-me* ‘gravestone’ *e.č:a* > *eč-ne* ‘she-goat’

Similarly, a number of nouns have underlying geminates (stops and fricatives) in the word-final position that are only pronounced as geminates when suffixes that begin with a vowel (e.g. the plural suffixes *-e* and *-up:e*) are attached (60). In those plural nouns the geminates occur in syllable-initial position. By contrast, when the nouns are used in the singular or when suffixes that start with consonants are added (e.g. the ergative suffix *-li*), then the stops and fricatives are degeminated. More examples can be found in §3.2. In the examples in (60) first the plural forms are given and then the singular forms.

- (60) *juldaš:e* > *juldaš* ‘friend’ *baliq:e* > *baliq* ‘fish’
ʔu^hrus:e > *ʔu^hrus* ‘Russian’ *ħa^hšuk:e* > *ħa^hšuk* ‘pot’
miriq:w^e > *miriq^w* ‘worm’ *t^hup:e* > *t^hup* ‘finger’
q:u^hnq:u^hp:e > *q:u^hnq* ‘nose’

Within the verbal system, degemination can only occur when consonant-initial suffixes are added to verbal roots that have geminated consonants. The only relevant suffixes are the masdar suffix *-ni* (or *-ri*) and the locative participle *-na*.

- (61) a. *ha-q:-ij* (UP-CARRY-INF) > *haq-ni* (masdar)
 b. *ka-b-ič:-ij* (DOWN-N-cut.up.PFV-INF) > *kabič-ni* (masdar)
 c. *b-arc:-ij* (N-get.tired.PFV-INF) > *barc-ni* (masdar)
 d. *ak:w-* (COP.NEG) > *ak^w-ni/ak^w-ri* (masdar)
 e. *b-uč:-ij* (N-drink.PFV-INF) > *buč-na* (locative participle)

Part II

Nominal categories

3 Nouns

The grammatical categories of nouns and other nominals in Sanzhi are gender, number and case. There are three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter. With respect to number, nouns distinguish singular and plural. In addition, there is an associative plural. Sanzhi Dargwa has four grammatical cases, namely absolutive, ergative, dative, and genitive, and many more semantic cases. Most of the latter are spatial cases.

This chapter describes gender (§3.1), number (§3.2), and case (§3.4) as well as the derivation of nouns (§3.5) and the formation of nouns by means of compounding and reduplication (§3.6).

3.1 Gender

Sanzhi has the typical Dargwa gender system of three genders that have a transparent semantic basis: masculine, feminine, and neuter. To the feminine and masculine gender belong only those nouns that denote humans or are perceived as humanoids or similar to humans. This means that gender for humans follows natural gender, and all other nouns are neuter. Gender agreement is a major grammatical trait of East Caucasian languages, including Sanzhi. The combined gender–number agreement affixes are given in Table 3.1. All forms except the zero marking for masculine singular agreement can occur as prefixes, suffixes, and infixes (only with two words). For more information on gender agreement see §20.2.

Table 3.1: Agreement affixes in Sanzhi

	SG	1/2PL	3PL
Masculine	<i>w/∅</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>
Feminine	<i>r</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>
Neuter	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	

Gender is normally not marked on nouns, but there are a few nouns that do carry overt gender markers in word-initial position that seem to go back to gender prefixes. They can be divided into two groups. The first group is kinship terms and the noun ‘owner’ that differ in their form depending on the gender of the referent (1).

- (1) a. *uc:i* ‘brother’, *ruc:i* ‘sister’, *buc:i* ‘pair (e.g. of shoes)’
b. *uc:iq’ar*, *ruc:iq’ar* ‘cousin’ (male, female)

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- c. *rurs:i* ‘girl, daughter’ (no other forms available)
- d. *wah, rah, bah* ‘owner’
- e. *bahinte* ‘parents’ (plural form of ‘owner’)

The second group is nouns that express the gender of the (implicit or explicit) possessor (2). Most of the words of the second group denote body parts. The first noun controls neuter plural agreement since it is morphosyntactically a compound noun (§3.6.2). The second noun controls neuter singular agreement, independently of the agreement prefix used. The third noun controls agreement according to the referent and therefore in accordance with the prefix it has. For instance, *babq'i* (*χalq'*) ‘half (of the people)’ controls human plural agreement. It thus behaves similar to the nouns in (1).

- (2) a. *wark-max* ‘inside, inner parts, entrails’ (of human beings, male and female),
dark-max ‘inside, inner parts, entrails’ (of animals, in general)
- b. *wag, rag, bag, dag* ‘middle, waist’
- c. *wabq'i, rabq'i, babq'i, dabq'i* ‘half’

There is another word *daʔ* ‘face’ that clearly contains a frozen gender prefix and also occurs as part of compound verbs, e.g., in *b-aʔ-či-ab-ib* ‘direct’, or as the root of spatial adverbs such as *b-aʔ-gubal* ‘upside-down’. In principle, it is also possible to form the masculine singular, feminine singular, and neuter singular variants *waʔ, raʔ* and *baʔ* that seem to have the meaning ‘face, muzzle’ (of a man, of a woman) and ‘muzzle of an animal, wall, facade’, but they are not used in natural speech and speakers have trouble to find a context in which they could occur.¹

Nichols (2007) calls the overt marking of gender on nouns in (1) and (2) “head gender”. Nichols (2007) argues that synchronically, the initial segments of these words cannot simply be considered to be gender agreement prefixes because for most nouns head gender does not change in the plural, in contrast to agreement affixes on verbs and other parts of speech. For instance, the plural of *uci* ‘brother’ and *ruc:i* ‘sister’ is *ucbe* and *rucbe* respectively, not *bucbe*. For the nouns of the first group in (1), the head gender is determined by the natural gender of the referent and not controlled by another nominal. Nichols also writes that only few such nouns are likely of verbal origin. As for the Sanzhi words given in (1) and (2), I am unable to say anything about their origin.

3.2 Number

Most nouns in Sanzhi can be marked for plural by means of a suffix. The singular has no special marking. Plural suffixes can be divided into three groups according to their frequency and productivity:

¹There is another noun *baʔ* ‘leaf, sheet of paper, page’ that is arguable a cognate of *baʔ* ‘muzzle, wall, facade’. The two nouns can be distinguished through their plural marking: *baʔ* > *buʔre* ‘leaves, pages’ vs. *baʔ* > *baʔuʔrme, baʔme* ‘muzzles, walls, facades’.

- (3) a. frequent and productive suffixes: *-e, -te, -be, -me*
 b. relatively frequent suffixes: *-re, -ne, -up:e, -urbe*
 c. very rare suffixes: *-urme, -rme, -ube, -de, -une, -(u)bne*

The first group is the only one that can be used with recent loan words from Russian (Russian loans are indicated in the lists in (4) to (14)). The last group is restricted to one or two lexical items. Many of the nouns undergo morphophonological processes before the plural suffix is added. Plural suffixes containing the vowel /u/ have allophones with the pharyngealized vowel *u^ˀ*, e.g. *-u^ˀp:e*.

3.2.1 Frequent and productive plural suffixes

In this and the following section, I provide examples for every suffix illustrating at the same time the morphophonological processes. The morphophonological processes that are applied when forming the plural of nouns are summarized in §3.2.3.

3.2.1.1 *-e*

- (4) simple suffixation:
- a. *t'ult' > t'ult'e* 'bread'
 - b. *s:urrat > s:urrate* 'picture'
 - c. *unc > unce* 'ox'
 - d. *q:ačub > q:ačube* 'bandit'
 - e. *χurejg > χurejge* 'food'
 - f. *q'ampit' > q'ampit'e* 'chocolate' (Russian loan)
 - g. *student > studente* 'student' (Russian loan)
 - h. *praznik' > praznik'e* 'holiday' (Russian loan)
- (5) simple suffixation, but the final consonant (stop or fricative) occurs in its underlying geminate form (see §2.6.11):
- a. *juldaš > juldaš:e* 'friend'
 - b. *baliq > baliq:e* 'fish'
 - c. *ʔu^ˀrus > ʔu^ˀrus:e* 'Russian'
 - d. *ħa^ˀšuk > ħa^ˀšuk:e* 'pot'
 - e. *miriq^w > miriq^w:e* 'worm'
 - f. *t'up > t'up:e* 'finger'
 - g. *tusnaq > tusnaq:e* 'prison'

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- (6) vowel mutation (and delabialization):
- halmab* > *halmuše* ‘fiancée’
 - k:azat* > *k:azute* ‘newspaper’ (Russian loan)
 - q:abab* > *q:abuše* ‘pumpkin’
 - q^wa^l* > *q^ule* ‘cow’
- (7) various processes (vowel deletion, vowel mutation, underlying geminate occurs on surface):
- murgul* > *murgle* ‘man’
 - k’ap:ur* > *k’apre* ‘leaf’
 - amχa* > *umχe* ‘donkey’

3.2.1.2 -te

Most of the nouns taking this suffix are disyllabic loan words ending in a resonant. This suffix is also used for the plural form of long adjectives and, more generally, of predicates (§9.6.1).

- (8) simple suffixation:
- š:iš:im* > *š:iš:imte* ‘worry’
 - tuxtur* > *tuxturte* ‘doctor’
 - q:anaw* > *q:anawte* ‘ditch’
 - ħa^lkim* > *ħa^lkimte* ‘ruler’
 - pawur* > *pawurte* ‘cook’ (Russian loan)
 - mašin* > *mašinte* ‘car’ (Russian loan)
 - bazar* > *bazarte* ‘market’
 - salam* > *salamte* ‘greeting’
 - k:apan* > *k:apante* ‘shroud’
 - kep* > *kepte* ‘drinking’
 - ukul* > *ukulte* ‘injection’
 - ħa^ljwan* > *ħa^ljwante* ‘animal, livestock’
 - dušman* > *dušmante* ‘enemy’
 - mahar* > *maharte* ‘marriage’
- (9) vowel mutation:
- χabar* > *χaburte* ‘story, news’
 - šajt’an* > *šajt’unte* ‘devil’
 - darman* > *darmunte* ‘medicine’
 - bajram* > *bajrumte* ‘holiday’
 - q:ajtar* > *q:ajturte* ‘club’
 - q^uš:em* > *q^uš:umte* ‘handcuff’

(10) other:

admi > *adimte* 'person, human being, man'

3.2.1.3 -be

(11) simple suffixation:

- a. *ul* > *ulbe* 'eye'
- b. *milic'a* > *milic'abe* 'police(man)' (Russian loan)
- c. *p:alaženija* > *p:alaženijabe* 'situation' (Russian loan)
- d. *x:un* > *x:unbe* 'road, way'
- e. *ʔu'nru* > *ʔu'nrube* 'life'

(12) vowel mutation:

- a. *na^ˈq* > *nu^ˈqbe* 'eye'
- b. *qal* > *qulbe* 'house'
- c. *nez* > *nuzbe* 'louse'
- d. *qa^ˈr* > *qu^ˈrbe* 'pear'
- e. *bez* > *bizbe* 'hair'

(13) vowel deletion and degemination (of fricative or affricate):

- a. *cula* > *culbe* 'tooth'
- b. *rurs:i* > *rursbe* 'girl, daughter'
- c. *hinci* > *hincbe* 'apple'
- d. *ruc:i* > *rucbe* 'sister'
- e. *c:ac:i* > *c:acbe* 'thorn'

3.2.1.4 -me

(14) simple suffixation:

- a. *pikru* > *pikrume* 'thought'
- b. *buh* > *buhme* 'bundle'
- c. *dus* > *dusme* 'year'
- d. *t'u^ˈ* > *t'u^ˈme* 'leg'
- e. *irk* > *irkme* 'threshing board'
- f. *peč* > *pečme* 'oven' (Russian loan)
- g. *šalakbluk* > *šalakblukme* 'building block made from concrete' (Russian loan)

(15) vowel deletion and degemination (of stop or fricative)

- a. *k:urt:i* > *k:urtme* 'dress, shirt'
- b. *k:alk:i* > *k:alkme* 'tree'
- c. *beret:a* > *beretme* 'ax'

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- d. *q'a'li* > *q'a'lme* 'branch'
- e. *c'elt:a* > *c'eltme* 'gravestone'
- f. *qulex:a* > *qulexme* 'bracelet'
- g. *agarud* > *agardme*² 'garden' (Russian loan)

3.2.2 Modestly frequent plural suffixes

The following plural suffixes are not used with recent borrowings.

3.2.2.1 *-re*

Many monosyllabic nouns ending in a consonant take the plural suffix *-re* after vowel mutation. Disyllabic undergo vowel deletion before the suffix is attached.

(16) vowel mutation (*-a* > *-u*):

- a. *q:ap* > *q:upre* 'sack'
- b. *maχ* > *muχre* 'wheelbarrow' (used to carry hay)
- c. *t'at'* > *t'ut're* 'thread'
- d. *k'at'* > *k'ut're* 'drop'
- e. *lac* > *lucre* 'fence, wall'
- f. *ba'ʔ* > *bu'ʔre* 'leaf, page'

(17) vowel deletion:

- a. *mig^wi* > *mig^wre* 'large basket'
- b. *ʔa^ˈmi* > *ʔa^ˈmre* 'window'
- c. *ʋuma* > *ʋumre* 'block'

(18) other:

- x:unul* > *x:unre* 'woman'

3.2.2.2 *-ne*

The plural suffix *-ne* is mostly found with disyllabic nouns ending in *-a* or very occasionally in *-u/-u^ˈ* after deleting the final vowel (and degemination of the previous consonant if it is a tense consonant). There are also a few monosyllabic nouns that make use of the suffix.

(19) simple suffixation:

- a. *ʋ^wab* > *ʋ^wabne* 'ploughshare'
- b. *bar* > *barne* 'day'

²This example slightly differs from all the others because the vowel, which is deleted, occurs in the final syllable, but it is followed by consonant and thus does not represent the word-final segment.

(20) vowel deletion and degemination (stops, fricatives, affricates):

- a. *s:ika* > *s:ikne* 'bear'
- b. *ajarq'a* > *ajarq'ne* 'hunter'
- c. *žaq'a* > *žaq'ne* 'boar, pig'
- d. *šuša* > *šušne* 'bottle'
- e. *lik:a* > *likne* 'bone'
- f. *čat:a* > *čatne* 'cover'
- g. *q:arq:a* > *q:arqne* 'stone'
- h. *c'elt:a* > *c'eltne* 'gravestone'
- i. *eč:a* > *ečne* 'she-goat'
- j. *durħu'* > *durħne* 'boy, son'

3.2.2.3 *-up:e*

This suffix occurs with a handful of nouns and by means of simple suffixation, final vowel deletion, or surface appearance of underlying geminate consonant (in the last noun).

- (21)
- a. *zunra* > *zunrup:e* 'neighbor'
 - b. *da[˘]qa[˘]* > *da[˘]qu[˘]p:e* 'wound'
 - c. *muza* > *muzup:e* 'corner'
 - d. *ʔa[˘]q[˘]lu* > *ʔa[˘]q[˘]lup:e* 'mind'
 - e. *q:u[˘]nq* > *q:u[˘]nq:u[˘]p:e* 'nose'

3.2.2.4 *-urbe*

The suffix *-urbe* is mostly attested with disyllabic nouns ending in *-a* or *-i*. It can be simply added to nouns ending in consonants; otherwise final vowel deletion applies.

- (22)
- a. *lac* > *lacurbe* 'fence, wall'
 - b. *dahag* > *dahagurbe* 'slope'
 - c. *unc:a* > *unc:urbe* 'door'
 - d. *duša* > *dušurbe* 'hayloft'
 - e. *maš:i* > *maš:urbe* 'farmstead'
 - f. *ʔa[˘]ci* > *ʔa[˘]čurbe* 'work'

3.2.2.5 Other suffixes

There are a few rare suffixes that only occur with a very small number of nouns. Some of these nouns also make use of alternative, more common plural markers.

3 Nouns

- (23) *-urme*:
- ba[˚]ʔ* > *ba[˚]ʔu[˚]ʔrme* ‘muzzle, wall, facade’
 - ʔa[˚]dat* > *ʔa[˚]daturme* ‘habit, tradition’
 - bek[˚]a* > *bek[˚]urme* ‘pile, heap’
 - baha* > *bahurme* ‘price’
 - baʔ* > *baʔurme* ‘end, tail, top, summit’

- (24) *-ude*:
- χ[˚]we* > *χ[˚]ude* ‘dog’

- (25) *-une*:
- ʔa[˚]dat* > *ʔa[˚]datune* ‘habit, tradition’

- (26) *-(u)bne*:
- malla* > *mallubne* ‘mullah’

3.2.3 Morphophonological rules and other restrictions

The distribution of the plural markers is basically lexical. For certain derived nouns plural marking is predictable (e.g. agent nouns ending in *-či* take the plural suffix *-be*, abstract nouns with the suffix *-dex* take the plural suffix *-e* and undergo gemination of the suffix-final consonant). There are many nouns that can attach more than one plural suffix, and both in texts and in elicitations one frequently comes across variation between speakers as well as within the speech of individuals. Examples are provided in (27).

- (27) a. *urči* > *urče/určme* ‘horse’
- b. *ʔa[˚]dat* > *ʔa[˚]daturme/ʔa[˚]datme/ʔa[˚]date/ʔa[˚]datune* ‘habit, tradition’
- c. *dard* > *dardane/dardme* ‘sorrow’

Plural suffixation is accompanied by a number of morphophonological processes:

- deletion of final *-a*, *-u* or *-i* of mostly disyllabic nouns with the suffixes *-be*, *-ne*, *-me*, *-re*, *-e*, *-up:e*, *-urbe*, *-ube*
- vowel mutation *-a* > *-u* and *-a[˚]* > *-u[˚]*, *-e* > *-u*, *-e* > *-i* of the vowel in the final syllable of words ending in a consonant with the suffixes *-e*, *-te*, *-be*, *-re*
- surface occurrence of geminate stop, fricative or affricate with the suffix *-e* and *-up:e*
- degemination of stops, fricatives and affricates in the final syllable before a vowel with the suffixes *-ne*, *-be* and occasionally *-e*, *-ube*

With a few nouns, the last vowel shifts to *u* or *u[˚]*, and, as a consequence, the preceding labialized consonant is automatically delabialized as in *mik^wa* > *mikup:e* ‘fingernail’, *χ[˚]we* > *χ[˚]ude* ‘dog’, and *q^wa[˚]l* > *q[˚]u[˚]le* ‘cow’. However, in most cases, no vowel shift takes place and thus labialized consonants are not delabialized, and only the above-mentioned

morphophonological processes take place (vowel deletion, degemination), for example *mik^w* > *mik^wbe* ‘oak’, *g^wag^wa* > *g^wag^wne* ‘flower’, *ka^ɕχ^wi* > *ka^ɕχ^wne* ‘dustpan’, and *žilix^wa* > *žilix^wme* ‘saddle’. See §2.6 for more information on the morphophonological processes.

When case suffixes are added to nouns overtly marked for plural, then the final vowel of the plural suffix changes from *-e* to *-a* (see §3.4 for examples).

3.2.4 The associative plural

In addition to the normal plural, Sanzhi has an associative plural formed with the suffix *-qal* that probably originates from the noun *qal* ‘house’. The associative plural is only used with nominals that have specific reference:

- personal names
e.g. *Pajt’ima-qal* ‘Patimat and the people associated with her’
- terms denoting kinship relations
e.g. *aba-qal* ‘mother and her relatives’, *at:a-qal* ‘father and his relatives’
- the pronoun *ča* ‘who’, for which it is the regular means of forming the plural: *ča-qal* (§4.5.1)

Some kinship terms (e.g. ‘uncle’, ‘sister’) and personal names can also form the plural by means of regular plural suffixes, but there is a clear difference in meaning:

- (28)
- a. *Mu?minat-be* ‘girls with the name Mu?minat’
 - b. vs. *Mu?minat-qal* ‘Mu?minat and the people associated with her’
 - c. *ac:i-be* ‘uncles’
 - d. vs. *ac:i-qal* ‘a specific uncle and his relatives and associates’

Cases are directly suffixed to the associative plural marker.

3.3 Gender–number mismatches and exceptions

There are a couple of nouns whose behavior deviates from the majority as described in the previous sections. This section provides examples of the different groups of divergent nouns. There are three important parameters along which the divergent nouns can be grouped:

- availability of a morphological plural
- gender agreement (only *b*-agreement, only *d*-agreement, or both)
- meaning (e.g. mass noun interpretation)

3 Nouns

The first clearly identifiable group consists of nouns that denote liquids and other substances composed of small or minimal parts such as grains and dust-like materials. These nouns normally control *d*-agreement, but *b*-agreement is possible if the noun is interpreted as denoting a specific quantity (e.g. a bottle or a glass in case of liquids; one grain or one ear in case of sand or cereals). The specific quantity reading occurs frequently with some nouns (e.g. vodka, flour) and is therefore easier to obtain in elicitation. The nouns do not have a morphological plural. Examples are:

- (29) liquids
*ča*⁶*vir* ‘wine’, *nejg* ‘milk’, *k:amput* ‘homemade juice’, *ča*⁶*j* ‘tea’, *be?e* ‘blood’, *nerb* ‘soup’, *ʒa*⁶*raq*⁶*i* ‘vodka’, *hin* ‘water’
- (30) cereals, etc.
*ač*⁶*i* ‘wheat’, *s:us:ul* ‘rye’, *ʒa*⁶*jláč*⁶*i* ‘corn’, *birinž* ‘rice’ (with *b*-agreement: a sack or single grain), *t’ut*⁶*i* ‘grapes’ (with *b*-agreement: a single grape)
- (31) other substances
q:um ‘sand’, *c:e* ‘salt’ (with *b*-agreement: a specific quantity or one grain), *pisuk* ‘caster sugar’ (with *b*-agreement: one bowl or sack), *bet*⁶*u* ‘flour’ (with *b*-agreement: one sack)

The second group contains mass nouns that control only *b*-agreement and lack a morphological plural, for instance *berg*^w*a* ‘smoke’, *erza* ‘dew’, *du*^h*i* ‘snow’, and *ba*^q*qa*⁶*la* ‘butter’. They can be reasonably treated as controlling neuter singular agreement.

The third group consists only of one noun *χalq*⁶ ‘people(s)’, which controls *b*-agreement and lacks a morphological plural. Because of its semantics it is classified as human plural.

The fourth group is composed of mass nouns that control only *d*-agreement and also lack a morphological plural: *mura* ‘hay’, *p:ala* ‘wool’, *nek*^w ‘straw’, *q^wes:a* ‘ashes’, *dalga* ‘tool, product, detail’, *waja*^h ‘thing’, and *šu*^t*a* ‘saliva, spittle’.

The fifth group consists of nouns that lack a singular form and only occur with what seems to be a frozen plural suffix. These nouns control plural agreement (*d*-agreement), for example *mec:e* ‘stinging nettle’, *t’alaħne* ‘dishes’, *c:urbe* ‘heaven’, and *susme* ‘throat’.

The last four groups are given in (32–35). It is not always possible to clearly identify the mass noun reading. For all words in (32) and (33) that have the label ‘many’ in parenthesis after the English translation, the label ‘many’ refers to the normal (collective or distributive) plural reading, e.g. many individual apricots.

- (32) *b*- and *d*-agreement with plural meaning and/or mass noun reading; no morphological plural:
- | | | | |
|----|--------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| a. | <i>mac:a</i> | <i>b</i> -agr. | ‘sheep’ (one) |
| | | <i>d</i> -agr. | ‘sheep’ (many/mass noun) |
| b. | <i>q’ar</i> | <i>b</i> -agr. | ‘blade of grass’ |
| | | <i>d</i> -agr. | ‘grass, herbs’ (mass noun) |

3.3 Gender–number mismatches and exceptions

c.	<i>vaj</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘word(s)’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘language, speech’ (mass noun)
d.	<i>qurek:a</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘apricot’ (one)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘apricots’ (many)
e.	<i>ma?</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘brain, marrow’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘brains’ (many)
f.	<i>t’ama</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘voice, sound’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘voices, sounds’ (many)
g.	<i>bac</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘month, moon’ (one)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘months, moons’ (many)
h.	<i>t:a^cm</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘trap’ (one)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘traps’ (many)
i.	<i>š:ala</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘light’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘light(s)’ (many/mass noun)
j.	<i>c’a</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘fire’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘fire(s)’ (many/mass noun)
(33)	<i>b</i> - and <i>d</i> -agreement with distinct meanings; with morphologically formed plural:		
a.	<i>mex</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘iron’ (piece of iron)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘lock’
	plural <i>mexbe</i>	<i>d</i> -agr.	‘pieces of iron/iron as mass noun’
b.	<i>q:uq:u-la^cmc’</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘lightning’ (one/mass noun)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘lightning’ (many/mass noun)
	pl. <i>q:uq:u-la^cmc’ne</i>	<i>d</i> -agr.	‘lightnings’
c.	<i>q:arq:a</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘stone’ (one)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	‘stones’ (many/mass noun)
	plural <i>q:arqne</i>	<i>d</i> -agr.	‘stones’ (many)
d.	<i>vez</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘hair’ (one)
		(<i>d</i> -agr.	‘hair(s)’ (many/mass noun)) ³
	plural <i>vizbe</i>	<i>d</i> -agr.	‘hairs’ (many)
e.	<i>čakar</i>	<i>b</i> -agr.	‘sugar’ (mass noun/one grain, piece)
		<i>d</i> -agr.	—
	plural <i>čakurte</i>	<i>d</i> -agr.	‘pieces of sugar’

³This use not very common since there is a noun *q’ačme* with the mass noun reading of ‘hair’.

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- (34) *b-* and *d-*agreement with no clearly distinct meanings (normally including mass noun interpretation); no morphological plural:
- a. *ims* *b-/d-*agr. ‘moth(s)’
 - b. *x^we* *b-/d-*agr. ‘seed(s)’
 - c. *da^ʔwi* *b-/d-*agr. ‘war’
 - d. *murhe* *b-/d-*agr. ‘gold’
 - e. *x:amx:a* *b-/d-*agr. ‘foam’
 - f. *šaχ* *b-/d-*agr. ‘hoarfrost, frost’
- (35) *b-* and *d-*agreement with no clearly distinct meanings; with morphological plural:
- a. *unc:a* *b-/d-*agr. ‘door’
 plural *unc:urbe* *d-*agr. ‘doors’
 - b. *qix* *b-/d-*agr. ‘nut(s)’
 plural *qixbe* *d-*agr. ‘nuts’
 - c. *va^l* *b-/d-*agr. ‘sleigh(s)’
 plural *va^lme* *d-*agr. ‘sleighs’

3.4 Case

Sanzhi Dargwa has four grammatical cases and 19 core semantic cases as well as one minor directional suffix. The grammatical cases and the comitative are given in Table 3.2. The 18 core spatial cases are provided in Table 3.3. The essive is shown in the neuter singular/human plural form with the gender–number suffix *-b*. Illustrative partial paradigms of a few nouns can be found in Tables 3.4–3.5.

Table 3.2: Grammatical cases

Case	Suffix
absolutive	-∅
ergative	- <i>l(i)</i>
genitive	- <i>la (-lla)</i>
dative	- <i>j</i>
comitative	- <i>c:ella</i>

Case suffixation is (almost) completely regular and predictable. Like in many other East Caucasian languages, including other Dargwa varieties, case suffixes in Sanzhi for the most part do not directly attach to the nominal root, but are preceded by a so-called oblique marker. For nouns in the singular, the oblique marker is identical to the ergative suffix *-li* and will be glossed with OBL. Demonstrative pronouns in the singular have *-i* as the oblique marker; all nouns and demonstrative pronouns in the plural have *-a*.

Table 3.3: Spatial cases

Meaning	Lative	Essive	Ablative
'in, on, to' (LOC)	<i>-le/</i>	<i>-le-b/</i>	<i>-le-r(-ka)/</i>
	<i>-ja/</i>	<i>-ja-b/</i>	<i>-ja-r(-ka)/</i>
	<i>-a</i>	<i>-a-b</i>	<i>-a-r(-ka)</i>
'to' (AD)	<i>-š:u</i>	<i>-š:u-b</i>	<i>-š:u-r(-ka)</i>
'in, on, at' 'among' (IN)	<i>-c:e</i>	<i>-c:e-b</i>	<i>-c:e-r(-ka)</i>
'under' (SUB)	<i>-gu</i>	<i>-gu-b</i>	<i>-gu-r(-ka)</i>
'in front' (ANTE)	<i>-sa</i>	<i>-sa-b</i>	<i>-sa-r(-ka)</i>
'behind' (POST)	<i>-hara</i>	<i>-hara-b</i>	<i>-hara-r(-ka)</i>

Table 3.4: Partial paradigms of two nouns (vowel-final stems)

	Case	'tree'	'donkey'
singular	absolutive	<i>k:alk:i</i>	<i>amχa</i>
	ergative	<i>k:alk:i-l</i>	<i>amχa-l</i>
	genitive	<i>k:alk:i-la</i>	<i>amχa-la</i>
	dative	<i>k:alk:i-(li)-j</i>	<i>amχa-j</i>
	comitative	<i>k:alk:i-c:ella</i>	<i>amχa-c:ella</i>
	AD-lative	<i>k:alk:i-š:u</i>	<i>amχa-š:u</i>
plural	absolutive	<i>k:alk-me</i>	<i>umχ-e</i>
	ergative	<i>k:alk-m-a-l</i>	<i>umχ-a-l</i>
	genitive	<i>k:alk-m-a-(l)la</i>	<i>umχ-a-(l)la</i>

Table 3.5: Partial paradigms of two nouns (consonant-final stems)

	Case	'friend'	'clothes'
singular	absolutive	<i>juldaš</i>	<i>paltar</i>
	ergative	<i>juldaš-li</i>	<i>paltar-ri/-li</i>
	genitive	<i>juldaš-la</i>	<i>paltar-ra/-la</i>
	dative	<i>juldaš-li-j</i>	<i>paltar-ri-j/-li-j</i>
	comitative	<i>juldaš-li-c:ella</i>	<i>paltar-ri-c:ella/ -li-c:ella</i>
	AD-lative	<i>juldaš-li-š:u</i>	<i>paltar-ri-š:u/ -li-š:u</i>
plural	absolutive	<i>juldaš:-e</i>	<i>paltur-te</i>
	ergative	<i>juldaš:-a-l</i>	<i>paltur-t-a-l</i>
	genitive	<i>juldaš:-a-(l)la</i>	<i>paltur-t-a-(l)la</i>

There are a few differences between nouns ending in a vowel and nouns ending in a consonant with respect to the distribution and the usage frequency of oblique markers in the singular. With nouns ending in a vowel all case suffixes are mostly directly added to the nominal stem (Table 3.4), but occasionally the oblique marker *-l(i)* precedes suffixes of semantic cases, as in *buš:ukala-l-c:ella* broom-OBL-COMIT ‘with the broom’, *q’aca-l(i)-š:u* ‘to the goat’ (he.goat-OBL-AD). With nouns ending in a consonant (Table 3.5), the oblique marker obligatorily precedes the dative and the comitative, and is normally also used before all spatial cases except for the LOC-series with *-le*. If nouns are marked for the plural, then overt case suffixes are always added to the plural oblique marker *-a*, never directly to the plural stem.

The suffixes for the ergative and for the genitive can and most frequently do assimilate after *n* and *r* (and *s* in the noun *dus* ‘year’) to *-ri/-ni/-si* (ergative) and *-ra/-na* (genitive). The genitive of nominals in the plural is frequently realized as *-lla* instead of *-la*, but this phenomenon seems to be at least partially subject to variation. It is hard to notice in audio recordings of natural texts and speakers are not always aware of it. Therefore, it will mostly not be acknowledged in the examples.

3.4.1 Functions of grammatical cases

3.4.1.1 Absolutive

The absolutive case is zero-marked and not indicated in the glosses. It occurs in the following contexts:

1. on the sole argument of intransitive (36) and extended intransitive verbs (§19.1.2, §19.1.4):

(36) di-la nu[˘]q-be ʔa[˘]bh-ib ca<d>i
 1SG-GEN arm-PL get.tired.PFV-PRET COP<NPL>
 ‘My arms got tired.’

2. on the patient or theme argument of transitive and ditransitive (extended transitive) verbs, (§19.1.5), (§19.1.6):

(37) du-l ka-d-iq:-an=da qix-be
 1SG-ERG DOWN-NPL-carry.IPFV-PTCP=1 nut-PL
 ‘I will bring nuts.’

3. on the stimulus argument of affective verbs (§19.1.8):

(38) it:a-j ʔu[˘]rus ʔaj d-alχ-ul
 those.OBL-DAT Russian language NPL-know.IPFV-ICVB
 ak:^w-i=q’al
 COP.NEG-HAB.PST=MOD
 ‘They did not know the Russian language.’

4. on the agent in the antipassive construction (§19.2.1):

- (39) du baliq:-a-l Ø-uk-un=da
 1SG fish-OBL.PL-ERG M-eat.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'I (masc.) eat fish.'

5. on subject-like arguments and nominal predicates in copula clauses (§22.2):

- (40) χalq' kuš-le=de
 people hungry-ADVZ=PST
 'The people were hungry.'
- (41) het durħu° aždaha ca-w
 that boy monster COP-M
 'That boy is a monster.' (E)

6. on expressions of temporal duration (i.e. for a certain period):

- (42) d-alt-u kajal bari
 NPL-let.IPFV-PRS.3 twenty day
 '(They) leave (them) for 20 days.'
- (43) ʔa°bal dus kelg-un=da
 three year remain.PFV-PRET=1
 'I stayed there for three years.'

7. in vocative function:

- (44) ce r-ik'-ut:e, aba?
 what F-say.IPFV-2SG.PRS mother
 'What do you say, mother?'

3.4.1.2 Ergative

The ergative suffix is *-li* (allomorphs *-ni*, *-ri* after *n* and *r* respectively, and *-l*, which can only be added to vowels). The ergative occurs in the following contexts:

1. on the agent of transitive and ditransitive predicates, including inanimate agents:

- (45) žaq'-ne a-d-uk-i nuš:a-l, ak:w-i=w?
 boar-PL NEG-NPL-eat.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-ERG COP.NEG-HAB.PST=Q
 'We did not eat boars, right?'
- (46) hin-ni heχ lus b-ik'-aq-u
 water-ERG DEM.DOWN around N-move.IPFV-CAUS-PRS
 'The water turns this around.'

3 Nouns

2. on expressions of reason/cause (though the dative is more common in this function, see §3.4.1.4):

(47) k:iši-l imc'a-l χalq' b-ebč'-ib
hunger-ERG additional-ADVZ people HPL-die.PFV-PRET
'Many people died of hunger.'

3. on instruments (though the comitative is more frequent in this function, see §3.4.2.1): In sentences such as (48) with two ergatives it is only marginally possible to put the two ergative items directly next to each other, presumably because this leads to processing difficulties. To overcome this problem the second ergative is either placed in some other position, or is replaced with the comitative:

(48) du-l ka-b-irč:-ul=da t'ult' dis-li / dis-li-c:ella
1SG-ERG DOWN-N-cut.IPFV-ICVB=1 bread knife-ERG / knife-OBL-COMIT
'I cut the bread with a knife.' (E)

4. in the construction with the verb 'fill' (49a), (49b):

(49) a. il-i-la azbar b-ic'-ib ca-b ʔu'rʔ-a°-l,
that-OBL-GEN yard N-fill.PFV-PRET COP-N chicken-OBL.PL-ERG
q:uz-r-a-l, k'urk'ur-t-a-l
goose-PL-OBL-ERG turkey.cock-PL-OBL-ERG
'His yard was filled with chickens, geese, and turkeys.'

b. b-ic'-ib hel buq'a=ra s:us:ul-li
N-fill.PFV-PRET that hut=ADD rye-ERG
'And (they) also filled the hut with rye.'

5. on the patient in the antipassive construction (39);
6. when expressing the profession (50):

(50) il ha°jwan tuxtur-ri kelg-un
that animal doctor-ERG remain.PFV-PRET
'He was a/the veterinarian.'

3.4.1.3 Genitive

The genitive suffix is *-la* (allomorphs *-na*, *-ra* after *n* and *r*, and allomorph *-lla* with many nouns and pronouns marked for plural, and in some other contexts). It is used in the following contexts:

1. with various types of relations, e.g. on noun modifiers denoting possession (36), (51), (52), material (53), ingredients (54), units of measurement (55), properties (56). Sanzhi does not distinguish between alienable and inalienable possessors. Some more information on constructions expressing possession can be found in §30.4. The position of genitives at the level of the phrase is analyzed in §21.1.3.

- (51) niš:a-la sungli-la š:i-l-c:e-b
 1PL-GEN Sanzhi.person.OBL-GEN village-OBL-IN-N
 ‘in our village of Sanzhi’ (lit. ‘in our village of the Sanzhi people’)
- (52) hel=ʋuna admi ʔaʔʋuni-l ca-w niš:i-j ca χ:ula-ce hunar-ra
 that=EQ person needed-ADVZ COP-M 1PL-DAT one big-DD.SG strength-GEN
 w-ah
 M-owner
 ‘We need such a man, one with huge strength.’
- (53) arc-la qulexa
 silver-GEN bracelet
 ‘silver bracelet’ (E)
- (54) har žuralla qʻar-ra barci:k^w b-irqʻ-id, gals:i-la
 every various herbs-GEN chudu N-do.IPFV-1.PRS dock-GEN
 b-irqʻ-id
 N-do.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘We make chudu (trad. food) from all various herbs, we make it from dock.’
- (55) xujal litru-la čaʻʋir-la kanister
 five liter-GEN wine-GEN canister
 ‘five-liter canister of wine’
- (56) guž-la admi
 strength-GEN person
 ‘strong person’ (E)

2. on the arguments of most postpositions (§8):

- (57) qal-la sala
 house-GEN in.front
 ‘in front of the house’
- (58) q:arq:a-la hila-b
 stone-GEN behind-N
 ‘behind the stone’

3 Nouns

3. in partitive constructions (grammatically, they represent a genitive phrase with an omitted head noun):

(59) hin-na b-erč:-a!
 water-GEN N-drink.PFV-IMP
 ‘Drink (some) water!’ (E)

4. in the constructions of the *fill*-type (for which normally the ergative is used, see examples (49a) and (49b)); the genitive is also possible in (60). In this example, the genitive can be replaced by the ergative without any change in meaning. As in the partitive construction, the genitive noun in (60) is actually part of a genitive phrase of which the head noun has not been expressed, but could be added at any time (e.g. *k:urušk:a* ‘cup, mug’). In contexts in which no such head noun could be inserted, the genitive is ungrammatical and the ergative must be used instead. This applies to (49a), (49b), which would not be admissible with a genitive.

(60) b-ic’-ib-le, hin-na b-erč:-ib ca-b
 N-fill.PFV-PRET-CVB water-GEN N-drink.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘Having filled (the glass) with water (he) drank it.’

5. in the GEN + ‘make’ construction, there are a number of lexicalized phrases that consist of a noun in the genitive used together with the verb *b-arq’*- (PFV) ‘do, make’ (depending on the meaning there are also some other verbs allowed). This noun can usually not be described as serving any specific syntactic function in the clause, but instead forms a kind of compound together with the verb. The argument that is syntactically the direct object and controls the gender agreement on the verb functions as patient or it takes over the role of the affected participant similar to a beneficiary (or maleficiary).⁴ More examples of such compound verbs are given in §12.2.2.

(61) *qalla + b-arq’-ij* ‘marry off’; *qalla + ka-b-at-ij* ‘marry off’ (house.GEN + DOWN-HPL-let.PFV-INF)
 a. ca qal-la r-arq’-ib cin-na rurs:i
 one house-GEN F-do.PFV-PRET REFL.SG-GEN girl
 ‘(She) already married off one daughter.’

⁴In the constructions in (61a), (61b), (62) and (63) the direct object (e.g. *rurs:i*) can perhaps be interpreted as the possessum and the genitive noun (*qal-la*) as possessor such that we would deal with a genitive phrase. The phrase would, however, have the reverse case distribution of normal genitive phrases. The possessor is normally a human referent and the possessum can be inanimate, but in the four examples it is the other way around. Furthermore, in genitive phrases possessor and possessed usually occur next to each other in the order genitive + noun, which is also not the case in these examples, but occasionally other orders are possible (121) (§21.1.2). In sum, an analysis in which the direct objects and the nouns in the genitive syntactically form genitive phrases needs to be rejected.

- b. di-la k^wel dur^hu^o qal-la ka-w-at-ur=da
 1SG-GEN two boy house-GEN DOWN-M-let.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I married off my two sons.’ (E)
- (62) χ:a^obla + b-arq^o-ij ‘bury’
 di-la ruc:i=ra χ:a^ob-la r-arq^o-ib-le=da
 1SG-GEN sister=ADD grave-GEN F-do.PFV-PRET-CVB=1
 ‘(I) buried my sister.’
- (63) qa^obla + b-arq^o-ij ‘behead’; qa^obla + b-a^oq-ij ‘behead’ (neck.GEN + ‘hit, strike, wound’)
 il bahandan u qa^ob-la Ø-urq-a^on=de
 this because.of 2SG neck-GEN M-wound.IPFV-PTCP=2SG
 ‘Because of this you (masc.) will be beheaded!’

6. with the use of genitive pronouns in emphatic reflexive constructions (§29.1.2):

- (64) ala r-u^oq^o-a^on!
 2SG.GEN F-go-IMP
 ‘(You) yourself (fem.) go away!’ (E)

3.4.1.4 Dative

The dative suffix is *-j*. The dative occurs in the following contexts:

1. experiencer with affective predicates (65–67) (§19.1.3, §19.1.8)

- (65) ce ĥa^ožat-le, Ø-ik^w-ar, at betsat w-ič-it:aj
 what need-ADVZ M-say.IPFV-PRS 2SG.DAT here.there M-lead.IPFV-SUBJ.2
 dur^hu^o
 boy
 ‘What need is there, he says, for you to bring the boy here and there.’
- (66) dam simi d-ulq-u
 1SG.DAT anger NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS
 ‘I am angry.’ (lit. ‘anger directs to me’) (E)
- (67) χat:aj at b-uχ:ar-re=w?
 grandfather 2SG.DAT N-be.cold-CVB=Q
 ‘Grandfather, are you cold?’

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2. goal-like functions such as addressees (68) (for this role, the IN-lative is more common, see §3.4.2.4), recipients (§19.1.6), beneficiaries/maleficiaries (69), and goals of extended intransitive verbs with experiential semantics (70–72) or occasionally spatial goals (73) and other types of goal-like constructions (74):

- (68) dam / di-c:e b-urs-ib, ...
 1SG.DAT / 1SG.OBL-IN N-say.PFV-PRET
 ‘(They) said to me, ...’
- (69) b-irq'-an=da rurs:i-j ʔa^h meq
 N-do.IPFV-PTCP=1 girl-DAT good wedding
 ‘(I) will make a big wedding for my daughter.’
- (70) gu-lik'-an ʔa^h-le ʔa^t-n-a-la t'ama-j
 DOWN-listen.IPFV-PTCP good-ADVZ frog-PL-OBL-GEN sound-DAT
 ‘listening carefully to the sounds of the frogs’
- (71) Murad-li-j χ^wal-le urk'ec'i či-d-ulq-u Madina-j
 Murad-OBL-DAT big-ADVZ pity SPR-NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS Madina-DAT
 ‘Murad feels very sorry for Madina.’ (E)
- (72) na il-i-j w-iχči ag-ur-re dur^hu^c
 now that-OBL-DAT M-believe go.PFV-PRET-CVB boy
 sa-r-Ø-uq-un ca-w
 IN.FRONT-ABL-M-go.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘Now the boy believed it (= the mouse) and ran away.’
- (73) žerg^w-ne hiti d-uq-un-ne ca-d dur^h-a-j=ra
 wasp-PL after NPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-NPL boy-OBL.PL-DAT=ADD
 kac'i-j=ra
 puppy-DAT=ADD
 ‘The wasps flew after the boy and the puppy’
- (74) iž=ra xunul-li-j miši-l ca-r hel
 this=ADD woman-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP-F that
 ‘This one also (= the person on a picture) is similar to a woman.’

3. expression of cause (75), (76), e.g. in the adverb *hel-i-j* (DEM-OBL-DAT) ‘therefore’:

- (75) hel q:aq hu^ssen-na ʔa^h-dex:-li-j hel=ra
 that Kak Hussein-GEN good-NMLZ-OBL-DAT that=ADD
 kelg-un-il=de
 remain.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
 ‘Because of the benevolence of Kak Hussein that (man) also remained (alive).’

- (76) točno het-i-la ʔa[˘]ci, Ø-ik'-ul ca-w, het-i-c:e-r
 exactly that-OBL-GEN work M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M that-OBL-IN-ABL
 ka-b-ič-ib χat'a-li-j
 DOWN-N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET mistake-OBL-DAT
 'This is exactly his deed, he says, this happened because of him, because of his mistake.'

4. temporal duration ('for'/'in') and points of time:

- (77) palata-li-j ca-b har bari-j k^wel azir
 ward-OBL-DAT COP-N every day-DAT two thousand
 '(The price) for a ward is 2000 (rubles) per day.'
- (78) har dus:i-j k^wel q'ap'a is:-i
 every year.OBL-DAT two hat buy.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'Every year he (usually) bought two hats.'
- (79) du-l b-irq'-id dars ca sa[˘]ʔa[˘]t-li-j
 1SG-ERG N-do.IPFV-1.PRS homework one hour-OBL-DAT
 'I will do the homework in one hour.' (E)
- (80) ixt:u-b ča[˘]ʔa[˘]l-li-j s:a[˘]ʔa[˘]t k:aʔal-li-j w-iχ^w-ij
 there-N morning-OBL-DAT hour eight-OBL-DAT M-be.PFV-INF
 ʔa[˘]ʋuni-l ca-w hel admī
 needed-ADVZ COP-M that person
 'That person needs to be there in the morning at 8 o'clock.'

5. prices:

- (81) q:uruš-li-j b-ic-ib ca-b hel amyxa
 ruble-OBL-DAT N-sell.PFV-PRET COP-N that donkey
 '(He) sold the donkey for three rubles.'

6. spatial functions (in elicitation, but not common in natural texts):

- (82) ča[˘]k^wa k:alk:i-le / k:alk:i-j čī-ka-b-iž-ib ca-b
 bird tree-LOC / tree-DAT SPR-DOWN-N-be.PFV-PRET COP-N
 'The bird sat down on the tree.'

3.4.2 Functions of semantic cases

Apart from the comitative all semantic cases have a basic spatial meaning. Table 3.3 provides the core spatial cases. As in most other Caucasian languages the spatial cases are formally and functionally rather transparent and organized along two dimensions: location and direction (movement). There are six suffixes that express different ways of locating an item with respect to a reference point:

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- LOC-series *-le/ja*: in, on a reference point (§3.4.2.2)
- AD-series *-š:u*: at, by, close to a (mostly) animate reference point (§3.4.2.3)
- IN-series *-c:e*: in, on, at a reference point (§3.4.2.4)
- SUB-series *-gu*: under a reference point (§3.4.2.5)
- ANTE-series *-sa*: in front of a reference point (§3.4.2.6)
- POST-series *-hara*: behind a reference point (§3.4.2.7)

There is a semantic distinction between animate reference points (normally used together with the AD-series) and inanimate reference points (usually marked with the LOC-series). Furthermore, not all conceivable spatial constellations are covered by the location suffixes. For instance, meanings such as ‘near’ and ‘above’ can only be expressed by means of postpositions (Chapter 8).

Furthermore, there is a three-way distinction in terms of direction (movement):

- lative (zero marked): direction to a goal
- essive (marked by means of the gender/number agreement suffixes): stative location at a reference point
- ablative (*-r* or *-rka*): movement away from a reference point or movement through or along a reference point

The direction markers can be directly suffixed to spatial postpositions/adverbs and some other nominals that have inherent locational meaning (e.g. place names). With all other items, direction markers only occur in combination with the location markers. In addition to the core spatial cases given in Table 3.3 there is one minor spatial case whose use is somewhat restricted, the directional *-GM-a* (§3.4.2.8).

The lative is formally unmarked and expresses direction and movement to a reference point. The essive is formally marked through gender agreement suffixes that agree with the item whose location is expressed. This is normally the absolutive argument, i.e. agreement of the essive adjunct confirms to the general rules of gender agreement. The absolutive argument does not need to be overtly expressed in order to control the agreement, but can be left implicit (83).

- (83) qili sa-Ø-jɪ-ib=q:ella x:unul-la bek'-le-w či-w
 home HITHER-M-COME.PFV-PRET=when woman-GEN head-LOC-M ON-M
 w-alk:-un-ne k-erg-ul=de
 M-impertune-PRET-CVB DOWN-sit.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘(After drinking alcohol the husband,) when he came, he pestered his wife.’
 (lit. ‘sat on the wife’s head’)

However, as example (84) shows, it is also possible for other prominent arguments to control gender agreement on an essive adjunct. In this example, it is the implicit agent, the first person pronoun in the ergative case referring to the masculine speaker that controls agreement on the noun in the IN-essive (see §20.2.4 for more details).

- (84) hež sawχuz-li-c:e-w aʁ^w-c'al dus ʔa^ˆči b-arq'-ib=da
 this sovkhoz-OBL-IN-M four-TEN year work N-do.PFV-PRET=1
 'In the sovkhoz I (masc.) worked for 40 years.'

The ablative has two meanings, 'from' and 'through'/'along'. It is most frequently expressed by the suffix *-r*, but *-rka* is also possible with apparently no difference in meaning. The latter suffix is morphologically complex consisting of *-r* and *-ka* and less frequently used than simply *-r*. Diachronically, *-ka* might go back to an elevation marker *ka* 'down' (and thus be related to the elevation preverb *ka-* 'down', see §11.6.2).⁵

The spatial cases are functionally and partially also formally close to spatial adverbs (§7.1.2) and postpositions (§8.1) and can be used alone or together with them. Furthermore, there are semantic and formal resemblances with spatial preverbs (§11.6). Spatial cases are also used for non-spatial purposes, e.g. as part of valency frames, in certain constructions such as comparison or to express non-canonical agent constructions. In the following, spatial and non-spatial functions will be described in more detail. Microtoponyms, some other place names (§10) and spatial adverbs (§7.1) diverge from ordinary common nouns when inflected for spatial cases. In a nutshell, they have an inherent locational meaning and are only inflected for direction (lative, essive, and ablative).

3.4.2.1 Comitative

The suffix of the comitative is *-c:ella*. Diachronically it is probably complex consisting of the IN-lative *-c:e* and the genitive *-(l)la*. It is used with nominals having animate referents in the comitative function (85) as well as with inanimate nouns in the instrumental function (86), (87) and to express manner (88) or experiencers (89) as well as in other contexts roughly corresponding to the use of English *with* (90).

- (85) xural d-ax-ul hej-ka=či-d-a di-la
 by.foot 1/2.PL-go.IPFV-ICVB this-DOWN=on-1/2.PL-DIR 1SG-GEN
 juldaš:-a-c:ella...
 friend-OBL.PL-COMIT
 'We (were) going by foot there with my friends...'
- (86) pa^ˆq ik'-ul q'is:a-l-c:ella
 strike say.IPFV.M-ICVB crock-OBL-COMIT
 'striking with the crock'

⁵Tanti Dargwa, a relatively closely related variety, has four orientation markers, among them *-ka*, that are only suffixed to nominals inflected for the lative or the ablative. (see Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 69–70 and Forker 2019a).

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- (87) sa[˘]-q[˘]-a[˘]n zamana=q[˘]ar nuš:a mašin-ni-c:ella sa[˘]-q[˘]-un=da
 HITHER-go-PTCP time=MOD 1PL car-OBL-COMIT HITHER-go-ICVB=1
 ‘When we go back, we go by car.’
- (88) hiχ bala-c:ella ha-∅-jχ-ib-le hešt:u
 DEM.DOWN misfortune-COMIT UP-M-come.PFV-PRET-CVB here
 ‘when he came here with sorrows ...’
- (89) nu, a-c:ella ag-ur-il da[˘]?le
 well 2SG-COMIT go.PFV-PRET-REF as
 ‘as if it happened to you’
- (90) ha[˘]šuk:-a-d d-i-d k[˘]wel ?a[˘]bal aχ^wal χunab-te χe-d
 pot-LOC-NPL NPL-in-NPL two three four EQ-DD.PL exist.DOWN-NPL
 xari-gu-d ?a[˘]m-r-a-c:ella
 down-SUB-NPL hole-PL-OBL-COMIT
 ‘Inside the pot there are 2, 3, 4 things like this with holes on the lower side.’

3.4.2.2 LOC-lative *-le/-ja/-a*, LOC-essive *-le-b/-ja-b/-a-b* and LOC-ablative *-le-r/-ja-r/-a-r*

The LOC-series is together with the IN-series (§3.4.2.4) by far the most frequently used series among the spatial cases. It can be broadly described as a general location marker that expresses the most common location of a figure with respect to the ground. Both its formal make-up and its functions are rather complex and deserve a future study. In this section, I can only provide a sketch of its formation and its meaning. Formally, the LOC-series is very heterogeneous (in contrast to all other spatial case suffixes). It is either expressed by dedicated suffixes *-a* and *-ja* or by a change of the final vowel *i > e*. The vowel change almost exclusively affects nouns that take *-li* as their ergative suffix and oblique stem marker, and thus we get *-li > -le*. However, not all nouns that have the ergative/oblique suffix *-li* undergo the vowel change, but some of those nouns take a suffix as LOC-series marker. The occurrences of the allomorphs (suffixes or vowel change) can only partially be predicted. I will first give the usage constraints for each marker, describe its functions by means of examples and in the end compare it to similar markers from other Dargwa varieties. In addition to the relatively regular ways of forming the LOC-series by means of the just listed allomorphs, there is a special class of nouns that has inherent locational meaning and can be said to semantically express the LOC-series as well although synchronically no case suffix can be identified. This class consists of native place names (mostly names of villages and microtoponyms, Chapter 10).

The default way of forming the LOC-series for nouns in the singular is the vowel change of the ergative/oblique suffix *-li > -le*. The combinations **-li-le* (-OBL-LOC) or **-l-le* (with a deletion of the vowel of the ergative/oblique suffix) are ungrammatical. The suffix *-le* is used after consonants and vowels. There is one noun, *neq:i* ‘cave’, which has *neq:e* as the LOC-lative (in addition to the regular form *neq:i-le*), i.e. we have again the vowel change *i > e*.

The suffix *-ja* is only used after the vowels *a*, *i* and *u*. It occurs with most nouns in the plural, personal and demonstrative pronouns, plural reflexive pronouns as well as with very few other nouns in the singular, e.g. *qu-ja* (field-LOC), *aba-ja* (mother-LOC).

The suffix *-a* is used with a number of nouns of which at least some make use of *-li* as ergative/oblique suffix. Examples of such nouns are *ħaʕšak* ‘pot’ (90) (comitative *ħaʕšak-li-cella*), *mist:ik* ‘mosque’, *q:at:a* ‘canyon’, *mus:a* ‘place’, *daʕrɣ^w* ‘barn, cattle-shed’, *š:i* ‘village’. With a few of these nouns the suffix is simply added to the noun, e.g. *mist:ik'-a* ‘to the mosque’ and *ħaʕšuk-a* ‘into the pot’. With those nouns that have stem-final *a*, the locative case differs from the base stem in the pitch accent that switches to the final vowel, e.g. *mus:á* ‘place/to the place’ (92).⁶ Thus, we can assume that $a + a > a: > á$. The noun ‘village’ has the special locative form *š:a* ‘(in)to the village’. This form is not the oblique stem because it does not serve as the base form for the formation of other cases. Furthermore, the more common way of saying ‘in the village’ is to use the IN-essive (51). The suffix *-a* is also attested for some plural nouns that make use of *-ne* as the plural suffix, e.g. *mus-n-a* (place-PL-OBL.LOC) ‘to the places’, *kis-n-a-b* (pocket-PL-OBL.LOC-N) ‘in the pockets’, *buruš-n-a-r* (mattress-PL-OBL.LOC-F) ‘on the mattresses’. These examples can perhaps be analyzed as undergoing a vowel change $e > a$ for the formation of the LOC-series.

The meaning of the LOC-series is rather broad. It has a basic general spatial and directional meaning indicating movement to a goal, static location at a reference point and movement away from a reference point. Usually the location is the most typical location. The reference points can be places (92), place names, villages, cities, buildings, institutions (91), body parts, vehicles and other means of transport, containers (94), and so on. The LOC-series translates into English as ‘to, in, on’. Its meaning includes vertical location, e.g. on a wall (93), and also location inside a reference point (94), (95). Note that instead of the LOC-series it is possible to use the IN-series in examples (93–95) with no difference in meaning (§3.4.2.4). However, it seems that with certain locations there are conventionalized uses of the one or the other suffix. For instance, with names of settlements the LOC-series occurs (96), whereas with the noun *šahar* ‘town’ the IN-series form *šahar-ri-c:e* is used. With *ħaʕšak* ‘pot’ the LOC-series is clearly preferred (95), but the LOC-series form *ħaʕšak-li-c:e* is also attested (116). Further research is needed in order to arrive at a more detailed picture about the semantic similarities and differences between these two spatial case series.

- (91) tusnaq-le-w=uw iž ʔaʕrmija-le-w=uw?
 prison-LOC-M=Q this army-LOC-M=Q
 ‘Is he in prison or in the army?’
- (92) ca mus:a-d k'e-d, Ø-ik'-ul ca-w, k:alk-me
 one place.LOC-NPL exist.UP-NPL M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M tree-PL
 ‘In one place, there are, he says, trees.’

⁶This refers only to the nominals that take the suffix *-a*. It is not the case that every nominal ending in *a* takes the suffix *-a*, e.g. *ʔaʕrmija-le* ‘in the army’.

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- (93) s:urrat ba[˚]ʔ-le-b sa-r-h-aq-ib ca-b
 picture wall-LOC-N ANTE-ABL-UP-hang.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘The picture is hanging on the wall.’ (E)
- (94) t’unnu[˚]q-le d-i-ka-d-irx:-ul ...
 basket-LOC NPL-IN-DOWN-NPL-put.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘putting (the pears) into a basket ...’
- (95) d-i-h-ax-ub-le rurč:-an ha[˚]šuk:-a lux:-id
 NPL-IN-UP-pour.PFV-PRET-CVB boil-PTCP pot-LOC cook.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘We pour (the khinkal) into a pot with boiling (water) and cook it.’

When used together with the postposition *či-b*, the LOC-series can also express the meaning ‘above’ (see §8.1.7 on postpositions for an example).

When the locative suffix is followed by the ablative case, the meaning is ‘from, through’ (96), (97).

- (96) Ma[˚]ha[˚]čq:ala-le-r sa-∅-jɤ-ib-le, hel apirac:ija
 Makhachkala-LOC-ABL HITHER-M-come.PFV-PRET-CVB that operation
 b-arq’-ib ca-b
 N-do.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘He came back from Makhachkala and had the operation.’
- (97) aq d-arq’-ib-le, hešt:i či-r-d-ax-ud erk^w-le-r
 high NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB these SPR-ABL-1/2PL-go.IPFV-1.PRS river-LOC-ABL
 ‘We roll up (the trousers) and go across the river.’

In the basic meaning, the LOC-series is only used with inanimate nouns and can be opposed to the AD-series (§3.4.2.3), which is used with animate nouns to express the same general meaning. Thus, compare (98) and (106):

- (98) du wabše uškul-le ag-ur-il ak^w-a-di
 1SG at.all school-LOC go.PFV-PRET-REF COP.NEG-1
 ‘I did not go to school at all.’

In (99), the participle bearing the LOC-ablative refers to a picture showing people who drink and the speaker is asked to begin his story with this picture.

- (99) hel-t:i b-uč:-an-t-a-ja-rka w-aʔ-∅-ač’-e caj-na!
 that-PL N-drink.IPFV-PTCP-PL-OBL-LOC-ABL M-begin-M-come.PFV-IMP one-TIME
 ‘First begin with these who drink!’ (said to a man)

The LOC-essive can also be used for the expression of metaphorical location and direction, e.g. *di-la ʔu[˚]nru-le-b* (1SG-GEN life-LOC-N) ‘in my life’, and for a number of constructions denoting feelings and emotions that are located in body parts or in persons (100), (101).

- (100) u urk'i-le r-ak'-ute, ...
 2SG heart-LOC F-move.PFV-COND.2SG
 'if I remember you (fem.), ...'
- (101) di-ja-r čì-r-ka-d-erχ:^w-aja!
 1SG-LOC-ABL SPR-ABL-DOWN-NPL-apologize.PFV-IMP.PL
 'Forgive me!'

The LOC-series can also be used with animate nouns. In this case the spatial meaning is 'on, onto' and thus more specific than when used with inanimate nouns:

- (102) heχ-ti da^oqu^o-p:e aba-ja-d čì-d
 DEM.DOWN-PL wound-PL mother-LOC-NPL on-NPL
 'the wounds on the mother'
- (103) w-ax-ul určì-le-w t:amq:ar sa-Ø-jk'-ul ...
 M-go.IPFV-ICVB horse-LOC-M stagger HITHER-M-move.IPFV-ICVB
 '(he was) riding on a horse and shaking ...'

Occasionally, one can find expressions for points in time marked by the LOC-essive, e.g. *s:a^oʔa^t k:aʔal-le-b* (hour eight-LOC-N) 'at eight o'clock'. However, other cases such as the dative are more common in this function. The LOC-ablative is regularly used in phrases with the meaning 'after (time)', e.g. *k'^wel ʔa^obal minut'-le-r* (two three minute-LOC-ABL) 'after two, three minutes'.

Finally, the LOC-ablative occurs in comparative constructions (104) marking the standard of comparison (§30.1):

- (104) ala q:uka-l arg-ul ca-b di-la-ja-rka
 2SG.GEN beautiful-ADVZ go.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL 1SG-GEN-LOC-ABL
 'Yours (i.e. your story) is better than mine.'

Synchronically, all markers are allomorphs of the same case. For instance, in *tusnaq-le-b* (prison-LOC-HPL) 'in the prison' vs. *tusnaq:a-ja-b* (prison.OBL.PL-LOC-HPL) 'in the prisons' the only difference is the number of the noun to which the case suffix is attached. Furthermore, it is ungrammatical to have both the vowel change and a suffix *-a* or *-ja* with one and the same nominal, e.g. **ša-ja* (village.LOC-LOC). Normally each nominal can apply only one operation to form the LOC-series, but there are a few examples that prove that there is some variation, e.g. *neq:e* vs. *neq:i-le* 'into the cave' (cave.LOC vs. cave-LOC). As the above description has shown, the distribution of the allomorphs used is at least in part lexically determined and needs further study.

Diachronically, all markers go back to formally and functionally unrelated markers. This becomes clear when we compare Sanzhi to other Dargwa varieties. In her comparative paper on spatial cases in Dargwa, van den Berg (2003b) provides spatial case paradigms of ten Dargwa varieties from north to south. For the analysis of the Sanzhi locative marker three groups of suffixes are relevant:

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- some varieties have a suffix *-j* or *-ja* with the meaning ‘on’
- some varieties have *-n(a)* or *-le* (or variants thereof) with the meaning ‘in a hollow space’
- some varieties have *-n(a)*, *-la*, or *-le* (or variants thereof) with a general locative meaning⁷

The Sanzhi locative case marker seems to be a mixture of all three groups. Formally its exponents correspond to suffixes from all three groups, and functionally the marker unifies the three different meanings. Other Dargwa varieties show a similar picture. For instance, Tanti Dargwa, another south Dargwa variety, has a SUPER-series expressed with the suffix *-ja* that is part of the regular paradigm of spatial cases. In addition, it has a category ‘location’ (*lokalizatsija*) that is only formed from the direct stem of nouns in the singular (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 66–68). This special form is used when expressing the most natural location of a figure with respect to the ground. As the Sanzhi locative, its formation is very heterogeneous by means of unproductive suffixes (*-na*, *-ni*), vowel change (*i > e*) or a switch of the pitch accent to the word final vowel *a*. The Tanti examples parallel the examples of the Sanzhi locative given above.

Mekegi, a northern Dargwa variety, has a general locative suffix *-le* that is directly added to the nominal stem. This suffix is mentioned in van den Berg 2003b, but unfortunately she does not provide examples or a description of its meaning. In the same paper, van den Berg suggests that this marker has cognates in Akusha Dargwa (*-la*) and Urakhi Dargwa (*-la*) and notes that its precise meaning requires further investigation. The Akusha Dargwa grammar by the same author provides a few examples of the suffix *-la*, which is only added to inanimate nouns (van den Berg 2001: 24). On the same page, the grammar also mentions a couple of nouns with irregular locative forms that have shapes analogous to some of the Sanzhi words discussed in this section.

3.4.2.3 AD-lative *-š:u*, AD-essive *-š:u-b*, and AD-ablative *-š:u-r*

The series of spatial cases formed with the suffix *-š:u* denotes movement to a goal (the moving item is not further specified for precise location with respect to the goal), general location that can be broadly translated with ‘at, by, with’, and movement away from a source. The goal, location or source, i.e. the noun bearing the spatial case suffix, mostly has an animate referent. Thus, the LOC-series and the AD-series are in a kind of animacy opposition. However, as (107) and (108) show, inanimate reference points are also allowed.

- (105) na istikan-na juldaš:-a-š:u kudur Ø-ič-ib ca-w hel
now glass-GEN friend-OBL.PL-AD mix M-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-M that
‘He mingled with his drinking friends.’

⁷Van den Berg (2003b) further hypothesizes that there is a connection between the markers for ‘in a hollow space’ and the general locative markers.

- (106) na ilt:i q'ad-n-a-š:u mallu-bn-a-š:u b-ax-ul ca-b
 now these qadi-PL-OBL-AD mullah-PL-OBL-AD HPL-go.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 'They are going to the qadis, to the mullahs.'
- (107) ag-ur-re ca-b s:ika-la merg^w-li-š:u
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-HPL bear-GEN lair-OBL-AD
 'They went to the cave of the bear.'
- (108) c'il il Amirħa'mza uq-un-ne ca-w tupang-li-š:u
 then that Amirhamza go.PFV.M-PRET-CVB COP-M rifle-OBL-AD
 'Then Amirhamza took a rifle.' (lit. 'went to the rifle')
- (109) dajark'a-b-a-š:u-b b-at-ur=da mašin
 milkmaid-PL-OBL-AD-N N-let.PFV-PRET=1 car
 '(We) left the car with the milkmaids.' (in the place where the milkmaids used to work)
- (110) hel-i-š:u-rka k-aq:ib-le kaḡar
 that-OBL-AD-ABL DOWN-carry-PRET-CVB letter
 'From him (they) brought a permission (lit. 'letter').'

3.4.2.4 IN-lative -c:e, IN-essive -c:e-b, and IN-ablative -c:e-r

The suffix of the IN-series is -c:e. The locational meaning can be roughly translated as 'in' (111), or 'on, at' (112), and its directional meaning is 'to' (113).

- (111) ca š:i-l-c:e-b ca kulpat, χ:ula kulpat b-už-ib ca-b
 one village-OBL-IN-HPL one family big family HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL
 'In one village lived a big family.'
- (112) c'ili heba, burma-c:e-w, h-as:ib-le bet'u ...
 then then threshold.OBL-IN-M, UP-take.PFV-PRET-CVB flour
 'Then, on the threshold, (he) took the flour, ...'
- (113) χ:u'rba-c:e wabše admi w-ax-an ak:u=q'al
 graveyard-IN at.all person M-go.IPFV-PTCP COP.NEG=MOD
 'No person at all should go to the graveyard.'

Note that in contexts such as 'in a settlement', 'in a container-like object' or 'on a vertical surface', it is possible to use the LOC-series instead of the IN-series with no semantic differences between the two variants. Thus, compare (111) with (96), (114) with (93), and (116) with (95).

- (114) s:urrat baʔ-li-c:e-b sa-r-h-aq-ib ca-b
 picture wall-OBL-IN-N ANTE-ABL-UP-hang.PFV-PRET COP-N
 'The picture is hanging on the wall.' (E)

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(115) Murad unc:a-l-c:e q'ut' ik'-ul=de
 Murad door-OBL-IN knock say.IPFV.M-ICVB=PST
 'Murad knocked at the door.' (E)

(116) rurq-aⁿ ha^šak-li-c:e d-i-h-erx^w-it:e
 boil-PTCP pot-OBL-IN NPL-IN-UP-pour.IPFV-2SG
 'You pour (them) into a pot with boiling (water).'

The IN-ablative does not only translate as 'from' (117) and more specifically as 'from within, out of' (118), but is also used to denote 'among, along, through' (119). Thus, we find it in superlative constructions (120) (§30.1):

(117) ʔa^li-l b-erq:-ib di-c:e-r welesepet
 Ali-ERG N-take.PFV-PRET 1SG-IN-ABL bike
 'Ali took away my bike.' (E)

(118) il dur^hu^t:ura ha-w-q-un ca-w hel zamana q:ap-li-c:e-r
 that boy outside UP-M-go.PFV-PRET COP-M that time sack-OBL-IN-ABL
 'At this time that boy came out of the sack.'

(119) liil-li-c:e-r hel-t-a-c:e-r ca χ:abar b-irq'-an ca-b
 all<HPL>-OBL-IN-ABL that-PL-OBL-IN-ABL one story N-do.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 'From all, from them (i.e. from all pictures on the table) (you) need to make one story.'

(120) bah χ:ula-ce w-irχ-i=w χataj ču-la
 most big-DD M-be.IPFV-HAB.PST=Q grandfather REFL.PL-GEN
 uc:-b-a-c:e-r?
 brother-PL-OBL-IN-ABL
 'Was grandfather the oldest among his brothers?'

The IN-lative has also more metaphorical uses when marking the goal-like argument of the verbs *aq-* 'go through' (121) or *b-arχ:-* 'be engaged in' (122) and other predicates (123).

(121) jašaw-li-c:e qar aq-ib ca-b uže ču-la
 being-OBL-IN up go.through.PFV-PRET COP-HPL already REFL.PL-GEN
 'They dedicated themselves to their life (i.e. they cared for their living).'

(122) x:unul ha-r-arχ:-ib ca-r cin-na ʔa^šči-l-c:e
 woman UP-F-be.engaged.in-PRET COP-F REFL.SG-GEN work-OBL-IN
 'The wife is engaged in her work.'

(123) du hi-j r-erʔib cik'al-li-c:e ha^šsib r-arq'-ib-il=da
 1SG who.OBL-DAT F-rotten thing-OBL-IN test F-do.PFV-PRET-REF=1
 'Other (people) considered myself as rotten.'

Young speakers use the IN-ablative alone (124) or in combination with the postposition *b-alli* ‘together’ to express the comitative. Older speakers reject such a usage by pointing out that the comitative case *-c:ella* that can be optionally combined with the same postposition (§3.4.2.1) is the only grammatical variant.

- (124) hel-ka sa-∅-jɪ-ib nik'a durɦu^c welisipjed-li-c:e-r
 that-DOWN HITHER-M-COME.PFV-PRET small boy bike-OBL-IN-ABL
 ‘From over there a little boy with a bike came.’

The IN-essive is used in the temporal expression ‘in the year X’ (125).

- (125) x:unul ka-r-iž-ib=da urek-c'a-ra-ib dus:i-c:e-b
 woman DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET=1 six-TEN-NUM-ORD year.OBL-IN-N
 ‘I married in 1960.’

There are a number of non-spatial functions that the IN-series fulfills. The IN-essive expresses temporarily limited possessors (126).

- (126) hel ručka=ra le-b iž-i-c:e-b
 that pen=ADD exist-N this-OBL-IN-N
 ‘He also has a pen (in his hands).’

The IN-lative denotes temporarily limited recipients (127), addressees (128) and causees (129) (see §24.3 for reported speech constructions and §19.2.2 for causativization).

- (127) [a man arrives in prison and receives the clothes of prisoners]
 heχ-ti tɔpri=ra wačag=ra k:urt:i=ra heχ-i-c:e
 DEM.DOWN-PL shoe=ADD trousers=ADD shirt=ADD DEM.DOWN-OBL-IN
 k^wi-luk:-un ca-d
 INTO.THE.HANDS-give.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL
 ‘The shoes, the trousers, the shirt is handed over to him.’
- (128) hel kulpat-li-c:e χ:abar-t-a-l ∅-ux-ul ca-w
 that family-OBL-IN story-PL-OBL-ERG M-tell.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘He is telling the stories to his family.’
- (129) aba-l Madina-c:e kaš b-erk-aq-un
 mother-ERG Madina-IN porridge N-eat.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Mother made Madina eat porridge.’ (E)

The IN-ablative marks causers and causes (130), involuntary agents (131) and other non-canonical agents (132). In the involuntary agent construction, the verb cannot be transitive, i.e., it cannot have a genuine agent argument, but must be intransitive or labile. The added involuntary agent is thus rather an adjunct than an argument.

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- (130) cin-ni-c:e-r ka-d-ič-ib χat'a
REFL.SG-OBL-IN-ABL DOWN-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET mistake
'the mistakes that he made (that happened through him)'
- (131) di-c:e-r a-arg-u ?a^h-le
1SG-IN-ABL NEG-go.IPFV-PRS good-ADVZ
'I cannot do it well (lit. it will not go well from me).'
- (132) heχ x:unul-li-c:e-r w-elq:un ca-w
DEM.DOWN woman-OBL-IN-ABL M-satiate.PFV-PRET COP-M
'He had enough of his wife.'

3.4.2.5 SUB-lative *-gu*, SUB-essive *-gu-b*, and SUB-ablative *-gu-r*

The suffix of the SUB-series is *-gu*. The spatial meaning of the SUB-series is 'under'. It is added to the oblique form of the noun, but for many nouns the oblique form can be identical to the citation form (133–135).

- (133) ag-ur ca-r q:^wat'a-gu dac:i d-arq'-ar-aj
go.PFV-PRET COP-F bush-SUB urine NPL-do.PFV-PRS-SUBJ.3
'(She) went to pee under the bushes.'
- (134) bari-gu-d d-ac'-ib-le ...
sun-SUB-NPL NPL-thaw.PFV-PRET-CVB
'(after having put the worms into a bottle of vodka) (they) dissolved in the sun,
...'

The SUB-series has some more lexicalized (135) and metaphorical uses (136), (137).

- (135) kari-gu-b b-uc'-a-di deš:a Sanži-d d-el-le
oven-SUB-N N-bake.IPFV-HAB-1 ancient Sanzhi-1/2PL 1/2PL-remain.PFV-CVB
'In ancient times when we were in Sanzhi we (usually) baked (bread) in the community oven (*kari*).'
- (136) "heχ x:unul-la v̄aj-li-gu aq-ib-le qili
DEM woman-GEN word-OBL-SUB go.through.PFV-PRET-CVB home
arg-ul=de=w?" Ø-ik'-ul ca-w hana
go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M now
'He says, "Do you go home following the words of your wife?"'
- (137) hešt:u-r=ra het:-a-la bunah-li-gu r-ič-ib=da hel durhu^h-la
here-F=ADD those-OBL-GEN sin-OBL-SUB F-OCCUR.PFV-PRET=1 that boy-GEN
x:unul-la
woman-GEN
'Here also (i.e. in this case) I am guilty in front of my daughter-in-law.' (lit. 'I occurred under their sins, of that son's wife')

There is a spatial preverb that has the same form and the same meaning as the case marker (§11.6.1) and is often used in clauses that contain nouns bearing the spatial case suffix (138). There is also a formally and semantically identical spatial postposition/adverbial that recurrently appears after the spatial case marker (139), (140).

- (138) qajqaj-li-gu nu[˘]q-be=ra gu-ha-d-uc-ib-le
 jaw-OBL-SUB hand-PL=ADD SUB-UP-NPL-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ka-∅-jž-ib ca-w
 DOWN-M-remain-PRET COP-M
 ‘He is sitting with his hands holding his head (lit. ‘catching the hands under the jaw’).’
- (139) ču-la d-urk:-ar iχ-ti ganza-l-gu-d gu-d
 REFL.PL-GEN NPL-find.IPFV-PRS DEM.DOWN-PL ground-OBL-SUB-NPL under-NPL
 da[˘]?le ca-d
 like COP.NPL
 ‘Their, these (vegetables) are probably like (growing) under the ground.’
- (140) Ulučaj b-ik’-ul erk^w ca-b ka-b-ax-an niš:a-la
 Uluchaj HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB river COP-N DOWN-N-go.IPFV-PTCP 1PL-GEN
 ši:l-gu-r gu-b-a
 village-OBL-SUB-ABL down-N-DIR
 ‘The river with the name Uluchaj is passing by down from our village.’

3.4.2.6 ANTE-lative -sa, ANTE-essive -sa-b, and ANTE-ablative -sa-r

The broad meaning of the ANTE-series is location in front of a reference point or on flat surfaces. It can be translated into English with ‘in front of, by, at’, but also with ‘on’. In the latter meaning it is functionally equivalent to the LOC-series and the IN-series. Thus, instead of *ba[˘]?li-sa-b* in example (142) it is possible to use *ba[˘]?le-b* (93) or *ba[˘]?li-c:e-b* (114). Similarly, a more common alternative to *x:un-ni-sa-b* (143) is *x:un-ne-b* (way-LOC-N), but *x:un-c:e-r* (way-IN-ABL) is also attested, and instead of *burma-sa* (141) also *burma-c:e-b* (threshold-IN-B) can be found. I leave the more precise analysis of the semantic similarities and differences between the three cases for future research.

- (141) c’il qal-la burma-sa ka-r-iž-ib-le r-is:-ul
 then house-GEN threshold-ANTE DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB F-cry-ICVB
 r-už-ib ca-r
 F-be-PRET COP-F
 ‘Then she sat down at the threshold of the house and was crying.’
- (142) tupang=ra le-b ba[˘]?li-sa-b
 rifle=ADD exist-N wall-OBL-ANTE-N
 ‘There is also a rifle (hanging) on the wall.’

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- (143) x:un-ni-sa-b suk b-ič-ib ca-b bec'
 way-OBL-ANTE-N meet N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-N wolf
 'On the way (she) met a wolf.'
- (144) hel-t-a-sa-r sa-r-d-ulq-an zamana suk
 that-PL-OBL-ANTE-ABL IN.FRONT-ABL-NPL-direct.IPFV-PTCP time meet
 b-ič-ib-le ca-b durħu[˘]-j χ:ula q:arq:a
 N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-N boy-DAT big stone
 'When they ran away from them, the boy came across a large stone.'

The ANTE-ablative is also used with a number of experiential predicates such as 'be afraid, fear', 'long for, miss', 'be embarrassed', and 'be ashamed', with which it denotes the source-like stimulus of the experience (145), (146). When an animate noun bearing the ANTE-essive or the ANTE-lative is used together with a verb of movement or a locative predicate the meaning is 'herd, pasture; look after, care for' (147).

- (145) "x:unul-li-sa-r uruχ Ø-ik'-ul=de=w?" b-ik'-ul
 woman-OBL-ANTE-ABL fear M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'They say, "Are you afraid of your wife?"'
- (146) dam b-et'-ib ca-b a-sa-r
 1SG.DAT N-miss.PFV-PRET COP-N 2SG-ANTE-ABL
 'I miss you, I long for you.' (E)
- (147) mac:a-l-sa w-aš-ib=da
 sheep-OBL-ANTE M-go.IPFV-PRET=1
 'I (masc.) went after the sheep.' (i.e. worked as a shepherd)

3.4.2.7 POST-lative *-hara*, POST-essive *-hara-b*, and POST-ablative *-hara-r*

The meaning of the POST-series is location behind (148), (149) and next to a reference point (150), (151), although this is not always reflected in the English translation. Sometimes it occurs together with the postposition *hit:i* that roughly has the same meaning (149), (151), see §8.1.4.

- (148) c'il kurt:a-l bec'-li-hara daci hit:i d-arq'-ib ca-d
 then fox-ERG wolf-OBL-POST urine behind NPL-do.PFV-PRET COP-NPL
 'Then the fox peed behind the wolf.'
- (149) nik'a durħ-ne nuša hel-i-hara hit:i d-uq-un-ne, ...
 small boy-PL 1PL that-OBL-POST behind 1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'When we small children ran behind it (i.e. a pig), ...'
- (150) heχ ust'ul-li-hara-b ka-b-iž-ib-le heχ-t:u-b, ...
 DEM.DOWN table-OBL-POST-HPL DOWN-HPL-be-PRET-CVB DEM.DOWN-LOC-N
 'They are sitting at the table there ...'

3.5.2 Agent nouns with and *-kar*, *-q'a*, and *-u'q'*

These suffixes, which are not productive, derive agent nouns from other nouns, infinitives, short adjectives, parts of compound verbs and one postposition. The suffix *-kar*, which also exists in Standard Dargwa, is predominantly attested with borrowed nouns (155). Nouns with *-q'a* mostly form their plural with *-ne* (after deletion of the stem-final vowel) (156); nouns with *-u'q'* use *-e* as plural marker (157) and nouns with *-kar* employ *-te* or *-ne*.

- | | | | | |
|-------|----|---|---|--|
| (155) | a. | <i>ʔa'jib-kar</i> ‘convict, guilty person’ | < | <i>ʔa'jib</i> ‘guilt, blame’ |
| | b. | <i>bunah-kar</i> ‘sinner’ | < | <i>bunah</i> ‘sin’ |
| | c. | <i>ʔa'mal-kar</i> ‘trickster’ | < | <i>ʔa'mal</i> ‘talent, trick’ |
| | d. | <i>ʔa'si-kar</i> ‘mean, evil person’ | < | <i>ʔa'si</i> ‘evil’ |
| | e. | <i>pitne-kar</i> ‘intriguer, gossip’ | < | <i>pitne</i> ‘gossip’ |
| (156) | a. | <i>arš:i-q'a</i> ‘mower, hay-maker’ | < | <i>arš:i</i> ‘mature crops’ |
| | b. | <i>ajar-q'a</i> ‘hunter’ | < | <i>ajar</i> ‘hunt’ |
| | c. | <i>ut:i-q'a</i> ‘mower, hay-maker’ | < | <i>ut:ij</i> ‘mow’ (IPFV) |
| | d. | <i>mušlu-q'a</i> ‘wrestler’ | < | <i>mušlu w-iḥ-ij</i> ‘wrestle, fight’ (IPFV) |
| | e. | <i>s:iḥru-q'a</i> ‘witch, sorceress’ | < | <i>s:iḥru</i> ‘hypnosis’ |
| | f. | <i>walli-q'a</i> ‘best man’, <i>ralli-q'a</i> ‘maid of honor’ | < | <i>b-alli</i> ‘together’ |
| (157) | a. | <i>s:unk-u'q'</i> ‘liar’ | < | <i>s:unk</i> ‘lie’ |
| | b. | <i>t:amr-u'q'</i> ‘drummer’ | < | <i>t:am</i> (plural <i>t:amre</i>) ‘drum’ |
| | c. | <i>gapn-u'q'</i> ‘show-off, braggart’ | < | <i>gap b-arq'-ij</i> ‘praise’ (PFV) |

3.5.3 Abstract nouns with *-dex*

This very productive suffix derives abstract nouns from open class words (verbs, adjectives, nouns, adverbs, bound stems). The nouns derived by means of the suffix *-dex* control either neuter singular (160) or occasionally neuter plural agreement. Some of the derived nouns can form the plural, usually by means of gemination of the last segment plus suffixation of *-e*, e.g. *ɸ^wabzadex:e* ‘heroism, bravery, courage’. Thus, it is also possible to analyze the underlying form of this suffix as containing a geminate as final consonant that is degeminated in the singular because of the impossibility of having geminate consonants in syllable-final position. A similar analysis regarding geminate stem-final consonants in singular vs. plural forms of other nouns that take the plural suffix *-e* has been suggested in §3.2.1.

Base adjectives are mostly underived short adjectives, i.e. bare roots (158). The numeral *ca* ‘one’, but no other numeral, can also serve as base:

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The nominalized verbs retain their arguments, but since they are nominalized they occur in argument position and can be modified, e.g. by personal pronouns (163). Thus, the subject-like arguments can either occur as preserved arguments of the nominalized verb (164), (165) or they can occur as possessors (163).

- (163) di-la w-aš-ij erχ^w-an-dex-li-j
 1SG-GEN M-go.IPFV-INF be.able.IPFV.NEG.M-PTCP-NMLZ-OBL-DAT
 ‘because of my inability to walk’
- (164) nuš:a uruc d-iχ-ub-dex-li-j,
 1PL embarrassed 1/2PL-become.PFV-PRET-NMLZ-OBL-DAT
 učitil-li-sa-rka uruχ d-iχ-ub-dex-li-j
 teacher-OBL-ANTE-ABL fear 1/2PL-become.PFV-PRET-NMLZ-OBL-DAT
 ‘because of our embarrassment, because of our fear of the teacher’

Many of the derived abstract nouns, especially those derived from verbs, have the semantic role of cause or reason and therefore bear the dative suffix. Thus, deverbal nominals occur as nominalized adverbial clauses with the meaning ‘because of X’. When inflected for the dative more words are admissible as base for the derivation than would be possible without the case suffix. For instance, there is no noun *it:u-r-dex*, but if this word is inflected for the dative, it can occur as an adverbial denoting the cause (165).

- (165) u it:u-r-dex-li-j dam wahi-l ca-d
 2SG there-F-NMLZ-OBL-DAT 1SG.DAT bad-ADVZ COP-NPL
 ‘Because you (fem.) are there I feel bad.’ (E)

3.5.4 Action nouns/event nouns and tools with *-ala*

The suffix *-ala* is used for the formation of nouns that denote tools and of action or event-denoting nouns with the meaning ‘way of V-ing’ from verbal stems. It is morphologically productive and rather resembles inflectional suffixes such as the masdar, but it is not commonly used in texts. The resulting nouns keep their arguments. They can be marked for plural (suffixes *-e* or *-me*) and control neuter singular agreement. Those nouns that have been derived from transitive verbs with a gender agreement prefix have a frozen gender prefix *b-* (e.g. *bixala* ‘lace, shoelace’, *buš:ukala* ‘broom’). However, the verb given in (166i) originates from an extended intransitive verb that agrees with the human agent in gender. As (167) shows, this noun has variable gender depending on the gender of the referent and thus behaves like a small number of underived nouns with gender exponents (1).

- (166) a. *bix-ala* ‘lace, shoelace’ < *b-iχ-ij* ‘tie, bind, fasten’ (PFV)
 b. *buš:uk-ala* ‘broom’ < (*b-ušk-* ‘sweep up’ (PFV))⁸
 c. *ic-ala* ‘illness, disease, pain’ < *ic-ij* ‘hurt, ache’ (IPFV)

⁸Synchronically, this verb is no longer used in Sanzhi Dargwa and has been replaced by a compound verb *q^wa rš b-arq’-ij* ‘wipe, sweep, stroke’. However, it is attested, e.g., in the South Dargwa variety Tanti. Thus, I suggest that Sanzhi lost the verb, but kept the noun. An alternative explanation suggested by my main language assistant is that Sanzhi borrowed the noun from Standard Dargwa.

- d. *berk^w-ala* ‘dish, food’ < *b-erk^w-ij* ‘eat’ (PFV)
 e. *irb-ala* ‘understanding’ < *irb-ij* ‘understand’ (IPFV)
 f. *kax^w-ala* ‘way of killing’ < *kax^w-ij* ‘kill’ (PFV)
 g. *haʔ-ala* ‘proverb, saying’ < *haʔ-ij* ‘say’ (PFV)
 h. *bet^ʔ-ala* ‘boredom’ < *b-et^ʔ-ij* ‘be bored, long for’ (PFV)
 i. *dalaj r-ik^w-ala* ‘way of singing songs’
 < *dalaj r-ik^w-ij* ‘sing songs’

- (167) *iχ* *rurs:i-la* *q:uKa-l* *k^wi*
 DEM.DOWN girl-GEN beautiful-ADVZ in.the.hands
 sa-b-uc-ala=le *nik^ʔa-ce*
 HITHER-N-keep.PFV-NMLZ=EMPH small-DD.SG
 ‘(Look at) the beautiful way of the girl’s holding the child in her hands!’⁹

3.5.5 Action and event nouns with *-ut:i* and *-a*

The suffixes *-ut:i* and *-a* (allomorph *-a*) derive action nouns from verbs, whereby they are almost exclusively added to the perfective stem (168), (170). They are not productive. Most of the nouns can be marked for plural, normally with the suffix *-ne* (e.g. *bebk^ʔ-ne* ‘funerals’). They control either neuter singular (169) or occasionally neuter plural (170c), (170d) or masculine singular (170e) agreement. The gender prefixes of the deverbal nouns are petrified.

- (168) a. *belč^ʔ-ut:i* ‘study’ < *b-elč^ʔ-ij* ‘read, learn, study’ (PFV)
 b. *berk:-ut:i* ‘eating’ < *b-erk:^w-ij* ‘eat’ (PFV)
 c. *berc-ut:i* ‘rescue, salvation’ < *b-erc-ij* ‘save, rescue’ (PFV)
 d. *barq^ʔ-ut:i*, *birq^ʔ-ut:i* ‘work, deed, action’
 < *b-arq^ʔ-ij* (PFV), *b-irq^ʔ-ij* (IPFV) ‘do, make’
- (169) *b-arq^ʔ-ut:i* *iž-i-la*
 N-DO.PFV-NMLZ this-OBL-GEN
 ‘her/his acting’
- (170) a. *bebk^ʔ-a* ‘death, funeral’ < *b-ebk^ʔ-ij* ‘die’ (PFV)
 b. *buq-a* ‘societal, community help’
 < *b-uq-ij* ‘go’ (PFV)
 c. *dik:-a* ‘love’ < *b-ik:-ij* ‘want, like, love’
 d. *da^ʔq-a* ‘wound’ < *b-a^ʔq-ij* ‘wound, hit, strike’ (PFV)
 e. *arχ:-a* ‘deed’ < *b-arχ:-ij* ‘be engaged in’
 f. *ba^ʔh-a* *berb^w-a* ‘wet-dry’ (name of a game)
 < *b-a^ʔh-ij* ‘get wet’, *b-erb^w-ij* ‘dry’

⁹The agreement prefix in this example is neuter singular, expressing the gender of the nominalized verb form itself. The noun *rurs:i-la* is a genitive modifier of the nominalized verb.

3.5.6 Other derived nouns

There are four nouns that are formed by means of reduplication of the first syllable and the suffix *-aj*. For most of them the base is bound and unclear, i.e. it does not exist as an independent word. The last three of the four words are toys and/or names of games.

- (171) a. *rugrugaj* ‘small circles’ < *rugrug* ‘round’
 b. *divdivaj* ‘spinning top’ < ? (**divdiv*)
 c. *muqluqaj* ‘spinning top’ < ? (**muqluq*)
 d. *cicinaj-te* ‘retractor, name of a game’
 < ? (**cicinaj*)

There are a fair number of Sanzhi words that end in *-aj* (172), (173) and it seems reasonable to suggest that the language once had a similar derivational suffix. This has been suggested for Standard Dargwa (Abdullaev et al. 2014: 90). Around half of the words are clearly morphologically complex. Two of them are only used in child-directed speech, and five of the words refer to human beings, more particularly, kinship relations or social roles (173).

- (172) a. *vidurtmaj* ‘confusion, mess’ < *vidur* ‘mixed’
 b. *aqanaj* ‘top, summit’ < *aq* ‘tall, high, loud’
 c. *zanʔaraj* ‘beanbag, rattle’ < *zanʔ* ‘ringing’
 d. *p:ap:aj* ‘bread’ (child-directed speech)
 e. *maʔmmaj* ‘scary’ (child-directed speech)
 f. *t:ap:araj* ‘zany, moony, erratic’
 g. *s:urk:up:aj* ‘swing’ (i.e. hanging seat)
 h. *dalaj* ‘song’
- (173) a. *wanaħaʔj* ‘mama’s boy, lazy person’
 b. *kʔukʔaj* ‘gossiper’
 c. *ħ:abaj* ‘grandmother’ < *ħ:ula* ‘big’ + *aba* ‘mother’
 d. *ħ:at:aj* ‘grandfather’ < *ħ:ula* ‘big’ + *at:a* ‘father’
 e. *w-ik:-an-aj* ‘beloved’ < *b-ik:-* ‘love, like, want’ + modal participle *-an*

There are three kinship terms with the suffix *-qʔar* (174).

- (174) a. *uc:i-qʔar* ‘male cousin’ < *uc:i* ‘brother’
 b. *ruc:i-qʔar* ‘female cousin’ < *ruc:i* ‘sister’
 c. *kʔuni-qʔar* ‘nephew’ < ?

A few words are derived by means of the spatial case *-gu* plus a further suffix *-(l)la*, which is formally identical to the genitive (175), and with the postposition *sala* ‘in front’ or the spatial case suffix *-sa* (ANTE) (176).

- (175) a. *qajqaj-li-gu-la* ‘chin’ < jaw-OBL-SUB-NMLZ
 b. *ʒa^ˆmi-gu-la* ‘window-sill’ < window-SUB-NMLZ
 c. *ʃal-li-gu-la* ‘lateral upper part of the body’
 < side-OBL-SUB-NMLZ
- (176) a. *kuma-sala* ‘the village square in Sanzhi’
 < kuma-IN.FRONT
 (*kuma* = place name)
 b. *ul-be-sala-nte* ‘glasses’ < eye-PL-IN.FRONT-PL
 c. *qa^ˆb-li-sa kajqan* ‘necklace’ < neck-OBL-ANTE + hang.PFV.PTCP

Place names are derived from verbs by means of the locative participle *-an* (see §18.1.2.4). Names for ethnic groups, inhabitants, etc. are derived by adding the suffix *-(a)n* to a root that might be the place name or some other root related to it (see §10).

3.6 Reduplication and compounding

Neither compounding nor reduplication are productive or frequent ways of forming new nominals in Sanzhi. In this section, I list the majority of reduplicated and compound nouns that I have been able to identify so far.

3.6.1 Reduplication

A number of nouns have the structure CV.CV(V) or CVC.CVC(V) and are composed of two (almost) identical segments following each other. Some of the nouns are clearly onomatopoeic (177), others are not (178).

- (177) *k'urk'ur* ‘turkey cock’ *q:ut'q:ut'i* ‘woodpecker’
t'at'ar ‘fly’ *ba'tba't* ‘duck’
ča'χča'χ ‘waterfall’ *ħa'ħa'* ‘laughter’
q:uq:u ‘thunder’ *x^wix^wit'* ‘pipe’
- (178) *q:a^ˆq:a^ˆs* ‘hook’ *gumgum* ‘small metal pitcher’
majmaj ‘condemnation’ *g^wag^wa* ‘flower’
ba^ˆba^ˆ ‘pebble, gravel’

3.6.2 N + N compounds

Sanzhi has a few noun plus noun compounds. Occasionally, the origin of one of the compound members is unclear. Because Sanzhi has also nominal apposition it is not always easy to differentiate between juxtaposed nouns in an apposition construction that syntactically form a phrase (§21.1) and compounds that function as one word. There are several criteria that need to be applied in order to identify compounds. First, a few words show a greater phonological cohesion (e.g. *ababa* ‘grandmother’) or make use of word forms that differ from the base stems or inflected forms (e.g. *k:alk:a* ‘tree’ in *k:alk:a zize* ‘strawberry’).

- (179) a. *ababa*¹⁰ ‘grandmother’ (on mother’s side)
 < *aba-la aba* ‘mother-GEN mother’
 b. *at:aba* ‘grandmother’ (on father’s side)
 < *at:a-la aba* ‘father-GEN mother’
 c. *k:alk:a zize* ‘raspberry’ < *k:alk:i* ‘tree’ + *zize* ‘strawberry’
 d. *waq:a ʔaˈt’a*, *waq:aˈt’a* ‘turtle’
 < *waq:a* ‘skull’ + *ʔaˈt’a* ‘frog’

Second, a few compounds are of the dvandva type. This means that they are coordinative compounds, but in contrast to noun phrase coordination (§26.1) dvandva compounds do not make use of the additive enclitic and function morphosyntactically as one word, i.e., they take only one inflectional suffix.

- (180) a. *at:a aba* ‘parents’ < *at:a* ‘father’ + *aba* ‘mother’
 b. *urk’i muqer* ‘lungs’ < *urk’i* ‘heart’ + *muqer* ‘breast’
 c. *q:uq:u laˈmc* ‘thunderstorm, tempest’
 < *q:uq:u* ‘thunder’ + *laˈmc* ‘lightning’

Two more nouns are classified as noun + noun compounds because they are semantically not transparent. They are neither coordinative compounds nor do they have an identifiable head noun such that they cannot be analyzed as appositions (i.e. noun phrases). The second noun in (181b) seems to have been formed by reduplication.

- (181) a. *duč:i laˈmc* ‘firefly’ < *duč:i* ‘night’ + *laˈmc* ‘lightning’
 b. *t’ama hama* ‘gossip, hub-hub’
 < *t’ama* ‘sound, noise, voice’ + ?

¹⁰My main language assistant G. Gadzhimuradov said that this and the following word in (179b) are used by the younger generations, but not by elderly speakers, and may have been borrowed from other Dargwa varieties.

3.6.3 Other compounds

There are a few more X + noun combinations that have been lexicalized as compound nouns and show phonological and morphological cohesion. The first part X can be an adjective (including numerals) or a verb (182). The order of both parts corresponds to the usual order of phrases (modifier + noun) or clauses (object + verb).

- (182) a. *χulaba* ‘mother-in-law’ < *χula* ‘big, old’ + *aba* ‘mother’
 b. *χulat:a* ‘father-in-law’ < *χula* ‘big, old’ + *at:a* ‘father’
 c. *dumbat* ‘food’ < *dum* ‘edge’ + ? *b-at-ij* ‘leave, let’ (PFV)

The compound nouns that contain numerals as their first part can be divided into two groups. The first group in (183) has nouns as the second part and additionally what looks like unproductive derivational suffixes (*-lan*, *-ar*, *-an*).¹¹ The base nouns are usually in the plural, which indicates that these are compound nouns and not phrases. In noun phrases with numerals, nouns normally occur in the singular. Furthermore, the numerals appear in their basic stem form that cannot be used independently, but only as the basis for other word formation processes.

- (183) a. *azirt'u^hlan/azirt'u^hmar* ‘centipede’
 < *azir* ‘thousand’ + *t'u^h-m-ar* (leg-PL-NMLZ)
 b. *azirkumran/azirk'apran* ‘abomasum’
 < *azir* ‘thousand’ + *kam-r-an* (layer-PL-NMLZ)/*k'ap-r-an*
 (leaf-PL-NMLZ)
 c. *ʔa^hbk'ap:rar q'ar* ‘clover’
 < *ʔa^hb-k'ap:r-ar* (three-leaf-PL-NMLZ) + *q'ar* ‘herbs’
 d. *ʔa^hbqigar* ‘three bundles of grain bound together’
 < *ʔa^hb* ‘three’ + ?
 e. *ʔa^hbt'u^hmar* ‘tripod’
 < *ʔa^hb* ‘three’ + *t'u^h-m-ar* (leg-PL-NMLZ)

The second group of compound nouns with numerals has only two members (184) that denote offspring born in a multiple birth. The first part is again the basic stem form of the numeral whereas the second part looks like a noun derived from a verb by means of an otherwise unattested suffix *-i*.

- (184) a. *k^widarq'i* ‘twins’ < *k^wi* ‘two’ + *d-arq'-i* (NPL-make.PFV-?)
 b. *ʔa^hbdarq'i* ‘triplet’ < *ʔa^hb* ‘three’ + *d-arq'-i* (NPL-make.PFV-?)

¹¹The suffixes *-ar* and *-an* both contain the same vowel *a*, which is identical to the vowel in oblique plural forms of nouns (e.g. *t'u^h-m-a-lla* leg-PL-OBL-GEN) such that one could perhaps suggest that the vowel is actually not part of the suffix. However, oblique stem forms of nouns are normally only used for case formation and we would need an additional motivation for using the oblique form as the basis of derivational processes. Both suffixes are also used for the derivation of adjectives, see §5.3.

3.7 Phrasal compounds

Sanzhi has a very productive way of forming short noun phrases that have the structure of short participial clauses of the form (noun) + verb and semantically strongly resemble derived action nouns (§3.5.4, §3.5.5). In the minimal case a verb alone to which the modal/future participle *-an* is suffixed is enough. If the verb is transitive, it is often accompanied by a patientive argument. Morphosyntactically, these combinations are headless relative clauses with a transparent semantics (§23.4), but the phrases are lexicalized and perceived as complex nouns by the speakers. They denote agents, professions or tools.

- (185) a. *umzan* ‘sieve, colander’ < *umz-an* filter-PTCP
 b. *sarruʳrqɑːn* ‘kidnapper’
 < *sa-r-r-uʳrq-aːn* ANTE-ABL-F-drag.IPFV-PTCP
 c. *paltar durχan* ‘tailor’
 < *paltar* ‘clothes’ + *d-urχ-an* NPL-sew.IPFV-PTCP
 d. *qʷaːl ic:an* ‘milkmaid’
 < *qʷaːl* ‘cow’ + *ic:-an* milk.IPFV-PTCP
 e. *ʒuːnze sarirtʰan* ‘handkerchief’
 < *ʒuːnze* ‘snot, slime’ + *sa-r-irtʰ-an* ANTE-ABL-take.away.IPFV-PTCP
 f. *surrat heltʰan* ‘photographer, camera’
 < *surrat* ‘picture’ + *ha-eltʰ-an* UP-take.out.IPFV-PTCP
 g. *ʋaj hadulqʰan* ‘intriguer’
 < *ʋaj* ‘word, language’ + *ha-d-ulqʰ-an* UP-NPL-lock.IPFV-PTCP
 h. *k:ʷiʃ iʋan* ‘dough scraper’
 < *?k:ʷiʃ* ‘dough’¹² + *iʋ-an* chase.IPFV-PTCP
 i. *pal kerxʷan* ‘fortune-teller’
 < *pal* ‘prediction’¹³ + *ka-erxʷ-an* DOWN-pour.IPFV-PTCP

There is a range modifier + noun combinations that have idiomatic meanings that are not transparently predictable from the meanings of the parts, but syntactically are rather phrases and not compound nouns. The modifiers used are nouns in the genitive case (186) or adjectives (187). Sometimes the origin of nouns used as modifiers in these combinations is unclear. Most examples denote animals or plants. In fact, sometimes names for herbs, healing plants or other edible plants seem to be made up on the spot and are rather descriptive.

- (186) a. *ħaːʒ-i-la žat:a* ‘swallow’ < Hajj?-GEN + swallow
 b. *jarma-la čʰimi* ‘squirrel’ < ear?-GEN + tail
 c. *alax-la qʷaːl* ‘ladybird’ < Allah?-GEN + cow

¹²The word *k:ʷiʃ* is not the regular word for ‘dough’ in Sanzhi, but it exists in the derived noun *k:ʷiʃ-a* ‘wooden board for making dough’.

¹³The word *pal* does not seem to be used in Sanzhi, but it is part of the derived noun *pal-či* ‘fortune-teller’

3.7 Phrasal compounds

- d. *k:a'ta-la ma'mre* 'blackberry' < cat-GEN + female breast
e. *k:a'ta-la q'ar* 'valeriana' < cat-GEN + herbs
f. *šajt'an-na q'ap'a* 'mushroom' < devil-GEN + hat
g. *ħa'ž-la q:ara* 'bean' < Hajj-GEN + pea
h. *birik:a-lla but* 'cow-parsnip' < cow-parsnip-GEN + edible root
i. *čaj-la q'ar* 'Saint John's wort' < tea-GEN + herbs
j. *da'qa'-lla q'ar* 'plantain' < wound-GEN + herbs
k. *p'a'lc'ik'^w-la q'ar* 'linen' < nut butter-GEN + herbs (*urbech*)
l. *ca-t'u'-la x:un* 'path' < one-leg-GEN + way
m. *ul-la hin* 'healing spring' < eye-GEN + water
n. *subat-la hin* 'mortar, whitewash'
< lime-GEN + water
- (187) a. *bic:i mura* 'nut grass' < *bic:i* 'tasty' + *mura* 'grass, hay'
b. *buχ:ari qati* 'papakha' < *buχ:ar* 'cold' + *qati* 'hat'
c. *k'ant'i nis:e* 'cottage cheese' < *k'ant'i* 'soft' + *nis:e* 'cheese'
d. *χ:ula barne* 'holiday at the end of Ramadan'
< *χ:ula* 'big, old' + *barne* 'days'

4 Pronouns

Sanzhi Dargwa has the following types of pronouns:

- personal pronouns (§4.1)
- demonstrative pronouns (§4.2)
- reflexive pronouns (§4.3)
- reciprocal pronouns (§4.4)
- interrogative pronouns (§4.5)
- various types of indefinite pronouns (§4.6 and §4.7)

This chapter also includes a subsection on quantifiers such as ‘some’, ‘every’ and ‘all’ (§4.7).

Pronouns express the typical features of nominals, namely case, number, and to a very limited extent gender (only reflexive pronouns in the absolutive case, one type of reciprocal pronoun, essive-case forms of pronouns, e.g. of the pronoun ‘where’). Case marking of pronouns is almost fully regular and identical to the case marking of nouns (and nominalized adjectives, verbs, etc.). As for number marking, only the demonstrative pronouns and the interrogative ‘who’ form the plural by means of special suffixes; personal and reflexive pronouns use suppletive stems and indefinite pronouns mostly do not have plural forms. The gender exponents are the usual markers that are used across all parts of speech that express gender.

4.1 Personal pronouns

Sanzhi has personal pronouns for the first and for the second person. For the third person demonstrative pronouns are used (§4.2). Table 4.1 displays a partial paradigm of the personal pronouns.

It is possible to make a few generalizations about the morphophonological structure of the personal pronouns. The absolutive and the ergative make use of the same root. Most other cases are formed from a distinct oblique root that is formed via ablaut from the absolutive root (the first root vowel changes $u > i$ for the first person, $u > a$ for the second person; the second root vowel of the plural pronouns changes $a > i$). The only exceptional forms are the dative forms of the singular pronouns that do not contain segments that could be identified as dative case exponents, and the genitive forms of the

plural pronouns that are a mixture of absolutive and oblique stem. Note, furthermore, that the plural pronouns have *-lla* as the genitive suffix. The same allomorph of the genitive case suffix is optionally used for plural nouns §3.4).

Table 4.1: Personal pronouns

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
absolutive	<i>du</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>nuš:a</i>	<i>uš:a</i>
ergative	<i>du-l</i>	<i>u-l</i>	<i>nuš:a-l</i>	<i>uš:a-l</i>
dative	<i>dam</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>niš:i-j</i>	<i>aš:i-j</i>
genitive	<i>di-la</i>	<i>a-la</i>	<i>niš:a-lla</i>	<i>aš:a-lla</i>
comitative	<i>di-c:ella</i>	<i>a-c:ella</i>	<i>niš:i-c:ella</i>	<i>aš:i-c:ella</i>
AD-lative	<i>di-š:u</i>	<i>a-š:u</i>	<i>niš:i-š:u</i>	<i>aš:i-š:u</i>
IN-lative	<i>di-c:e</i>	<i>a-c:e</i>	<i>niš:i-c:e</i>	<i>aš:i-c:e</i>
LOC-lative	<i>di-ja</i>	<i>a-ja</i>	<i>niš:i-ja</i>	<i>aš:i-ja</i>
SUB-lative	<i>di-gu</i>	<i>a-gu</i>	<i>niš:i-gu</i>	<i>aš:i-gu</i>
ANTE-lative	<i>di-sa</i>	<i>a-sa</i>	<i>niš:i-sa</i>	<i>aš:i-sa</i>
oblique root	<i>di-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>niš:i-</i>	<i>aš:i-</i>

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them

Sanzhi Dargwa has a rich system of demonstratives whose stems express number and case, but not gender. These demonstratives fulfill a variety of deictic and non-deictic functions. Their deictic uses can be exophoric (e.g. gestural) or discourse deictic when demonstratives refer to a chunk of discourse (*She said this*). Non-deictic uses of Sanzhi demonstratives can be anaphoric or cataphoric. The demonstratives are organized along several formal and semantic dimensions:

- number (singular vs. plural)
- form class (i.e. usage as adnominal modifier vs. independent pronoun vs. adverbial)
- proximity to speech act participants
- elevation
- visibility, aforementionedness, familiarity, etc.

Table 4.2 displays the demonstratives that serve pronominal and adnominal functions. In the table, they are divided into three series in the columns in both the singular (*iC*, *heC*, *hiC*) and the plural (*i(C)t:i*, *he(C)t:i*, *hi(C)t:i*). The series in the columns are distinguished by the root-initial segments (§4.2.1). There are six series of pronouns in the lines of the

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them

table that differentiated by their last root consonant (before the plural suffix in case of the plural pronouns), i.e. \check{z} (\check{s}) vs. j vs. l vs. t vs. k' (x) vs. χ (§4.2.2). The series with j as the last root consonant is defective because it exists only for singular absolutive pronouns; singular oblique forms as well as any plural forms are unattested.

Table 4.2: Basic (i.e. absolutive case) forms of nominal demonstratives

singular			plural			
<i>iC</i>	<i>heC</i>	<i>hiC</i>	<i>i(C)t:i</i>	<i>he(C)t:i</i>	<i>hi(C)t:i</i>	
<i>iž</i>	<i>hež</i>	<i>hiž</i>	<i>išt:i</i>	<i>hešt:i</i>	<i>hišt:i</i>	'this'/'these'; close to the speaker (deictic center)
<i>ij</i>	<i>hej</i>	<i>hij</i>	—	—	—	'this'/'these'; close to the speaker (deictic center)
<i>il</i>	<i>hel</i>	<i>hil</i>	<i>ilt:i</i>	<i>helt:i</i>	<i>hilt:i</i>	'that'/'those'; away from speaker; can be close to the hearer
<i>it</i>	<i>het</i>	<i>hit</i>	<i>it:i</i>	<i>het:i</i>	<i>hit:i</i>	'that'/'those'; not close to speaker or hearer, undifferentiated
<i>ik'</i>	<i>hek'</i>	<i>hik'</i>	<i>ixt:i</i>	<i>hext:i</i>	<i>hixt:i</i>	above the deictic center
<i>iχ</i>	<i>heχ</i>	<i>hiχ</i>	<i>iχt:i</i>	<i>heχt:i</i>	<i>hiχt:i</i>	below the deictic center

The plural pronouns are mostly based on the singular pronouns by adding the plural suffix *-t:i* to the singular stem and some minor phonological adjustments. The oblique stems of the singular pronouns are formed by adding the suffix *-i* to the stem (Table 4.3) to which in turn case suffixes are attached. These two suffixes are not used for the inflection of nouns, but only with demonstrative pronouns. Partial paradigms of inflected pronouns are provided in Table 4.4. For the oblique stem of the plural pronouns the stem-final vowel *i* is replaced by *-a*, a suffix generally used for the formation of oblique plural stems of nouns (§3.4).

Table 4.3: Oblique stem formation of demonstrative pronouns

singular				plural			
<i>iC</i>		<i>heC</i>		<i>i(C)t:i</i>		<i>he(C)t:i</i>	
ABS	OBL	ABS	OBL	ABS	OBL	ABS	OBL
<i>iž</i>	<i>iž-i-</i>	<i>hež</i>	<i>hež-i-</i>	<i>išt:i</i>	<i>išt:-a-</i>	<i>hešt:i</i>	<i>hešt:-a-</i>
<i>ij</i>	—	<i>hej</i>	—	—	—	—	—
<i>il</i>	<i>il-i-</i>	<i>hel</i>	<i>hel-i-</i>	<i>ilt:i</i>	<i>ilt:-a-</i>	<i>helt:i</i>	<i>helt:-a-</i>
<i>it</i>	<i>it-i-</i>	<i>het</i>	<i>het-i-</i>	<i>it:i</i>	<i>it:-a-</i>	<i>het:i</i>	<i>het:-a-</i>
<i>ik'</i>	<i>ik'-i-</i>	<i>hek'</i>	<i>hek'-i-</i>	<i>ixt:i</i>	<i>ixt:-a-</i>	<i>hext:i</i>	<i>hext:-a-</i>
<i>iχ</i>	<i>iχ-i-</i>	<i>heχ</i>	<i>heχ-i-</i>	<i>iχt:i</i>	<i>iχt:-a-</i>	<i>heχt:i</i>	<i>heχt:-a-</i>

Table 4.4: Partial paradigms of some demonstrative pronouns

	‘that’	‘that’	‘this’	‘that’	‘those’	‘those’
abs.	<i>il</i>	<i>it</i>	<i>iž</i>	<i>hel</i>	<i>ilt:i</i>	<i>helt:i</i>
erg.	<i>il-i-l</i>	<i>it-i-l</i>	<i>iž-i-l</i>	<i>hel-i-l</i>	<i>ilt:-a-</i>	<i>helt:-a-l</i>
gen.	<i>il-i-la</i>	<i>it-i-la</i>	<i>iž-i-la</i>	<i>hel-i-la</i>	<i>ilt:-a-lla</i>	<i>helt:-a-lla</i>
dat.	<i>il-i-j</i>	<i>it-i-j</i>	<i>iž-i-j</i>	<i>hel-i-j</i>	<i>ilt:-a-j</i>	<i>helt:-a-j</i>
comit.	<i>il-i-c:ella</i>	<i>it-i-c:ella</i>	<i>iž-i-c:ella</i>	<i>hel-i-c:ella</i>	<i>ilt:-a-c:ella</i>	<i>helt:-a-c:ella</i>
AD-lat.	<i>il-i-š:u</i>	<i>it-i-š:u</i>	<i>iž-i-š:u</i>	<i>hel-i-š:u</i>	<i>ilt:-a-š:u</i>	<i>helt:-a-š:u</i>
IN-lat.	<i>il-i-c:e</i>	<i>it-i-c:e</i>	<i>iž-i-c:e</i>	<i>hel-i-c:e</i>	<i>ilt:-a-c:e</i>	<i>helt:-a-c:e</i>
LOC-lat.	<i>ile/il-i-ja</i>	<i>it-i-ja</i>	<i>iž-i-ja</i>	<i>hele/ hel-i-ja</i>	<i>ilt:-a-ja</i>	<i>helt:-a-ja</i>

The deictic meaning of the demonstratives is participant-oriented. Three semantic dimensions along the scale ‘proximity/distance to speech act participants’ are distinguished: (i) near hearer (root-final consonants *ž/š* and *j*), (ii) near addressee (*l*), and (iii) undifferentiated or not close to speaker or addressee (*t*).

Another aspect of the deictic semantics is elevation (or height), namely higher (up) or lower (down) location than the deictic center which is most commonly the speaker. Elevation distinctions in demonstratives are widespread in Dagestani languages (Schulze 2003; Forker 2019a), and the Sanzhi Dargwa system represent a typical instance.

4.2.1 The demonstrative series in the columns: *iC* vs. *heC* vs. *hiC* and *i(C)t:i* vs. *he(C)t:i* vs. *hi(C)t:i*

There is a pronounced difference in frequency between the three series. The *he*-series is by far the most commonly used and the *hi*-series is only very rarely used. Speakers are aware of the three different series but do not seem to notice a difference in semantics. The phonetic difference between the *hi*-series and the *i*-series is rather small and hard to hear. Thus, one of the reasons why the latter is so rare in the corpus might be that some of the tokens might incorrectly have been transcribed as *i*-. In the following, I will only discuss the *heC* and the *iC* series.

When looking into natural texts it is not difficult to find tendencies hinting at the functional difference between the *heC*-pronouns and the *iC*-pronouns. The *heC*-pronouns preferably refer to items or persons that are or have been:

- in the immediate deictic sphere of speaker (and addressee) and/or part of the knowledge sphere or social world of the speaker
- aforementioned or are assumed to be part of the ongoing conversation
- common knowledge

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them

First of all, *heC*-pronouns are used for denoting visible referents, for instance in pointing events. For example, after (1) has been uttered the speaker stresses the fact that the person in the narrative was only pointing at the man, but not saying anything:

- (1) [Three men were standing there like this.]
 “kut:i” Ø-ik^w-ar het:a:c:e-r “Asijat-la uci?” “heχ”
 which M-say.IPFV-PRS those.OBL-IN-ABL Asiyat-GEN brother DEM.DOWN
 “Who,” he says to them, “is Asiyat’s brother?” “This one.”
- (2) [The speaker pointed at a similar bottle.]
 heχ=ɓuna šuša k^wi-b-ič:-ib r-at k-aχ-ib=da
 DEM.DOWN=EQ bottle IN.HANDS-N-give.PFV-PRET F-send DOWN-do-PRET=1
 ‘He gave me such a bottle and sent me (fem.) away.’
- (3) [referring to a boy that turned up unexpectedly during the conversation]
 aman! het ceq:el ha-Ø-jɓ-ib=e?
 oh that when UP-M-come.PFV-PRET=Q
 ‘Oh! When did he come?’

The *heC*-pronouns are used for referents within the personal social sphere of the speaker such as her/his close relatives and other people well-known to the speaker (4), body parts of the speaker (5), etc. These items or persons can be assumed to be implicitly present in the discourse and can be identified via their close relationship to the speaker.

- (4) Baršlik:ent-le Ma^hha^hmmarasul-li-š:u hex-ti a-la
 Barshlikent-LOC Mahammarasul-OBL-AD DEM.UP-PL 2SG-GEN
 b-aλχ-an-t-a-š:u r-ik-an=da
 HPL-know.IPFV-PTCP-PL-OBL-AD F-lead.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘To Bashlikent, to Mahammarasul, to the ones that you know we will bring you (fem.).’
- (5) hana heš-t:i k^wunt’-be d-emt-un-ne ɓaj r-ik^w-ij wahi-l
 now this-PL lip-PL NPL-swell.PFV-PRET-CVB word F-say.IPFV-INF bad-ADVZ
 ca-b
 COP-N
 ‘Now the (i.e. my) lips are swollen, it is difficult to talk.’

Second, the *heC*-pronouns refer to referents that have been introduced in the preceding discourse, either in the immediately preceding sentence such that they establish a kind of topic continuity or when referring back to something said some time ago. Thus, sentence (6a) brings up a new topic, the mill forest. The speaker is then constantly referring back to the forest with the pronouns *hek*, *het* and *hej* (6b), (6c). The first clause of (7) introduces a new referent, the sticks, and the following clause refers to them by means of a *heC*-pronoun.

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- (6) a. *urχ:ab-la wac'a b-ik'-ul, ganza te-b u-l*
 mill-GEN forest HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB ground exist-N 2SG-ERG
b-alχ-ate prjama hek' ...
 N-know.IPFV-COND.2 directly DEM.UP
 'The forest that is called the mill's forest, there is the ground, if you know it directly ...'
- b. *hej=βuna wac'a k'e-b, urχ:ab-la wac'a b-ik'w-ar*
 this=EQ forest exist.UP-N mill-GEN forest HPL-say.IPFV-PRS
hek'-i-j
 DEM.UP-OBL-DAT
 'A forest like this exists there, the mill's forest it is called'
- c. *hext:u hek' wac'a-c:e-b cik'al ka-b-irč-an ak:u*
 there DEM.UP forest-IN-N nothing DOWN-N-cut.IPFV-PTCP COP.NEG
 'There in the forest nothing should be cut'
- (7) [When we were little we had a game.]
dirx-me d-umk:a d-arq'-ib-le, ganza-l-c:e d-urq-a^h-di
 stick-PL NPL-sharp NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB ground-OBL-IN NPL-hit.IPFV-HAB-1
hel-ti
 that-PL
 'We made sticks and hit them into the ground.'

While speakers performed the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012), they constantly needed to refer to the people and objects depicted on the pictures. Frequently they first used an *iC*-pronoun to establish a new referent, and then, in a kind of afterthought following the clause, repeated the reference again by employing a *heC*-pronoun (8), (9). The first demonstrative pronouns in such clauses can be interpreted as deictic, whereas the second demonstratives in the same examples represent the anaphoric use. In the following two examples the relevant demonstratives are given in boldface.

- (8) *iž uže w-erč-ib-le hež*
 this already M-lead.PFV-PRET-CVB this
 'They already carried him away.'
- (9) a *iš-ti q:alpuz-e=jal, aχ:u, heš-ti*
 and this-PL watermelon-PL=INDQ not.know this-PL
 'and these are watermelons, I don't know, these.'

This function is reflected in the meaning of the adverb *hel-i-j* (that-OBL-DAT) 'therefore' and the phrases *hel bahandan* 'for this reason' and *hel zamana* 'that time', which link causally or temporally connected passages in a stretch of discourse.

Third, the *heC*-pronouns denote objects and persons that the speaker assumes to be familiar for the hearer, i.e. that are common knowledge such as certain places, famous people, etc.:

4.2 *Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them*

- (10) hej Mažalis-la pawarut'e-le w-iteᵛ-ib=q:ella, ...
 this Mazhalis-GEN crossover-LOC M-reach.PFV-PRET=when
 'when (I) reached the crossover of Mazhalis, ...'

The use of the *iC*-pronouns diverges from the use of the *heC*-pronouns. The *iC*-pronouns preferably occur when new topics and referents are introduced into the discourse (11) or when topics switch (12), (13).

- (11) iž Arsen b-ik'-ul iž=ra le-w=de iž Us:an
 this Arsen HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB this=ADD exist-M=PST this Usisha.person
 x:unul-li-c:e-r
 woman-OBL-IN-ABL
 'And this man called Arsen, he was also there, with his wife from Usisha.'
- (12) [switching back the topic of the conversation to a person known to both speaker and hearer]
 c'il it ʔa'bdulᵅaliq' ac:i-la at:a-l ce=jal
 then that Abdulkhalik uncle-GEN father-ERG what=INDEF
 Ø-ik'^w-a-t:e=q'al u
 M-say.IPFV-HAB.PST-2SG=MOD 2SG
 'What did you say about uncle Abdulkhalik's father?'¹
- (13) [Then when they had gathered all these pears, they put them again on the bike.]
 il durᵅu' arg-ul=de bahla-l, iti ʔa'bal durᵅ-ne
 that boy go.IPFV-ICVB=PST slow-ADVZ DEM.PL three boy-PL
 arg-ul=de het sa-Ø-jᵛ-ib mus:a-r het
 go.IPFV-ICVB=PST that HITHER-M-come.PFV-PRET place.LOC-ABL that
 x:un-ni-c:e-r
 road-OBL-IN-ABL
 'And the boy went slowly away, and the three boys went there to that place, on that road.'

The *iC*-pronouns are also used when the referent or the topic of the conversation has been introduced into the discourse, but the speaker considers them to be out of his/her personal sphere. For instance, in (14) and (15) the speaker continues to talk about acquaintances of hers who are not close friends or relatives of herself:

- (14) [In Urkarakh there is this son of my friend.]
 ik'-i-l har cik'al di-la=ra d-irq'-u
 DEM.UP-OBL-ERG every something 1SG-GEN=ADD NPL-do.IPFV-PRS
 'He does all my things. (i.e. does everything)'

¹The noun 'father' bears the ergative case because the speaker intended to ask for something that Abdulkhalik's father had done, without explicitly saying so in his utterance.

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- (15) it-i-l b-alχ-an b-ak:u=q'al r-ik'^w-ar
 that-OBL-ERG N-know.IPFV-PTCP N-COP.NEG=MOD F-say.IPFV-PRS
 'She does not know anything, (my daughter) says.'

In example (16) the speaker is talking about a person who is present but does not belong to the Sanzhi community, and who does not understand Sanzhi (later the speaker switches to *hel* when referring to the same person):

- (16) iž-i-l d-alc'-un q'ar le-d=de
 this-OBL-ERG NPL-gather.PFV-PRET plant exist-PL=PST
 'There were plants that she gathered.'

In (17) the speaker is contradicting and correcting the addressee (who is his wife) and perhaps distancing himself a bit from the referent (his sister-in-law):

- (17) [Prepare (the groceries), when your little sister comes, for her to take them.]
 iž-i-l d-uq:ij a-r-irχ-u it:i
 this-OBL-ERG NPL-carry.PFV-INF NEG-F-be.able.IPFV-PRS DEM.PL
 'She cannot carry them.'

However, these are only tendencies, not strict rules. Speakers play around with the pronouns, use different pronouns for one and the same referent or correct themselves. Thus, in (18) and (19) the same objects (the pills) and person (the friend) are first referred to by means of a *heC*-pronoun and then immediately later by an *iC*-pronoun. This is the opposite order of what I found in the data from the *Family Problems Picture Task* presented above in (8), (9).

- (18) wallah k'^wel darman hila d-uq-un=q:el, urk'i xul-le
 by.God two medicine behind NPL-go.PFV-PRET=when heart wish-ADVZ
 hel-t:i=ra d-erč:-ib=da hix-t:i=ra
 that-PL=ADD NPL-drink.PFV-PRET=1 DEM.UP-PL=ADD
 'By God, when two pills (i.e. medicines) were left behind, (I) also wanted them, and I also drank them.'

- (19) [He is like this, he is always busy, has many friends, etc.]
 c'il ca-w ʔa'h juldaš ca<w>i niš:a-la nu heχ q'^wila q'^wila
 then REFL-M good friend COP<M> 1PL-GEN well DEM.DOWN a.little a.little
 iχ-i-c:e-b χasijat χe-b-il ca-b
 DEM.DOWN-OBL-IN-N habit exist.DOWN-N-REF COP-N
 'He is our good friend, but he has a bit of this habit.'

In the following sections, I will discuss the differences between the horizontal series (i.e. the pronouns in the six different lines of Table 4.2) and largely ignore the differences between the columns.

4.2.2 Proximity, distance, and elevation

4.2.2.1 *ž*-pronouns: *iž*, *hež*, *hiž*, *išt:i*, *hešt:i*, *hišt:i*; and *j*-pronouns: *ij*, *hej*, *hij*

These pronouns express proximity and normally denote referents close to the speaker. The *ž*-pronouns are preferably used as independent pronouns (16), (17), (23), (24), whereas the *j*-pronouns predominantly occur as deictic modifiers of nouns and definite markers similar to articles (20), (21), (22), but again these are tendencies, not strict rules. The *j*-pronouns have only singular absolutive forms, lacking entirely singular oblique and all plural forms.

All following examples are from the *Family Problems Picture Task* when speakers were referring to pictures and people on the pictures that were lying close to them on the table.

- (20) *hej s:urrat, ce s:urrat=e iž?*
 this picture what picture=Q this
 ‘This picture, what picture is it/this?’
- (21) *sa-∅-jʙ-ib-il=de=q'al, iž hij bah hila b-ax-an*
 HITHER-M-COME.PFV-RET-REF=PST=MOD this this most behind N-go.IPFV-PTCP
ca-b abuḡar
 COP-N then
 ‘This is when he came back; this (*iž*) then needs to be the (*hij*) very last.’
- (22) *ij sud ca-b iž*
 this trial COP-N this
 ‘This (*iž*) is the (*ij*) trial.’
- (23) *hešt:i razi-te hešt:u b-iq:a!*
 these happy-DD.PL here HPL-take.out.IPFV-IMP
 ‘These happy ones (=happy people on a picture) give them here!’
- (24) *iš-t-a-la ca ak:w-ar durḡu[∞], w-ak:u=w?*
 this-PL-OBL-GEN one COP.NEG-PRS boy M-COP.NEG=Q
 ‘They have only one son, right?’

4.2.2.2 *l*-pronouns: *il*, *hel*, *hil*, *ilt:i*, *helt:i*, *hilt:i*

These pronouns denote objects or persons that are not in the proximity of the speaker, but close to the addressee (25).

- (25) [The addressee starts talking to the picture in front of her. The other speaker says to her:]
u il-t-a:c:e ʙaj ma-r-ik'-ut!
 2sg that-PL-OBL-in word PROH-F-say.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Do not talk to them!’ (i.e. to the pictures)

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They are also employed when talking about absent referents or items located further away, not necessarily in the proximity of the hearer (26), (27). Finally, they are the default pronouns in fiction such as traditional narratives, legends, etc. (28).

- (26) [talking about the colors used for the rock paintings; the conversation takes place far away from the painting]

il kraska atletit b-iχ-ub-le ak:u, il-i-j cik'al
 that color fly.away N-be.PFV-PRET-CVB COP.NEG that-OBL-DAT nothing
 ag-ur-re=k:u
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG

‘The color does not fly off, nothing happened to it.’

- (27) [I went to my house.]

hel-ti kelg-un helt:u-b di-la k'w^wel=ra dur^hu^c=ra, hel-ti
 that-PL remain.PFV-PRET there-HPL 1SG-GEN two=ADD boy=ADD that-PL
 k'w^wel=ra zunra admi=ra
 two=ADD neighbor person=ADD

‘They remained there, my two sons and those two neighbors.’

- (28) aždaha ag-ur ca-r hel-i-c:e-r
 monster go.PFV-PRET COP-F that-OBL-IN-ABL

‘She turned into a monster.’

4.2.2.3 *t*-pronouns: *it*, *het*, *hit*, *it:i*, *het:i*, *hit:i*

These pronouns refer to persons or objects whose location is undifferentiated, irrelevant, or impossible to determine or that are not close to the speaker or the hearer. They are used, for instance, when talking about people that are not present, or about unknown referents, of which it is not important where they are located (29), (30). They are also very frequently used in elicitation.

- (29) ča=de it di-c:e Ø-ik'w-an?
 who=PST that 1SG-IN M-say.IPFV-PTCP

‘Who was that (masc.) who told me that?’

- (30) [talking about the former lovers of the husband of the speaker]

it r-ax r-at-ur, het-i-š:u w-ax-ul, it r-ax r-at-ur
 that F-let F-let.PFV-PRET that-OBL-AD M-go.IPFV-ICVB that F-let F-let.PFV-PRET
 hetilil-li-š:u w-ax-ul
 other-OBL-AD M-go.IPFV-ICVB

‘He left her and went to that one; he left her and went to the next one.’

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them

- (31) [talking about a stone fence that the speaker is building; both speaker and hearer are located somewhere away from the fence]
 c'il=ra het š:al-le-b lac čī-b-irq'-an=uw?
 then=ADD that side-LOC-N fence SPR-N-do.IPFV-PTCP=Q
 'Then you also have to build the fence from that side?'

With (32) the speaker refers back to former times and (33) is the typical final statement of a traditional story that ends with the wedding of the protagonist:

- (32) ij na^q hit=q:el b-uc:-ul b-el=de
 this hand that=when N-work-ICVB N-remain.PFV=PST
 'At that time this hand (of mine) was still working.'
- (33) du=ra het meq-le-w kelg-un=da
 1SG=ADD that wedding-LOC-M remain.PFV-PRET=1
 'I have been to this wedding as well.'

4.2.2.4 *k'*-/x-pronouns: *ik'*, *hek'*, *hik'*, *ixt:i*, *hext:i*, *hixt:i*

These pronouns are used when referring to items or people located above the level of the deictic center (which is most commonly the speaker), e.g. in the mountains as in (34), (35) or higher than some other point of reference (36). For instance, in examples (34), (37), the deictic center is the speaker, but it can also be another location. See Forker (2019a) for more information on the deictic category of elevation in Sanzhi Dargwa.

- (34) [talking about rock paintings located in the mountains, higher up than Sanzhi]
 intersna=de ix-t:i
 interesting=PST DEM.UP-PL
 'They were interesting.'
- (35) [referring to the inhabitants of a legendary village that is supposed to have existed on the mountains above Sanzhi]
 islam prinimat b-irq'-an zamana hex-t-a-l prinimat
 Islam accept HPL-do.IPFV-PTCP time DEM.UP-PL-OBL-ERG accept
 b-arq'-ib-le a-b-urč:i
 N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB NEG-HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'At the time when we became Muslims, they did not become Muslims.'
- (36) [In one place there are trees.]
 warilla.wari u ix-t-a-j er čī-ma-hark'-ut:a!
 no.way 2SG DEM.UP-PL-OBL-DAT look SPR-PROH-look.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'Whatever may happen, do not look at them (=trees)!'

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The factual elevation with respect to the deictic center can be minimal as long as speakers perceive a difference in height. For instance, the village of Druzhba where most Sanzhi speakers live is located on the flat land around 5 km from the Caspian sea coast. It stretches from the highway that runs parallel to the coast and to a point approximately one kilometer before the slopes of some hills. If there is any difference in elevation between the two ends of the village it is minimal and not visible, but the part of the village closer to the sea is conceptualized as ‘lower’ whereas the part closer to the hills is regarded as ‘higher’. Example (37) originates from a conversation about a woman who lives in the ‘higher’ part of the village and the speaker uses *hek*’ with reference to that woman. Thus, it is not necessarily the location at the time of speaking that is relevant, but the usual location of the referent in relation to the deictic center can be decisive for the use of demonstratives.

- (37) [talking about a woman who lives in the ‘upper part’ of the village]
 hana hek’ hek-ka ka-r-ek-ij=al gargar gargar
 now DEM.UP DEM.UP-DOWN DOWN-F-go.PFV-INF=INDQ trembling trembling
 r-ik’-ud du
 F-say.IPFV-1.PRS 1SG
 ‘If now she comes from over there I am trembling.’

Sentence (38) has been uttered during a *Family Problems Picture Task* discussion. The picture shows the arrest of the protagonist by the police. His wife is sitting on the ground and he is carried away by two policemen. In the picture, he is depicted higher than the woman. Example (39) is also part of a *Family Problems Picture Task* discussion. The two demonstrative pronouns refer to the main protagonists who are depicted in little bubbles above the main scene of the picture.

- (38) ili ik’-i-l r-it-ib-le=w iχ?
 or DEM.UP-OBL-ERG F-beat.up-PRET-CVB=Q DEM.DOWN
 ‘Or did he beat her up?’
- (39) bahsar ix-ti q:uʁa-l er b-irχ-ul b-už-ib ca-b;
 first DEM.UP-PL beautiful-ADVZ life HPL-be.IPFV-ICVB HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL
 hex-ti er r-erč’-e k’wɛl=ra canille!
 DEM.UP-PL look F-look.PFV-IMP two=ADD together
 ‘It turns out that they lived well in the beginning. Look at them both together!’

4.2.2.5 χ-pronouns: *iχ*, *hex*, *hiχ*, *iχt:i*, *hext:i*, *hiχt:i*

These pronouns denote referents located below the deictic center. For instance, example (40) originates from a conversation about a woman who lives in the part of the village closer to the sea and the speaker continuously uses *iχ* with reference to that woman. Examples (41) and (42) refer to people and items on pictures. The people are sitting down and the pumpkins (referred to as watermelons) on the picture are lying on the ground.

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- (40) ce ag-ur-re=l iχ-i-j?
 what go.PFV-PRET-CVB=INDQ DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT
 ‘What happened to her?’
- (41) heχ=ra heχ-ti heχ-t:i=ra ču-la juldaš:-e
 DEM.DOWN=ADD DEM.DOWN-PL DEM.DOWN-PL=ADD REFL.PL-GEN friend-PL
 ca-b gučiič-ib-le ka-b-iž-ib-le
 COP-HPL meet<HPL>.PFV-PRET-CVB DOWN-HPL-be-PRET-CVB
 ‘He and they, his friends also meet and sit together.’
- (42) b-iʔ-uⁿ ca-b heχ, ce ca-b=e^l, heχ,
 N-steal.PFV-PRET COP-N DEM.DOWN what COP-N=INDQ DEM.DOWN
 heχ-t-a-la q:alpuz-e=w
 DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-GEN watermelon-PL=Q
 ‘(They) stole it, whatever it is, this, their watermelons.’

In the discourse deictic function, mostly the χ-pronouns occur (43), but the *k’-/x-*pronouns can also occasionally be found.

- (43) taman ca-b heχ
 end COP-N DEM.DOWN
 ‘This is the end (of the story).’

Yet elevation cannot be the only criterion that governs the use of the χ-pronouns vs. the *k’-/x-*pronouns. For instance, in (44) the first demonstrative pronoun denotes people who the speaker has seen on TV. They are described as being located lower than some unknown point of reference. At the same time the sentence is a good example for the contrast between *iC*-pronouns and *heC*-pronouns as discussed in §4.2.1.

- (44) du Ø-ik’-ul=da, iχ-t-a-la ij=ʋuna but’a ca-b, di-la
 1SG M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1 DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-GEN this=EQ piece COP-N 1SG-GEN
 hej=ʋuna=q:el
 this=EQ=when
 ‘I (masc.) say, they have a (little) piece (of a diamond) like that, while I have one like that.’

For a more thorough discussion of the elevational meaning in Sanzhi demonstratives and examples see the detailed account in Forker (2019a).

4.2.3 Pronouns and adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

There are a few pro-forms derived from the demonstrative pronouns such as *hetilil* (30), *itilil* (45) ‘other, next’, *itil-ižili* ‘one thing and another’, and *it-heχ* ‘this and that, various’.

- (45) [He pointed with his finger on his forehead and said to the other man, Well here is the horsefly.]

itilil-li ix-ub-le tupang ant:a-l-c:e zija=ra
 other-ERG throw.PFV-RET-CVB weapon forehead-OBL-IN horsefly=ADD
 kaχ-ub ca-b il admi=ra
 kill.PFV-RET COP-N that person=ADD

‘The other shot at the forehead and killed the horsefly and the man.’

The temporal/clausal adverb *helij* ‘therefore’ is diachronically the dative case form of the pronoun *hel* ‘that’.

There is a series of manner adverbs with the meaning ‘like this/like that’ that is formed by adding the suffix *-it:e* to the singular demonstrative pronouns (except for the *j*-pronouns, since they are mostly used in the noun-modifying function, see Table 4.5). Their meaning is based on the meanings of the demonstrative pronouns as described in the preceding sections. Some examples can be found in (46), (47) (see also §7.3 for more examples).

Table 4.5: Manner adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

<i>iC</i>	<i>heC</i>	<i>hiC</i>	
<i>iž-it:e</i>	<i>hež-it:e</i>	<i>hiž-it:e</i>	‘like this, like something close to the speaker’
<i>il-it:e</i>	<i>hel-it:e</i>	<i>hil-it:e</i>	‘like that, like something away from the speaker and/or close to the hearer’
<i>it-it:e</i>	<i>het-it:e</i>	<i>hit-it:e</i>	‘like that, like something away from speaker and hearer or undifferentiated’
<i>ik'-it:e</i>	<i>hek'-it:e</i>	<i>hik'-it:e</i>	‘like this/that above the deictic center’
<i>iχ-it:e</i>	<i>heχ-it:e</i>	<i>hiχ-it:e</i>	‘like this/that below deictic center’

- (46) iž hež-it:e b-irq'-an ca-b
 this this-ADVZ N-do.IPFV-PTCP COP-N

‘It must be done like this.’

- (47) hana=q'ar il-it:e a-ha?-ib=de
 now=MOD that-ADVZ NEG-say.PFV-RET=2SG

‘But now you did not say this.’ (i.e. you did not tell the stories that you told the other time)

There is another group of four manner adverbs with a similar meaning as the adverbs ending in *-it:e*, namely *itwaj*, *hetwaj*, *hitwaj*, and *ižwaj* ‘like that, and so’. Their usage is illustrated in (48–50).

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns and adverbials derived from them

- (48) iti itwaj=ra ʔu^ʔrus:-e ʔunab-te ca-b hana=ra
 those like.that=ADD Russian-PL EQ-DD.PL COP-HPL now=ADD
 ‘They are also like this, like Russians, even now.’
- (49) di-la ʧat:aj ca-w, ala itwaj ʧat:aj ca-w
 1SG-GEN grandfather COP-M 2SG.GEN like.that grandfather COP-M
 ‘(He) is my (real) grandfather. For you he is only an old man.’ (lit. ‘he is like a grandfather of yours’)
- (50) ha itwaj ka-b-iʒ-ib-te=k:u
 uh like.that DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=COP.NEG
 ‘Uh, and so they did not marry.’

Spatial adverbs with the basic meaning ‘here, there’ are derived by adding the suffix *-t:u* to the pronominal stems (Table 4.6). The meaning of the spatial adverbs is transparently derived from the meaning of the demonstratives. As can be seen in the table, there are two series of spatial adverbs with the meaning ‘there above’ because both the singular as well as the plural pronominal stem can serve as the base for the derivation, but the adverbs with *x* are far more common than the adverbs with *k*. The adverbs with *k* are very rarely used and might even be switches to another dialect of Dargwa.

Table 4.6: Spatial adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

<i>i(C)t:u</i>	<i>he(C)t:u</i>	<i>hi(C)t:u</i>	
<i>iš-t:u</i>	<i>heš-t:u</i>	<i>hiš-t:u</i>	‘here, close to the speaker’
<i>il-t:u</i>	<i>hel-t:u</i>	<i>hil-t:u</i>	‘there, away from the speaker and/or close to the hearer’
<i>i-t:u</i>	<i>he-t:u</i>	<i>hi-t:u</i>	‘there, further away, unspecific distance’
<i>ik’-t:u</i>	<i>hek’-t:u</i>	<i>hik’-t:u</i>	‘here/there above the deictic center’
<i>ix-t:u</i>	<i>hex-t:u</i>	<i>hix-t:u</i>	‘here/there above the deictic center’
<i>iχ-t:u</i>	<i>heχ-t:u</i>	<i>hiχ-t:u</i>	‘here/there below the deictic center’

Since the adverbs have inherent spatial semantics, locational cases cannot be added, but only directional suffixes just as with other spatial adverbials or nominals. The lative is zero-marked, the essive is expressed through gender/number agreement, the ablative by means of the suffix *-r(ka)* and the directive through the suffix *-GM-a* including a gender/number agreement marker, e.g. lative *heš-t:u*, essive *heš-t:u-b*, ablative *heš-t:u-r(ka)*, directive *heš-t:u-b-a*. Examples can be found in ex:We crossed the border between Shurli and our (Sanzhi area), and up there we found a stoneex:Do they really allow people from here (to enter) the hospital. More examples are given in §7.1.1.

- (51) šu^ʔrʔli-la=ra niš:a-la=ra dazu-la het:u-r t:ura
 Shurli-GEN=ADD 1PL-GEN=ADD border-GEN there-ABL outside
 d-ituq-un-ne hek’t:u-b b-arč-ib-il=de ca qarq:a
 1/2PL-CROSS.PFV-PRET-CVB there.UP-N N-find.PFV-PRET-REF=PST one stone
 ‘We crossed the border between Shurli and our (Sanzhi area), and up there we found a stone.’

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- (52) mac:a d-irχ^w-i=w ixt:u-d?
 sheep NPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST=Q there.UP-NPL
 ‘Were there sheep up there?’
- (53) iš-ti x:une-r hit:u-b-a arg-ul ak:u=w iš-t:i?
 this-PL road.SPR-ABL there-HPL-DIR go.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG=Q this-PL
 ‘Are they walking on (along) the road there, right, these?’
- (54) balnic:a-le b-i-b-aš-aq-u=w išt:u-rka ag-ur χalq’
 hospital-LOC HPL-IN-HPL-go.IPFV-CAUS-PRS=Q here-ABL go.PFV-PRET people
 ‘Do they really allow people from here (to enter) the hospital?!’

Another series of spatial adverbs denoting the source can be derived by means of the suffix *-ka* (which is probably a cognate of the second part of the complex ablative suffix *-r-ka*), e.g. *hež-ka* ‘from here’, *hel-ka* ‘from there’, etc. (§3.4.2). These adverbs can also have a temporal interpretation (‘from time X on’). Moreover, there is a series of spatial adverbs with the meaning ‘from X to X’ containing the suffix *-k-it:u-b-a*, e.g. *hež-kit:u-b-a* ‘from here to there’ (57). This suffix is a combination of the ablative *-ka* (shortened to *-k*), the locational suffix *-t:u* and the directive *-GM-a*. Both series are available from all three stem types of demonstratives (*heC*, *iC*, and *hiC*), but only the adverbs based on *heC* are commonly used in my corpus. See §7.1.1 for Tables displaying all adverbs and more examples.

- (55) q:almaq:ar ag-ur-te hej-ka ca-d
 scandal go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL this-ABL COP-NPL
 ‘From here the scandal happened.’
- (56) nu, ik-ka nuš:a qari-rka ag-ur=da
 well DEM.UP-ABL 1PL up-ABL go.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘Well we went from up there along the upper side.’
- (57) hana hetkit:u-b-a b-ibš:-ib
 now from.there.to.there-N-DIR N-escape-PRET
 ‘(The dog) ran away to that side (from there to there).’

The equative enclitic *=buna* ‘like, similar’ and the temporal enclitic *=q:el* ‘when’ can also be attached to the demonstrative pronouns leading to pro-forms used when comparing referents (2), (6b) and temporal adverbs with the meaning ‘then, at this/that time’ (32).

4.3 Reflexive pronouns

Sanzhi Dargwa has simple reflexive pronouns (Table 4.7) and two types of complex reflexive pronouns (Table 4.8). In reflexive constructions, the reflexive pronouns refer only to third persons. For first and second person reflexivization personal pronouns are used. Reflexive pronouns are marked for gender (in the absolutive only), for number and for

case. The absolutive case of the reflexive pronoun is identical to the copula and might be diachronically related to it. For all other cases the pronoun has two stems (singular and plural).

Table 4.7: Simple reflexive pronouns

	singular	plural
absolutive	<i>ca-w /-r /-b</i>	<i>ca-b /-d</i>
ergative	<i>cin-ni</i>	<i>ču-l</i>
genitive	<i>cin-na</i>	<i>ču-la</i>
dative	<i>cini-j</i>	<i>ču-j</i>
comitative	<i>cini-c:ella</i>	<i>ču-c:ella</i>
AD-lative	<i>cini-š:u</i>	<i>ču-š:u</i>
IN-lative	<i>cini-c:e</i>	<i>ču-c:e</i>
LOC-lative	<i>ci-ne</i>	<i>ču-ja</i>

Table 4.8: Complex reflexive pronouns

	singular		plural	
	case copying ^a	genitive refl.	case copying ^a	genitive refl.
ABS	<i>cinni ca-w /-r /-b</i>	<i>cinna ca-w /-r /-b</i>	<i>čul ca-b /-d</i>	<i>čula ca-b /-d</i>
ERG	—	<i>cinna cin-ni</i>	—	<i>čula čul</i>
GEN	<i>cinni cin-na</i>	—	<i>čul čula</i>	—
DAT	<i>cinni cini-j</i>	<i>cinna cini-j</i>	<i>čul ču-j</i>	<i>čula ču-j</i>
COMIT	<i>cinni cini-c:ella</i>	<i>cinna cini-c:ella</i>	<i>čul ču-c:ella</i>	<i>čula ču-c:ella</i>

^awith ergative controller

The simple reflexive pronouns occur in local and non-local reflexivization (including logophoric contexts across clausal boundaries, whereas the complex reflexive pronouns can only be bound within the clause. Both types of complex reflexive pronouns consist of a reduplicated form of the simple reflexive (Table 4.7). For the first variant of the complex reflexive pronouns, one part of the reflexive undergoes case-copying from the controller (in Table 4.8 exemplified with an ergative controller), and the second part takes the appropriate case-marking. In the second variant, the first part is invariably genitive. The second variant, the complex genitive reflexive, lacks a form for the genitive case, so it can never occur as possessor. Other functions in addition to local and non-local reflexivization are: emphatic reflexivization, comitative constructions and pause fillers.

All types of reflexive constructions are analyzed in more detail in §29.1 and in Forker (2014). The genitive singular and plural reflexive pronouns *cinna* and *čula* are used as pause fillers (§9.5). The absolutive reflexive pronouns occur in comitative constructions that have the formal structure of coordinated noun phrases (§30.3).

None of these additional functions are available for complex reflexive pronouns, which occur only in local reflexivization, emphatic reflexivization and reciprocal constructions (only plural reflexive pronouns).

4.4 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal pronouns are very similar to complex reflexive pronouns in form as well as in morphosyntactic behavior. They consist of a reduplicated form of the numeral *ca* ‘one’. Sanzhi Dargwa has three types of reciprocal pronouns. Two of these pronouns always consist of the reduplicated numeral *ca* ‘one’. Except for the genitive they fully inflect for case, but do not distinguish gender. One type of reciprocal pronouns is the equivalent of the genitive reflexive because its first part is always in the genitive. The second reciprocal has always one part in the absolutive. The third variant, *ca-b-a*, is also based on *ca* ‘one’, to which a plural suffix that exhibits gender/number agreement is added. It can also be reduplicated (this is not shown in the Table) and inflects for all cases. All reciprocals are shown in the partial paradigm in Table 4.9. In addition, the language also makes use of plural reflexive pronouns (Table 4.8) for the expression of reciprocity.

Syntactically, reciprocal pronouns behave similarly to complex reflexives because they are always locally bound. More information on reciprocalization can be found in §29.2 and in Forker (2014).

Table 4.9: Reciprocal pronouns

	‘each other’ (genitive variant)	‘each other’ (absolutive variant)	‘each other’
absolutive	<i>calla ca</i>	<i>calli ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a</i>
ergative	<i>calla ca-l-li</i>	<i>calli ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-li</i>
genitive	<i>calla calla</i>	<i>ca-l-la ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-la</i>
dative	<i>calla ca-l-li-j</i>	<i>ca-l-li-j ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-li-j</i>
comitative	<i>calla ca-l-li-c:ella</i>	<i>ca-l-li-c:ella ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-li-c:ella</i>
AD-lative	<i>calla ca-l-li-š:u</i>	<i>ca-l-li-š:u ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-li-š:u</i>
IN-lative	<i>calla ca-l-li-c:e</i>	<i>ca-l-li-c:e ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-li-c:e</i>
LOC-lative	<i>calla ca-l-le</i>	<i>ca-l-le ca</i>	<i>ca-b-a-l-le</i>

4.5 Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns of Sanzhi are given in Table 4.10. Some of the pronouns are morphologically complex, consisting of the root *ce* ‘what’ to which other morphemes are added:

- *ce + t'le*: the second part might contain the adverbializer *-le*
- *ce + vuna*: the second part is the equative enclitic =*vuna* ‘like, as’ (§30.2)
- *ce + li-j*: the second part is the inflection for dative case (§3.4.1.4)
- *ce + l*: the second part is the inflection for ergative case (§3.4.1.2)
- *ce + q:el*: the second part is the temporal enclitic =*q:el* ‘when, while, at that time’ (§18.2.1)

Table 4.10: Interrogative pronouns

<i>ča</i>	‘who’	<i>cevuna</i>	‘which’	<i>ceq:el</i>	‘when’
<i>ce</i>	‘what’	<i>kut:i</i>	‘which’	<i>čujna</i>	‘how many times’
<i>čina</i>	‘where’	<i>cel</i>	‘why’	<i>kusa</i>	‘how much’
<i>cet'le</i>	‘how’	<i>celij</i>	‘why’	<i>čum</i>	‘how many’

The pronouns *čujna* and *čum* are also complex. They seem to contain the same root *ču-*. In order to arrive at *ču-jna* the derivational suffix *-na* (allomorph *-jna* after vowels) has been added. This suffix is also used to form multiplicative numerals (§6.5). The pronoun *kut:i* seems to be composed of a root *ku-* and an ending *-t:i*, the latter also found with plural demonstrative pronouns (§4.2).

In the following, all pronouns are described and illustrated with examples. More information on interrogative clauses can be found in Chapter 28. Embedded interrogatives are treated in §28.4.

4.5.1 *ča* ‘who’ and *ce* ‘what’

Partial inflectional paradigms of the pronouns *ča* ‘who’ and *ce* ‘what’ are shown in Table 4.11. The pronoun *ča* has a suppletive stem *hi-* for all cases except for the absolutive (60). The pronoun *ča* can be used as a modifier to a nominal with human reference and translates then as ‘which, what kind of’ (58). It can be marked for plural by means of the associative plural suffix *-qal* (59) (§3.2.4).

- (58) *ča* χamis? Sut'aj-la ruc:i
 who Khamis Sutaj-GEN sister
 ‘Which Khamis? Sutaj’s sister.’
- (59) “čak:^wa-l, ča-qal=de?” Ø-ik'-ul ca-w het ʔu^rrus
 handsome-ADVZ who-ASSOC=PST M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M that Russian
 x:unul-li-c:e
 woman-OBL-IN
 “‘Nice, who were they?’ he asks the Russian woman.’

Table 4.11: Interrogative pronouns *ča* ‘who’ and *ce* ‘what’

	‘who’	‘what’
absolutive	<i>ča</i>	<i>ce</i>
ergative	<i>hi-l</i>	<i>ce-l-li</i>
genitive	<i>hi-la</i>	<i>ce-lla</i>
dative	<i>hi-j</i>	<i>ce-lli-j</i>
comitative	<i>hi-c:ella</i>	<i>ce-lli-c:ella</i>
AD-lative	<i>hi-š:u</i>	<i>ce-lli-š:u</i>
IN-lative	<i>hi-c:e</i>	<i>ce-lli-c:e</i>
LOC-lative	<i>hi-ja</i>	<i>ce-l-le</i>

- (60) il hi-la q’am-la=de?
 that who-GEN kin-GEN=POST
 ‘From whose clan was he?’

The pronoun *ce* ‘what’ (61) can also be used with the meanings ‘how’ (62), ‘where’ (63) and, when functioning as a nominal modifier, ‘which, what kind of’. The dative case of this pronoun *celij* translates as ‘why’ (§4.5.2.4).

- (61) ce Ø-ik’-ul=de u?
 what M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG 2SG
 ‘What do you (masc.) say?’
- (62) ce b-alχ-ul=de ča-qal=el?
 what HPL-know.IPFV-ICVB=2SG who-ASSOC=INDQ
 ‘How do you know who they are?’
- (63) sa-r-b-ulq-an ce b-iχ-ub=e?
 ANTE-ABL-HPL-direct.IPFV-PTCP what N-be.PFV-PRET=Q
 ‘(The picture on which the people) run away, where is it?’

4.5.2 Other interrogative words

4.5.2.1 *čina* ‘where’

This pronoun has an inherent spatial meaning and can be further inflected for the directional cases just like other nominals or adverbials with spatial meaning, see §3.4.2. Thus, we obtain:

- the zero-marked lative *čina* for directed motion (64)
- the essive *čina-b* for location (with the gender/number agreement suffix) (65)
- the ablative *čina-r-(ka)* for movement from a source or through/along a reference point or with the meaning ‘how’ (lit. ‘from where’) (66)

- (64) čina ag-ur-re Ø-ik'-ul=de u?
 where go.PFV-PRET-CVB M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG 2SG
 'Are you (masc.) asking where he went?'
- (65) čina-w=de it?
 where-M=PST that
 'Where was he?'
- (66) at čina-r d-aχ-ur=de hel-t:i?
 2SG.DAT where-ABL NPL-know.PFV-PRET=PST that-PL
 'How did you get to know them (= the medical plants)?'

It can also take the genitive suffix, then denoting origin in the sense of ethnic descent (67):

- (67) čina-la admi=ja iž? gurži-le-r / gurži-la ca-w
 where-GEN person=Q this Georgia.OBL-LOC-ABL / Georgia.OBL-GEN COP-M
 'Where is this person from? (He) is from Georgia (i.e. he is Georgian).' (E)

4.5.2.2 *cet'le* 'how'

The pronoun *cet'le* refers to the manner of action.

- (68) marka cet'le či-b-irB-ul=e ixt:u? neq:e-d d-i-d=q'al
 rain how SPR-N-come.IPFV-ICVB=Q there.UP cave.LOC-NPL NPL-IN-NPL=PRT
 it:i
 those
 'How can rain fall there? They are inside a cave.'
- (69) cet'le il r-uč'-unne? iž ʔa`h-le r-uč'-un ca-r
 how this F-learn.IPFV-ICVB this good-ADVZ F-learn.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'How is she studying? She is studying well.' (E)

4.5.2.3 *kut:i* and *ceβuna* 'which'

The pronoun *kut:i* asks for the indication of a specific item among a group of items. For instance, the first speaker in (70) wants to indicate to his interlocutor a picture that does not fit into a picture story. The second speaker does not understand to which of the pictures the first speaker is referring, and asks for clarification. It can be used as an indefinite pronoun and then be inflected for various cases (72).

- (70) hež s:urrat hešt:u b-al b-ič-ib-le ak:u. kut:i?
 this picture here N-fit N-occur.PFV-PRET-CVB .cop.neg which
 'This picture does not fit here. Which?'

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- (71) kut:i arg-ul=el kut:i-l-li hara hit:i, kut:i arg-ul=el
 which go.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ which-OBL-ERG behind after which go.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ
 kut:i sala-b=el, kut:i hila-b=el, er d-irq'-aj!
 which front-N=INDQ which behind-N=INDQ look NPL-do.IPFV-IMP.PL
 'Which (picture) goes behind which, which goes in front, which goes behind,
 take a look!'
- (72) murgl-a-j a-b-alχ-i=q'al kut:i-la ce
 man-OBL.PL-DAT NEG-N-know.IPFV-HAB.PST=MOD which-GEN what
 ca-d=el
 COP-NPL=INDQ
 'The men did not know which was whose (lit. of which) milk.'

The pronoun *ceḅuna* literally means 'like what, similar to what' and requests the hearer to provide more information about the manner or the type as in (73). In example (74), the indefinite pronoun modifies the following noun.

- (73) ceḅuna=ja ala mašin? ʔa^h-ce=w?
 which=Q 2SG.GEN car good-DD=Q
 'How is your car? Is it good?' (E)
- (74) čī-d-ag-a du-l ceḅuna q:uḅa-te eč-ne
 SPR-NPL-see.PFV-IMP 1SG-ERG which beautiful-DD.PL she.goat-PL
 as:-ib=da=jal
 buy.PFV-PRET=1=INDQ
 'Look what beautiful goats I bought.'

4.5.2.4 *cel* and *celij* 'why'

These pronouns are case-inflected forms of *ce* 'what', more specifically ergative *cel* and dative *celij*, and the semantics of the case suffixes together with the base pronoun transparently explains the meaning 'why' (< 'what for'). The ergative is used to express agents and instruments, and the dative for the expression of causes.

- (75) χalq'-li-j il cel a-∅-jč:-aq-ul=de? cellij
 people-OBL-DAT that why NEG-M-want.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB=PST why
 kaχ-ub=e il x:un-r-a-l?
 kill.PFV-PRET=Q that woman-PL-OBL-ERG
 'Why did the people not love him? Why did the women kill him?'

4.5.2.5 *ceq:el* 'when'

This interrogative adverb is used when asking for time points. It can occur in the genitive case without a change in meaning (77).

- (76) het ceq:el ha-∅-jκ-ib=e?
that when UP-M-COME.PFV-PRET=Q
'When did he come?'
- (77) ceq:el-la / ceq:el nuš:a teatir-le d-ax-an=da?
when-GEN / when 1PL theater-LOC 1/2PL-go-PTCP=1
'When will we go to the theater?' (E)

4.5.2.6 *čujna* 'how many times'

This interrogative adverb refers to the frequency with which a situation occurs. To the same adverb the suffixes can be added that can also be added to multiplicative numerals when they are used for the formation of expressions referring to time points (79) (§6.5).

- (78) čujna debκalla b-irq'-it:e? xu-jna b-irq'-id
how.often prayer N-do.IPFV-2SG five-time N-do.IPFV-1.PRS
'How many times do you pray (every day)? I pray five times.' (E)
- (79) čujna-lla u ag-ur-il=de? k^wi-jna-lla ag-ur-il=de
how.often-TEMP 2SG go.PFV-PRET-REF=PST two-time-TEMP go.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
'At which time did you go? I went at the second time.' (E)

4.5.2.7 *čum* 'how many'

The pronoun *čum* 'how many' is only used as a modifier to count nouns. It can be inflected with the dative yielding *čum-li-j* if no head noun is following (81). This form is used when asking for prices. Instead of directly adding the dative to the interrogative pronoun it can also be added to the head noun, e.g. *čum q'uruš-li-j?* (how many ruble-OBL-DAT) 'for how many rubles?'

- (80) bac-li-j čum azir luk:unne?
moon-OBL-DAT how.many thousand give.IPFV-ICVB
'How many thousand (of rubles) does (the government) give per month (as child allowance)?'
- (81) čum-li-j b-ik'-ul=e kurs:i?
how.many-OBL-DAT N-say.IPFV-ICVB=Q chair
'How much does the chair cost?' (E)

The forms *čum-ib* and *čum-ibil* ask for ordinal numbers (§6.2):

- (82) daže hel-t:-a-j d-alχ-ul ak:u hel-t:i čum-ib
even that-PL-OBL-DAT NPL-know.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG that-PL how.many-ORD
du:s:i-c:e-d d-elk'-un-ne=l hel-t:i
year.OBL-IN-NPL NPL-write.PFV-PRET-CVB=PRT that-PL
'Even they do not remember in which year (the pictures) were drawn.'

4.5.2.8 *kusa* ‘how much, how many’

The pronoun *kusa* can be used together with count nouns or mass nouns (83) and without any head nouns (84–86). It also has the more specific temporal meaning ‘(for) how long’ (85).

- (83) *kusa* *bet’u d-el=e?*
 how.much flour NPL-remain.PFV=Q
 ‘How much flour remained?’ (E)
- (84) *kusa-lli-j* *as:-ib=de?*
 how.much-OBL-DAT buy.PFV-PRET=PST
 ‘For how many (rubles) did you buy it?’
- (85) *il-ti kusa t:ura-b kelg-un=el b-alχ-an*
 that-PL how.much outside-HPL remain.PFV-PRET=INDQ N-know.IPFV-PTCP
a-haq-ib
 NEG-manage.PFV-PRET
 ‘No one is able to know for how long they were away.’
- (86) *kusa ix^wle ag-ur-re?*
 how.much early go.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘How (much) early did he go?’

4.5.3 Interrogative pronouns used as indefinites

Occasionally plain interrogative pronouns are used as indefinite pronouns as in the following example (87).

- (87) *nu^q-be ʔa^bh^h-ib ca<d>i Ø-ik’-ul ca-w ij, “ce*
 arm-PL get.tired.PFV-PRET COP<NPL> M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M this what
d-irq’-ul=da”
 NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB=1
 ‘He says, “My hands got tired, I do something.”’

4.6 Indefinite pronouns

Sanzhi Dargwa has a rather wide range of indefinite pronouns that are regularly formed on the basis of the interrogative pronouns. Most of these pronouns make use of enclitics that are also otherwise used in the grammar as complementizers (=jal/=el, =del), emphatic particle (=k’u) or additive enclitic (=ra). The pronominal stems are normally inflected just like the interrogative pronouns, and then the derivational markers are attached.

- =jal/=el: specific indefinite (§4.6.1)
- =k'u: specific indefinite (§4.6.1)
- =del: non-specific indefinite (§4.6.2)
- -k'a: free-choice indefinite (§4.6.2)
- -k'al: negative indefinite, specific indefinite, free-choice indefinite (§4.6.4)
- =č'u: negative indefinite, free-choice indefinite (§4.6.4)
- =ra: negative indefinite, universal indefinite, free-choice indefinite (§4.6.4)

For the formation of universal indefinites the quantifier *har* 'every' or more rarely *liil* 'all' is used (§4.7).

4.6.1 Specific indefinite pronouns

Specific indefinite pronouns (Table 4.12) are formed by means of the complementizer =jal (after vowels)/=el (after consonants), which is otherwise used in embedded questions (see §28.4) and certain epistemic modal constructions that have developed out of embedded questions and can be labeled "insubordination" (§28.4).

Table 4.12: Specific indefinite pronouns

<i>ča=jal</i>	'somebody'	<i>čina=b=el</i>	'somewhere'	<i>čum=el</i>	'some'
<i>ce=jal</i>	'something'	<i>ce't'le=jal</i>	'somehow'	<i>kut:i=jal</i>	'some'
<i>čina=jal</i>	'to somewhere'	<i>celij=jal</i>	'for some reason'	<i>ceq:el=el</i>	'sometimes'

Exemplary case forms of *ča=jal* and *ce=jal* are:

- 'somebody': ergative *hi-l=el*, genitive *hi-la=jal*, dative *hi-j=jal*, comitative *hi-c:e=jal*
- 'something': ergative *ce-l-li=jal*, genitive *ce-l-la=jal*, dative *ce-li-j=jal*

(88) *ik' gu gu-r-as:-ib ca-b, b-ik'^w-ar,*
 DEM.UP under SUB-ABL-buy.PFV-PRET COP-N HPL-say.IPFV-PRS
hi-l=el
 who.OBL-ERG=INDEF

'Someone bought it down (= the area around the village of Sanzhi), they say.'

(89) *heχ ce-lla=jal banka χe-b*
 DEM.DOWN what-GEN=INDEF can exist.DOWN-N

'Down there is a can of something.'

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- (90) q:arka het:u-b b-už-ib čum=el bari
 Karka there-N HPL-be-PRET how.many=INDEF day
 ‘In Karka the bandits stayed for some days.’

There is a second series of specific indefinite pronouns with the emphatic enclitic =*k’u* (§9.4.5) that is used when the speaker does not remember a name of a person or thing and instead uses the indefinite as a kind of filler word. Of these pronouns *ce=k’u* (what-INDEF) is especially frequent and can be translated as ‘whatchamacallit’.

- (91) hel-t:i tusnaq-la ce=k’u ca-d
 that-PL prison-GEN what=INDEF COP-NPL
 ‘These are the prison’s whatchamacallits.’
- (92) ča=k’u-la ruc:i heχ ħa’san χe-w=q’al
 who=INDEF-GEN sister DEM.DOWN Hasan exist.DOWN-M=MOD
 ‘This one his sister, that Hasan who lives down there.’
- (93) ik’ ča=k’u=q’ar b-ik’^w-ar ik’ mic’ir-re w-el
 DEM.UP who=INDEF=MOD HPL-say.IPFV-PRS DEM.UP alive-ADVZ M-remain
 ‘This one, what is he called, he is still alive.’
- (94) hi-l=k’u-c:e “javari, du-l ic-an=da” Ø-ik’^w-a-di
 who.OBL-OBL=INDEF-IN PRT 1SG-ERG wash.IPFV-PTCP=1 M-say.IPFV-HAB-1
 ‘To someone I (masc.) said, “Well, I will wash him.”’

4.6.2 Non-specific indefinite pronouns

Non-specific indefinite pronouns are formed by adding =*del* to the interrogative base. This suffix is morphologically complex consisting of =*de* and =(e)*l*. The first part might originate from the past enclitic =*de*. The second part represents the enclitic used for embedded questions (§28.4) and also for the formation of specific indefinite pronouns (§4.6.1). The following examples illustrate reference to non-specific indefinite persons (95), (96) and places (97), (98).

- (95) ?a^hbdulq’adir b-ik’^w=el aχ:u ča=del na zu ?a^hle
 Abdulkadir N-say.IPFV=INDQ not.know who=INDEF now name good-ADVZ
 han d-il ak:u hel
 remember NPL-remain COP.NEG that
 ‘He was called Abdulkhalig or something (lit. somebody), I don’t know, I don’t remember the name well.’
- (96) hek’ di-la uc:iq’ar ca-w, χ:ula Q’urban, buna.χat’a
 DEM.UP 1SG-GEN cousin COP-M big Kurban sin
 gu-r-ka-d-uc, hek’-i-la k-aq:-ib-le
 SUB-ABL-DOWN-NPL-catch.PFV DEM.UPOBL-GEN DOWN-carry-PRET-CVB

hi-j=del b-ič:-ij
 who.OBL-DAT=INDEF N-give.PFV-INF

‘My cousin, Old Kurban, may his sins be relieved, brought them for me to give them to someone.’

- (97) ka-b-iž-ib-il ka-b-iš:-ib=da helt:u čina=del
 DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-REF DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET=1 there where=INDEF

‘I put (the picture) somewhere.’

- (98) čina-w=del le-w=de=q'al
 where-M=INDEF exist-M=PST=MOD

‘He was somewhere.’

4.6.3 Free-choice indefinite pronouns

Free-choice indefinite pronouns of the ‘any’ or ‘WH-ever’ type are formed by means of the suffix *-k'a* that does not serve any other function. In the majority of the cases the pronoun is followed by the verb form *b-iχ^w-ar=ra* (N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD) that has a concessive meaning that can approximately be translated with ‘even if it is’ (§16.3). The verb form *b-iχ^w-ar=ra* mostly has the neuter singular prefix *b-* (suspended agreement), but it can also agree with the absolutive argument or even some other salient argument (see §20.2.4 for examples). In natural speech the suffix *-k'a* is also added to the Russian free-choice indefinite pronoun *lubuj-c:ella-k'a-li-j* (any-COMIT-INDEF-OBL-DAT) ‘for anything’. The following example (99) contains not only a Sanzhi free-choice indefinite, but also the Russian free-choice indefinite *kagda-nibud* ‘whenever’.

- (99) ceq:el-k'a b-iχ^w-ar=ra b-arq'-ille, haʔ-ib=da
 when-INDEF N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD N-do.PFV-COND.1 say.PFV-PRET=1
 kagda.nibud ka-b-iq:-an=da
 whenever DOWN-N-carry.IPFV-PTCP=1

‘Whenever I make it, I will bring it, I said.’

- (100) daʔaʔna w-irx-ul hi-la-k'a b-iχ^w-ar=ra qili
 secret M-become.IPFV-ICVB who-GEN-INDEF N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD home

‘He was hiding himself at the house of whomever.’ (i.e. at any house).

- (101) wec'-nu xu-ra azir tuχtur-t-a-j=ra luk:-an-te
 ten-TEN five-NUM thousand doctor-PL-OBL-DAT=ADD give.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL
 ca-d i har bari-j hel-ti=ra čum-k'a bar
 COP-NPL and every day-DAT that-PL=ADD how.many-INDEF day
 kelg-an=ra
 remain.PFV-PTCP=ADD

‘15,000 needs to be given to the doctors and every day these (i.e. this amount of money), however many days you stay.’

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- (102) du-l at ce-k'a b-ik:-ul haq-it:e=ra
 1SG-ERG 2SG.DAT what-INDEF N-want.IPFV-ICVB be.enough.PFV-2SG=ADD
 luk:-an=da=n
 give.IPFV-PTCP=1=PRT
 'I will give you whatever you may want.'

4.6.4 Negative indefinite pronouns

In general, the negative indefinite function of indefinite pronouns is only available in clauses with negation. In affirmative clauses none of the pronouns described in this section has a negative indefinite reading, but readings such as free-choice indefinite or universal indefinite.

The suffix *-k'al* is used for the formation of indefinite pronouns that have the negative indefinite reading if they occur in a clause with negative polarity (103), (104). This suffix can be analyzed as consisting of *-k'a*, which forms free-choice indefinite pronouns (§4.6.3) and the enclitic used for embedded questions (§28.4) and also for the formation of specific and non-specific indefinite pronouns (Sections §4.6.1, §4.6.2).

- (103) šuša ak:^w-ar mus:a χe-b-ak:u čina-b-k'al
 bottle COP.NEG-PRS place exist.DOWN-N-COP.NEG where-N-INDEF
 'There is no place where there are no bottles.'
- (104) na=q'ar du hi-l-k'al-li a-w-ir?-aⁿ=da
 now=MOD 1SG who.OBL-OBL-INDEF-ERG NEG-M-betray-PTCP=1
 'Now nobody will betray me anymore.'

Other meanings of pronouns with *-k'al* are free-choice indefiniteness if they are used in a conditional clause (105), (106) or non-specific indefinite if simply used in an affirmative clause (107–110).

- (105) ča-k'al sa-∅-jβ-ardel, "ci-k'al b-arq'-a, ʔa^či
 who-INDEF HITHER-M-come.PFV-COND.PST what-INDEF N-do.PFV-IMP work
 b-arq'-a!" ∅-ik'-ul, li<d>il ʔa^či d-irq'-i at:a-l
 N-do.PFV-IMP M-say.IPFV-ICVB all<NPL> work NPL-do.IPFV-HAB.PST father-ERG
 'No matter who came saying, "Do something, do this work!" father did all works.'
- (106) itwaj=ra q:ulluq:-e a-ha-d-urχ:-u, it wečna čina-k'al
 like.this=ADD matter-PL NEG-UP-NPL-finish.IPFV-PRS that forever where-INDEF
 t:ura-w-q-ut:el
 OUT-M-go.PFV-COND.PST
 'And like this also (Isakadi's) issues, things do not finish, forever, no matter where he went.'

- (107) abuxar hež čir-b-iq:-an b-urk:-ar čina-k'al
 then this SPR-ABL-N-carry.IPFV-PTCP N-find.IPFV-PRS where-INDEF
 'Then this needs to be positioned somewhere (else) probably.'
- (108) ča-k'al kax-ub=de=w?
 who-INDEF kill.PFV-PRET=2SG=Q
 'Did you kill anyone?'
- (109) durhu^ˆ=ra ca-b=ra arg-ul ca-b hešti čina-k'al
 boy=ADD REFL-HPL=ADD go.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL these where-INDEF
 t:ura-ka-b-ig-ar-aj
 OUT-DOWN-N-be-PRS-SUBJ.3
 'And together with the son they are going to sit outside anywhere.'
- (110) har ce-lla-k'al-li-j ča^ˆ?ir=ra d-al d-irč-iri
 every what-GEN-INDEF-OBL-DAT wine=ADD NPL-match NPL-occur.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'Wine fitted well with any of these (types of food).'

Note that the word *cik'al* (from *ce* 'what' plus *-k'al*) has been lexicalized as a noun with the meaning 'thing'. At the same time it is still used as an indefinite pronoun with the meanings 'nothing' (in negative clauses) and 'something, anything' in positive clauses (105). It can also precede nouns as negative quantifier with the meaning 'no'.

Furthermore, the additive enclitic *=ra* (§9.4.1) is used for the formation of indefinite pronouns. If these pronouns occur in clauses with positive polarity the reading is universal indefinite (111), if they occur in clauses with negative polarity the reading is universal negative (112), and if they occur in concessive clauses the reading is free choice indefinite (113).

- (111) ceq:el=ra w-aš-ib=da dubur-t-a-c:e
 when=ADD M-go.IPFV-PRET=1 mountain-PL-OBL-IN
 'I always went through the mountains.'
- (112) čujna=ra a-ag-ur=da
 how.often=ADD NEG-go.PFV-PRET=1
 'I did not go even once.'
- (113) cet'le=ra du-l it:i da^ˆ?a^ˆna d-arq'-ib-le=x:ar, amma
 how=ADD 1SG-ERG those secret NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB=CONC but
 d-urk:-ul ca-d
 NPL-find.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL
 'No matter how I hide them, (they always) find them.' (E)

However, in practice such indefinite pronouns are (almost) never attested in natural texts. Instead, the enclitic *=ra* is usually preceded by *-k'al* (114) or occasionally *-k'a* (115) for the negative indefinite meaning.

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- (114) ča-k'al=č'u=ra qili-w w-ak:u
 who-INDEF=EMPH=ADD home-M M-COP.NEG
 'Nobody is at home.'
- (115) dam ci-k'a=ɣuna=ra kur či-a-b-až-ib=da
 1SG.DAT what-INDEF=EQ=ADD pit SPR-NEG-N-see.PFV-PRET=1
 'I do not see any pit.'

Similarly, the emphatic enclitic =č'u can form negative indefinite pronouns when it is attached to the usual base (interrogative pronoun or numeral 'one') and used in clauses with negative polarity. As with the additive enclitic, in almost all examples that contain the enclitic it follows -k'al (and frequently =č'u is followed by the additive enclitic) (116), (117).

- (116) ci-k'al=č'u=ra a-b-irχ-u
 what-INDEF=EMPH=ADD NEG-N-become.IPFV-PRS.3
 'Nothing bad will happen.' (lit. 'There will be nothing.')
- (117) [So they did not marry.]
 ak:u, ca=č'u=ra ak:u, ca=č'u ak:u Ašura
 COP.NEG one=EMPH=ADD COP.NEG one=EMPH COP.NEG Ashura
 ka-r-iž-ib
 DOWN-F-sit.PFV-PRET
 'No, there was no one, except for Ashura he did not marry anyone.'

There are only two examples of pronouns with =č'u in clauses that do not have negative polarity such that the pronouns display their free-choice indefinite meaning. The first example in (118) illustrates the use of the pronoun in combination with the concessive auxiliary *b-iχ^w-ar=ra* as it has already been described for other free-choice indefinite pronouns (§4.6.3). The second example in (119) contains two pronouns with =č'u, of which the first has the free-choice indefinite reading whereas the second is a negative indefinite pronoun because of the negated verb.

- (118) ca=ra ci-k'al=č'u b-iχ^w-ar=ra b-uk-an-ne,
 one=ADD what-INDEF=PRT N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD HPL-eat.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 b-ik'-ul ...
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'saying that they will also eat no matter what' (lit. 'whatever it might be')
- (119) hešt'i deč-li b-uč:-an-t-a-l ci-k'al=č'u
 these drinking-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-PTCP-PL-OBL-ERG what-INDEF=PRT
 žaⁿh-dex, iš-t:-a-l ce b-irq'-u=ja? ci-k'al=č'u
 good-NMLZ this-PL-OBL-ERG what N-do.IPFV-PRS=Q what-INDEF=PRT
 a-b-irq'-u
 NEG-N-do.IPFV-PRS
 'The ones who are drinking anything good, what do they do? They do not do anything (good).'

Other negative indefinite pronouns are *caʔarra* ‘no one’ and *cajnara* ‘never, not once’ (*ca-jna=ra* one-TIME=ADD). The first pronoun consists of (*ca-ʔar=ra* one-?=ADD) and seems to be related the focus-sensitive particle *arrah* ‘at least’ (§9.4.5)

- (120) *caʔarra* *k:uʃ* \emptyset -*iχ*-*ub-il* *ak:i*
 no.one hungry M-be.PFV-PRET-REF COP.NEG-HAB.PST
 ‘No one was hungry.’

4.7 Universal indefinites and other quantifiers

Universal indefinites are normally not formed from interrogative pronouns, but by means of the quantifier *har* ‘every’ (or *liil* ‘all’) plus a following noun:

- *har admi* ‘everyone’ (every man)
- *har/li<d>il cikʔal* ‘everything’
- *har/liil mus:a/musne* ‘everywhere’ (lit. every place/all places)
- *har zamana* ‘always’ (lit. every time)

Other quantifiers are *suk:il*, *liil* ‘all, whole, complete’, *har*, *haril*, *harki*, *harkil* ‘every’, *b-aqil*, *ʔaʔbra*, *ʔaʔbra-b-al* ‘much, many’, and *kam* ‘little, few’. The quantifiers treated in this section have most morphosyntactic properties that adjectives have and, as adjectives, normally occur before the noun when they function as nominal modifiers. But just like adjectives and some other nominal modifiers they can also follow the noun under certain circumstances. See §21.1.3 for quantifier floating.

The quantifiers *suk:il* and *liil* can both be used as attributes and they can be nominalized. When they are used as attributes of nouns in the plural they mean ‘all’; with singular nouns they translate as ‘whole, complete’. The quantifier *liil* has a gender/number agreement slot and follows the agreement rules for adjectives and other nominal modifiers, i.e. agreement with the head noun.

- (121) a. *liil rurs-be* ‘all girls’ vs. *li<r>il rurs:i* ‘the whole girl’
 b. *suk:il qulbe* ‘all houses’ vs. *suk:il qal* ‘the complete house’
- (122) *suk:il d-utʔ-ib* *ca daʔle*
 all NPL-divide-PRET one as
 ‘He divided all (the bread) like one (i.e. everyone got the same amount).’
- (123) *di-la* *li<d>il daluj-te*
 1SG-GEN all<NPL> song-PL
 ‘all my songs’

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From the quantifiers listed above, *har* can only be used attributively. All other quantifiers can also be nominalized. The head noun is in the singular, but mass nouns that trigger plural agreement are also possible if an interpretation referring to a specific quantity is available.

- (124) liil χalq' b-ibš:-ib ca-b har š:al
 all<HPL> people HPL-escape-PRET COP-HPL every side
 'All people escaped in every direction.'
- (125) "t'ult' s-aq:-a," b-ik'-ul "haril-li-c:e-rka!"
 bread HITHER-CARRY-IMP.SG HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB every-OBL-IN-ABL
 "Bring bread from everyone!" they said.'
- (126) het harkil-la q:up-re či-d-ič:-ib-le čar
 that every-GEN sack-PL SPR-NPL-give.PFV-PRET-CVB back
 ha-r-iχ-ub=da
 UP-F-become.PFV-PRET=1
 'I (fem.) gave everyone's sack back and came back.'

The quantifiers *b-aqil*, *ʔa`bra*, *ʔa`bra-b-al* 'much, many' also show gender/number agreement with the head noun in case there is any. Otherwise they express the gender and number of the item they are referring to.

- (127) d-aqil ʔaj-li-c:e w-ič-ib ca-w
 NPL-much word-OBL-IN M-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-M
 'He took part in many arguments.' (i.e. he had many problems)
- (128) ʔa`bra ʔut'-e d-irχ^w-ar
 much edible.roots-PL NPL-become.IPFV-PRS
 'There are many edible roots.'

The quantifier *kam* 'little, few, less' can modify nouns, it can be nominalized (by adding the cross-categorical suffix *-ce*; plural *-te*) and it occurs in compound verbs with the meaning 'decrease, diminish, become less' (129).

- (129) q:almaq:ar-te kam d-irχ-ul ak:u
 scandal-PL little NPL-be.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
 'The scandals (i.e. fights) did not diminish.'

5 Adjectives

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (6) | human characteristics | |
| | <i>razi</i> 'happy' | <i>du</i> ^ʔ 'wild, unrestricted' |
| | <i>ba</i> ^h 'crazy' | <i>q</i> ^ʔ <i>ir</i> ^ʔ <i>ir</i> 'greedy' |
| | <i>basrak</i> 'greedy' | <i>ʔa</i> ^ʔ <i>si</i> 'angry' |
| | <i>du</i> ^χ <i>u</i> 'clever' | <i>ɛaj adal</i> ^χ <i>an</i> 'mute' |
| | <i>tali</i> ^h <i>či</i> - <i>b</i> 'lucky, happy' | <i>dawla</i> ^{či} - <i>b</i> 'rich' |
| | <i>pašman</i> 'sad' | <i>tašmiš</i> 'sad' |
| | <i>sark</i> 'open-hearted' | |
| (7) | speed | |
| | <i>bahla</i> 'slow, quiet' | <i>halak</i> 'fast' |
| (8) | difficulty | |
| | <i>q:ihin</i> 'difficult' | <i>ra</i> ^h <i>ha</i> ^t 'easy' |
| (9) | similarity | |
| | <i>miši</i> 'similar' | <i>dik</i> ^ʔ <i>ar</i> 'separate, different' |
| (10) | quantification | |
| | <i>har</i> 'every' | <i>li</i> < <i>b</i> > <i>il</i> 'all' |
| | <i>cara</i> 'other' | <i>ʔa</i> ^ʔ <i>bra</i> 'much, many' |
| | <i>kam</i> 'little, few' | <i>imc</i> ^ʔ <i>a</i> 'additional, superfluous' |
| | <i>b-aq</i> 'much, many' | |
| (11) | position | |
| | <i>guq</i> 'low' | <i>x:ar</i> 'low' |
| | <i>hek</i> 'near' | <i>qar</i> 'upper' |
| | <i>haraq</i> 'far' | |
| (12) | other | |
| | <i>busan</i> 'rainy' | <i>urra</i> 'foreign' |

A few underived adjectives have agreement markers as can be seen from the examples above. In addition, all derived adjectives containing the essive case plus *-il*, *-či-b* and *-b-azi-b* and all constructions with *b-ah* (§5.3) also agree. Adjectives agree with the head noun in gender and number (13), (27a), and (35). More information on gender/number agreement rules is provided in §20.2.

- (13) *či*-*r*-*ix*-*ub* *ca*-*b* *halak*-*le* *ca* *b-uqen* *q*^ʔ*a*^ʔ*li*
 SPR-ABL-take.off.PFV-PRET COP-N fast-ADVZ one N-long branch
 'He immediately broke one long branch (off a tree).'

Adjectives can be modified by adverbs, most commonly by degree adverbs that precede the adjectives, for example *c*^ʔ*aq*^ʔ*le* (14), *ha*^ʔ*q*^ʔ*le* 'very', *arindan* 'too, too much' (15), *b-aq* 'much', *bah* 'most' (39), *χ*^w*alle* 'largely', *q*^w*ila*, *bara*, *kamle* 'little, few, a bit' (16).

- (14) *c*^ʔ*aq*^ʔ-*le* *χ*^w*al*-*le* *ʔa*^h *∅*-*iχ*-*ub* *ca*-*w*
 very-ADVZ big-ADVZ good M-be.PFV-PRET COP-M
 'He was very, very good.'

- (15) *het:i hinc-be arindan durqa-te ca<d>i*
 those apple-PL too expensive-DD.PL COP<NPL>
 ‘The apples are too expensive.’
- (16) *di-la q^wila b-uqen k:urt:i=de*
 1SG-GEN a.little N-long dress=PST
 ‘My shirt was a bit long.’

There is no derivational means of forming negative adjectives. Only participles used like adjectives can have a negative variant if the verbal negation prefix *a-* is added, e.g. *a-b-uc-an* (NEG-N-work-PTCP) ‘inoperative, spoiled, not working’. Otherwise negation is expressed on the verb that heads the clause containing the adjective (see, e.g. §22.2 on copula clauses).

Adjectives usually precede the head noun, but the reverse order is also possible. Modifying adverbs, in turn, precede the adjective. §21.1.3 provides information about constituent order in the noun phrase.

5.2 Adjectives and the cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* and *-il*

As is characteristic for Dargwa varieties, adjectives occur in the form of bare roots when they are used as attributes to nominals (13), (17). Many but not all of the adjectives in (1–12) belong to the class of adjectival roots. Some of these adjectives are also used in compounding, especially for the formation of compound verbs (§12.2.3), e.g. *aq b-ik^w-ij* ‘increase, enlarge, elevate, rise’ (high N-aux.IPFV-INF).

- (17) *wahi admi uż-ib ca-w a-b-iχ^w-ar*
 evil person be-PRET COP-M NEG-N-be.PFV-PRS
 ‘Probably he was a bad person.’

The adjectival roots cannot be used substantively or predicatively. They must take the suffix *-ce* and can then fulfill all three functions: attribution (18), predication (15), (19) and reference (20). In the plural, *-ce* is replaced by *-te* (20).

- (18) *wahi-ce x:un b-irχ-i niš:a-la*
 bad-DD.SG way N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-GEN
 ‘We had a bad road.’ (or ‘There was a bad road in our (area).’)
- (19) *χabac:i dik’ar wahi-ce ak^w-i*
 Khabaci too bad-DD.SG COP.NEG-HAB.PST
 ‘Khabaci (= personal name) was also not bad.’
- (20) *c’il wahi-te a-d-arq’-ij da^w?le ...*
 then evil-DD.PL NEG-NPL-do.PFV-INF as
 ‘then like in order not to do bad (things) ...’

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When occurring in the canonical position before the head noun, adjectival roots and adjectives with the suffix *-ce* do not differ in their morphosyntactic or semantic properties. For example, both types of adjectives can modify coordinated noun phrases (21). This behavior differentiates Sanzhi Dargwa from other Dargwa varieties such as Tanti Dargwa or Standard (Akusha) Dargwa, for which syntactic differences between adjectival roots and the so-called “long” adjectives have been attested (van den Berg 2001: 26, Abdullaev et al. 2014: 207–208, Lander 2014).

- (21) Sanijat-la k:alas-le-b ?a^h(-te) [dur^h-ne=ra rurs-be=ra] χe-b
Sanijat-GEN class-LOC-HPL good-DD.PL boy-PL=ADD girl-PL=ADD exist.DOWN-HPL
‘In Sanijat’s class there are good [boys and girls].’ (E)

When nominalized, case suffixes are directly added to *-ce* if the nominalized adjective occurs in the singular (22). In the plural, the suffix *-t-a* (instead of *-t-e*) is used when case suffixes follow.

- (22) nik’a-ce-li-j darman luk:-unne=w?
small-DD.SG-OBL-DAT medicine give.IPFV-ICVB=Q
‘Does he give medicine to the little one?’

The suffix *-ce* attaches not only to adjectival roots, but also to other parts of speech such as inflected nouns or verbs. Thus, its use is not restricted to adjectives, but it applies across a range of lexical categories. Generally speaking, it forms definite descriptions that function as referential attributes, and syntactically behave like nominals. A detailed description of the functions of *-ce* is given in §9.6.1.

Apart from the suffix *-ce* Sanzhi has another suffix *-il* for the formation of referential attributes that have similar morphosyntactic properties like items with *-ce*, but its application is far more restricted. Only two quantitative adjectives need the suffix *-il* in order to be used not only attributively, but also substantively or predicatively: *har-il* ‘every’ and *b-aq-il* ‘much, many’. Furthermore, it is arguably a part of the quantifier *liil* ‘all’, and when added to the preterite participle of the verb ?- ‘say’, the resulting verb form is used as a marker for ordinal numerals (§6.2), which are also adjectival in nature. More information on *-il* can be found in §9.6.2.

5.3 Formation of adjectival attributes

Sanzhi does not have very productive means of forming new adjectives, but there are a few suffixes that take nouns as base and derive adjectives. Other ways of extending the lexicon is by means of genitive attributes and a special construction with the noun ‘owner’ (see below). Furthermore, participles are used and nowadays Russian adjectives also occur occasionally.

Sanzhi has a number of adjectives that are derived from nouns denoting body parts and personal qualities. These adjectives express the possession of this body part. The base noun is marked for plural and then the suffix *-ar* is added whereby the final vowel of the

plural suffix undergoes deletion (23). This suffix might be a cognate of the participle suffix of the copula *-ar* (§16.1). The adjectives form the plural by mean of the most common plural suffix *-te*. Two examples are provided in (24a) and (24b).

- (23) a. *viz-b-ar* ‘hairy’ < *vizbe* ‘hairs’
 b. *qi-m-ar* ‘horned’ < *qime* ‘horns’
 c. *supen-t-ar* ‘whiskered, mustached’ < *supente* ‘mustache’
 d. *la^op:-ar* ‘big-eared, having ears’ < *la^op:e* ‘ears’
 e. *cul-b-ar* ‘having (big) teeth’ < *culbe* ‘teeth’
 f. *ul-b-ar* ‘having big eyes’ < *ulbe* ‘eyes’
 g. *k^oult^o-n-ar* ‘pregnant’ < *k^oult^one* ‘bellies’
 h. *piš-n-ar* ‘naughty boy, scamp’ < *pišne* ‘habits, tricks’
 i. *ʔa^omul-t-ar* ‘talented’ < *ʔa^omulte* ‘skills, talents’
- (24) a. het k:a^ota viz-b-ar ca-b
 that cat hair-PL-ADJVZ COP-N
 ‘The cat is hairy.’ (E)
 b. viz-b-ar-te k:a^ot-ne
 hair-PL-ADJVZ-PL cat-PL
 ‘hairy cats’ (E)

There are a few adjectives involving compounding with numerals and mostly plural nouns and the suffix *-(a)n*. As with the adjectives given in (25), the nouns occur in the plural. It might be the case that this suffix is a cognate of the modal/future participle *-an* (§18.1.2.2), the locative participle *-an* (§18.1.2.4) and/or the suffix *-an* that is used for the derivation of terms denoting inhabitants of particular villages and other places (§10).

- (25) a. *avmuzan* ‘quadratic’ < *av^w* ‘four’ + *muza-n* corner-ADJVZ
 b. *ʔa^obmuzan* ‘triangular’ < *ʔa^ob* ‘three’ + *muza-n* corner-ADJVZ
 c. *ʔa^obkumran* ‘three-layered’ < *ʔa^ob* ‘three’ + *kam-r-an* layer-PL-ADJVZ
 d. *ʔa^obdus:an* ‘three-year’ < *ʔa^ob* ‘three’ + *dus:-an* year-PL-ADJVZ

Another type of derived adjectival attributes can be formed from adjectives denoting relational qualities. To the base adjectives the suffix *-GM-azi-GM* is added and the resulting adjectives denote an extreme quality. As can be seen in (26), the base can already be a derived adjective. The resulting adjectives occur in attributive, predicative and substantive function (27a–27d). In the predicative function the suffix *-ce* (*-te*) is required (27b).

- (26) a. *b-aq-b-azi-b*, *b-aq-il-b-azi-b* ‘very much, very many’
 < *b-aq* ‘much, many’
 b. *kam-b-azi-b* ‘very few, very little’ < *kam* ‘few, little’

postposition *či* can be used with both native and loan words and it governs the LOC-series or, alternatively, the genitive case (§8.1.7). The adjectivizer *-či* can also not be equated with the Turkic loan suffix *-či* (§3.5.1), which derives agent nouns because nouns do not inflect for gender and the agent nouns do not need any further suffixes in order to be used in argument position or as predicates. Furthermore, in Standard Dargwa the form of the adjectivizer is *-če*, but the form of the borrowed nominalizer is *-či* throughout all Dagestanian languages.

Nouns denoting materials and other properties or adverbs and nouns with temporal semantics can be inflected for the genitive and then yield the meaning of relational adjectives (31) (see also §3.4.1.3 for more examples).

- (31) *murhe-la* ‘golden’ *ižal-la* ‘today’s’
urcu-la ‘wooden’ *haniša-la* ‘summer’ (adjective)
deš:a-la ‘ancient’ < *deš:a* ‘antiquity, old times’
ʔaʔb-bac-la ‘three-month’ < *ʔaʔb* ‘three’ + *bac-la* ‘month’s’

It is possible to express attribution with a possessive construction consisting of a noun in the genitive denoting the possessed and the noun *b-ah* ‘owner’.¹ This construction represents a standard genitive phrase. The noun agrees with the head noun in gender and number. These constructions can occur as predicates (33) and as attributes (34).

- (32) a. *mucʔur-ra w-ah* ‘bearded’ (PL *mucʔur-ra b-ah-inte*)
 b. *čʔimi-la b-ah* ‘having a tail’
 c. *abrazovanie-la w-ah* ‘educated’ (from Russian *obrazovanie* ‘education’)
- (33) *umcʔ-un ca-b ča ca-w=el ʔaʔjb-la w-ah*
 search.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL who COP-M=INDQ guilt-GEN M-owner
hel-t-a-c:e-rka
 that-PL-OBL-IN-ABL
 ‘They are searching for who among them is guilty.’
- (34) *er w-ikʔ-ul ca-w. ca ul-la b-ah šajtʔan*
 look M-look.at.IPFV-ICVB COP-M one eye-GEN N-owner devil
ka-b-is:-un-ne
 DOWN-N-sleep.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘He is looking around. The devil with one eye is asleep.’

5.4 Comparative constructions with adjectives

Comparative constructions can express (i) equality or similarity, (ii) comparative, and (iii) superlative. Similarity or equality can be expressed by means of the adverbs *daʔle* ‘like, as’ (35), *mišil* ‘similar’ or the enclitic *=ɣuna* (36) as well as through manner adverbs with the meaning ‘like this, like that’ (37).

¹This is one of the very few nouns that has a gender marker. See §3.1 for more information.

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- (35) heχ x:unul bulan r-uqna-ce daʔle či-r-ig-ul ca-r
 DEM.DOWN woman even F-old-DD.SG as SPR-F-see.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘There is even a woman who looks old.’
- (36) hež-i-la x:unul, di-la pikri haʔsible, χ^we wuna wahi-ce ca-r
 this-OBL-GEN woman 1SG-GEN thought following dog EQ bad-DD.SG COP-F
 ‘His wife, in my mind, is bad like a dog.’
- (37) hel-it:e ʔaʰ juldaš:-e b-už-ib-te ca-b il-ti
 that-ADVZ good friend-PL HPL-be-PRET-DD.PL COP-HPL that-PL
 ‘They were such good friends.’

Adjectives do not have a special comparative form. Instead, the standard of comparison takes the LOC-ablative suffix (38).

- (38) at:a-ja-r χ:ula-te=ra b-irχ-i
 father-LOC-ABL big-DD.PL=ADD HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘There were (brothers) older than grandfather.’ (lit. father)

The superlative is formed by means of the degree adverb *bah* ‘most’ (emphatic variant *bahlalla*) that occurs before the adjective (39) (for other degree adverbs see §5.1 and §7.4).

- (39) bah χ:ula-ce w-irχ-i=w χat:aj ču-la
 most big-DD.SG M-be.IPFV-HAB.PST=Q grandfather REFL.PL-GEN
 uc:-b-a-c:e-r
 brother-PL-OBL-IN-ABL
 ‘Was (our) grandfather the oldest among his brothers?’

More details and additional examples of comparative constructions can be found in §30.1.

6 Numerals

Sanzhi has (i) cardinal numerals (§6.1), (ii) ordinal numerals (§6.2), (iii) distributive numerals (§6.3), (iv) group numerals (§6.4), (v) multiplicative numerals (§6.5), and (vi) collective numerals (§6.6).

Most of the numerals have the morphosyntactic properties of adjectives or occasionally adverbs. Generally, numerals can be used as nominal modifiers with a following noun in the singular. For verbal agreement the noun phrase is nevertheless treated as plural §21.1.3. In this chapter, I also treat some other numeral expressions and basic ways of counting (§6.7). Quantifiers such as ‘all’ are treated in §4.7 together with indefinite pronouns.

6.1 Cardinal numerals

The cardinal numerals 1–101 are given in Table 6.1. All numerals except for *ca* ‘one’ are morphologically complex, containing a root and a derivational suffix. The numerals 2 to 10, 20, as well as 100 are formed by means of the suffix *-al* (allomorph *-jal* after vowels). The decimal numerals 10 and 30–90 are built by adding the suffix *-cʰal* to the roots. When decimals and the numerals 1–9 are combined, both the decimals and the numerals 1–9 take suffixes. On the decimals *-al* is replaced by *-nu/-anu*, e.g. *wecʰ-al* ‘10’ and *wecʰ-nu*, *wecʰ-cʰal* ‘70’ and *wecʰ-cʰ-anu*. To the numerals 1–9 the suffix *-ra* is added.

The cardinal numerals for hundreds and thousands are provided in Table 6.2. Complex numerals containing hundreds need the derivational suffix *-lim* added to *darsʰ* ‘1000’. For the higher cardinal numerals (millions, billions, etc.) the Russian terms are used.

Cardinal numerals are used in counting and as modifiers of nouns in noun phrases. In the latter function the noun appears in the singular form, but it controls plural agreement on the verb (3), (4). Examples of cardinal numerals in use are (1–4).

- (1) *ʋajal dus w-iχ-ub-le, ...*
twenty year M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB
‘when (I) was 20 years old, ...’
- (2) *arc luk:adi du-l k:aʔal azir ak:u=n, k:aʔ-cʰal*
money give.IPFV-COND.1 1SG-ERG eight thousand COP.NEG=PRT eight-TEN
azir
thousand
‘I would have given him money, not just 8,000, but 80,000.’

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Table 6.1: Cardinal numerals 1–101

1	<i>ca</i>	11	<i>wec'-nu ca-ra</i>	21	<i>ba-nu ca-ra</i>
2	<i>k'wel (k'wi-)</i>	12	<i>wec'-nu k'wi-ra</i>	22	<i>ba-nu k'wi-ra</i>
3	<i>ʔaʔb-al</i>	13	<i>wec'-nu ʔaʔb-ra</i>	23	<i>ba-nu ʔaʔb-ra</i>
4	<i>aʙ^w-al</i>	14	<i>wec'-nu aʙ^w-ra</i>	24	<i>ba-nu ʔaʔb-ra</i>
5	<i>xu-jal</i>	15	<i>wec'-nu xu-ra</i>	25	<i>ba-nu xu-ra</i>
6	<i>urek:-al</i>	16	<i>wec'-nu urek:-ra</i>	26	<i>ba-nu urek:-ra</i>
7	<i>wer-al</i>	17	<i>wec'-nu wer-ra</i>	27	<i>ba-nu wer-ra</i>
8	<i>k:aʔ-al</i>	18	<i>wec'-nu k:aʔ-ra</i>	28	<i>ba-nu k:aʔ-ra</i>
9	<i>urč'em-al</i>	19	<i>wec'-nu urč'em-ra</i>	29	<i>ba-nu urč'em-ra</i>
10	<i>wec'-al</i>	20	<i>ba-jal</i>		
30	<i>ʔaʔb-c'al</i>	31	<i>ʔaʔb-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
40	<i>aʙ^w-c'al</i>	41	<i>aʙ^w-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
50	<i>xu-c'al</i>	51	<i>xu-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
60	<i>urek-c'al</i>	61	<i>urek-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
70	<i>wer-c'al</i>	71	<i>wer-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
80	<i>k:aʔ-c'al</i>	81	<i>k:aʔ-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
90	<i>urč'em-c'al</i>	91	<i>urč'em-c'anu ca-ra</i>		
100	<i>darš:-al</i>	101	<i>darš-lim ca</i>		

Table 6.2: Cardinal numerals 100–20,000

100	<i>darš:-al</i>	101	<i>darš-lim ca</i>
200	<i>k'wi-darš</i>	201	<i>k'wi-darš-lim ca</i>
300	<i>ʔaʔb-darš</i>	301	<i>ʔaʔb-darš-lim ca</i>
400	<i>aʙ^w-darš</i>	401	<i>aʙ^w-darš-lim ca</i>
500	<i>xu-darš</i>	501	<i>xu-darš-lim ca</i>
600	<i>urek-darš</i>	601	<i>urek-darš-lim ca</i>
700	<i>wer-darš</i>	701	<i>wer-darš-lim ca</i>
800	<i>k:aʔ-darš</i>	801	<i>k:aʔ-darš-lim ca</i>
900	<i>urč'em-darš</i>	901	<i>urč'em-darš-lim ca</i>
1,000	<i>azir</i>	2,000	<i>k'wel azir</i>
10,000	<i>wec'al azir</i>	20,000	<i>ba-jal azir</i>
123	<i>darš-lim ba-nu ʔaʔb-ra</i>		
1,234	<i>azir-lim k'wi-darš-lim ʔaʔb-c'anu aʙ^w-ra</i>		

- (3) durh-ne le-b k:aʔal, xujal rurs:i cai, ʔaʕbal durhuʕ
 boy-PL exist-HPL eight five girl COP<HPL> three boy
 ‘I have 8 children (lit. there are 8), five daughters and three sons.’
- (4) du-l urč'em-c'anu urč'em-ra juldaš b-arč-ib=da
 1SG-ERG nine-TEN nine-NUM friend HPL-find.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I found 99 friends.’

Cardinal numerals can be nominalized. Case endings are directly added to numerals ending with a consonant. With numerals ending in a vowel an oblique marker *-l* sometimes precedes the case suffixes; see Table 6.3. Examples are given in (5–6).

Table 6.3: Inflectional paradigms of selected cardinal numerals

	‘1’	‘2’	‘24’
absolutive	<i>ca</i>	<i>k'wel</i>	<i>vanu ab^wra</i>
ergative	<i>ca-(l)-li</i>	<i>k'wel-li</i>	<i>vanu ab^wra-(l)-li</i>
genitive	<i>ca-(l)-la</i>	<i>k'wel-la</i>	<i>vanu ab^wra-l-la</i>
dative	<i>ca-(l)-li-j</i>	<i>k'wel-li-j</i>	<i>vanu ab^wra-l-li-j</i>
IN-lative	<i>ca-l-li-c:e</i>	<i>k'wel-li-c:e</i>	<i>vanu ab^wra-li-c:e</i>
	‘100’	‘1,000’	
absolutive	<i>d'arš:al</i>	<i>'azir</i>	
ergative	<i>d'arš:al-li</i>	<i>'azir-li</i>	
genitive	<i>d'arš:al-la</i>	<i>'azir-la</i>	
dative	<i>d'arš:al-li-j</i>	<i>'azir-li-j</i>	
IN-lative	<i>d'arš:al-li-c:e</i>	<i>'azir-li-c:e</i>	

- (5) urek-darš-li-j wahi-l ak:u
 six-hundred-OBL-DAT bad-ADVZ COP.NEG
 ‘(To buy flour) for 600 (rubles per sack) is not bad.’
- (6) ax^w-darš q:uruš čar d-arq'-ib azar-li-c:e-r
 four-hundred ruble back NPL-do.PFV-PRET thousand-OBL-IN-ABL
 ‘From the 1,000 rubles he returned 400.’

6.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-?ib-il* (allomorph *-?ubil* with the stem of the numeral ‘four’, which contains a labialized consonant) or its short variant *-?ib*. The first part of this suffix originates from the root of the verb ‘say’, which is *-?* plus the preterite suffix *-ib*. The second part *-il* in the long variant is the cross-categorical

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suffix *-il*, §9.6.2). Similar ways of forming ordinal numerals have been reported for other Dagestanian languages (e.g. Lezgian, see Haspelmath 1993: 233; Akusha Dargwa, see van den Berg 2001: 30 fn.10; Hinuq, see Forker 2013a: 401–403).

Table 6.4: Ordinal numerals

1st	<i>ca-ʔibil</i>	11th	<i>wec'nu cara-ʔibil</i>
2nd	<i>k'wi-ʔibil</i>	20nd	<i>ʁa-ʔibil</i>
3rd	<i>ʔa^b-ʔibil</i>	30th	<i>ʔa^b-c'al-ʔibil</i>
4th	<i>aʁ-ʔubil</i>	41st	<i>aʁ^w-c'anu ca-ra-ʔibil</i>
5th	<i>xu-ʔibil</i>	52nd	<i>xu-c'anu k'wi-ra-ʔibil</i>
6th	<i>urek-ʔibil</i>	100th	<i>darʃal-ʔibil</i>
7th	<i>wer-ʔibil</i>	1,000th	<i>azir-ʔibil</i>
8th	<i>kaʔ-ʔibil</i>		
9th	<i>urč'em-ʔibil</i>		
10th	<i>wec'-ʔibil</i>	10,000th	<i>wec'al azir-ʔibil</i>
123rd	<i>darʃlim ʁanu ʔa^bbra-ʔibil</i>		
1,234th	<i>azir-lim k'wi-darʃ-lim ʔa^b-c'anu aʁ^w-ra-ʔibil</i>		

Ordinal numerals are inflected just like any other nominal, e.g. *caʔibil* 'first', ergative *caʔibil-li*, genitive *caʔibil-la*, dative *caʔibil-li-j*, IN-lative *caʔibil-li-c:e*, and so on.

- (7) hešt:u pereselica d-iχ-ub=da urek-c'anu kaʔ-ra-ʔib
 here move 1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET=1 six-TEN eight-NUM-ORD
 dus:i-c:e-d
 year.OBL-IN-1/2PL
 'We moved here in (19)68.'
- (8) "Uc'ari aʁ-ʔubil-li-c:e r-aš!" b-ik'-ul
 Icari four-ORD-OBL-IN F-go.IPFV.IMP HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'They (were) saying, "Go to Icari to grade four!"'
- (9) či-sa-Ø-jʁ-ib wec'-nu ca-ra-ʔibil meχ-li-š:u
 SPR-HITHER-M-come.PFV-PRET ten-NUM one-NUM-ORD iron-OBL-AD
 'He came to the 11th lock.'

Ordinal numerals can also form the plural. In this case, the final *-il* part is omitted because this suffix is not compatible with plural referents (§9.6.2). Example of plural ordinal numerals are *ca-ʔib-te* 'the first ones', *k'wi-ʔib-te* 'the second ones', *ʔa^b-ʔib* 'the third ones', etc. The oblique plural is formed according to the regular pattern of plural nominals with the suffix *-te*, i.e., by using *-ta*, e.g. the ergative form of 'the first ones' is *ca-ʔib-t-a-l*.

6.3 Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by reduplicating the root. Optionally the suffix *-l(e)* follows the reduplicated numeral; see Table 6.5. The suffix *-l(e)* seems to be the adverbializer (cf. §9.6.3). Note that with distributive numerals the modified noun bears overt plural marking (11).

Table 6.5: Distributive numerals

<i>ca-ca(l)</i>	‘one each’
<i>k^wi-k^wi(l)</i>	‘two each’
<i>ʔa^sb-ʔa^sb(le)</i>	‘three each’
<i>ab^w-ab^w(le)</i>	‘four each’
<i>xu-xu(l)</i>	‘five each’

- (10) h-as:-ib ʔa^sbal qa^rr haril-li-j ca-ca
 UP-take.PFV-PRET three pear every-OBL-DAT one-one
 ‘(He) took three pears, one each for everyone.’
- (11) har durɦu^ʕ-la k^wi-k^wi durɦ-ne=ra le-b
 every boy-GEN two-two boy-PL=ADD exist-HPL
 ‘Every son also has two sons each.’
- (12) xu-xu-l ka-d-ix:-a!
 five-five-ADVZ DOWN-NPL-put.PFV-IMP
 ‘Put them down five each!’ (E)

6.4 Group numerals

Group numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-GM-a* to the root; see Table 6.6. The gender marker shows only plural agreement (*-b* or *-d*). The suffix can also be added to the quantifier *b-aq* ‘many, much’.

Group numerals denote groups or pairs of items. In my corpus, only the group numeral of *ca* ‘one’ is used with human plural agreement (*ca-b-a*) and its meaning is very similar to the indefinite pronoun ‘some(one), somebody’. The human plural form *ca-b-a* is also used as reciprocal pronoun (see §4.4 for the case paradigm and §29.2 for one example). All other group numerals carry the neuter plural suffix *-d* (13–15). Group numerals can be attributes of nouns, which normally occur in the plural (13). Group numerals can be inflected by adding case suffixes to the suffix *-GM-a* (16). They can also take the attributive plural suffix *-te* (oblique form *-t-a-*) as in the same example.

- (13) wec^ʔ-d-a ʔa^ʕčk:a-be=ra sa-d-uc-ib
 ten-NPL-GROUP glass-PL=ADD ANTE-NPL-keep.PFV-PRET
 ‘(The doctor) tried (with me) ten pairs of glasses.’

Table 6.6: Some group numerals

1	<i>ca-b-a, ca-d-a</i>
2	<i>k'wi-b-a, k'wi-d-a</i>
3	<i>ʔa^hb-d-a</i>
4	<i>aβ^w-d-a</i>
5	<i>xu-d-a</i>
10	<i>wec'-d-a</i>
20	<i>βa-d-a</i>
1000	<i>azir-d-a</i>

- (14) u čī-r-až-ib-la, wer-d-a hak'-ub-le pikru-me
 2SG SPR-F-see.PFV-PRET-POST seven-NPL-GROUP appear.PFV-PRET-CVB thought-PL
 le-d
 exist-NPL
 'After I saw you, many (lit. seven groups of) thoughts arose.'
- (15) kax-ub-le ca-b-a-te ca-b-a-te
 kill.PFV-PRET-CVB one-HPL-GROUP-DD.PL one-HPL-GROUP-DD.PL
 b-a^hq-ib-le t'ut'u.q'a't' b-arq'-ib-le hel-t:i
 HPL-wound.PFV-PRET-CVB drive.away HPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB that-PL
 'Killing some, wounding others, he drove them away.'
- (16) ca-b-a-l q'ig-me, ca-d-a-l beret-me
 one-HPL-GROUP-ERG pitchfork-PL one-NPL-GROUP-ERG ax-PL
 cara-t-a-l k:alk-me k^wi sa-b-eβ-ib-il ha^hsible
 other-PL-OBL-ERG tree-PL in.the.hands HITHER-N-go.PFV-PRET-REF according.to
 ca-l-li b-alli b-erq:-ib ca-b unc-a-la duk'
 one-OBL-ERG N-together N-carry.PFV-PRET COP-N OX-OBL-GEN yoke
 'Some (people) took pitchforks, some axes, whatever was at hand, one carried
 with himself the yoke of an ox.'

6.5 Multiplicative numerals

Multiplicative numerals are formed by means of the suffix *-na* (*-jna* after vowels) that is added to the root; see Table 6.7 and (17). This suffix can also be added to the interrogative pronoun *čum* 'how much, how many' plus the suffix *-ra*, and then leads to the indefinite pronoun 'how often ever, many times' (§4.5.2.6).

- (17) ʔa^hj-na ag-ur-ce=de, ij dam a-ag-ur caj-na
 three-TIME go.PFV-PRET-DD.SG=PST this 1SG.DAT NEG-go.PFV-PRET one-TIME
 arrah
 at.least
 'He went three times (to the Hajj), to me this happened not even once.'

Table 6.7: Some multiplicative numerals

<i>ca-jna</i>	‘once’
<i>k’wi-jna</i>	‘twice’
<i>ʒa^ʕ-jna</i>	‘three times’
<i>aβ^w-na</i>	‘four times’
<i>wec’-na</i>	‘ten times’
<i>βa-jna</i>	‘20 times’
<i>darš-na</i>	‘100 times’
<i>azir-na</i>	‘1,000 times’

From the multiplicative numerals expressions referring to time points can be formed by means of various derivational and inflectional suffixes. The words in (18) all mean ‘(at) the second time’.¹ Examples from texts are presented in (19–20).

- (18) *k’wi-jna-l* *k’wi-jna-lla*
k’wi-jna-l-li *k’wi-jna-lla-li-j*
k’wi-jna-le
- (19) *k’wi-jna t:ura w-erč-ib* *il niš:a-la qili-rka*
two-TIME outside M-lead.PFV-PRET that 1PL-GEN home-ABL
ʒa^ʕ-na-la-li-j *t:ura w-erč-ib*
three-TIME-?-OBL-DAT outside M-lead.PFV-PRET
‘Two times (he) send him away, our (guy), out of the room, the third time (he) sent him away.’
- (20) *k’wi-jna-le* *ħa^ʕzit:aj=de*, “*w-alli ka-Ø-jž-e*,” *Ø-ik’w-ar*,
two-TIME-LOC Hazhittaj=PST M-together DOWN-M-remain-IMP M-say.IPFV-PRS
“*hež-i-c:ella w-alli!*”
this-OBL-COMIT M-together
‘The second time there was Hazhittaj saying, “Sit together, with him together (in the back of the car)!”’

6.6 Collective numerals

Collective numerals are formed by adding the additive enclitic =*ra* to the cardinal numerals; see (21). They can function as attributes of nouns (22) or they can be nominalized and then occur on their own (23) or be modified by demonstrative pronouns (24).

¹In (18), although the suffix *-lla* in two of the given words strongly resembles the genitive, it is, at least synchronically, distinct from the case marker, since it is possible to add the genitive to an adverb with *-lla*, e.g. *k’wi-jna-lla-la* ‘of the second time’.

6 Numerals

- (21) *kʷel=ra* ‘both, all two’ *ʔaʷb-al=ra* ‘all three’
wecʷ-al=ra ‘all ten’ *darʃal=ra* ‘all 100’
azir=ra ‘all 1,000’
- (22) *heχ-ti* *ʔaʷbal=ra* *durɦu^ɕ-l* *aʷw-al=ra* *ʔaʷmal b-arqʷ-ib*
 DEM.DOWN-PL three=ADD boy-ERG four=ADD trick N-do.PFV-PRET
 ‘The (my) three children all played tricks on me (i.e.caused trouble).’
- (23) *wecʷal=ra* *ʔaʷɦ-le* *ha-b-iqʷ-un-te=de*
 ten=ADD good-ADVZ UP-HPL-bring.up-PRET-DD.PL=PST
 ‘All ten (children) were brought up well.’
- (24) *cʷil heba=ra* *na can b-ič-ib* *ca-b bazar-re-b*
 then then=ADD now meet HPL-occur.PFV-PRET COP-HPL market-LOC-HPL
Kubači-b il-ti kʷel=ra
 Kubachi-HPL that-PL two=ADD
 ‘Then these two also met on the market in Kubachi.’

6.7 Other numeral expressions and compounds involving numerals

Expressions for fractions are given in (25) and (26–27); *butʷa* translates as ‘piece, part’ into English. The word *b-abqʷi* ‘half’ agrees in gender and number with its head noun if it occurs in attributive function (26), (27).

- (25) *b-abqʷi* ‘(one) half’ *aʷubil butʷa* ‘one fourth’
ʔaʷbibil butʷa ‘one third’ *aʷw-allyc:er ʔaʷbal (butʷa)* ‘three fourth’
- (26) *cʷil d-ax-ul* *d-ax-ul* *d-abqʷi x:un aq-ib*
 then NHPL-go.IPFV-ICVB NHPL-go.IPFV-ICVB NHPL-half way go.through.PFV-PRET
zamana, ...
 time
 ‘Then they went and went, and when they went half of the way, ...’
- (27) *ʔaʷbal=ra b-abqʷi dus ʔaʷrmija-c:e-w kelg-un*
 three=ADD N-half year army-IN-M remain.PFV-PRET
 ‘He spent three and a half years in the army.’

The Sanzhi terms for the school grades are formed by adding *-la* (*-lla* after vowels) to the root of the numerals 1–5 (with 5 being the best grade and 1 the worst): *calla* ‘one’, *kʷwilla* ‘two’, *ʔaʷbla* ‘three’, *aʷwla* ‘four’, *xulla* ‘five’ (28).

- (28) *ce b-ič-ib=e* *at?* *dam b-ič-ib xulla*
 what N-get.PFV-PRET=Q 2SG.DAT 1SG.DAT N-get.PFV-PRET five
 ‘What did you get (i.e.which grade)? I got a five.’ (E)

6.7 Other numeral expressions and compounds involving numerals

Other words that are derived from numerals are the terms *k'widarq'i* 'twins' and *ʔaʔb-darq'i* 'triplets' (from the numerals 'two' and 'three' and the verb *b-arq'-ij* 'do, make'). Then there are terms for traditional events and rituals that occur after the death of a person, namely,

- (29) *ʔaʔbil-la* 'three days' *aʔc'al-la* '40 days'
xuc'anu k'wira-la '52 days' *dus:i-la* 'one year'
- (30) *ʔaʔbilla-li-j=ra* arc luk:-an ca-d,
 three.days-OBL-DAT=ADD money give.IPFV-PTCP COP-NPL
aʔc'alla-li-j=ra arc luk:-un ca-d, *dus:i-la* aʔw'al
 forty.days-OBL-DAT=ADD money give.IPFV-PRET COP-NPL year.OBL-GEN four
zikru
dhikr

'After three days (people) give (alms), after 40 days, after one year, four dhikrs.'

Compound nouns and adjectives can contain numerals, e.g., *k'wi-dus:-an k'aʔa* 'two-year old bull', *ʔaʔb-daʔrɣ-la qul-be* (three-floor-GEN house-PL) 'three-floor houses' (see §3.6.3 and §5.3 for more examples).

Counting is exemplified in (31) and (32).

- (31) *k'wel-le ʔaʔbal či-ka-b-ix-ar* *b-irɣ-w-u* arg-u
 two-LOC three SPR-DOWN-N-throw.PFV-COND N-become.IPFV-PRS go.IPFV-PRS
xujal
 five
 'Two plus three equals five.' (lit. if you throw three onto two five happens)
- (32) *weral-li-c:e-r* *gu-r-h-as:-ar* *či-r-h-as:-ar* ca
 seven-OBL-IN-ABL SUB-ABL-UP-take.PFV-PRS SPR-ABL-UP-take.PFV-PRS one
 arg-u *urek:al*
 go.IPFV-PRS six
 'Seven minus one equals six.' (if you take away one from seven it goes six)

7 Adverbs

In this chapter, spatial §7.1, temporal §7.2, manner §7.3, and degree adverbs §7.4 are described as well as the productive formation of mostly manner adverbials by means of the suffix *-le* §7.5. Adverbs form a rather heterogeneous group in Sanzhi and only certain subclasses of spatial adverbs and manner adverbs have been derived by specialized adverbializing suffixes.

7.1 Spatial adverbs

7.1.1 Spatial adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

Several series of spatial adverbs can productively be derived from demonstrative pronouns. The major derivation pattern is the suffixation of *-t:u* to the stem of the pronouns (Table 7.1). The full list of the respective base pronouns is given in §4.2. The meanings of the spatial adverbs are plainly based on the meaning of the base pronouns, showing that their semantics is organized along the meaning components of demonstrative pronouns (§4.2.1, §4.2.2):

- proximity to deictic center (i.e. speech act participants)
- elevation in relation to deictic center
- visibility, aformentionedness, familiarity, etc.

As for proximity, there is a three way distinction (see the adverbs in the first three lines of Table 7.1). Elevation distinguishes three meanings, of which ‘above’ and ‘below’ are expressed by dedicated stems (see the last three lines in Table 7.1) whereas all remaining adverbs are used when the meaning ‘level’ is intended. The third meaning component is expressed via the distinction of the word-initial syllable (the three columns *i(C)-* vs. *he(C)-* vs. *hi(C)-* in Table 7.1). The adverbs of the type *he(C)t:u* given in the second column of the table are predominantly used when referring to the immediate geographical surroundings of the speaker (and addressee), when the conversation is about spatial reference points that have been mentioned before, are assumed to be known by the participants or are part of the personal sphere of the speaker (1), (2). In contrast, the *i(C)t:u* adverbs in the first column are commonly used when new spatial reference points are introduced or when talking about reference points whose location is unknown or irrelevant (3), (4). The adverbs of the *hi(C)t:u* type given in the third column occur only seldom in my corpus so that I am not able to make any generalizations about their meaning. Note also that

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there are two series of adverbs with the identical meaning, being formally differentiated only by the stem consonant (*x* vs. *k*). The adverbs containing *x* are far more frequently used than the adverbs with *k*, which might even represent code switching to another Dargwa dialect.

Table 7.1: Spatial adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

<i>i(C)t:u</i>	<i>he(C)t:u</i>	<i>hi(C)t:u</i>	translation
iš-t:u	heš-t:u	hiš-t:u	'here, close to the speaker'
il-t:u	hel-t:u	hil-t:u	'there, away from the speaker and/or close to the hearer'
i-t:u	he-t:u	hi-t:u	'there, further away, unspecific distance'
ik'-t:u	hek'-t:u	hik'-t:u	'here/there above the deictic center'
ix-t:u	hex-t:u	hix-t:u	'here/there above the deictic center'
iχ-t:u	heχ-t:u	hiχ-t:u	'here/there below the deictic center'

- (1) [talking about a gasoline station]
 ag-ur-re helt:u-rka, badra sala^ˈrk'a-la k-aq:-ib=da
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB there-ABL bucket fuel-GEN DOWN-carry-PRET=1
 'I went away from there carrying a bucket of fuel.'
- (2) [referring to a dog that is visible to the participants of the conversation]
 heχ-t:u-b χe-b=de χ^we
 DEM.DOWN-LOC-N exist.DOWN-N=PST dog
 'The dog was there.'
- (3) it:u=ra išt:u=ra lubuj mus:a r-at-iχ-ul ca-r
 there=ADD here=ADD any place F-send-come.PFV-ICVB COP-F
 'There, here (her husband) sends her everywhere.'
- (4) [referring to people depicted on cards]
 deč k^wi-d ak:^w-ar ča-k'al χe-w-ak:u
 drinking in.the.hands-NPL COP.NEG-PRS.3 who-INDEF exist.DOWN-M-COP.NEG
 iχ-t:u-w
 DEM.DOWN-LOC-M
 'There is nobody there without a drink in the hands.'

A second series of spatial adverbs denoting the source is derived by means of the suffix *-ka* (5) (Table 7.2). This suffix is probably a cognate of the second part of the complex ablative suffix *-r-ka* (§3.4). These adverbs can also have a temporal interpretation 'from time X on, after time X' in addition to the spatial meaning (6). As can be seen in the table, the adverbs in the first two lines have the same meaning because the base pronouns are synonyms.

Table 7.2: Spatial adverbs denoting the source

base meaning	<i>heC-ka</i>	<i>iC-ka</i>	<i>hiC-ka</i>	translation
close to the speaker	<i>hež-ka</i>	<i>iž-ka</i>	<i>hiž-ka</i>	‘from here’
close to the speaker	<i>hej-ka</i>	<i>ij-ka</i>	<i>hij-ka</i>	‘from here’
there, away from the speaker and/ or close to the hearer	<i>hel-ka</i>	<i>il-ka</i>	<i>hil-ka</i>	‘from there’
further away, unspecific distance	<i>het-ka</i>	<i>it-ka</i>	<i>hit-ka</i>	‘from there’
above the deictic center	<i>hek-ka</i>	<i>ik-ka</i>	<i>hik-ka</i>	‘from above’
below the deictic center	<i>heχ-ka</i>	<i>iχ-ka</i>	<i>hiχ-ka</i>	‘from below’

- (5) *kat=q'ar ka-r-ils:-a-di ij-ka=ra k:anc:up:e hej-ka=ra*
 down=MOD DOWN-F-lay.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 this-ABL=ADD ladder this-ABL=ADD
k:anc:up:e iχ-ka=ra
 ladder DEM.DOWN-ABL=ADD

‘As for lying, I lay, but (there are) stairs from here, stairs from here, and also from there.’ (The speaker complains that staying in the hospital is difficult for her because in order to go to the toilet she has to take the stairs)

- (6) *hej-ka ža°ħa°d=ra suk ∅-ič-ib ca-w q:ačar-la qal-sa-w*
 this-ABL Ahad=ADD meet M-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-M bandit-GEN house-ANTE-M
di-la durħu°=ra
 1SG-GEN boy=ADD

‘After this Ahad also met my son in front of the house of Kachar (lit. ‘bandit’)).’
 (Kachar is the nickname of a man)

Both series of adverbs can be inflected for the directional cases in the same way as nominals are inflected, but since the adverbs denoting source already express movement, they cannot take the essive case (Table 7.3). The ablative of the pronouns in this table can also express temporal meaning, for instance *helt:u-rka* (there-ABL) ‘then’.

Table 7.3: Inflectional paradigms of two spatial adverbs

	‘here’	‘from here’
essive	<i>hešt:u-b</i>	—
lative	<i>hešt:u</i>	<i>helka</i>
ablative	<i>hešt:u-r(ka)</i>	<i>helka-r(ka)</i>
directional	<i>hešt:u-b-a</i>	<i>helka-b-a</i>

A third series of spatial adverbs has the meaning ‘from X to X’. It is formed by means of the complex suffix *-k-it:u-b-a* (7). The suffix is a combination of the ablative *-ka* (shortened to *-k*), the locational suffix *-t:u* and the directional marker *-GM-a* (§3.4.2.8). The last

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suffix is, in principle, optional, although there are no examples without it in my corpus. According to Sanzhi speakers, the resulting complex adverbs are actually a short variant of combining the adverbs in Table 7.2 with the adverbs in Table 7.1, for example *hetka + het:uba > hetkit:uba*. However, the suffix as a whole can also be added to other nominal bases such as personal pronouns, common nouns or personal names if they are inflected for the LOC-ablative case first, such as *nuš:a-le-r-kit:u-b-a* (1PL-LOC-ABL-ADVZ-N-DIR) ‘from us further away’, *uškul-le-r-kit:u-b-a* (school-LOC-ABL-ADVZ-N-DIR) ‘from the school further away’. The series is also available from the other two pronominal stems *iC* and *hiC*, but in my corpus there are only examples of the adverbs from the *heC*-pronouns given in (7–8), (9), (14).

(7) *heC-kit:u-GM-a* (directional)

- a. *hež-kit:u-b-a* ‘from here (= place of speaker) to there’
- b. *hej-kit:u-b-a* ‘from here (= place of speaker) to there’
- c. *hel-kit:u-b-a* ‘from there (= place of the addressee) to there’
- d. *het-kit:u-b-a* ‘from there (= unspecific place) to there’
- e. *hek-kit:u-b-a* ‘from above to there’
- f. *heχ-kit:u-b-a* ‘from down to there’

(8) *heC-kit:u-rka* (ablative)

- a. *hež-kit:u-rka* ‘from here to there, past, by’
- b. *hej-kit:u-rka* ‘from here to there, past, by’
- c. *hel-kit:u-rka* ‘from there to there, past, by’
- d. *het-kit:u-rka* ‘from there to there, past, by’
- e. *hek-kit:u-rka* ‘from above to there, past, by’
- f. *heχ-kit:u-rka* ‘from down to there, past, by’

- (9) *niš:a-la durh-ne hejkit:u-b-a* Nižnekamsk-le
 1PL-GEN boy-PL from.here.to.there-HPL-DIR Nizhnekamensk-LOC
b-uq’-a^hn-ne, ...
 HPL-go-PTCP-PRS.3
 ‘if our sons go from here to there to Nizhnekamensk, ...’

Finally, there is a spatial adverb *itille* ‘further, to the side, sideways’ that seems to be the pronoun *it* inflected for the locational suffix *-le* (10).

- (10) *niš:a-la š:i-la itille-b mus:a te-b*
 1PL-GEN village-GEN further-N place exist-N
 ‘At that side of the village there is a place.’

7.1.2 Spatial adverbs related to postpositions

All spatial postpositions discussed in §8.1 can also be used adverbially without a dependent noun phrase (11). Some of them have not only spatial, but also temporal semantics. They can inflect for all spatial cases expressing direction/movement (essive, lative, ablativ, directional). A few examples are provided in (12), (13).

- (11) *hit:i* ‘after, behind’ *sar* ‘in front, before, in earlier times’
hila ‘behind, after’ *sala* ‘in front, before, forward’
gu ‘down, low, before’ *x:ar(i)* ‘to the bottom, down(wards)’
či ‘up, above’ *qari* ‘at/on the top’
b-i ‘inside’ *urk:a* ‘within, in the middle’
t:ura ‘outside’ *š:ule* ‘at side, to the side, next to, sidelong’
- (12) “u sala ka-b-iž-e,” bec’-li-c:e “du hila ka-b-irg-an=da!”
 2SG front DOWN-N-be.PFV-IMP wolf-OBL-IN 1SG behind DOWN-N-be.IPFV-PTCP=1
 b-ik’-ul ca-b k:urt:a
 N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N fox
 “Now,” the fox says to the wolf, “you sit down in front, and I behind!”
- (13) ank’luži-la š:i ʔa^h-le qari-b=q’al
 Anklukh-GEN village good-ADVZ up-N=MOD
 ‘The village of Anklukh is pretty high up.’

There are four spatial adverbs that have been derived from spatial postpositions by means of suffixing *-t:i* to the root: *gu-t:i* ‘along downside, at the lower side’ (< *gu* ‘down, under’), *či-t:i* ‘along upside, at the upper side’ (< *či* ‘on’), *sa-t:i* ‘at/along the front, as soon as’ (< *sa* ‘in front, ago’), and *b-i-t:i* ‘inside, through’ (< *b-i* ‘in, inside’) (14).

- (14) di-la qu-la hetkit:u-w-a, čit:i gut:i
 1SG-GEN garden-GEN from.there.to.there-M-DIR along.up along.downside
 Ø-iχ-ub-le w-erč-ib ca-w Izbir-re
 M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB M-lead.PFV-PRET COP-M Izberbash-LOC
 ‘Through my garden, up, down, they brought him to Izberbash.’

There are few more adverbs based on the adverbs/postpositions, namely *hit:ille* ‘on the back, later’ (< *hit:i*), *b-at:ura* ‘from inside’ (< *t:ura*), and *qarš:a* ‘upper side (of the village)’ (< *qar* ‘at/on the top’ plus the LOC-form of the noun *š:i* ‘village’, which is *š:a*).

7.1.3 Other spatial adverbs

Sanzhi has some more spatial adverbs of which the most important ones are given in (15). A few of them are formed by means of the adverbializing suffix *-le* (§9.6.3). For spatial adverbs that have the meaning of indefinite pro-forms see §4.6.

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- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| (15) <i>kat</i> ‘down’ | <i>bet</i> ‘there’ |
| <i>š:ulum</i> ‘by, past’ (< <i>š:al</i> ‘side’) | <i>sat</i> ‘here’ |
| <i>alaw</i> ‘around, in a circle’ | <i>bet-sat</i> ‘here and there’ |
| <i>qili</i> ‘at home’ (< <i>qal</i> ‘house’) | <i>guq-le</i> ‘low’ |
| <i>haraq-le</i> ‘far’ | <i>hek-le</i> ‘close, near’ |
| <i>b-arx-le</i> ‘directly, straight’ | <i>k^wi</i> ‘in the hands’ |

7.2 Temporal adverbs

Many of the spatial adverbs/postpositions listed in (11) also express temporal meaning. The adverb/postposition *gu* has the somewhat unexpected meaning ‘before, in earlier times’ when suffixed with the frozen neuter plural agreement suffix *-d* (16).

- (16) *heχ-ti* *ala* *gu-d* *či-d-ig-an* *ʔa^očk:a-b-a-l*
 DEM.DOWN-PL 2SG.GEN DOWN-NPL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-PTCP glasses-PL-OBL-ERG
 ‘with these glasses of yours with which you were seeing before’

Adverbs for times of the day are given in (17). Deictic temporal adverbs expressing relative time in days and years can be found in (18), (19), and seasonal adverbs in (20). Some of the adverbs in (17) and (20) are formed by adding the genitive case suffix to a base noun.

- (17) a. *č:a^oʔa^olla* ‘in the morning’ (< *č:a^oʔa^ol* ‘morning, tomorrow’)
 b. *arilla* ‘at midday, at lunch time’ (< *ari* ‘daytime’)
 c. *nisnalla* ‘after lunch, afternoon’
 d. *berilla* ‘early evening, at sunset’ (< *beri* ‘sunlight’)
 e. *da^orχ:a^olla* ‘in the evening’ (< *da^orχ:a^o* ‘evening’)
 f. *duč:illa* ‘at night’ (< *duč:i* ‘night’)
- (18) a. *xujal bar sar* ‘five days ago’ (< *xujal* ‘five’ + *bar* ‘day’ + *sa-r* ago-ABL)
 b. *hati sar bar* ‘three days ago’ (< *hati* ‘more’ + *sa-r* + *bar*)
 c. *sar bar* ‘two days ago’ (< *sa-r* + *bar*)
 d. *s:a* ‘yesterday’
 e. *ižal* ‘today’ (< *iž* ‘this’)
 f. *č:a^oʔa^ol* ‘tomorrow, morning’
 g. *carabal* ‘day after tomorrow’ (< *ca-ra* ‘one=ADD, other + ?’)
 h. *xujal bar hit:ille* ‘in five days’ (< *xujal* + *bar* + *hit:i-lle* after-ADVZ)
- (19) a. *ʔa^obc^oal sar dus* ‘thirty years ago’ (< *ʔa^obc^oal* ‘30’ + *sa-r* + *dus* ‘year’)
 b. *hati sar dus* ‘two years ago’ (? < *hati* + *sa-r* + *dus*)
 c. *sar dus, irig, gur dus, hit dus* ‘last year’ (< *gur* ‘away’, *hit* ‘that’)

- d. *hež dus* ‘this year’ (< *hež* ‘this’)
- e. *c’il dus, sa`q’an dus, hilabil dus* ‘the following year, next year’ (< *c’il* ‘then’, *sa`q’an* IN.FRONT-go-PTCP, *hila-b-il* back.side-N-REF)
- (20) a. *ebla* ‘in spring’ (< *eb* ‘spring’)
- b. *hanišalla* ‘in summer’ (< *haniša* ‘summer’)
- c. *ibxnella* ‘in autumn’ (< *ebx* ‘autumn’)
- d. *ganilla* ‘in winter’ (< *ga* ‘winter’)

Some more temporal adverbs are provided in (21). For temporal adverbs that have the meaning of indefinite pro-forms see §4.6. For the expression of dates and the time see the descriptions of the various spatial cases that fulfill these functions in §3.4.

- (21) a. *salar(ka)* ‘formerly’ (< *sala-r-ka* before-ABL-ABL)
- b. *barežij* ‘the whole day’ (< *bar* ‘day’ + ?)
- c. *ix^wle* ‘early, fast’
- d. *ix^wbel* ‘long ago’ (< *ix^w* ‘early’ + ?*b-el* N-remain)
- e. *q’anne* ‘late’ (< *q’an-ne* late-ADVZ)
- f. *ha* ‘now, already’
- g. *na* ‘now, already’
- h. *hana* ‘now, then’ (< *ha* + *na*)
- i. *c’il(i)* ‘then’
- j. *heba* ‘then, later’ (?< *he-b-a* that-N-DIR)
- k. *cacajnaq:el* ‘sometimes’ (< *ca-ca-jna=q:el* one-one-TIME=when)
- l. *cacaq:ella* ‘sometimes’ (< *ca-ca=q:ella* one-one=when)
- m. *urk:a-urk:ab* ‘sometimes’ (< *urk:a-urk:a-b* middle-middle-N)
- n. *mah-mahle, raχ-raχle* ‘sometimes, rarely’ (< *raχle* ‘if’)

7.3 Manner adverbs

Sanzhi has a productive way of deriving adverbs of manner from demonstrative pronouns. These adverbs have the meaning ‘like this/like that’. They are formed by adding the suffix *-it:e* to the demonstrative pronouns in the singular (Table 7.4). Their meaning is again transparently built on the semantics of the demonstrative pronouns as described in detail in §4.2 and summarized in §7.1.1 above.

Since these adverbs are used when an action or event is compared to another event, the adverbs based on the *heC*-series in the second column are far more common than those from the other two series given in the first and in the third column. The most frequent forms in my corpus are *hel-it:e* ‘like that, away from the speaker and/or close to the hearer’ and to a lesser extent *hež-it:e* ‘like this, like something close to the speaker’ (22), but other forms such as *het-it:e* ‘like that, like something further away, unspecific distance’, *hek’-it:e* ‘like this/that above’ and *heχ-it:e* ‘like this/that below’ as well as very few occurrence of *ižiit:e* (23), *hilit:e* (24), and *ilit:e* are also attested.

7 Adverbs

Table 7.4: Manner adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns

<i>iC</i>	<i>heC</i>	<i>hiC</i>	translation
<i>iž-it:e</i>	<i>hež-it:e</i>	<i>hiž-it:e</i>	‘like this, like something close to the speaker’
<i>il-it:e</i>	<i>hel-it:e</i>	<i>hil-it:e</i>	‘like that, away from the speaker and/or close to the hearer’
<i>it-it:e</i>	<i>het-it:e</i>	<i>hit-it:e</i>	‘like that, like something further away, unspecific distance’
<i>ik'-it:e</i>	<i>hek'-it:e</i>	<i>hik'-it:e</i>	‘like this/that above, higher’
<i>iχ-it:e</i>	<i>heχ-it:e</i>	<i>hiχ-it:e</i>	‘like this/that below, lower’

- (22) *hež-it:e* *b-uqen-ne* *ka-b-iš-ib* *kilijumk'a* *hež-it:e*
 this-ADVZ N-long-ADVZ DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET oil.cloth this-ADVZ
 ‘Like this alongside (he) put the oil cloth.’
- (23) *na* *ca-b=el* *iž-it:e* *ak:u=jal,* *a-b-alχ-ul=da*
 now COP-N=INDQ this-ADVZ COP.NEG=INDQ NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=1
 ‘I do not know whether it was like this or not.’
- (24) *hil-tu* *ka-r-ic:-ur-re* *hil-it:e* *han* *le-b* ...
 that-LOC DOWN-F-stand.PFV-PRET-CVB that-ADVZ remember exist-N
 ‘I (fem.) remember like I was standing there like that ...’

There is another rather small group of four manner adverbs with a similar meaning that are also derived from demonstrative pronouns: *itwaj*, *hetwaj*, *hitwaj*, and *ižwaj* ‘like that, and so’. Their usage is illustrated in (25), (26).

- (25) *it:i* *itwaj=ra* *ʔu^hrus:-e* *ʔunab-te* *ca-b* *hana=ra*
 those like.that=ADD Russian-PL EQ-DD.PL COP-HPL now=ADD
 ‘They are also like this, like Russians, even now.’
- (26) *di-la* *χat:aj* *ca-w,* *ala* *itwaj* *χat:aj* *ca-w*
 1SG-GEN grandfather COP-M 2SG.GEN like.that grandfather COP-M
 ‘(He) is my (real) grandfather. For you he is only an old man.’ (lit. ‘He is like a grandfather of yours.’)

Other manner adverbs are usually formed by suffixing *-le* to a root, for example *bahla-l* ‘slowly’, *halak-le* ‘fast’, *χ^wal-le* ‘greatly, much, a lot’, *imanne* ‘patiently’, *ʔa^h-le* ‘well’, and so on. This is described in the next section (see also §9.6.3).

7.4 Degree adverbs

Adverbs of degree express the degree of a quality and modify adjectives or other adverbs. They precede the modified item (28). From the formal perspective, degree adverbs are a

heterogeneous group of items. Some are simple stems (*arindan*, *bara*), but most of them contain the adverbializing suffix *-le* also used to derive manner adverbs (27) (§7.5); for comparative constructions involving degree adverbs see §30.1.

- (27) *c'aq'-le* 'very, strongly' *ħa'q'-le* 'very'
arindan 'too, too much' *b-aq* 'much'
χ:w'al-le 'largely' *q'wila*, *bara*, *kam-le* 'little, few, a bit'
- (28) *niš:i-j b-aq ʔa'ħ ka-b-ic:-ur* *ca-b dig sika-la*
 1PL-DAT N-much good DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET COP-N meat bear-GEN
 'We liked the meat of the bear very much.'

7.5 Formation of adverbials with the suffix *-le*

Manner adverbs and some other adverbs are easily derived by means of the suffix *-le* (allomorphs *-l* after vowels, *-re* after *r*, *-ne* after *n*, and occasionally *-lle*). This suffix is attached to the underived short adjectives (13), (22), (29) (§5.2) and to nouns in the absolutive or in spatial cases (30) as well as to spatial adverbs bearing the essive case (§9.6.3). The same suffix is added to verbs (usually bearing the preterite or the imperfective converb suffix) in order to form simple converbs (§18.1.1). More examples of its use can be found in §9.6.3.

- (29) deadjectival adverbs
- | | | |
|----------------------------------|---|---|
| a. <i>sark</i> 'open' | > | <i>sark-le</i> 'openly' |
| b. <i>b-arx</i> 'direct, right' | > | <i>b-arx-le</i> 'correctly, directly, straight' |
| c. <i>ʔa'ħ</i> 'good' | > | <i>ʔa'ħ-le</i> 'well' |
| d. <i>k:uš</i> 'hungry' | > | <i>k:uš-le</i> 'hungrily' |
| e. <i>ħa'dur</i> 'ready' | > | <i>ħa'dur-re</i> 'readily' |
| f. <i>c'aq'</i> 'strong, mighty' | > | <i>c'aq'-le</i> 'strongly, very' |
| g. <i>pašman</i> 'sad' | > | <i>pašman-ne</i> 'sadly' |
- (30) denominal adverbs
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| a. <i>uruχ</i> 'fear' | > | <i>uruχ-le</i> 'fearfully, anxiously' |
| b. <i>ʔa'žat</i> 'need' | > | <i>ʔa'žat-le</i> 'needed, necessarily' |
| c. <i>ʔa'jb</i> 'guilt, blame' | > | <i>ʔa'jb-le</i> 'guilty' |
| d. <i>ħisab</i> 'account' | > | <i>ħisab-le</i> 'accordingly' |
| e. <i>jatin</i> 'orphan' | > | <i>jatin-ne</i> 'as an orphan,
while being an orphan' |
| f. <i>mar</i> 'truth' | > | <i>mar-le</i> 'truly' |
- (31) other adverbs
- xurc-le* 'barefoot' (**xurc*; *xurχ b-iχ^w-ij* 'become barefoot')

8 Postpositions

Sanzhi has spatial and non-spatial postpositions. Some of the spatial postpositions also have temporal readings. The majority of the spatial postpositions are widely used as adverbs and then occur without a dependent noun phrase (§7.1.2). Thus, the distinction between postpositions and adverbs is rather blurred. The distinction between postpositions and spatial cases is, by contrast, relatively clear-cut with respect to the morphosyntax, although there are no clear intonational and often also no clear semantic differences. Most postpositions govern the genitive case; otherwise two spatial cases or the absolutive case are used (Table 8.1). This is in contrast to spatial cases, which are suffixed directly to the nominal stem or to the oblique/ergative suffix. Furthermore, only the postposition *sa* has a clear cognate form used as spatial case (§3.4.2.6). The postposition *sa* is shown in (1a); examples with the cognate spatial case are given in (1b) and (1c).

- (1) a. qal-la sa-b
 house-GEN in.front-N
 ‘in front of the house’ (E)
- b. cin-na qal-li-sa-b mus:a=ra ʔa^h-ce ca-b
 REFL.SG-GEN house-OBL-ANTE-N place=ADD good-DD.SG COP-N
 Ø-ik^w-ar
 M-say.IPFV-PRS
 ‘In front of his house there is also a good area, he says.’
- c. it ca-w=ra hel-i-sa sa-ka-js:-un-ne
 that REFL-M=ADD that-OBL-ANTE ANTE-DOWN-lay.M.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘he himself also slept in front of it (a horse, in order to watch over it)’

There is another class of morphemes with which postpositions formally and semantically overlap, namely spatial preverbs. The postpositions *sa*, *hit:i*, *či*, *b-i* and *t:ura* also occur as location preverbs (§11.6.1) that can be combined with the postposition or case marker or occur on their own. In example (1c) both the spatial case *-sa* and the preverb *sa-* are used.

This chapter explores spatial postpositions (including those with temporal meanings) (§8.1) and non-spatial postpositions (§8.2).

8.1 Spatial postpositions

Table 8.1 displays the spatial postpositions and the cases they govern (in the last column). Most postpositions govern the genitive case, which is typical for Dargwa varieties. Postpositions can be inflected for directional cases. The inflected postpositions in brackets can be elicited, but are not commonly used.

Table 8.1: Spatial postpositions

	lative	essive	ablative	directional	case
‘in front’	<i>sala</i>	<i>sala-b</i>	<i>sala-r(-ka)</i>	<i>sala-b-a</i>	GEN
‘in front, ago’	<i>sa</i>	<i>sa-b</i>	<i>sa-r(-ka)</i>	—	GEN/ABS
‘behind, after’	<i>hila</i>	<i>hila-b</i>	<i>hila-r(-ka)</i>	<i>hila-b-a</i>	GEN
‘after, behind’	<i>hit:i</i>	<i>hit:i-b</i>	<i>hit:i-r(-ka)</i>	<i>(hit:i-b-a)</i>	GEN
‘at the bottom, down, under’	<i>x:ari</i>	<i>x:ari-b</i>	<i>x:ari-r(-ka)</i>	<i>x:ari-b-a</i>	GEN
‘at the top, above, on, about’	<i>qari</i>	<i>qari-b</i>	<i>qari-r(-ka)</i>	<i>qari-b-a</i>	GEN
‘on’	<i>či</i>	<i>či-b</i>	<i>či-r(-ka)</i>	<i>či-b-a</i>	GEN/LOC
‘between, in the middle’	<i>urk:a</i>	<i>urk:a-b</i>	<i>urk:a-r(-ka)</i>	<i>urk:a-b-a</i>	GEN/ABS
‘in(side)’	<i>b-i</i>	<i>b-i-b</i>	<i>b-i-r(-ka)</i>	<i>b-i-b-a</i>	LOC/IN/GEN
‘aside, next to’	<i>š:ule</i>	<i>š:ule-b</i>	<i>š:ule-r(-ka)</i>	<i>(š:ule-b-a)</i>	GEN
‘outside’	<i>t:ura</i>	<i>t:ura-b</i>	<i>t:ura-r(-ka)</i>	<i>t:ura-b-a</i>	GEN

8.1.1 *sala* ‘in front of’

The postposition *sala* has only spatial meaning, but the cognate adverb has spatial and temporal readings (e.g. *salar(ka)* ‘formerly, in former times’). It governs the genitive.

- (2) a. *hež-i-la sala ka-b-iž-aq-a, hej=ra!*
 this-OBL-GEN in.front DOWN-N-be.PFV-CAUS-IMP this=ADD
 ‘Put (it) before of this, and this also!’
- b. *χ:u`rba-la sala-b pirma te-b=uw?*
 tomb.OBL.PL-GEN in.front-N farm exist-N=Q
 ‘Is there a farm in front of the graveyard?’

8.1.2 *sa* ‘in front, ago’

The postposition *sa* is a cognate of *sala*. When having a spatial reading it governs the genitive (3a). With the temporal meaning ‘ago it governs’ the absolutive (3b). The ablative *sar(ka)* is more commonly used as temporal adverb with the meaning ‘before, earlier, until’ (§7.2).

- (3) a. *uc-ib-le q:ačub-a-l susm-a-la sa-w*
 catch.PFV.M-PRET-CVB bandit-OBL.PL-ERG throat-OBL-GEN in.front-M
 ‘the bandits caught (him) by the throat’
- b. *χat:aj-la x:unul r-ebč`-ib-il=de ʔa`b-c`al dus sa-r*
 grandfather-GEN woman F-die.PFV-PRET-REF=PST three-TEN year ago-ABL
 ‘Grandfather’s wife died 30 years ago.’

8.1.3 *hila* ‘behind, after’

The postposition *hila*, which governs the genitive, has spatial and occasionally temporal uses. It is sometimes followed by *hit:i* and it is widely used as a spatial and temporal adverb (§7.1.2).

- (4) a. b-erq:-ib-le qal-la hila, ʔu^ˈrʔ-a^ˈ-j
 N-carry.PFV-PRET-CVB house-GEN behind chicken-OBL.PL-DAT
 s-ix-ub=da
 ANTE-throw.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I carried (the cheese) behind the house and fed it to the chicken.’
- b. tum-la hila-b srazu majdan ʔuna k^ˈe-b
 hill-GEN behind-N immediately field EQ exist.UP-N
 ‘There behind the hill there is immediately something like a field.’
- c. marka-la hila-b cuχa^ˈb
 rain-GEN behind-N rainbow
 ‘a rainbow after the rain’ (E)

8.1.4 *hit:i* ‘after, behind’

This postposition has spatial and temporal semantics. There are examples that allow for both readings, e.g. (5b) is a sentence from the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012) and it can refer to the spatial ordering of the pictures on the table or to the temporal ordering of the events that the pictures are illustrating. There are two examples with spatial meaning: in both examples *hit:i* is preceded by *hila* and thus it might be *hila* that, in fact, provides for the spatial interpretation (5c). It governs the genitive and mostly occurs with a preceding demonstrative pronoun and the meaning ‘after this/that’, e.g. *hežila hit:i*. There are also lexicalized variants of such phrases, e.g. *helila hit:i* > *helilit:i*.

- (5) a. caj-na marka-la hit:i če-r-^ˈuq-un ca-r qar qal-sa q^ˈa^ˈrš
 one-TIME rain-GEN after SPR.UP-F-go.PFV-PRET COP-F up house-ANTE sweep
 b-arq^ˈ-ij
 N-do.PFV-INF
 ‘Once after the rain (she) went up to sweep in front of the house.’
- b. het-i-la hit:i ka-d-^ˈirx:-an-te ca-d hešt:i
 that-OBL-GEN after DOWN-NPL-put.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL COP.NPL these
 d-ilʔ-a^ˈn-te
 NPL-steal.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL
 ‘After this (one) must put these, these where they steal.’
- c. urči-la žilix^wa-la hila hit:i b-iχ-un
 horse-GEN saddle-GEN behind behind N-tie.PFV-PRET
 ‘(He) tied it behind the saddle.’

In addition, *hit:i* is widely used as a temporal adverb (§7.2), including temporal adverbial clauses (§18.2.5), and the short encliticized version =*it:i* occurs within compound verbs (§12.2.2, example 20).

8.1.5 *x:ar(i)* ‘down, at the bottom, under’

This postposition has exclusively spatial meaning ‘to the bottom, down, under’ and governs the genitive (6a–6c). It is semantically close to the spatial case *-gu* (§3.4.2.5) and the spatial case marker can be suffixed to the postposition in which case the meaning is solely ‘under’.

- (6) a. ust'u-la x:ari pihala ka-b-irx-ul=da
table-GEN down cup DOWN-N-put.IPFV-ICVB=1
‘I put the cup under the table/to the bottom of the table.’ (E)
- b. w-ag-la x:ar w-a`h-un-ni=de
M-waist-GEN down M-get.wet.PFV-PRET-MSD=PST
‘From the waist down I (masc.) was wet.’
- c. heχ urx-m-a-la x:ari balnic:a-b-a-j r-ax-ul
DEM.DOWN sea-PL-OBL-GEN down hospital-PL-OBL-DAT F-go.IPFV-ICVB
‘I was going to the hospital down at the sea ...’

8.1.6 *qari* ‘at the top, above, on, about’

This postposition, which governs the genitive, means ‘at/on the top, above’ and is the counterpart to *x:ar(i)* (7a–7c).

- (7) a. hel zamana š:i-la qari-b cara š:i k'e-b
that time village-GEN at.top-N other village exist.UP-N
‘In those times upwards from our village there was another village.’
- b. il zamana kac'i či-ka-b-iħ-ib ca-b ta`h
that time puppy SPR-DOWN-N-begin.PFV-PRET COP-N jump
b-ax-araj k:alk:i-la qari
N-go.IPFV-SUBJ.3 tree-GEN at.top
‘At that time the puppy began to jump to climb up the tree’s top.’
- c. lamp:učk:a ust'u-la qari-b kemq-un ca-b
lamp table-GEN above-N hang-PRET COP-N
‘The lamp hangs above the table.’ (E)

In combination with the postposition *či* (§8.1.7) it is also used to express the topic of a conversation or the contents of thoughts (8a), (8b).

- (8) a. řa`rz r-ik'-ul ca-r iħ-i-la qari=či-r
complain F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F DEM.DOWN-OBL-GEN at.top=on-F
‘She is complaining about him.’

- b. cinna d-iχ-ub-t-a-la qari=či-d b-urs-ij
 pause.filler NPL-be.PFV-PRET-PL-OBL-GEN at.top=on-NPL N-tell.PFV-INF
 ‘to talk about what had happened’

8.1.7 *či* ‘on, above’

This postposition, which is often pronounced together with the complement nominal as an enclitic, normally governs a spatial case, the LOC-series (9a), (9b) (§3.4.2.2), but it can, in principle, also be used with the dependent noun bearing the genitive (9c). When the LOC-series is used, then the direction markers of the case and of the postposition need to coincide, i.e. both are marked for the essive (9a), lative, or ablative (9b). The postposition can be encliticized to *qari* when referring to the content of conversations or thoughts (8a), (8b).

- (9) a. berk^wijce b-irq’-ul ca-b iχ-t:-a-l gaz-le-b či-b
 food N-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-N DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-ERG gas-LOC-N ON-N
 ‘They are making food on a gas cooker.’
 b. urči-le-r či-r ka-jč-ib-le,
 horse-LOC-ABL on-ABL DOWN-OCCUR.M.PFV-PRET-CVB
 w-i-ka-ag-ur ca-w kur kur-ri-c:e
 M-IN-DOWN-go.PFV-PRET COP-M deep pit-OBL-IN
 ‘He fell down from the horse into a deep pit.’
 c. dubur-ra či-b dirix^w k’e-b
 mountain-GEN on-N fog exist.UP-N
 ‘There is fog on/above the mountain.’ (E)

Since Sanzhi also has a preverb *či-* with a very similar if not identical meaning (§11.6.1) it is sometimes not easy to decide whether an occurrence of *či* functions as postposition/adverbial or as preverb. Thus, instead of (9b) with *či-r* as postposition, we can also write it together with the verb and interpret it as preverb (10). But we can also manipulate the constituent order in (9b) and place the verb before the postpositional phrase (11) or have both the postposition and the preverb (12). In (11) and (12), *či-r* is unambiguously a postposition.

- (10) urči-le-r či-r-ka-jč-ib
 horse-LOC-ABL SPR-ABL-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET
 ‘He fell from the horse.’ (E)
 (11) ka-jč-ib urči-le-r či-r
 DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET horse-LOC-ABL on-ABL
 ‘He fell from the horse.’ (E)
 (12) urči-le-r či-r či-r-ka-jč-ib
 horse-LOC-ABL on-ABL SPR-ABL-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET
 ‘He fell from the horse.’ (E)

8.1.8 *urk:a* ‘between, among, within, in the middle’

The postposition *urk:a* has spatial and temporal meanings. For the spatial reading only genitive marking on the dependent noun is admissible. When used with nouns and noun phrases denoting a plurality it means ‘between, among’ (13a–14a).

- (13) a. ca-b q:irma-la urk:a-rka t:ura sa-b-uk-un
REFL-N black.clouds-GEN between-ABL outside HITHER-N-GO-PRET
‘(The sun) itself came out of the middle of the clouds.’
- b. k^wel=ra qič[’]-m-a-la urk:a hek’ q:arq:a b-uc-ib-il
two=ADD rock-PL-OBL-GEN between DEM.UP stone N-keep.PFV-PRET-REF
Ɂuna mus:a k[’]e-b=q[’]al
EQ place exist.UP-N=MOD
‘A stone kept between two rocks or the like is up there.’
- c. na x:un-re ču-la urk:a-b qit.qit b-ik[’]-ul
now woman-PL REFL.PL-GEN between-HPL whisper HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
ca-b
COP-HPL
‘Now the women are whispering among themselves.’

However, it can also occur with singular nouns and the meaning ‘in’. The following minimal pair illustrates the difference:

- (14) a. qul-b-a-la urk:a-w=da
house-PL-OBL-GEN between-M=1
‘I am between the houses.’ (E)
- b. qal-la urk:a-w=da
house-GEN between-M=1
‘I am in the house.’ (E)

With the temporal reading the postposition governs the genitive (15a) or the absolutive (15b). When reduplicated the postposition can be used as an adverb with the meaning *urk:a urk:a-b* ‘from time to time, sometimes’.

- (15) a. žuma^ʔ-la urk:a-r
week-GEN between-ABL
‘within one week’
- b. k^wel bac urk:a-r d-irq[’]-ul ...
two month between-ABL NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB
‘After two months they were doing (the medical treatment) ...’

8.1.9 *b-i* ‘in, inside’

The postposition *b-i*, which only has spatial meanings, contains a gender/number prefix agreeing with the absolutive argument of the clause to which the postpositional phrase belongs. In all examples from natural texts the postposition governs the IN-series or the LOC-series (depending on the noun employed, see §3.4.2.4 and §3.4.2.2) (16a), (16b). However, in elicitation the genitive is also available (16c).

- (16) a. lak' w-arq'-ib ca-w du^rrhu^o=ra χ^we=ra hin-ni-c:e b-i
 throw M-do.PFV-RET REFL-M boy=ADD dog=ADD water-OBL-IN HPL-in
 ‘(It) threw the boy and the dog into the water.’
- b. du ala sunduq'-le-w w-i-w le-w=da
 1SG 2SG.GEN box-LOC-M M-in-M exist-M=1
 ‘I (masc.) am inside your box.’
- c. qal-la r-i-r=da
 house-GEN F-in-F=1
 ‘I (fem.) am inside the house.’ (E)

8.1.10 *š:ule* ‘at side, next to, near’

This postposition exclusively expresses spatial meanings. It requires the dependent noun to appear in the genitive case. Examples (17a–17c) show the postposition inflected for the essive case. In (17d), the postposition bears the ablative case suffix.

- (17) a. š:i-la š:ule-d qič'a-la ba^o?-li-gu-d k'e-d niš:a-la
 village-GEN at.side-NPL rock-GEN wall-OBL-SUB-NPL exist.UP-NPL 1PL-GEN
 χ^urbe
 tomb.PL
 ‘Next/near to the village down at a stone wall, there is our graveyard.’
- b. tup di-la t'u^o-ma-lla š:ule-b=de
 ball 1SG-GEN leg-PL-OBL-GEN at.side-N=PST
 ‘The ball was at my feet.’ (E)
- c. χ:a^b muza-la š:ule-b b-už-ib ca-b
 grave top-GEN at.side-N N-be-RET COP-N
 ‘The grave was near the top.’ (E)
- d. c'il heti du^rrñ-ne ag-ur hel-i-la at:a-la š:ule-r
 then those boy-PL go.PFV-RET that-OBL-GEN father-GEN at.side-ABL
 ‘Then these boys passed by from his, the father’s, side.’

This postposition probably originates from the noun *š:al* ‘side’. Although it looks like it could be the LOC-case of this noun, this is synchronically not the case, since the LOC-lative of the noun is *š:al-le* and not *š:u(l)le* (18). Nevertheless the origin from a spatial noun explains why the postposition governs only the genitive.

- (18) a du rjedom Isaq'adi-la š:al-li-c:e-w hej b-aʔ-le-w=da
 but 1SG next.to Isakadi-GEN side-OBL-IN-M this N-edge-LOC-M=1
 'And I am at the side of Isakadi, at this end.'

8.1.11 *t:ura* 'out, outside'

This postposition governs the genitive (19a–19c). However, it more frequently occurs as an adverb and as a spatial preverb with preceding nouns in the IN-ablative or LOC-ablative (§7.1.2, §11.6.1).

- (19) a. k:uš-le duʔ-le=de nuš:a š:i-la t:ura ag-ur=da
 hungry-ADVZ wild-ADVZ=PST 1PL village-GEN outside go.PFV-PRET=1
 'Hungry and wild, we went out of the village.'
- b. q:apu-la t:ura-r wahi ʋaʋ-la t'ama ha-d-eʋ-ib ca-d
 gate-GEN outside-ABL evil scream-GEN sound UP-NPL-DO-PRET COP-NPL
 'From outside the gates an evil scream was made.'
- c. heʔt:u š:i-la t:ura-b-te ʧalq' liil=ra
 there.DOWN village-GEN outside-HPL-DD.PL people all<HPL>=ADD
 'also all people outside of the village'

The postposition *t:ura* also expresses the non-spatial meaning 'apart from, except for'. In this case the governed nominal can be not only in the genitive (20a), but also in the LOC-ablative (20b), (20c). For instance, if a demonstrative pronoun precedes the postposition the whole phrase reads as 'besides, and what is more, moreover'.

- (20) a. il-i-la t:ura-b a-c:e du-l b-urs-ille ...
 that-OBL-GEN outside-N 2SG-IN 1SG-ERG N-tell.PFV-COND.1
 'If I can tell you now (something else) apart from this, ...' (E)
- b. ile-rka t:ura ʋaj či-Ø-ik'-ul, b-ik:-ul ca-b il
 that.LOC-ABL outside word SPR-M-say.IPFV-ICVB N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N that
 qaʔb-la w-aʔq-ij
 neck-GEN M-hit.PFV-INF
 'Moreover, he defamed (him) and wanted (him) to be beheaded.'
- c. Rasul-la / Rasul-le-rka t:ura cara=ra sa-č-ib=da
 Rasul-GEN / Rasul-LOC-ABL outside other=ADD HITHER-lead.PFV-PRET=1
 'Apart from Rasul I also brought another one.' (E)

8.2 Non-spatial postpositions

8.2.1 *b-alli* ‘together, with’

This postposition, which seems to be a cognate of the preverb *b-al* ‘matching, together, in unison’, governs the comitative (21a), and with young speakers the IN-ablative case (21b). It has a gender/number prefix and agreement is controlled by the absolutive argument of the clause to which the postposition belongs. Both nominals, i.e. the governed one marked for comitative or IN-ablative and the noun in the absolutive, can be absent.

- (21) a. čí-ha[°]-Ø-q[°]-u[°]n-ne=k:u=n ka-Ø-jž-ib ca-w
 SPR-UP-M-go-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG=PRT DOWN-M-remain-PRET COP-M
 hel-t:-a-c:ella w-alli
 that-PL-OBL-COMIT M-together
 ‘He is sitting together with them.’
- b. w-arc:-ur-le, ag-ur ca-w ka-Ø-js:-ij
 M-get.tired.PFV-PRET-CVB go.PFV-PRET COP-M DOWN-M-sleep.PFV-INF
 χ^we-c:e-r w-alli
 dog-IN-ABL M-together
 ‘He got tired and went to sleep together with the dog.’

If the governed noun phrase is overt it mostly precedes the postposition (21a), (21b), although it can also follow it (22a) or occur in another non-adjacent position (22b). If the governed noun is absent, the noun in the absolutive frequently takes its position right before the postposition (22c).

- (22) a. c’íl ka-b-ič-ib ca-b b-alli hel-t:-a-c:e-r
 then DOWN-HPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-HPL HPL-together that-PL-OBL-IN-ABL
 ‘Then they ran together with them.’
- b. w-alli, di-la hej juldaš w-alli le-w=de di-c:ella
 M-together 1SG-GEN this friend M-together exist-M=PST 1SG-COMIT
 ‘Together, my friend was together with me.’
- c. ulbasne d-alli ha-d-iq:-a-di=q’al
 glasses NPL-together UP-NPL-carry.IPFV-HAB-1=MOD
 ‘[If I had known that I will look at pictures], I would have brought my glasses.’

Because of the general closeness of adverbs and postpositions, examples such as (22a), (22b), in which *b-alli* and the case-marked noun occur in the reverse order and/or not immediately following each other can be treated as adverbial uses. Similarly, in (22c) a full postpositional phrase would be ‘glasses with me’, but the governed nominal is absent from the clause and thus the example rather represents the adverbial use.

8.2.2 *canille* ‘together, with’

This postposition, which probably originates from the numeral *ca* ‘one’, can also govern the comitative case (23). However, more frequently it is used as an adverb with the meaning ‘together’ (24).

- (23) qal k'e-b=q'al pa^ˆχ.pa^ˆχ-li-c:ella canille
 house exist.UP-N=MOD pakh.pakh-OBL-COMIT together
 ‘There is a house together with the pakh-pakh.’ (i.e. next to the pakh-pakh,
 which is a place in Sanzhi)
- (24) x:un-re=ra murgl-e=ra canille b-uč:-ul
 woman-PL=ADD man-PL=ADD together HPL-drink.IPFV-ICVB
 ka-b-iž-ib ca-b
 DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET COP-HPL
 ‘Men and women are sitting together and drinking.’

8.2.3 *bahanne/bahandan* ‘because of’

This postposition originates from the noun *bahana* ‘reason’. It governs the absolutive.

- (25) a. qili-b ruc-be b-iñ-ib-le b-už-ib ca-b hel
 home-HPL sister-PL HPL-wrestle.IPFV-PRET-CVB HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL that
 qix bahanne
 nut because.of
 ‘At home the sisters were apparently arguing because of the nut.’
- b. uš:a bahanne caj-na ka-∅-jž-ib=da
 2PL because.of one-TIME DOWN-M-remain-PRET=1
 ‘Because of you I sat in prison once.’
- c. “Allah bahandan w-at-abaj!” ∅-ik'-ul ca-w
 Allah because.of M-let.PFV-OPT.3 M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 “‘For God’s sake, let me!’ he says.”

8.2.4 *ak:w^aar* ‘without, except, apart’

The participle form of the negative copula with the meaning ‘not being’ is used in constructions that have a meaning similar to adpositions like ‘except, without’. The cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* or *-il* can be added to it without changing the meaning (26b–26d). The governed nominal is in the absolutive because of the verbal origin of *ak:w^aar* as a copula that governs the absolutive case.

- (26) a. e, hel ʔa^ˆlibatir ak:w^a-ar, di-la pikri hisab-le, han
 yes that Alibatir COP.NEG-PTCP 1SG-GEN thought thought account-ADVZ remember
 w-ak:u dam
 M-COP.NEG 1SG.DAT
 ‘Yes, except Alibatir, in my mind, I do not remember.’

- b. nik'a-t-a-la χ:ula-t-a-la dind-be d-irq'-id
 small-PL-OBL-GEN big-PL-OBL-GEN stocking-PL NPL-do.IPFV-1.PRS
 na'q'iš-la na'q'iš ak:w-ar-te
 drawing-GEN drawing COP.NEG-PTCP-DD.PL
 'For children, for adults we make stockings, those with a drawing, those without a drawing.'
- c. barkat ak:w-ar-ce ca-w
 patience COP.NEG-PTCP-DD.SG COP-M
 '(He) lacks patience.'
- d. c'il Ø-ik'-ul ca-w "hin ak:w-ar-il-le-b urχ:ab
 then M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M water COP.NEG-PTCP-REF-LOC-N mill
 a-b-irχ^w-ni=q'al"
 NEG-N-be.able.IPFV-MSD=MOD
 'He said, "Where there is no water a mill cannot be."'

8.2.5 q'at:in(na) 'for the sake of, because of'

This postposition governs the absolutive. There are no examples of this postposition in my corpus, but (27a–27c) show three elicited sentences.

- (27) a. u q'at:in kast'um is:-ul=da
 2SG for.sb's.sake suit buy.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'Because of you I bought a suit.' (E)
- b. du q'at:in ma-w-ax-ut:a!
 1SG for.sb's.sake PROH-M-go.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'For my sake do not go.' (E)
- c. ĥa'žimurad q'at:in Muslimat hešt:u sa-r-eĥ-ib
 Hazhimurad for.sb's.sake Muslimat here HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET
 'For the sake of Hazhimurad, Muslimat came here.' (E)

8.2.6 ĥa'sible 'according to'

This postposition is almost exclusively used in the phrase *dila pikri ĥa'sible* 'in my mind' (26a), (28a), but it can also be used with other nouns that always occur in the absolutive (28b). It was originally borrowed from Arabic *ĥa:sib* 'counting', which has a similar meaning.

- (28) a. di-la pikri ĥa'sible hel-t-a-la ʔa'bal litru-la balun ča'bir-la
 1SG-GEN thought following that-PL-OBL-GEN three liter-GEN can wine-GEN
 le-b=de
 exist-N=PST
 'In my mind there was their 3-liter can with wine.'

8 *Postpositions*

- b. a iš-t:i juldaš:-e, ce b-ik' -ul=el, tolko hel s:urrať ha' sible
but this-PL friend-PL what N-say.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ only that picture following
b-aχ-ij a-w-irχ^w-ar, w-irχ^w-an-ne=w?
N-know.PFV-INF NEG-M-be.able.IPFV-PRS M-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3=Q
'And these friends, what they are saying, only by means of the picture, (one)
cannot know, can one?'

9 Predicative particles and other particles, conjunctions, and cross-categorical suffixes

This chapter discusses the morphosyntactic properties as well as the semantic and pragmatic functions of predicative particles, conjunctions, temporal enclitics, pragmatic particles, and cross-categorical suffixes. They do not form a part of speech or a homogeneous category, although they can be subgrouped into relatively coherent classes:

- predicative particles (§9.1)
- conjunctions (§9.2)
- temporal enclitics (§9.3)
- discourse and modal enclitics (§9.4)
- pause fillers, address particles, exclamatives, interjections, and other particles (§9.5)
- cross-categorical derivational suffixes: attributive suffixes and the adverbializing suffix (§9.6).

They are mainly treated together in one chapter because they either do not fit into any of the previous chapters or because they have a special relevance for the grammar of Sanzhi such that a separate treatment is legitimate.

9.1 Predicative particles

In recent studies of Dargwa varieties researchers have introduced the term “predicative particles” to refer to a closed class of grammatical elements that fulfill the functions of copula-like auxiliaries (e.g. Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003; Kalinina & Sumbatova 2007; Sumbatova & Lander 2014). This means that they function as heads of nominal predicate clauses and similar clauses that do not contain other verbs, and that they are used in analytic verb forms together with non-finite verb forms in order to form full main clauses. In other words, they are responsible for the finiteness of certain clauses, and their use depends on the clause type and the TAM form. In the following, I discuss these particles

for Sanzhi. I employ the label “predicative particles”, but my analysis diverges from the analysis put forward by Sumbatova and colleagues.

Table 9.1 presents the predicative particles of Sanzhi. They are enclitics because they cannot form their own phonological word. They always need a host to which they attach, but unlike suffixes they can be added to various parts of speech or phrase types, that is, to verbs, but also to nominals (noun phrases), adjectives, or adverbs.

Table 9.1: Predicative particles in Sanzhi

particle	gloss	short description
= <i>da</i>	1, 2PL	person enclitic for first person singular and plural and for second person plural (see §20.3 on agreement)
= <i>de</i>	2SG	person enclitic for second person singular
= <i>de</i>	PST	past tense marker
= <i>q'al</i>	MOD	modal particle (§9.4.2)
= <i>e/=ja</i>	Q	marker for content questions (§28.2)
= <i>w/=uw/=ew</i>	Q	marker for polar questions (§28.1)
= <i>l /=jal/=el</i>	INDQ	marker for embedded questions (§28.4)

Due to this freedom in host selection they can be used in term focus constructions (§27.3.2). However, most commonly they occur in the position in which auxiliary verbs (e.g. auxiliaries expressing aspect or modality) occur, namely following the lexical verb. In copula clauses they are normally attached to the head of the predicate (§22.2). They partially express verbal categories such as person or tense, but they are not verbs themselves.

Sumbatova & Mutalov (2003: 138–140) and Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 153–163) include in their list of predicative particles three more items: the standard copula, the negative copula, and locational/existential copulas. For Sanzhi these are the copula *ca-b* (§16.1), the locational copulas *le-b*, *te-b*, *k'e-b*, and *χe-b* (§16.2), and the negative copula (*b-*)*ak*:^{w-} in its present tense and past tense forms. However, I consider these copulas to be verbs with defective paradigms that overlap in their functions with the predicative particles because they also occur in copula clauses and analytic verb forms, but they diverge from the enclitics in Table 9.1 in a number of ways.

First, they are not genuine enclitics; they can occur on their own without a host and can form their own clause, though some of them may also be used in the form of enclitics. Second, they express far more verbal categories than the predicative particles. The negative copula shares a great number of inflectional forms with standard verbs (e.g. it can inflect for habitual present and habitual past, masdar, etc.). The copula and the locational copulas have the same gender/number agreement affix as other verbs (even though all other verbs have gender/number prefixes and not suffixes). They convey present time reference, third person agreement, and are specified for affirmative polarity. Third, the predicative particles can be attached to the copula and to the locational copulas, including those particles that express verbal categories (i.e. the person enclitics and the past

tense enclitic), so that all copulas can express first and second person agreement or past tense (5), but the person enclitics and the past tense enclitic strictly exclude each other.

The predicative particles can be divided into two groups. The first consists of the enclitics that express categories, which are most commonly marked on the verb (person enclitics =*da* and =*de* and the past tense enclitic =*de*), and the second group are the pragmatic markers (modal particle, interrogative particles). The two groups differ in their properties:

Verby predicative particles (person enclitics, past enclitic)

- are regularly used for the formation of analytic verb forms such as the compound present and past, preterite, perfect, etc. (§14) and certain clause types (e.g. declarative copula clauses)
- cannot occur in clauses with verb forms that have person suffixes (e.g. habitual present, habitual past, conditional forms, imperative, optative, etc.)
- can never occur in most types of subordinate clauses such as adverbial clauses, relative clauses, conditional clauses and many complement clauses
- are in complementary distribution with each other, i.e. person enclitics and the past enclitic exclude each other

Pragmatic predicative particles (modal particle, interrogative particles)

- are normally not used as heads of copula clauses or for the formation of analytic verb forms, though such a usage is possible for third person subject-like arguments
- can occur in clauses with verb forms that have person suffixes
- their use is never obligatory and they cannot replace verby predicative particles in certain verb forms and certain clause types in which the verby particles are obligatory
- can occur in most types of subordinate clauses; only embedded questions are excluded
- are in complementary distribution with each other, i.e., the modal particle cannot co-occur with any of the interrogative particles

Predicative particles of the two groups can co-occur with each other (1), (2); the verby particles always precede the pragmatic particles, and (most) other discourse particles. This means that the interrogative markers and the modal enclitic normally occur together with a person enclitic, the past enclitic or some kind of copula, and their function is primarily pragmatic (e.g. to convey a certain modal meaning or interrogative illocutionary force) and syntactic (for the interrogative markers).

- (1) it:u a-r-ax-an=da=q'al, s:a ag-ur=da ɰubza
 there NEG-F-GO-PTCP=1=MOD yesterday GO.PFV-PRET=1 EMPH
 'I will not go there, I went yesterday.'

- (2) hel-i-la ɤaj-li-j qili arg-ul=de=w u?
 that-OBL-GEN word-OBL-DAT home go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q 2SG
 ‘Are you going home because of what she said?’ (lit. ‘because of her word’)

There are two types of clauses that may require the use of a predicative particle instead of a copula or another type of auxiliary verb. The first type is copula clauses (§22.2) and the second type is main clauses with analytic tense forms (Chapter 14). Thus, person enclitics and the past enclitic in the sentences in (3–5) cannot be replaced by copulas or other auxiliary verbs without changing the semantics of the clause or verb form or even making the sentence ungrammatical. The copula can be added to the clauses (3a), (3b) without noticeably altering the semantics or pragmatics of the sentences, but not to (4a), (4b). An example is provided in (5). This means that in the analytic verb forms the copula can never co-occur with the person markers or with the past tense enclitic.

First and second person or past time reference

- (3) copula clauses
- a. du ust:a=da
 1SG master=1
 ‘I am a master.’ (E)
 - b. du ust:a=de
 1SG master=PST
 ‘I was a master.’ (E)
 - c. u ust:a=de=w?
 2sg master=2SG=Q
 ‘Are you a master?’ (E)
- (4) analytic verb forms
- a. du ɦa°ɦa° r-ik’-ul=da
 1SG laugh F-say.IPFV-ICVB=1
 ‘I am laughing.’ (E)
 - b. du ɦa°ɦa° r-ik’-ul=de
 1SG laugh F-say.IPFV-ICVB=1
 ‘I was laughing.’ (E)
 - c. u ɦa°ɦa° r-ik’-ul=de=w?
 2SG laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q
 ‘Are you laughing?’ (E)
- (5) [In the year 1971 you were in the army, right?]
 ca-w=de
 COP-M=PST
 ‘Yes, I (masc.) was.’

In clauses with third person agreement controllers the copula is normally used (6), (9). However, it can be omitted when the pragmatic predicative particles are used if the concomitant pragmatic meaning needs to be conveyed (7a), (7b) or if the speaker wants to utter a question (7c), (7d).

Third person non-past time reference

- (6) iž ust:a ca-w
this master COP-M
'He is a master.'
- (7) copula clauses without a copula
- a. ij badra-c:e-d d-i-d hin=q'al
this bucket-IN-NPL NPL-in-NPL water=MOD
'In this bucket there is water.'
- b. di-la arc=el hel-ti
1SG-GEN money=INDQ that-PL
'That is probably my money.' (E)
- c. it ust:a=w?
that master=Q
'Is s/he a master?' (E)
- d. ij, ča=ja iž?
this who=Q this
'This, who is it?'
- (8) analytic verb forms without a copula
- a. ij ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul=q'al
this laugh F-say.IPFV-ICVB=MOD
'She is laughing.'
- b. it ce r-ik'-ul=e?
that what F-say.IPFV-ICVB=Q
'What is she saying?'
- c. heš-t-a-l sud b-irq'-ul=el
this-PL-OBL-ERG trial N-do.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ
'They are probably making a trial.'

It is always possible to add the copula. Thus, the following two examples show copula clauses and analytic verb forms with copulas and additional predicative particles. In (10) the negative copula together with the modal particle and the affirmative copula with the indirect question marker encliticized to it are used.

- (9) heχ ča ca-r=e?
 DEM.down who COP-F=Q
 ‘Who is she?’
- (10) na hel rurs:i-li-j=ra b-alχ-ul ak:u=q'al, il urχ:ab ce
 now that girl-OBL-DAT=ADD N-know.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG=MOD that mill what
 ca-b=eI
 COP-N=INDQ
 ‘The girl also does not know if that is a mill or not.’

Without the predicative particles (or a copula or another type of suitable auxiliary) the copula clauses would be ungrammatical:

- (11) * du ust:a
 1SG master
 (Intended meaning: ‘I am a master.’) (E)
- (12) * u ust:a=w?
 2SG master
 (Intended meaning: ‘Are you a master?’) (E)
- (13) * ij, ča iž?
 this who this
 (Intended meaning: ‘This, who is it?’) (E)

Clauses with analytic verb forms are not ungrammatical, but they can only be used as subordinate clauses because of the non-finite verb forms (14).

- (14) u ħa°ħa° r-ik' -ul, ka-r-iž-ib-le=de
 2SG laugh F-say.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-F-sit.PFV-PRET-CVB=2SG
 ‘You (fem.) are sitting and laughing.’ (E)

9.2 Conjunctions

Sanzhi does not have native conjunctions, and this is typical for East Caucasian languages. The main way of conjoining phrases is the use of the additive enclitic (§9.4.1), and at the clause level converbs are employed (§25.1). However, there are a number of borrowed conjunctions whose use varies.

The monosyndetic conjunction *wa* ‘and’ occurs only in translated texts. The disjunctive particle *ja ... ja* ‘or’, ‘and’, ‘either ... or’, ‘neither ... nor’ mostly occurs in the disjunction of clauses (15) or more rarely of phrases (16). Usually both disjunctions are introduced by *ja*. However, sometimes there is only one clearly identifiable disjunction member in which *ja* occurs, and in such examples *ja* can also function as a conjunction (17). The complex form *ja=ra* (or=ADD) is used as well (16). See §26.1 and §26.2.4 for more information on the disjunction of phrases and clauses and their syntactic properties.

- (15) ħuriġa ja ca-r ha-r-ax-ul ak:u, ja du r-ax-ul ak:w-a-di
 Huriġa or REFL-F UP-F-go-ICVB COP.NEG or 1SG F-go-ICVB COP.NEG-1
 ‘Neither Huriġa herself comes nor do I go.’
- (16) e, ċu-la hel=ħuna q:abuġ-e ja=ra q:alpuz-e ċu-la
 yes REFL.PL-GEN that=EQ pumpkin-PL or=ADD watermelon-PL REFL.PL-GEN
 d-urk:-ar
 NPL-find.IPFV-PRS
 ‘These are probably their pumpkins or watermelons.’
- (17) ha-b-eħ-ib-le, ja il kaħ^w-ij a-b-iħ-bu
 UP-HPL-go.PFV-RET-CVB and that kill.PFV-INF NEG-HPL-be.able.PFV-RET
 ‘They went and they could not kill him.’

The conjunction *amma* ‘but’ introduces adversative clauses. Usually these clauses refer to situations that are contrasted with earlier mentioned events and the conjunction occurs in clause-initial position rather than between two clauses (20), but it can also be used like a normal clause conjunction between two main clauses (18) or very rarely at the end of the clause (19).

- (18) “b-uċ:-an=da, b-uk-an=da” b-ik’-ul ca-b, “amma
 N-drink.IPFV-PTCP=1 N-eat.IPFV-PTCP=1 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL but
 kep a-d-irħ^w-an=da”
 drinking NEG-1/2PL-become.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘They say, “We will drink and eat, but not get drunk.”’ (a kind of saying, used by people who want to drink)
- (19) tusnaq-li-j miħi-l ak:u amma
 prison-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP.NEG but
 ‘But isn’t this similar to a prison.’

Moreover, it is employed to mark a switch of the topic of a conversation (20), just as Russian *a* is used (see examples (23), (24) below).

- (20) [topic switch to back to the previous topic, namely the price of flour]
 amma urek darš-li-j, urek darš-li-j wahi-l ak:u
 but six hundred-OBL-DAT six hundred-OBL-DAT bad-ADVZ COP.NEG
 garam=ra
 gram=ADD
 ‘But for 600, for 600, that is not bad at all.’

The subordinating conjunction *raħle* ‘if’ is a native item with the morphological structure of an adverbial derived by means of the adverbializing suffix *-le* (compare *raħ-raħle* ‘sometimes’). It introduces conditional clauses (21). Because Sanzhi has specialized conditionals for this function, *raħle* always co-occurs with one of the conditional forms

(Chapter 18.3). The use of *raχle* is optional, whereas the conditional forms are mandatory. There is another borrowed conjunction with a similar meaning, *egena* (< Persian *eger* ‘if’), which occurs only in translated or elicited clauses.

- (21) *raχle tusnaq-le-r t:ura uq-ulle, cik'al a-b-iχ^w-ar,*
 if prison-LOC-ABL outside go.M.PFV-COND.1 something NEG-N-be.PFV-COND.3
ʔa^h-le saχ-le ...
 good-ADVZ healthy-ADVZ
 ‘If I leave prison well, healthy, if nothing happens to me, [I will probably become a dentist].’

Sanzhi also has a couple of conjunctions borrowed from Russian: *i* ‘and’, *a* ‘and, but’, *no* ‘but’, and *ili* ‘or’ (see Forker (2018c) for code switching between Sanzhi and Russian). Among them, *i* and *a* are very frequently used by speakers of all ages in various types of texts, most often to conjoin stretches of discourse (not necessarily sentences) in the case of *i*. The conjunction *a* is used to mark a switch of the discourse topic (23), (24). In addition, they coordinate clauses, but do not conjoin phrases, since in this function =*ra* is used (§26.1).

- (22) *Pat'ima-l h-as:-ib-le q:ap=ra, ag-ur ca-r wac'a-c:e i*
 Patima-ERG UP-take.PFV-PRET-CVB sack=ADD go.PFV-PRET COP-F forest-IN and
xun-ni-sa-b suk b-ič-ib ca-b bec'
 road-OBL-ANTE-N meet N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-N wolf
 ‘Patima took a sack and went into the forest and on the way she met a wolf.’
- (23) *a il ʔa^hlibatir=ra χabar b-urs-ib=de=q'al u-l*
 but that Alibatir=ADD story N-tell-PRET=2SG=MOD 2SG-ERG
 ‘and/but you also already told the story of Alibatir.’
- (24) *a Nuriška čina-r=e?*
 but Nurishka where-F=Q
 ‘And Nurishka, where is she?’

The Russian disjunction *ili* ‘or’ conjoins disjunctive clauses (see §26.2.4 for examples). Furthermore, it is employed in clause-initial or clause-final position when expressing uncertainty together with the indirect question marker (25) or an interrogative particle (26).

- (25) *sub x:unul=eł ili?*
 husband woman=INDQ or
 ‘Or this is a married couple?’
- (26) *ili ik'-i-l r-it-ib-le=w iχ?*
 OR DEM.UP-OBL-ERG F-beat.up-PRET-CVB=Q DEM.DOWN
 ‘Or did he beat her?’

9.3 Temporal enclitics

Temporal enclitics, i.e. enclitics used in specialized converbal clauses and for the expression of other adverbial phrases, are a group of two particles that are encliticized to verbs and nominals. Their meanings are rather adverbial (27) but because they are phonologically dependent on a host and can be hosted by a variety of parts of speech (verbs, pronouns, nouns, adjectives) I do not categorize them as genuine adverbials but treat them separately. They most commonly occur with non-finite verb forms (participles and infinitive/subjunctive) in adverbial clauses, a usage which corresponds to temporal and non-temporal specialized converbs. This function is only briefly illustrated in the current section, and more information and examples can be found in §18.2.1 for *=q:el(la)* and §18.2.3 for *=sat/=sat:in/=sat:inna*.

- (27) a. *=q:el(la)* ‘when, while, because’ (simultaneity, anteriority, causality)
 b. *=sat/=sat:in/=sat:inna* ‘until, before, as much as, as long as’
 (posteriority, manner)

The enclitics are not subordinating conjunctions even if their meaning corresponds to subordinating conjunctions in other languages, because they do not fulfill the function of syntactic subordination as genuine subordinating conjunctions or complementizers would. From a morphosyntactic point of view, they can occur in subordinate clauses because they are added to non-finite verb forms that are used to function as heads of subordinate clauses due to their non-finiteness. The enclitics themselves only contribute to the semantics of those clauses, not to their syntactic properties.

One might argue that the enclitics resemble case markers or postpositions, but in contrast to the former they are not added to oblique stem forms, and in contrast to the latter they do not govern any cases. They have phrases in their scope and they are normally encliticized to the head of the phrase that they scope over, e.g., to the noun in a noun phrase (35), (36), (97). They share this property with the focus-sensitive particles such as the additive and the modal particles (§9.4). In the following, I will describe the functions of the two enclitics in more detail, concentrating on the uses with non-verbal hosts.

The particle *=q:el(la)*, of which the short form is used more often than the long form, is encliticized to the preterite and modal participle and to the negative copula (usually in its participial form), and expresses temporal simultaneity (28) and occasionally anteriority or causality.

- (28) w-ebč'-ib χat:aj wer-c'a nu wer-ra dus
 M-die.PFV-PRET grandfather seven-TEN well seven-NUM year
 ∅-iχ-ub=q:el
 M-be.PFV-PRET=when
 ‘Grandfather died when he was 77 years old.’

Temporal simultaneity is also expressed when it is hosted by nominals such as demonstrative pronouns, nouns, numerals or adjectives and by adverbs. In the first place, the

enclitic is attached to demonstrative pronouns yielding the deictic meaning ‘at that time, then’, which transparently derives from the meaning of the demonstrative and the meaning of the enclitic (29). As can be seen in example (30), the enclitic can be preceded by the additive, which indicates that it is not a derivational suffix that forms temporal adverbials, but rather a syntactically independent item that scopes over the entire combination of demonstrative and additive.

- (29) *socijalizma=de het=q:ella, het=q:ella het=q:ella het=ɤuna parjadok*
 socialism=PST that=when that=when that=when that=EQ order
le-b=de het:u-b
 exist-N=PST there-N
 ‘Socialism was at that time, order (tidiness) like this was at that time there.’
- (30) *it=ra=q:el ca ɤuna=w?*
 that=ADD=when one EQ=Q
 ‘(Is it) that time also one and the same (shirt)?’

More rarely the enclitic appears on nominals with and without additional case markers (31), and also yields the meaning ‘when’. For instance, a noun denoting a profession to which *=q:ella* is added is interpreted as ‘when performing the relevant profession’; a noun denoting a location plus *=q:ella* leads to the meaning ‘when being in that location’ (31). Furthermore, the interrogative adverb *ceq:el* ‘when’ can diachronically be analyzed as *ce* ‘what’ and *=q:el*, and the indefinite pronouns *ca=q:el* and *ca-ca=q:el* ‘sometimes, from time to time’ as *ca* ‘one’ plus *=q:el*.

- (31) *cellij ak:u=n tusnaq-le-w=q:ella qihin-ne ca-b*
 why COP.NEG=PRT prison-LOC-M=when difficult-ADVZ COP-N
 ‘Because when (you are) in prison it is difficult.’
- (32) *guna=q:el ca-b hel-it:e daʔle b-arq’-ib qal*
 warm=when COP-N that-ADVZ as N-do.PFV-PRET house
 ‘When it is warm (i.e. in warm places) the houses are built like this.’

The enclitic *=sat/=sat:in/=sat:inna* occurs in three different variants that are functionally equivalent, but differ in their frequency of use. It originates from the postposition *sa* ‘in front, ago’. When it is used with the infinitive/subjunctive the meaning is ‘before, until’ (33), i.e. temporal posteriority, which corresponds to the meaning of the postposition from which it is derived. When the enclitic occurs with the modal participle the meaning is ‘as much as, as long as’ (34). More examples can be found in §18.2.3.

- (33) *du sa-jɤ-ij=sat:inna, r-ebč’-ib-le=de aba*
 1SG HITHER-come.M.PFV-INF=until F-die.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST mother
 ‘Until (before) I came my mother died.’
- (34) *uf b-ik’-ul b-aʔ-ax:-ib b-irɣ-an=sat:inna*
 blow N-say.IPFV-ICVB N-begin-put.PFV-PRET N-be.able.IPFV-PTCP=as.much
 ‘(The wind) began to blow as strong as it could’

The latter meaning is also attested when the enclitic follows nouns (35), (36). As both examples prove, the enclitic is directly attached to the stem (after plural suffixes) without additional case marking and therefore does not qualify as a spatial case. Furthermore, it has the entire noun phrase in its scope.

- (35) [gde.to wer darš]=sat s:urrat ha-jt'-un=da, hana
 somewhere seven hundred=as.much picture UP-take.away.PFV-PRET=1 now
 ag-ur=q:el
 go.PFV-PRET=when
 'Around as many as 700 pictures I made when we went (there) now.'
- (36) du ĥa°srat-le b-at-ur-te, [nu°q-b-a-lla
 1SG passion-ADVZ HPL-let.PFV-PRET-DD.PL hand-PL-OBL-GEN
 t'up:-e]=sat=de
 finger-PL=as.much=PST
 'The ones that I left in passion (i.e. that fell in love with me), (they) were as much as the hand's fingers.'

Finally, the enclitic can be added to demonstrative pronouns and forms manner demonstrative pronouns that are used in comparison 'like this, like that, such':

- (37) hel=sat χ:ula r-eβ-ib-le r-už-ib-le hel ruci
 that=as.much big F-go.PFV-PRET-CVB F-be-PRET-CVB that sister
 '(From her small finger he pulled out his parents), so big was his sister.'

9.4 Discourse and modal enclitics

9.4.1 The additive enclitic

The additive enclitic =*ra* covers all of the functions typical for additives in East Caucasian languages and other language families:

1. simple bisyndetic and emphatic conjunction of phrases, usually noun phrases (but not of clauses) (see §26.1 on noun phrase coordination).

- (38) Q'ampaj=ra du=ra ag-ur=da Sanži
 Kampaj=ADD 1SG=ADD go.PFV-PRET=1 Sanzhi
 'Kampaj and I went to Sanzhi.'

2. additive and scalar additive function (comparable to English 'also', 'too', 'as well', and 'even'), that is, used as focus-sensitive particle that associates with an element of the proposition in which it occurs and indicates that what is said about this element also holds for an alternative (39). In Sanzhi, the scalar additive function is particularly frequent in negative clauses, and when the additive is encliticized to *hati* 'more' (40).

- (39) [Was grandfather the oldest son?]
 at:a-ja-r χ:ula-te=ra b-irχ-i
 father-LOC-ABL big-DD.PL=ADD HPL-be.IPFV-PST.HAB
 ‘There were also ones older than grandfather.’
- (40) c’il=ra r-ik’-ul ca-r hati=ra ?a’si r-iχ-ub-le,
 then=ADD F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F more=ADD angry F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB
 “čina-w=de=k.”a u b-urs-a!”
 where-M=2SG=PRT 2SG N-say-IMP
 ‘And then (the witch) said, even more angry, “Say where you are!”’

3. in contrastive topicalization (41) and topic switch constructions: when sentence topics are switched in a narrative, such topic switches are often accompanied by adding =*ra* to the switched topics (41). Sentence (42) is from a narrative in which the speaker talks about people from the neighboring village and says that earlier they were like Russians when they were still living in the mountains and that this has not changed, but that Sanzhi people were always and are still different from them.

- (41) [The fox said to Patimat: Do such and such!]
 “?a`h-le,” r-ik’-ul ca-r. Pat’ima=ra razi r-iχ-ub ca-r
 good-ADV F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F Patima=ADD agree F-be.PFV-PRET COP-F
 ‘And Patima agreed, saying, “Good.”’
- (42) iti itwaj=ra ?u`rus:-e kunab-te ca-b hana=ra
 those like.this=ADD Russian-PL like-DD.PL COP-HPL now=ADD
 ‘And now also they are like Russians.’

4. adverbial conjunction ‘and then’: the additive introduces a clause that is part of a stretch of connected discourse.

- (43) c’il=ra hel-t:i bahla.bahlal vaj=ra d-aχ-ur-re,
 then=ADD that-PL slowly language=ADD NPL-know-PRET-CVB
 bahla.bahlal islužba=ra b-iq:-ul, ...
 slowly service=ADD N-carry.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘And then slowly I got to know this language, and I did my (military) service ...’

Furthermore, the additive is used in the formation of concessive clauses by adding it to conditional markers (§18.3.6). It also has derivational uses, namely the derivation of indefinite pronouns (§4.6), collective numerals (§6.6), and direct cardinal numerals from eleven up (§6.1). For an account of additive pronouns by means of the semantic map method see Forker (2016c).

(48) ij badra-c:e-d d-i-d hin=q'al, ak:u=w?
 this bucket-IN-NPL NPL-in-NPL water=MOD COP.NEG=Q
 'In this bucket is water, right?'

(49) sabrat d-arq'-ib, her?-an ak:u=q'al
 gather NPL-do.PFV-PRET say.IPFV-PTCP COP.NEG=MOD
 "‘sabrat’ did, (we/you) don't say so.'
 [presupposition: we both know that we have our own Sanzhi word for this]

It is also used in questions with a strong presupposition that the addressee knows the answer (50).

(50) hej q'ar ce=jal b-ik'-u=q'al niš:a-la?
 this herbs what=INDEF HPL-say.IPFV-PRS.3=MOD 1PL-GEN
 'These herbs here, how are they called in our (language)?'

Another common usage is existential clauses with the locational copula *le-b*, confirming the existence of a referent that is going to be the topic of the following discourse (51). They seem to correspond to the Russian phrase *X est' že*, a typical Dagestanian expression that is almost never used by speakers of Standard Russian.

(51) a-rurg-an le-b=q'al it, birik:alla.but' le-b=q'al het
 NEG-burn-PTCP exist-N=MOD that cow.parsnip exist-N=MOD that
 'There is the one that does not burn, the cow-parsnip.'

If the information is new, it is still treated as presupposition that requires immediate accommodation. For instance, in (52) the speaker is talking about how his grandfather for the first time brought iron parts for ploughs to Sanzhi which were unknown in Sanzhi and the addressee does not necessarily know this fact, but it is marked as presupposed by means of =*q'al*.

(52) Sanži-d d-a-d-už-ib-le=q'al hel-ti
 Sanzhi-NPL NPL-NEG-NPL-be-PRET-CVB=MOD that-PL.ABS
 'In Sanzhi, they did not have them (the iron item that you use on wooden ploughs).'

The enclitic =*q'al* widely occurs in other Dargwa varieties. In Standard (Akusha) Dargwa, there is *q'alli*, which van den Berg (2001: 748–75) analyzes as a focus particle. Tatevosov (2001) analyzes Icari Dargwa =*q'al* as a mirative marker. Sumbatova (2009) in her account of questions in Icari calls it a focus-marking clitic translated with 'but' in the glosses and described as marking the proposition "as known to both communicants". In the Icari grammar as well as in Kalinina & Sumbatova (2007) the same enclitic is also glossed with 'but' and described as "actualization particle". Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 338–339) treat Tanti Dargwa =*q'ale* as an actualizing marker with a functional range very similar to the Sanzhi particle. For a detailed analysis of the morphosyntactic and semanto-pragmatic properties of =*q'al* in Sanzhi see Forker (Accepted).

9.4.3 The enclitic =q'ar

The enclitic =q'ar is a modal particle that partially overlaps in its uses with =q'al (§9.4.2) and =n(u) (§9.4.4). Like =q'al it cannot be used in questions together with the interrogative particles. However, it does not belong to the class of predicative particles. It bears some resemblances to German *doch* and Russian *že*.

The enclitic is used when correcting utterances (53) or contradicting expectations. Thus, the speaker of (54) expected her children to inform her about the death of her son, but in order to preserve the mother from the very devastating news they did not tell her everything, but discussed the issue only among themselves.

- (53) kartuška-la q:up-re=q'ar ak:u, Ø-ik'-ul=da, χalq' ca-b,
 potato-GEN sack-PL=MOD COP.NEG M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1 people COP-HPL
 Ø-ik'-ul=da, heχ-t:i
 M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1 DEM.DOWN-PL
 'These are not potato sacks, I say, they are people.'
- (54) hel-t-a-l, b-aχ-ur-re b-už-ib ca-b hel-t-a-j,
 that-PL-OBL-ERG N-know.PFV-PRET-CVB N-stay-PRET COP-N that-PL-OBL-DAT
 di-c:e=q'ar a-b-urs-ib
 1SG-IN=MOD NEG-N-tell.PFV-PRET
 'Apparently they knew it and they did not tell it to me.'

More generally, =q'ar signals contrast between the utterance in which it occurs and some other utterance or previously discussed issues, i.e., it marks contrastive topicalization ('and as for X, P'). For example, in (55) the speaker contrasts the behavior of a person after he had been in prison with his behavior before he went to prison, when he never refused a drink with his friends. Similarly, (56) exemplifies a parallel structure of two clauses that immediately follow each other and contain contrasting propositions.

- (55) heχ sa-jβ-ib hit:i, čar Ø-iχ-ub zamana=q'ar,
 DEM.DOWN HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET after back M-be.PFV-PRET time=MOD
 ža`h-le q:uβa-l atkaz Ø-iχ-ub ca-w
 good-ADVZ beautiful-ADVZ refusal M-be.PFV-PRET COP-M
 'After he came back, he refused very well.'
- (56) "dam=q'ar," b-ik'-ul ca-b, "nek^w-la buruš b-arq'-ib, a
 1SG.DAT=MOD N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N straw-GEN mattress N-do.PFV-PRET but
 ču-la ba`mbag-la b-urk:-ar"
 REFL.PL-GEN cotton.wool-GEN N-find.IPFV-PRS
 'The (fox) says, "For me they made a bed from herbs and grass, and for themselves they took probably cotton wool."'

Similarly to =q'al as described above, the enclitic =q'ar is also used as an actualizing modal particle that relates the utterance to the argumentative background and in this

way indicates what is assumed to be common ground. In other words, it signals what the speaker assumes to be known by the hearer. For instance, (57) is from a narrative about some people who stole money during the absence of the main character and his wife. The speaker stresses the fact that it is clear to everyone that the people knew the times of the day when nobody was at home and when the wife was supposed to come home again. And (58) describes the place close to Sanzhi where there are old paintings on rocks that are still visible, although they are assumed to have been made thousands of years ago, and what the speaker says is a fact known to every Sanzhi person.

- (57) ʔa^ˈči-le-r sa-q^ˈ-a^ˈn zamana s:a^ˈʔa^ˈt-e=q^ˈar d-alχ-ul
 work-LOC-ABL HITHER-GO-PTCP time hour-PL=MOD NPL-know.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-d hex-t:-a-j
 COP-NPL DEM.UP-PL-OBL-DAT
 ‘They know the time when (the wife) comes back from work.’
- (58) ixt:u=q^ˈar marka či-ik:-ul ak:u
 there.UP=MOD rain ON-get.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
 ‘The rain does not reach there.’

9.4.4 The enclitic =*n(u)*

The enclitic =*nu* (allomorph =*n* after vowels) is used when the speaker wants to attract the attention of the addressee. It is mostly encliticized to verbs. Its meaning can be paraphrased as ‘watch out, pay attention, something is happening or is going to happen in the near future that is of relevance and important for you’. There are several contexts in which it usually occurs. For example, =*n(u)* often occurs in clauses with first person subject-like arguments when the speaker wants to stress the fact that s/he is already performing an action or is in a certain state or is about to perform an action in the near future (59).

- (59) hana t^ˈaš r-ic:-e! r-ax-ul=da=n
 now stop F-stand.PFV-IMP F-go-ICVB=1=PRT
 ‘Now wait, I (fem.) am coming.’

Such clauses can also have second or third person subjects, but again they warn that soon something will happen that is of importance for the addressee (60).

- (60) u=ra uk:-an=de=n, ma^ˈ-q^ˈ-a^ˈt:a!
 2SG=ADD eat.M.IPFV-PTCP=2SG=PRT PROH-go-PROH.SG
 ‘[Your sister turned into a monster, she ate people], and she will eat you (masc.), don’t go!’

The enclitic is part of the phrase *celij ak:u=n* (why COP.NEG=PRT) with the meaning ‘because’. It introduces clauses that deliver an important explanation that the speaker wants the addressee to pay attention to (61).

- (61) cellij ak:u=n tusnaq-le-w=q:ella qihin-ne ca-b
 why COP.NEG=PRT prison-LOC-M=when difficult-ADVZ COP-N
 ‘Because when you are in prison it is difficult.’

The second context is the use with imperatives and optatives, because they also occur in utterances that are of special importance and relevance for the addressee who, for instance, has been ordered to do something (62).

- (62) nu b-ik-aχ:-at, niš:a-la heχt:u d-uk-a=n,
 well N-want.IPFV-COND-COND.2 1PL-GEN there.DOWN NPL-gather.IPFV-IMP=PRT
 d-ac’ d-arq’-a=nu, uq’-a’=nu!
 NPL-empty NPL-do.PFV-IMP=PRT go.M-IMP=PRT
 ‘If you want, take the (stuff) and empty it there in our place, go!’

The third context is contrastive focus constructions that are used to correct wrong assumptions, assertions or beliefs. The enclitic occurs in the clause that rejects the assertion and is followed by the correction:

- (63) qili ak:u=nu, witezwitel-le uq:-ul ca-w
 home COP.NEG=PRT sobering.up-LOC carry.M.PFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘No, not home, they take him to the sobering-up station.’
- (64) či-ha’-q’-u’ n-ne=k:u=n ka-jž-ib ca-w
 SPR-UP-go-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG=PRT DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
 hel-t:a-c:ella w-alli
 that-PL-OBL-COMIT M-together
 ‘No, he is not going towards them, but sitting together with them.’

It is not necessary that the rejecting clause contain a negation; it can also be an affirmative clause that functions as a correction. For instance, people tried to destroy a mill by hitting the turning mill stone. They did not immediately succeed although they tried hard and thus (65) contradicts the expectation that they had already finished their destruction.

- (65) urk’i b-el=nu, b-a’q-a’ja’! urk’i b-el=nu,
 heart N-remain.PFV=PRT N-hit.PFV-IMP.PL heart N-remain.PFV=PRT
 b-a’q-a’ja’!
 N-hit.PFV-IMP.PL
 ‘The heart remained, hit it! The heart remained, hit it!’

9.4.5 Other enclitics that manipulate information structure

Sanzhi has further focus-sensitive enclitics with a more specific semantics: =*cun* ‘only’ (66), =*gina* ‘alone, only’ (67), *malle* ‘even’ (68), and *arrah* ‘at least’ (69). Note that in (67) the enclitic =*gina* is followed by a person enclitic; the reverse order would be ungrammatical. See also §27.5 for more information on the position and use of focus-sensitive particles.

- (66) ca bac darman-t-a-lla=cun lečenie b-arq'-ib=da, ʔa°b-c'al bari
 one month medicine-PL-OBL-GEN=only cure N-do.PFV-PRET=1 three-TEN day
 'For one month I was cured only with pills, for 30 days.'
- (67) du=gina=da qili arg-an, u ak:w-a-t:e
 1SG=only=1 home go.IPFV-PTCP 2SG COP.NEG-2SG
 'Only I/I alone will go home, not you.' (E)
- (68) ruci-la rursi hel malle t'ut'u r-arq'-ib-le čum=el dus
 sister-GEN girl that even throw.out F-do.PFV-PRET-CVB how.many=INDQ year
 hit:ille
 later
 'Even his sister's daughter did he throw out, after some years.'

The particle *arrah* 'at least' is used in commands (69), irrealis conditional clauses, and negative clauses together with the quantifier *ca* 'on' with a scalar additive meaning (70). It mostly occurs following nominals and then has scope over the nominals, but it can also scope over verbal predicates. In the latter case, it is possible to insert the particle between the locational and the deixis/gravitation preverbs. For instance, in (71) the verb is prefixed with the locational preverb *či-* and the particle follows it. This preverb is a lexicalized part of the verb 'see' because the root almost never occurs without the preverb, and thus the particle is inserted into a verbal stem.

- (69) k:ul-be arrah d-iq:a dam
 skin-PL at.least NPL-carry.IPFV-IMP 1SG.DAT
 'Give me at least the skin back!'
- (70) "niš:a-la ca arrah admi," Ø-ik'-ul ca-w,
 1PL-GEN one at.least person M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 "a-ka-jč-ib"
 NEG-DOWN-OCCUR.M.PFV-PRET
 "Of our (people) not even one man fell down," he says.'
- (71) w-aš-e a-ag-ur-il Ø-iχ-ut:e, či=arrah-b-až-ij
 M-go-IMP NEG-go.PFV-PRET-REF M-be.PFV-COND.2SG SPR=at.least-N-see.PFV-INF
 'Let's go if you did not go there, at least to see.'

There is an emphatic enclitic *=le*, which, however, occurs only twice in the corpus, and speakers do not have clear intuitions about its meaning, making it difficult to analyze in detail. These are the two examples:

- (72) c'elt-m-a-c:e-w q'ar-ri-c:e-w hi-l urk:-u=le
 gravestone-PL-OBL-IN-M herbs-OBL-IN-M who.OBL-ERG find.M.IPFV-PRS=EMPH
 duč:i-la itu
 night-GEN there
 'Among the graves, in the grass, who finds (him), at night.'

- (73) *iχ rurs:i-la q:uβa-l k^wi-sa-b-uc-ala=le*
 DEM.DOWN girl-GEN beautiful-ADVZ IN.HANDS-HITHER-N-keep.PFV-NMLZ=EMPH
nik'a-ce
 small-DD.SG
 '(Look at) the way the girl is holding the child in her hands.'

And there is another enclitic =*k'u* that is also roughly described as emphatic or modal. Like the two modal enclitics =*q'al* and =*q'ar* it is usually translated by *že* or *ved'* into Russian. The enclitic is also used for the formation of specific indefinite pronouns (§4.6.1). In the corpus, there are three occurrences of the emphatic/modal use, of which two are given here:

- (74) "u=k'u ik^w-a-t:e," ha?-ib=da,
 2SG=EMPH say.IPFV.M-HAB.PST-2SG say.PFV-PRET=1
 "w-arč:-ib-le=k:u"
 M-find.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG
 'I said, "You said that they did not find him."'
- (75) *ca dus=k'u, aš:i-j b-aχ-ij d-urk:-a-t:a čina*
 one year=EMPH 2PL-DAT N-know.PFV-INF NPL-find.IPFV-HAB.PST-2PL where
mus:a-t=te=l, Ma^ha^hammad
 place-PL=PST=INDQ Mahammad
 'One year, you should know it, where the places were, Mahammad.'

Interrogative markers for polar questions (§28.1), content questions (§28.2), and embedded questions (§28.4) also play a role in the information structure of utterances and are analyzed in separate sections.

9.5 Pause fillers, address particles, exclamatives, and interjections

Sanzhi has two politeness particles that are used in imperatives and prohibitives in order to soften the command, =*k^wa* and the rarely used =*ri*. The first enclitic is also used in polite questions (79). In my corpus there are 31 occurrences of =*k^wa* (and just one of =*ri*), and two thirds of them were uttered by female speakers. Thus, it might be the case that the use of =*k^wa* is more common among female speakers.

- (76) *r-už-e=ri!*
 F-be-IMP=PRT
 'Calm down!'
- (77) *hel-it:e ma-b-urc-it:a=k^wa pa?uk!*
 that-ADVZ PROH-N-keep.IPFV-PROH.SG=PRT spider
 'Do not keep the spider like this!'

- (78) c'il heba Sanijat-li-c:e, "ma, ha, ma=k:w'a" ha?-ib=da, "at hešt:i!"
 then then Sanijat-OBL-IN take uh take=PRT say.PFV-PRET=1 2SG.DAT these
 'Then I said to Sanijat, "Hey, take, these are for you!"'
- (79) ha ce=de=k:w'a?
 uh what=PST=PRT
 'Uh, what was it (that I wanted to say)?'

The genitive reflexive pronouns *cinna* (singular) and *čula* function as pause fillers. The same has been reported for the neighboring Dargwa variety Icari (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 187, fn. 107). It seems that the singular pronoun occurs when the subject-like argument is singular (80), (81), and the plural pronoun when it is plural (82). The full paradigms of the reflexive pronouns are listed in §4.3 and their use in reflexive constructions is analyzed in §29.1.

- (80) heχ cinna c'aq'-le w-artaq-ib admī ca-w
 DEM.DOWN pause.filler very-ADVZ M-enjoy.oneself.PFV-PRET person COP-M
 'He is a person that is very extroverted.'
- (81) nu hež dejstwitelno pikri ∅-ik'-ul ka-jž-ib ca-w
 well this really thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
 cinna tusnaq-le ka-jž-ib-il-li-j miši-l ca-w
 pause.filler prison-LOC DOWN-be.M.PFV-PRET-REF-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP-M
 iž
 this
 'He is really thinking (or worrying), and sitting, because it is like he is in prison.'
- (82) čula d-urk-ar iχ-ti ganza-l-gu-d gu-d
 pause.filler NPL-find.IPFV-COND.3 DEM.DOWN-PL ground-OBL-SUB-NPL down-NPL
 daʔle ca-d
 as COP-NPL
 'Well, probably they are like under the ground (growing).'

It is not always easy to identify the pause fillers because often the reflexive pronouns can be interpreted as possessive pronouns with an omitted head noun. For instance, example (82) refers to a picture showing plants or roots that grow in the earth and the reflexive *čula* could serve as a pronoun in a phrase like 'their (plants)'.
 Common address particles are (83). Some examples are given in (84–86).

- (83) a. *ja, wa* 'ey, hey'
 b. *haj* 'hi, oh' (informal answer to greeting and astonishment)
 c. *ej* 'eh'
 d. *ulk:a(s)* 'hey'
 e. *žan* 'beloved'

9.5 Pause fillers, address particles, exclamatives, and interjections

- (84) ha-jɤ-ib, r-ik^w-ar, “wa Iļjas.” “haj”
 UP-COME.M.PFV-PRET F-say.IPFV-PRS hey Iļyas hi
 ‘He came, and she said (to him), “Hey Iļyas.” (He said), “Hi.”’

The particle *ulk:a(s)* is used as an address term when trying to prompt the reaction of the addressee, for instance when asking him to answer a question (85), but it also seems to be a pause filler.

- (85) ulk:as, ha^ˈsanʔa^ˈli, b-arx-le b-urs-a=k:^wa!
 hey Hassanali N-direct-ADVZ N-tell.PFV-IMP=PRT
 ‘Hey, Hasanali, tell the truth!’

The particle *žan* ‘beloved’ is a loan from Persian with the meaning ‘life, soul, spirit’ that is used as an address particle before names or kinship terms when expressing endearment and affection towards the addressed person. It is also used as a noun with the meaning ‘body, vital essence’.

- (86) ellelej, žan durħu^ˈ, haʔ-ib=da ča=de=l
 PRT beloved boy say.PFV-PRET=1 who=2SG=Q
 ‘Ooh, my dear boy, I thought, who are you?’

There are two particles *ma* ‘take’ and *hara* ‘come, go, look, here is, here you are’ that are used in commands when requesting the addressee to take something or to come to the speaker. These particles thus function like verbs inflected for the imperative. Therefore, they can also attach the suffix *-(j)a* (87), which is used in commands and other kinds of non-indicative utterances when the addressee is plural and most often co-occurs with the imperative, the prohibitive, and the optative.

- (87) heχ-t:i sat:i arg-an durħ-n-a-c:e “ma=ja!” b-ik^ˈ-ul
 DEM.DOWN-PL in.front go.IPFV-PTCP boy-PL-OBL-IN take!=PL HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-b
 COP-HPL

‘They say to the guys passing by, “Take (a drink)!”’

- (88) “hara, ala durħu^ˈ,” Ø-ik^ˈ-ul ca-w, “ha^ˈ-q^ˈ-u^ˈn-ne”
 come 2SG.GEN boy M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M UP-go-PRET-CVB
 ‘“Come, your son has come,” he says.’

Interjections expressing astonishment or excitement are *huja*, *waħ* ‘wow’, *ellelej(-q^ˈu)* ‘oh, oh, oh’ (astonishment, slightly negative evaluation) (86), and *ubza* ‘oh man’ (95). The latter originates from the noun *ɸ^wabza* ‘dzhigit, true man’.

Sanzhi has no real words for ‘yes’ and ‘no’, instead the copula *ca-b* is used or the respective verb forms is repeated when affirming what has been said or agreeing with the addressee. For rejection or disaffirmation the negated verb is used. However, the exclamations *e* ‘yes, agreed’ and *aʔa* ‘no’ can also be employed in these functions. For more examples of question-answer pairs, see §28.1.

- (89) “rurger” q:anaw=aw il ce ca-b=e? e, e, hik’ hin d-ax-an
gutter channel=Q that what COP-N=Q yes yes DEM.UP water NPL-go-PTCP
mus:a
place
‘“Gutter,” this is a channel or what is it? Yes, the place where the water runs (to
the water mill).’
- (90) ca-w q:umuqlan=de=w? a?a, dark:ʷan=de
REFL-M Kumyk=PST=Q no Dargwa=PST
‘Was he himself Kumyk? No, he was Dargwa.’

Other particles and exclamations are presented in (91).

- (91) a. *inardi* ‘believe me, think yourself’
b. *javari(b)* ‘listen, my dear’
c. *hu* ‘well, now, right, come on’
d. *wari* ‘no, no way’ (emphatic warning)
e. *ixʷixʷle* ‘of course’ (to express irony and when the speaker does not believe
the addressee)
- (92) “javarib,” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w, “c’aq’-ce admi už-ib-le=q’al,”
PRT M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M strong-DD.SG person be.M-PRET-CVB=MOD
Ø-ik’-ul ca-w, “ik’ sunglan”
M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M DEM.UP Sanzhi
‘“Oh, it turned out that the Sanzhi person is such a strong man,” he says.’
- (93) hu=k:ʷa, sa-d-irʷ-an-ne
well=PRT HITHER-NPL-COME.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
‘Well, they will come (another day).’

There are a couple of exclamative phrases and words from Arabic that are common
in the Muslim world and are also used by Sanzhi speakers (94), (95).

- (94) a. *aj Allah, ja Allah* ‘oh God’
b. *ʔaʔlħaʔmdullilah* ‘Praise be to God!’
c. *inša-Allah* ‘if Allah wills’
d. *aman* ‘alas, mercy, pity, oh, ah!’ (lit. security, safety, peacefulness)
e. *wallah, wallahi tallahi, billah, wallah tallah* ‘(I promise, I swear) by God’
f. *mašaʔallah* ‘God has willed it’ (appreciation, joy, praise or thankfulness for an
event or person that was just mentioned)
- (95) [You do not believe me and don’t think that this has happened to me!]
billah=ra, wallah ʔubza ca-b=de
by.God=ADD by.God EMPH COP-N=PST
‘I swear by God it happened.’

Nowadays, speakers also employ Russian words or phrases as interjections or pause fillers (96).

- (96) a. *kiljanus* ‘I swear’
 b. *karoče* ‘in short’ (pause filler)
 c. *značit* ‘thus, this means’ (pause filler)
 d. *wat* ‘well, here is’
 e. *tak* ‘like this, so, well’
 f. *že* (modal particle)
 g. *dawaj* ‘let’s go, come’ (invitations and requests)

The greeting phrase used among men is the traditional Arabic phrase *as-salam ʔaʔlay-kum*. Other greetings are given in (97), (98). The first is used for greeting women, for example when they are sitting in front of their house because with women the Arabic phrase or its shorter form *salam* is not used. The phrase in (98) is uttered at night when leaving or going to bed, but not when greeting people at night.

- (97) ka-d-iž-ib-le=da=w
 DOWN-1/2PL-sit.PFV-PRET=CVB=1=Q
 ‘Hello!’ (lit. ‘Are you (pl.) sitting?’)
 (98) duči ʔaʔħ d-iχ^w-ab!
 night good NPL-be.PFV-OPT.3
 ‘Good night!’

With outsiders, especially when they are female, Russian salutations are used (e.g. *zdrastvujte* ‘hello’, *dobryj den* ‘good day’).

9.6 Cross-categorical suffixes

These suffixes can be viewed as cross-categorical derivational suffixes that attach to a number of parts of speech (adjectives, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, nominals) and form referential attributes/definite descriptions with nominal properties (suffixes *-ce* and *-il*) or adverbials (adverbializing suffix).

9.6.1 The suffix *-ce*

9.6.1.1 Function and distribution of the suffix *-ce*

The semantic, syntactic and distributional properties of the suffix *-ce* are quite complex. Its syntactic impact overlaps with that of the suffix *-il* described below, but the distributions of both suffixes are rather complementary (see the end of §9.6.2 for a comparison). The suffix *-te*, which is, in fact, one of the most productive nominal plural suffixes (§3.2.1) is used as the plural form of *-ce* and for the sake of simplicity will be treated as such in

this section. However, there are small functional differences between both suffixes *-ce* and *-te* that will be pointed out whenever relevant.

The suffix *-ce* is added to:

- adjectives (99–104)
- various verb forms occurring in certain types of complement clauses (e.g. infinitive, participles, copulas) and relative clauses (preterite or modal participle) and very rarely to the negative copula when it is used as expressing the meaning ‘without’; this includes the ‘experiential’ verb forms (105–113)
- nominals inflected for the genitive case (noun, pronouns etc.) (114)
- expressions with spatial meaning that are inflected for the essive case, in particular adverbials, postpositions, nouns, pronouns (115), (116)

The core function of the suffix can be described as forming definite descriptions that describe the referent via its location, its qualities, or its possessor:

- reference through location: the one that is located in/at/under/... X (when used on spatial expressions)
- reference through qualities and more general characteristics: the one that is X/the one that lacks X (when used on adjectives and relative clauses)
- reference through possessors: the one that belongs to X (when used on genitives)

When the referent is in the singular, *-ce* is used; when it is plural, *-te* is used. The descriptions can be used as referring expressions that function as phrasal or clausal arguments, predicates or detached topicalized items, etc. Based on the core function, the use of the suffix has further extended such that it is also optionally found on attributes such as adjectives and relative clauses that modify nominals. In the following, I will explain my approach by going systematically through the parts of speech listed above and the contexts of use.

First and foremost the suffix *-ce* is found on adjectives. In my corpus, this usage exceeds all other uses. The suffix can optionally be added to adjectives in attributive function without leading to any noticeable semantic difference (99). As the same example shows, it can be added to adjectives with gender agreement prefixes and those lacking gender agreement prefixes. If the head noun is preceded by more than one adjective, all adjectives preceding it can but not need bear the attributive suffix.

(99) b-uqen t'alim / b-uqen-ce t'alim
 N-long rope / N-long-DD.SG rope
 ‘a long rope’ (E)

(100) žahil q:uŋa rurs:i
 young beautiful girl
 ‘a young, beautiful girl’ (E)

- (101) a. *žahil-ce q:uša rurs:i*
 b. *žahil q:uša-ce rurs:i*
 c. *žahil-ce q:uša-ce rurs:i*

In order for adjectives to be used as predicates (102) or nominals (104) the suffix is obligatorily added, and this rule includes Russian loan words as well (103). Adjectives that bear the suffix *-ce* are referential nominals and thus can occur in a position detached from the noun even if they semantically rather seem to function as nominal modifiers (103). Examples such as (103) do not represent discontinuous noun phrases. The adjective is rather an independent referential constituent that occurs to the right of the clause as an afterthought. This will be analyzed in more detail in §9.6.1.2 below.

- (102) *χabac:i dik'ar wahi-ce ak:w-i*
 Khabaci too bad-DD.SG COP.NEG-HAB.PST
 'Khabaci (name) was also not bad.'
- (103) *il-t:-a-la d-aqil χabur-te k'e-d=de ca-d, interesni-te*
 that-PL-OBL-GEN NPL-much story-PL exist.UP-PL=PST COP-NPL interesting-DD.PL
 'About them there were, are many stories, interesting (ones).'

Adjectives (and other items) bearing the suffix can take case suffixes after the oblique stem suffix *-li* has been added (104). In the plural, *-te* is replaced by *-ta* when cases are added (in the same way as for nouns that make use of the plural suffix *-te*).

- (104) *χ:ula-ce-li-j ?a^h-le ?a^q'lu b-alχ-u=w?*
 big-DD.SG-OBL-DAT good-ADVZ mind N-know.IPFV-PRS=Q
 'Does an older (person) know it better?'

Second, the suffix appears on participles (modal and preterite participle) that form relative clauses. Its use is optional and relatively rare for relative clauses in the canonical prenominal position and seems to be preferred for head nouns in the plural and mass nouns that control plural agreement (in which case *-te* instead of *-ce* is used) (106), (107). For head nouns in the singular, the use of the suffix *-il* is more common than *-ce* (§9.6.2). Example (105) is part of a translation of the famous fable 'The North Wind and the Sun'. Example (106) comes from the translation of a Standard Dargwa folktale.

- (105) "či-b-ig-ul=de=w?" b-ik^w-ar bari [q'uc' b-iχ-ub-ce]
 SPR-N-see.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q N-say.IPFV-PRS sun offence N-be.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 č'an-ni-c:e
 wind-OBL-IN
 "Do you see?" said the sun to the offended wind.'
- (106) [juldaš:-a-l cin-i-j sa-q-ib-te] xunul-be
 friend-OBL.PL-ERG REFL.SG-OBL-DAT HITHER-carry-PRET-DD.PL gift-PL
 'the gifts that the friends had brought to him'

- (107) [xanu xu-ra dus či-a-d-až-ib-te] dalga=ra
 twenty five-NUM year SPR-NEG-NPL-see.PFV-PRET-DD.PL detail=ADD
 č-i-d-až-ib=da
 SPR-NPL-see.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I also saw the details that I did not see for 25 years.’

The use of *-ce* becomes obligatory when relative clauses with the preterite participle occur in a position after or detached from the noun that they semantically belong to (108) or when they are used without a head (109), (110). In other words, relative clauses that do not function as attributes but as nominals are marked by *-ce*.

- (108) uc-be [čar b-iχ-ub-te d-ac’ nu^q-b-a-c:ella]
 brother-PL back HPL-be.PFV-PRET-DD.PL NPL-empty hand-PL-OBL-COMIT
 ‘the brothers who came back with empty hands’
- (109) bari=da=nu [r-uq-un-ce]
 sun=1=PRT F-go.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 ‘I am the sun that shines (lit. goes).’
- (110) cet’le [nik’a durh-n-a-l d-arq’-ib-te] xunab-te, sala-lla
 how small boy-PL-OBL-ERG NPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL EQ-DD.PL before-GEN
 zamana, intersna=de ix-t:i
 time interesting=PST DEM.UP-PL
 ‘Like the ones made by little children, from the old times, they were interesting.’

In the function of marking relative clauses the suffix in principle competes with *-il* (§9.6.2 below), but we find a clear distribution. The suffix *-ce* can only be used with singular referents (105), (109), but its use is relatively rare and *-il* is normally used instead. By contrast, in the plural *-il* cannot be used and only *-te* is available (106), (108), and (110).

Relative clauses are not the only types of clauses that can be turned into referential definite descriptions by means of *-ce*. Factual complement clauses with matrix verbs denoting emotions, cognition as well as evaluative predicates can also be marked by the preterite participle and *-ce* (as an alternative to, e.g., the masdar suffix) (§24.2.3). This use is straightforward: a fact is expressed as a proposition by means of *-ce*, i.e., as a definite description, and can then be used in argument position. In this function, the use of *-te* is not allowed.

- (111) [w-ebč’-ib-ce] b-aχ-ur-re b-už-ib-le ...
 M-die.PFV-PRET-DD.SG N-know.PFV-PRET-CVB N-be-PRET-CVB
 ‘She apparently got to know that he had died, ...’
- (112) du razi-l=da [u sa-r-eκ-ib-ce]
 1SG happy-ADVZ=1 2SG HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 ‘I am happy that you came.’ (E)

Similarly, *-ce* (but not *-te*) can be added to the infinitive and used as the complement of the copula in existential clauses (113). The infinitive + *-ce* combinations of the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ have been lexicalized as nouns, e.g. *b-erk^w-ij-ce* ‘food’ (N-eat.PFV-INF-DD.SG).

- (113) *cara cik'al b-urs-ij-ce b-ak:u*
 other something N-tell-INF-DD.SG N-COP.NEG-PRS
 ‘There is nothing more to tell.’

There is one more context in which the suffix is used on verbs, namely for the formation of the analytic verb forms called “experiential” in this grammar. These verb forms consist of the preterite participle plus *-ce* (or *-il*) and a copula, and have perfect-like semantics. They are predominantly used when speakers talk about their own experiences and about situations they were personally involved in (§14.2.6 and §14.2.7). The semantic contribution of the suffix *-ce* to these verb forms is unclear to me, but their syntactic impact is obvious. The experiential tenses are close to forming a clause union or biclausal structure, i.e., the participle with *-ce* functions like a headless relative clause.

Third, the suffix can be added to nominals that are marked for the genitive case (114) or for the essive case (115) and also to spatial adverbs and postpositions that are inflected for the essive case (116). Thus, in (116) the suffix has the entire postpositional phrase in its scope. As with the adjectives and the relative clauses, the so-formed constituents are definite descriptions that function as attributes of nouns or are referentially independent.

- (114) *di-la-ce q:arči b-ič-ib-le χajri b-irχ^w-u*
 1SG-GEN-DD.SG meet N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-CVB benefit N-become.IPFV-PRS.3
heχ-t:u-b dam
 DEM.DOWN-LOC-N 1SG.DAT

‘It happens to me that I come across my (milk) there.’

- (115) *ij qili-w-ce iž-it:e c'aq'-le a-uč:-i*
 this home-M-DD.SG this-ADVZ strong-ADVZ NEG-drink.IPFV-HAB.PST

‘The other one (son) who was at home did not drink that much.’

- (116) *bahsar ca qa^r h-as:-ib Ø-ik:-ul=de,*
 first one pear UP-take.PFV-PRET M-want.IPFV-ICVB=PST
či-w-až-ib-le admi k:alk:i-c:e-w či-w-ce
 SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET-CVB person tree-IN-M on-M-DD.SG

‘First he wanted to take one pear, when he saw the man who was in the tree.’

The difference between modifiers or adjuncts bearing *-ce* and those not bearing *-ce* can be illustrated by the following minimal pair. The first sentence has two interpretations, one in which the noun with the spatial case suffix modifies the whole clause, and another one in which it modifies only the following noun phrase. By contrast, if the suffix *-ce* is added to the noun with the spatial case, only the second interpretation is available.

- (117) azbar-re-b mašin ic-an ca-b
 yard-LOC-N car wash.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘The car has to be washed in the yard.’ OR ‘The car that is in the yard has to be washed.’ (E)
- (118) azbar-re-b-ce mašin ic-an ca-b
 yard-LOC-N-DD.SG car wash.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘The car that is in the yard has to be washed.’ (E)

9.6.1.2 Analyzing the suffix *-ce* and its cognates in other Dargwa languages

Cognates of Sanzhi *-ce* are found in most if not all Dargwa languages (e.g. *-ci* in Standard Dargwa and Icari Dargwa, *-se* in Tanti Dargwa, *-ze* in Chirag Dargwa). In the literature, they have mostly been analyzed with respect to their occurrence on adjectives. Thus, adjectives have been divided into ‘short adjectives’ without the suffix and ‘long adjectives’ that bear the suffix.

In grammars of Standard Dargwa, the short adjectives are said to be more archaic and basically only used in poetry and other types of fictional literature as expressive means to describe emotions and feelings (van den Berg 2001: 26); (Abdullaev et al. 2014: 207–208). According to the latter grammar, adjectives with gender prefixes do not have a short form. This is in plain contrast to Sanzhi Dargwa, where they have a short form, e.g. *ca b-uqen q’a’li* (one N-long branch) ‘one long branch’. Furthermore, in Sanzhi short adjectives are at least as common as adjectives with the attributive suffix, if not more common.

Lander (2014) (see also Sumbatova & Lander 2014) describes short adjectives in Tanti Dargwa as formally and functionally marked and opposed to the unmarked long adjectives bearing the suffix *-se* (the cognate of Sanzhi *-ce*) because the former are rarely used and are restricted in their distribution. By contrast, the long adjectives allow for a large range of constructions. Lander (2014) analyzes them as basically equivalent to relative clauses. He rejects an analysis of *-se* as a nominalizer because adjectives to which *-se* is suffixed differ in some properties from standard nouns. First, they cannot be modified by short adjectives. Second, they can modify personal pronouns, indefinite pronouns, and reflexive pronouns. Third, when case-marked, long adjectives cannot follow the noun as would be expected for a noun in an appositive construction.

For Sanzhi Dargwa the question of markedness is not fully clear, but if we can apply this label at all, it is modifiers having the attributive suffix (e.g. ‘long adjectives’) that are marked, rather than the other way around. First, they are clearly formally marked by the suffix. Second, they seem to be slightly less common than short adjectives, can occur in positions that most nominal modifiers cannot occur in, and occasionally have marked, contrastive semantics that is absent from unmarked modifiers (see the discussion below). Furthermore, when occurring outside of their canonical position, they are syntactically not part of the noun phrase to which they semantically belong. This becomes apparent when the head noun of the noun phrase appears in a case other than the unmarked

absolute. In such a case, the full adjective can only follow a noun when it is also case-marked and interpreted as forming its own phrase. In other words, it is nominalized and takes an argument or adjunct position in the clause (119), (120). A similar behavior is observed with floating quantifiers, which are also syntactically not part of the noun phrase (see §21.1.3).

- (119) * it sa-jɣ-ib tuχtur-ri-š:u ʔa^hh-ce, wahi-ce-lli-š:u
 that HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET doctor-OBL-AD good-DD.SG bad-DD.SG-OBL-AD
 a-ag-ur
 NEG-go.PFV-PRET
 (Intended meaning: ‘He went to a good doctor, he did not go to a bad one.’) (E)
- (120) it sa-jɣ-ib tuχtur-ri-š:u ʔa^hh-ce-lli-š:u,
 that HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET doctor-OBL-AD good-DD.SG-OBL-AD
 wahi-ce-lli-š:u a-ag-ur
 bad-DD.SG-OBL-AD NEG-go.PFV-PRET
 ‘He went to a doctor who is good; he did not go to a bad one.’ (E)

Furthermore, modifiers with attributive suffixes can also be modified by modifiers without attributive suffixes, even in those cases where the former are used as nominals (121), though it would preferable to use attributive suffixes on both adjectives in this example (i.e. *b-iq’-ur-ce it’in-ce*).

- (121) as:a b-iq’-ur it’in-ce!
 buy.PFV-IMP N-ripen-PRET red-DD.SG
 ‘Buy a ripe red one!’ (E)

This behavior points again towards an analysis of the attributive suffix as a nominalization marker. If nouns bearing attributive suffixes are nominalized, we can opt for an analysis in terms of appositional constructions. In appositional constructions, the head noun is modified by one (or occasionally more than one) noun preceding it. Case marking occurs only once, namely on the head noun (122). It cannot occur on the modifier, be it a full adjective or an appositive noun.

- (122) it sa-jɣ-ib ʔa^hh-ce tuχtur-ri-š:u
 that HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET good-DD.SG doctor-OBL-AD
 ‘He went to a good doctor.’ (E)
- (123) * it sa-jɣ-ib ʔa^hh-ce-li-šu tuχtur-ri-š:u /
 that HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET good-DD.SG-OBL-AD doctor-OBL-AD /
 ʔa^hh-ce-li-šu tuχtur
 good-DD.SG-OBL-AD doctor
 (Intended meaning: ‘He went to a good doctor.’) (E)

A similar analysis has been proposed in the Icarí Dargwa grammar: adjectives and other words bearing *-ci/-ti* are analyzed as free attributes alongside cardinal numerals, other derived adjectives and some other words. Sumbatova & Mutalov (2003: 48, 129) claim that “free attributes and nouns could probably be considered to form a single syntactic class (nouns). The main difference is that free attributes are much more common in the attributive position than nouns.” Furthermore, free attributes “usually stress the restrictive character of the attribute or even imply contrastive emphasis on the attribute.” This characterization fits well the Sanzhi data. Modifiers bearing the attributive suffixes can have a contrastive reading, but this reading is normally due to their position (e.g. after the noun) and is not part of the meaning of the suffixes. The suffix just makes it morphosyntactically possible for the modifier to follow the head. For instance, the following elicited example refers to a situation in which large and small plates are contrasted, but the translation of the sentence contains only one occurrence of the attributive suffix on the second adjective, because it occurs without a head noun. This means that the use of the attributive suffix has a purely morphosyntactic explanation.

- (124) h-as:-a χ:ula waq, k^wi-r ka-b-ix-a
 UP-take.PFV-IMP big plate in.the.hands-ABL down-N-throw.PFV-IMP
 nik'a-ce!
 small-DD.SG
 ‘Take the large plate, put away the small one!’ (E)

Modifiers with *-ce* can precede pronouns and occur on non-restrictive relative clauses (125), which also demonstrates that they do not convey contrastive or restrictive semantics. For example, (126) does not imply that the speaker has another mother who is not old.

- (125) [uniwersitet ha-b-eryχ:-aq-ur-ce] at ʔa^h ʔa^či
 university UP-N-fulfill.PFV-CAUS-PRET-DD.SG 2SG.DAT good work
 b-irk-u
 N-OCCUR.IPFV-PRS

‘You who has finished the university will get a good job.’ (E)

- (126) di-la r-uqna-ce aba na ix^wbel=ra qili-r tura
 1SG-GEN F-old-DD.SG mother already long.ago=ADD home-ABL outside
 a-r-ax-u
 NEG-F-go-PRS

‘My old mother already since long ago does not leave the house.’ (E)

However, if they modify personal names the interpretation is normally contrastive. For instance, the use of a noun phrase such as (127) implies that there is another person called Murad who is not good.

- (127) ʔa^h-ce Murad
 good-DD.SG Murad
 ‘the good Murad’ OR ‘the Murad who is good’ (E)

I finish this section with a final comment. During a guest lecture at the University of Potsdam the audience suggested that *-ce* bears some similarity to quantifiers. It might serve to express number similar to what we observe in English *the red one*, and resembles indefinite pronouns such as *some*. In fact, *-ce* is homophonous with the interrogative pronoun *ce* ‘what’, which can also be used as an indefinite pronoun meaning ‘something’. The similarity is also attested in other Dargwa languages, e.g. Tanti (*-se* and *se* ‘what’). As already mentioned, the plural marker *-te* is identical to one of the normal plural suffixes for nouns, and becomes *-ta* when further case suffixes are added. This suggests that, in contrast to *-ce*, the suffix *-te* is morphologically complex, and *-ce* and *-te* are not diachronically related, but go back to different sources. From this it naturally follows that *-ce* and *-te* do not have to have identical distributions. Following this suggestion, items bearing *-ce* could be analyzed as quantificational expressions rather than as referring expressions. However, further research is needed in order to test this and other proposals and to reach a full account of *-ce*, *-te* (and *-il*).

9.6.2 The suffix *-il*

The cross-categorical suffix *-il* is functionally very close to the suffix *-ce* (§9.6.1), but shows a different morphosyntactic distribution. It is added to

- verbs, more specifically to the preterite or interrogative clauses, to copulas (including negative and existential/locational copulas), and to the morphologically defective verb *b-el* ‘remain’
- expressions with spatial meaning that are inflected for the essive case, namely adverbials, postpositions, nouns, pronouns, etc.

As illustrated in examples (128), (129) below, the second usage is roughly identical to the employment of *-ce*.

The suffix *-il* is used for the formation of referential attributes, i.e., lexemes with attributive meaning that are used as referring expressions and can make up their own phrase, but can also occur in apposition to a noun that they modify. In the latter case they occur in the position before the noun just like other nominal modifiers (adjectives, genitives, relative clauses). With non-verbal base words (i.e. expressions marked with the essive case) the suffix is required in order to turn the spatial expression into an attribute of the noun. Without the suffix the spatial expression would function as a modifier at the event level (the same was shown for *-ce* in §9.6.1.1 above). For instance, if we omit the suffix *-il* in (128), the meaning of the sentence would change to ‘The calf fell down before him.’ because now the spatial expression would function as adverb and modify the action expressed by the verb.

- (128) a [cin-na sala-b-il] q:ač:a k-ag-ur
 and REFL-GEN front-N-REF calf DOWN-go.PFV-PRET
 ‘And the calf before him fell down.’

- (129) q^wani-l-c:e-w-il dur^hu[˘] ʁa[˘] ʁ Ø-ik^w-ij w-aʔ-iš:-ib ca-w
 box-OBL-IN-M-REF boy scream M-say.IPFV-INF M-begin-put.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘The boy in the box started to scream.’

When added to verbs the resulting construction is a relative clause that can be restrictive or non-restrictive (see Chapter 23 for examples of both types). The use of *-il* in relative clauses is not obligatory when the relative clause occurs in its canonical position before the noun and there are only very few examples in my corpus (130). But in elicitation of relative clauses the use of *-il* is common.

- (130) [du hak[˘]-ub-il] di-la š:i
 1SG appear.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG-GEN village
 ‘the village where I was born’

When relative clauses occur in a position detached from the head noun, e.g. following it, the use of *-il* becomes obligatory. This happens because noun phrases are head-final and modifiers can never follow the noun they modify (e.g. demonstrative pronouns). However, a relative clause with the suffix *-il* forms its own phrase and can thus directly follow the noun as in (131) or even occur after the finite verb as in (132), a position that is commonly used to express afterthoughts (see §21.1.3 for the constituent order of the noun phrase and §27.1.3 for a discussion of extraposed modifiers).

- (131) dam b-ič:-ib iž ma[˘]lʔu[˘]n-ni [ca kur-re ka-b-iž-ib-il
 1SG.DAT N-give.PFV-PRET this snake-ERG one pit-LOC DOWN-N-be.PFV-PRET-REF
 dawla.či-w Isma[˘]ʔil-li-c:ella]
 rich-M Ismail-OBL-COMIT
 ‘The snake who sat in a pit together with the rich Ismail gave it to me.’
- (132) iž=ra het=ra, het ʔa[˘]χ[˘]:u[˘]l Ø-ix^w-ij [x:unul-la qajqaj-li-c:e
 this=ADD that=ADD that guest M-be.PFV-INF woman-GEN jaw-OBL-IN
 b-a[˘]q-ib-il]
 N-hit.PFV-PRET-REF
 ‘This also and this also is probably the man who hit the woman on the jaw.’

Constituents bearing *-il* are referential and can therefore occur without a head noun. This includes headless relative clauses (for headless relative clauses formed with the preterite participle the use of *-il* or *-ce* is obligatory), but also all other constituents. For instance, without the suffix the word in (133) would not be referential.

- (133) paket-le-b-il?
 parcel-LOC-N-REF
 ‘The (thing) in the parcel?’ NOT ‘Is it in the parcel?’

Therefore, the suffix is often found in topicalization constructions in which the topicalized constituent occurs to the left of the clause in (134) or in right-dislocated afterthoughts that provide more information on the referent such that its identification

is facilitated for the hearer (135). The referential attributes are often co-referenced by nominals in the clause, as in the following two examples:

- (134) *iž-i-c:e-b-il, ce ca-b=eł iż?*
 this-OBL-in-N-REF what COP-N=INDQ this
 ‘The (one) in it (i.e. in his hand), what is it?’
- (135) *het, ča ca-w=e, het [ga˘ra˘ž-la het:u-w-il]?*
 that who COP-M=Q that garage-GEN there-M-REF
 ‘He, who is it, the one of the garage there?’

In the next example (136) the referential attributes form topicalized noun phrases that are preceding the clause and are not co-referenced in the clause.

- (136) *c’il di-la qu-ja-b-il, di-la b-ax-un-il, di-la c’idex,*
 then 1SG-GEN garden-LOC-N-REF 1SG-GEN N-SOW.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG-GEN fruit
itil.ižili, agarud-le ag-ur-re, kumek=ra
 one.thing.and.another garden-LOC go.PFV-PRET-CVB help=ADD
b-arč-ib-le, di-la r-iχ-ub-il=ra b-arq’-ib-le,
 N-find.PFV-PRET-CVB 1SG-GEN F-be.able.PFV-PRET-REF=ADD N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
du=ra ka-r-iž-ib-le=da
 1SG=ADD DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=1
 ‘Then, the (things) in my garden, my sown (fields), my fruits, all the stuff, I went to the garden, I found help, my things that I was able to do I did, and then I was sitting (relaxing).’

The verb forms to which *-il* is added are able to take case markers (preceded by the oblique suffix *-li*) and then they function as referring expressions like nominals, i.e., as headless relative clauses (137–139) (see also §18.1.2.3 and §23.4). The other items that take *-il*, i.e. the spatial expressions in the essive case, are not further inflected. For example, the form *χe-w-il-la* in (137) functions as possessor marked by the genitive, and the possessum is the clause-initial noun *kep-dex*.

- (137) *kep-dex či-r-ag-ur ca-d, hej admi-la, hešt:u-w*
 drinking-NMLZ SPR-ABL-go.PFV-PRET COP-NPL this person-GEN here-M
χe-w-il-la
 exist.DOWN-M-REF-GEN
 ‘The drunkenness passed, of this person who is here down (in the picture).’
- (138) *[b-ik:-an-il-li] aq či-ha-d-arq’-ib-le,*
 N-want.IPFV-PTCP-REF-ERG high SPR-UP-NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
d-uč:-i heχ-t:i
 NPL-drink.IPFV-HAB.PST DEM.DOWN-PL
 ‘The one who wanted (milk) lifted (the cans) up and drank.’

- (139) [niš:a-lla b^wab-ne d-erq;-ib-il-la] du^ˈrħu^ˈ
 1PL-GEN plowshare-PL NPL-take.PFV-PRET-REF-GEN boy
 ‘the son of (the one) who took away our plowshare’
- (140) c’il uruc Ø-iχ-ub=da [du-l b-arq’-ib-il-li-j], du
 then embarrassed M-be.PFV-PRET=1 1SG-ERG N-do.PFV-PRET-REF-OBL-DAT 1SG
 c’aχ ka-b-ic:-ur dam
 shame DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET 1SG.DAT
 ‘Then I was embarrassed because of what I had done; I felt ashamed.’

There are three more uses/meanings of this suffix that have not been discussed so far. First of all, *-il* is used for the formation of experiential forms in the same way as it was mentioned for the suffix *-ce* in §9.6.1.1. Second, the suffix *-il* can be added to the locational/existential copulas when they are followed by the standard copula, such that the result looks like an analytic verb form. In this case, the use of the suffix restricts the meaning of the locational/existential copula to the existential meaning, excluding the locational meaning. Thus, the sentence in (141) cannot be translated by ‘The son of Khalirbihin is (located) down there.’

- (141) heχ χalirbihin-na durħu^ˈ χe-w-il ca-w
 DEM.DOWN Khalirbihin-GEN boy exist.DOWN-M-REF COP-M
 ‘The son of Khalirbihin exists (i.e. is still alive).’ (E)

Third, when added to the preterite participle of the verb ?- ‘say’, the resulting verb form is used as a marker for ordinal numerals (§6.2). It is also part of the quantifiers *liil* ‘all’, *har-il* ‘every’, and *b-aq-il* ‘much, many’. With the first quantifier the use of *-il* is obligatory, i.e. **lib*. To the other two quantifiers *-il* is only attached when they are used referentially (i.e. as predicates or arguments).

The constituents marked with *-il* occasionally have a flavor of contrastiveness, but this is a pragmatic implicature from the context, not part of the meaning of *-il*. Furthermore, many example sentences with *-il* do not have a contrastive meaning. For instance, in (129) the boy in the box is not contrasted with any other boy. Similarly, the fruits of the gardens and fields in (136) are not contrasted with other items.

Finally I will briefly compare *-ce*, *-te* and *-il*. The suffix *-ce* has a larger range of applications because it is added to a greater variety of base words. Almost all morphosyntactic contexts that allow for *-il* also allow for *-ce*, but not vice versa (which might be partially explained by the fact that *-ce* starts with a consonant, and can therefore follow consonants and vowels, but *-il* can only be added after consonants):

- The suffix *-ce* can only be used with singular referents. It occurs on adjectives, to a restricted extent on relative clauses (where it competes with *-il*), nominals marked for genitive and essive case and in complement clauses of the fact type.
- The suffix *-te* can only be used with plural referents and largely mirrors *-ce*. It occurs on adjectives, relative clauses and nominals in the genitive or essive case, but not in complement clauses.

- The suffix *-il* shares with *-ce* the restriction to singular referents and thus partially competes with it. It is primarily used in relative clauses where its use is preferred over *-ce*, but also with nominals bearing the essive case. It cannot be used with adjectives (except for three quantifiers and the formation of ordinal numerals), nor can it occur in complement clauses.

All three suffixes are used in experiential verb forms.

9.6.3 The adverbializer *-le*

The adverbializer *-le* (which has the variant *-lle* and the predictable allomorphs *-ne* and *-re*) forms (manner) adverbs from short adjectives and nouns (§7.5). It is also used for the formation of the simple converbs, i.e., the imperfective and the perfective converb, which are also widely used in analytic tenses (§18.1.1), and it can follow items bearing spatial cases such as adverbs (142) or nouns (143) that then also function like manner adverbials. As example (144) illustrates, it can also be used with nouns in the absolutive case. This sentence shows a copula construction in which the copula complement of the first clause has been turned into an adverbial by means of *-le*.

- (142) hel-i-l nik'a-ce k^wi-w-le, x:unul-li-j
 that-OBL-ERG small-DD.SG in.the.hands-M-ADVZ woman-OBL-DAT
 b-a^ˆq-ib ca-b hel-i-l
 N-hit.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-ERG
 'While she (had) the child in her arms, he hit his wife.'
- (143) prosto q:aq-sa-lle, či-w-ig-ul ak:^wa-di du-l heχ
 just back-ANTE-ADVZ SPR-M-see.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-1 1SG-ERG DEM.DOWN
 admi
 person
 'Just with the back (turned to me), I do not see this person.'
- (144) du ʔa^ˆh sub-le, u x:unul wahi-ce=de
 1sg good husband-ADVZ 2sg woman bad-DD.SG=2sg
 'While I am a good husband, you are a bad wife.' (E)

10 Place names and microtoponyms

Tables 10.1 and 10.2 show names for the villages, towns, and districts that are relevant to the Sanzhi people. The tables first provide the citation form of the place name followed by the essive case, i.e. the word form that needs to be used when answering the question *Where are you?* The last two place names, Druzhiba and Makahchkala, morphosyntactically differ from all the others because they represent recent borrowings. In order to form the essive case they need to employ the locational case suffix *-le* (§3.4.2.2). The other place names do not need such an additional spatial case because the place names have by themselves spatial meaning just like spatial adverbials because this is their default use. With these older place names it might diachronically be possible to identify a root morpheme that represents the place name followed by a spatial case suffix, but synchronically Sanzhi has no spatial cases that consist of a vowel *i* (the most frequent word-final segment of the place names in Table 10.1). Other Dargwa varieties such as Chirag (Ganenkov Submitted), however, have a spatial case expressed by a suffix *-i* that functionally resemble the Sanzhi locational case.

The third column contains referential-attributive terms that are semantically related to the respective places. These terms are formed by adding *-(a)n* to a root that can be the place name or some other root related to it. This suffix might be a cognate of the locative participle suffix *-an* (§18.1.2.4) and/or the interrogative clauses *-an* §18.1.2.2. Another possible cognate is the adjectivizer *-(a)n*, which is used for the formation of a few adjectives involving compounding with numerals and mostly plural nouns (§5.3). The same suffix seems to occur in the derivation of the adjective *b-urk:a-l-an* ‘middle’ from the postposition *b-urk:a* ‘between’. In the default case, these terms refer to the inhabitants of the respective places as the term *the English* can refer to English people. They are also used as attributes of head nouns that do not refer to human beings but to their language, customs, clothes, etc., just like the use of *English* in the phrase *the English language*.

Syntactically, the referential attributes in the third column function like other referential attributes formed by means of the two cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* and *-il* (§9.6.1 and §9.6.2). This means that they largely possess the syntactic properties of nouns. They are used in argument position (6) or as predicates (9). They can also modify nouns as the last column ‘language’ shows. The constructions in the last column, which resemble compound nouns a bit (§3.6.3), can probably be analyzed as nominal appositions similar to the combination of proper names and kinship terms (§21.1.2). Just like with referential attributes that are marked with *-ce*, plural formation occurs by means of the most common plural suffix *-te* (6).

The fourth column contains terms referring to the ethnic group. These terms are a kind of mass nouns that trigger human plural agreement like the word *χalq* ‘people’. The last column contains the terms for the language. Language names contain the word *ɓaj* ‘language’, which is preceded by either (i) the singular term for the inhabitants, (ii) the genitive of the term for the ethnic group, or (iii) the genitive of the place name.

10 Place names and microtoponyms

Table 10.1: Names for villages, towns, and districts, and their inhabitants

	place name	essive case	referential attribute	ethnic group	language
Sanzhi	<i>s:anži</i>	<i>s:anži-b</i>	<i>s:unglan(te)</i>	<i>s:ungul</i>	<i>s:unglan / s:unglila, s:ungulla vaj</i>
Itsari	<i>uc'ari</i>	<i>uc'ari-b</i>	<i>uc'ran(te)</i>	—	<i>uc'ran / uc'rila vaj</i>
Chakhri	<i>č:ihri</i>	<i>č:ihri-b</i>	<i>č:u'hrugan(te)</i>	<i>č:u'hrug</i>	<i>č:u'hrugan, č:u'hrugla vaj</i>
Kubachi	<i>ʔu'rbuži</i>	<i>ʔu'rbuži-b</i>	<i>ʔu'rbugan(te), ʔu'rbuglan(te)</i>	<i>ʔu'rbug</i>	<i>ʔu'rbugan / ʔu'rbugla / ʔu'rbužila vaj</i>
Shari	<i>šurgli</i>	<i>šurgli-b</i>	<i>šurglan(te)</i>	—	<i>šurglan / šurglila vaj</i>
Sursar-Bachi	<i>sursarbač'i</i>	<i>sursarbač'i-b</i>	<i>sursbuk'an(te)</i>	<i>sursbuk'</i>	<i>sursbuk'an / sursbuč'ila vaj</i>
Sanakari	<i>sanaqari</i>	<i>sanaqari-b</i>	<i>sunqlugan(te)</i>	<i>sunqlug</i>	<i>sunqlugan / sunqlužila vaj</i>
Khuduts	<i>xuduc'a</i>	<i>xudec'a-b</i>	<i>xudec'an(te)</i>	—	<i>xudec'an vaj</i>
Ashty	<i>ešt:a</i>	<i>ešt:a-b</i>	<i>ešt:an(te)</i>	—	<i>ešt:an vaj</i>
Ankluk	<i>ank'lus</i>	<i>ank'lus-a-b</i>	<i>ank'lusan(te)</i>	<i>ank'lusi</i>	<i>ank'lusila / ank'lusan vaj</i>
Urkarakh	<i>urkuq(i)</i>	<i>urkuqi-b, urkaraqari-b, urkaraq-le-b</i>	<i>urkuqan(te)</i>	<i>urkuq</i>	<i>urkuqila / urkuqan / urkuqila vaj</i>
Kala-Kureysh	<i>urc'muc:i</i>	<i>urc'muc:i-b</i>	<i>urc'muc:an(te)</i>	<i>urc'muc</i>	<i>urc'muc:an / urc'muc:ila vaj</i>
Sirga (district)	<i>sarha[°]</i>	<i>sarha[°]-b</i>	<i>sarha[°]n(te)</i>	—	<i>sarha[°]ntala / sarha[°]la vaj</i>
Druzhba	<i>družba</i>	<i>družba-le-b</i>	<i>družbala š:ante / družbalan(te)</i>	—	—
Makhach-kala	<i>ma[°]ha[°]č- -q:ala</i>	<i>ma[°]ha[°]č- -q:ala-le-b</i>	<i>ma[°]ha[°]č- -q:alan(te)</i>	—	—

As can be seen in Table 10.2, the noun *q:at:a* forms the essive case by changing the pitch accent to the final vowel (this is an irregular way to form the locational case; it is also found with a few other nouns). The noun *š:i* ‘village’ also has an irregular locational case form, whereas *dubur* is regularly inflected for either the LOC-series (suffix *-le*, assimilated to *-re*) or the IN-series (suffix *-c:e*). If not specified otherwise, *š:i* ‘village’ refers to the village of Sanzhi.

The place names only inflect for directional cases (essive, lative, ablative). As can be seen when comparing the two columns in Table 10.1, the place names mostly have directional meaning, i.e. the lative is identical to the place names themselves. Examples are

Table 10.2: Generic locations and their inhabitants

	place name	essive	referential attribute	language
canyon	<i>q:át:a</i>	<i>q:at:á-b</i>	<i>q:at:igan(te)</i>	—
mountain	<i>dubur</i>	<i>dubur-t-a-c:e-b / dubur-re-b</i>	<i>duburlan(te)</i>	<i>duburla vaj</i>
village	<i>ši</i>	<i>š:a-b, š:i-l-c:e-b</i>	<i>š:an(te)</i>	<i>š:ila vaj</i>

given in (1–3). In the speech of a few younger speakers (age 30 or younger) I noticed the use of the LOC-series marker with the word *s:anži*, i.e., they used the explicit marking *s:anži-le* instead of *s:anži* when talking about going to the village (12). This might be due to Russian influence because Russian place names do not have inherent locative meaning, but require explicit case marking (in Sanzhi and Russian) as the last two lines in Tables 10.1 show.

- (1) du priziw-li ka-Ø-ač'-ib=da urkaraqari
 1SG call-ERG DOWN-M-come.PFV-PRET=1 Urkarakh
 'I (masc.) came to Urkarakh by call.' (i.e. 'I was called to Urkarakh.')
- (2) aba č:iħri-r=de cin-na uc:i-li-š:u-r
 mother Chakhri-F=PST REFL.SG-GEN brother-OBL-AD-F
 'My mother was in Chakhri, at her brother's place.'
- (3) [There were four ways leading to our village,]
 ca ce č:i-b-il bek'-le-rka, ca uc'ari-rka, ca χudec'a-rka, ca
 one what on-N-ADJVZ head-LOC-ABL one Itsari-ABL one Khuduc-ABL one
 ša`rʔa`-rka
 Shari-ABL
 'one through the peak on which there is something, one from Itsari, one from
 Khuduc, and one from Shari.'

The referential attributive terms and the terms for the ethnic groups (fourth and fifth column) inflect like standard nouns, for example *sungul* 'Sanzhi people', ergative *sungul-li*, genitive *sungul-la/sungli-la*, dative *sungul-li-j*, and *sunglante* 'Sanzhi villagers', ergative *sunglan-t-a-l*, genitive *sunglan-t-a-la*, and so on.

- (4) t:ura ka-b-uq-un-ne liil=ra sungul
 outside DOWN-HPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB all<HPL>=ADD Sanzhi.people
 'All Sanzhi people came out (of their houses).'
- (5) er d-ik'-ul=da: uc'ri-la ši
 look 1/2PL-look.at.IPFV-ICVB=1 Itsari-GEN village
 'We are looking: the village of Itsari.'

10 Place names and microtoponyms

- (6) ʔaʳz w-arqʼ-ib-le, tusnaq w-arqʼ-ib
 complain M-do.PFV-PRET-CVB prison M-do.PFV-PRET
 urkuqan-t-a-l
 Urkarakh.person-PL-OBL-ERG

‘The Urkarakh people complained and put him into prison.’

Table 10.3 displays terms for referential attributes that mostly denotate ethnic groups of the Caucasus and the names of the respective languages. Many of the referential attributes are also formed by means of the suffix *-an*. Some examples illustrating the usage are given in (7–9). As example (7) shows, the terms that contain genitive suffixes can also be used without head nouns (e.g. *vaj* ‘language’ in this examples) if the reference is clear from context.

Table 10.3: Ethnic groups

ethnic group	attributes (SG, PL)	language
Avar	<i>kʼaraqan(te)</i>	<i>kʼaraqan/kʼaraqala vaj</i>
Lak	<i>belek:ʷan(te)</i> (<i>< belek:ʷa</i> ‘Lakia’)	<i>belek:ʷan/belek:ʷala vaj</i>
Lezgian	<i>lezgi(be)</i>	<i>lezgi vaj</i>
Tabasaran	<i>tabasaran(te)</i>	<i>tabasaran vaj</i>
Dargwa	<i>dark:ʷan(te)</i>	<i>dark:ʷan/dark:ʷala vaj</i>
Kumyk	<i>ʒaʳndar(te)</i> , <i>q:umuq(:te)</i> , <i>q:umuqlan(te)</i>	<i>ʒaʳndar /</i> <i>q:umuq/q:umuqlan</i>
Jewish	<i>ʒuhutʼ(e)</i>	<i>ʒuhutʼ vaj</i>
Aghul	<i>avul(te)</i>	<i>avul vaj</i>
Russian	<i>ʔuʳus</i> , <i>ʔuʳus:e</i>	<i>ʔuʳus vaj</i>
Nogai	<i>nɨvaj(te)</i>	<i>nɨvaj(tala) vaj</i>
Chechen	<i>čaʳčaʳn(te)</i> , <i>mičiχičlan(te)</i>	<i>čaʳčaʳn /</i> <i>mičiχičlan vaj</i>
Dagestania	<i>davistan(te)</i>	<i>davistanna vaj</i>
Georgian	<i>gurži(be)</i>	<i>gurži(la) vaj</i>
German	<i>nemec</i> , <i>nemc:abe</i>	<i>nemc:abala vaj</i>

- (7) zapovednik b-ikʼ-u ʔuʳus:-a-la
 nature.reserve HPL-say.IPFV-PRS Russian-OBL-GEN
 ‘This is called ‘nature reserve’ in the Russian (language).’
- (8) nu uže ʒuhutʼ-li-j ʔaʳh-le ag-ur
 well already Jew-OBL-DAT good-ADVZ go.PFV-PRET
 ‘Well, the Jew already felt better.’
- (9) ca-w q:umuqlan=de=w? aʔa, dark:ʷan=de
 REFL-M Kumyk=PST=Q no Dargwa=PST
 ‘Was he Kumyk? No, (he) was Dargwa.’

Some microtoponyms can be found in Table 10.4. The first column provides the citation form of the name and the second column the essive case form (all other spatial cases are formed accordingly). The second column shows that the essive forms are sometimes transparently built from the LOC-series (-*le*) and in one case from the AD-series (-*š:u*) (10). All terms for microtoponyms do not contain morphemes that synchronically can be identified as spatial case suffixes (11). The third column provides explanations for those place names for which I was able to find one. Unfortunately not all place names are still remembered after more than 50 years since Sanzhi people resettled from their original village to the lowlands.

Table 10.4: Microtoponyms

microtoponym	essive	explanation
<i>zejnuq'</i>	<i>zejnuq'-le-b</i>	
<i>iqanna</i>	<i>iqanna-b</i>	
<i>χ:ula sukri</i>	<i>χ:ula sukri-b</i>	around 500 meters from Sanzhi to the west, an area about of the length of about one kilometer; location of some terraced fields
<i>kuzu</i>	<i>kuzu-le-b</i>	
<i>š:ik'e</i>	<i>š:ik'e-b</i>	
<i>pa'χ-pa'χ</i>	<i>pa'χ-pa'χ-le-b</i>	main spring on the other side of the river in front of the village from where the Sanzhi people used to fetch their water
<i>c'a'l dark:wⁱ</i>	<i>c'a'l dark:wⁱ-le-b</i>	an Itsari farm located on the main road to Itsari; Sanzhi people used to work there
<i>ħa'praqu</i>	<i>ħa'praqu-le-b</i>	
<i>irč'milla ba'ʔ</i>	<i>irč'milla ba'ʔ-li-š:u-b</i>	
<i>k^was:ala</i>	<i>k^was:ala qalsa-b</i>	
<i>qal(li)sa</i>		
<i>sana</i>	<i>sana-b</i>	sunny site of the mountain valley
<i>ʔa'ragu</i>	<i>ʔa'ragu-b</i>	
<i>qirabaj</i>	<i>qirabaj-le-b</i>	
<i>χa'nhara</i>	<i>χa'nhara-b</i>	
<i>čibk'ila bek'</i>	<i>čibik'ila bek'-le-b</i>	elevation above the village, on the northern side

- (10) *ša rʔa° d-at a ʔ-ib-le ca kilamtru k'e-b b-urk:-ar*
 Shari 1/2PL-free do.PFV-PRET-CVB one kilometer exist.UP-N N-find.IPFV-PRS
hext:u-b ʔ^waž-le-r či-d-a, muɁar-la bek'-le-r
 there.UP-N Ghwazh-LOC-ABL on-1/2PL-DIR Mughar-GEN head-LOC-ABL
 'They sent us to Shari, it is probably one kilometer, through the hill Ghwazh,
 through the top Mughar.'
- (11) *han b-irk-u ix-t:i š:ik'e-b*
 remember HPL-OCCUR.IPFV-PRS DEM.UP-PL Shike-HPL
 'As I remember, they were in Shike.'

Part III

Verbal morphology

11 General remarks on verbal morphology

The morphosyntactic categories of verbs in Sanzhi are person, gender, number, polarity, tense, mood, aspect, evidentiality, and voice. This chapter provides an overview of the formal make-up of simple verb stems (§11.2) and the general morpheme template of verbs in Sanzhi (§11.5), the formal means of expressing gender/number and person agreement (§11.3, §11.4), spatial preverbs and their meanings (§11.6), and polarity (§11.7) since these categories are largely independent of the TAME forms and voice. It concludes with an overview of the morphophonological processes that affect the formation and inflection of verbs (§11.8).

11.1 Overview of the general morphological structure of verbs

Based on their morphological make-up, verbs can be divided into the following morphological classes:

- underived stems
- derived verbs (using spatial preverbs, causativization)
- compound verbs

There are comparably few simple verbal stems that can be used and are actually used without having undergone additional derivational or compositional operations. Most of the verbs are morphologically complex, either making use of one or more derivational affixes, and/or being compounds.

Examples of simple underived stems (including gender prefixes) are:

- (1) a. *b-is:-* (IPFV)/*b-as:-* (PFV) ‘take, buy’
b. *b-uq’-* (IPFV)/*b-elq’-* (PFV) ‘grind, mill’
c. *b-is:-* ‘cry’
d. *b-ilʔ-* (IPFV)/*b-iʔ-* (PFV) ‘steal’
e. *b-alχ-* (IPFV)/*b-aχ-* (PFV) ‘know’

The derived verbs contain spatial preverbs (§11.6) and/or the causative suffix (§12.1). The compound verbs are of various types:

11 General remarks on verbal morphology

- light verb compounds with intransitive auxiliaries such as, e.g. *b-ik*'^w- 'say, move' and *b-iχ*'^w-/*b-irχ*'^w- 'be, become, can', and transitive auxiliaries such as *b-irq*'¹-/*b-arq*'¹- 'do, make' and *aβ*- 'do' (§12.2)
- compound verbs containing an invariant bound morpheme from a closed class (i.e. non-spatial preverbs) (§12.2.5)
- compound verbs that have the morphosyntactic behavior of phrases (§12.2.2)

This chapter includes only information on spatial preverbs §11.6, because they form a closed class and mostly are in a particularly tight connection with the verbal root, which clearly differentiates them from non-spatial preverbs and other items used in verbal compounding. Causativization and compounding are treated in a separate chapter on verb formation (Chapter 12).

11.2 The structure of underived verbal stems

Simple underived verbs have the structure $(C_1)V(C_2)C_3(:)$. The only consonants and semi-vowels that can occur in the C_1 slot are the two resonants *r*, *l*, the glottal stop, which obligatorily occurs before vowel-initial roots and which is not indicated in the spelling, and the pharyngeal stop, which usually occurs before pharyngealized vowels and is indicated in the spelling because it cannot be predicated. If we include also the verbs with gender agreement slots before the root and spatial preverbs, which are obligatorily used with some verbal roots, we have to add the exponents of gender agreement (*b*-, *r*-, *d*-, *w*-) and the consonants of deixis/elevation preverbs (*h*, *k*, *s*) as possible in the position of C_1 . No other consonants are allowed. This clearly differentiates verbs from nouns or adjectives, which do not have similar restrictions (see §2.3 for the general syllable and word structure of Sanzhi). In the position of C_2 only sonorants (*r*, *l*, *m*) and *b* are permitted, which conforms to a general requirement of the Sanzhi syllable structure (in nouns also *n* and *j* are allowed). If we include complex stems with deixis/elevation preverbs and with the stem vowel *i*, then we have to add *j* to the list. The slot C_1 allows for a far greater variety of consonants than the other two consonantal slots because only a few consonants are excluded (*p*, *p'*, *b*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and the semivowels *w* and *j*). All vowels that Sanzhi has can occur as root vowel of verbs (including all pharyngealized vowels).

In Sanzhi, just like in all other Dargwa varieties, simple underived stems come in pairs that express the aspectual opposition between perfective and imperfective. This opposition is found in most TAM forms and is also preserved in non-finite verb forms such as participles and converbs. A very small number of finite and non-finite verb forms are available for perfective as well as for imperfective verb stems; most TAM forms can be built either only from imperfective or only from perfective stems. Here I will only describe the formal side of the aspectual opposition. Its meaning is treated in the sections on the respective inflectional verb forms.

The formal expression of the aspectual pairs is largely lexicalized and cannot be predicted. However, verbs can be divided into groups that follow the same patterns. The

two different aspectual stems are cognates that seem to be derived one from the other, but there is no unique direction of derivation. They can be distinguished on the basis of stem vowels, infix-like segments from a closed class of phonemes (only *r* and *l*), and the presence or absence of a gender agreement prefix.

In the following, I will briefly describe all patterns that can be identified and provide examples for them. Since there are verbs that are only used together with preverbs or other bound morphemes, the verbs given as examples will be morphologically simple and complex. The structure of complex verbs is indicated by dots and - for morpheme boundaries, and the verbs are given with the gender agreement prefix *b-* (except for the verbs that have a fixed agreement prefix).

11.2.1 Differences in gender agreement

The structure of the verbs in Table 11.1 is completely identical. The only difference is the potential for gender agreement in their prefixal form only present in perfective stems.

Table 11.1: Differences in the gender agreement

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
<i>iC</i> vs. <i>b-iC</i>			
<i>it-</i>	<i>b-it-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	'beat up'
<i>irš:-</i>	<i>b-irš:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	'mow'
<i>ik:-</i>	<i>b-ik:^w-</i>	<i>-ub</i>	'burn'

11.2.2 Differences in the stem vowel

The structure of the verbs in Table 11.2 is $V(C_1)C_2(:)$ with C_1 being *r*, *b*, or *m*. The vowel distinctions attested are *i* vs. *a*, *u* vs. *a*, and *u* vs. *e*.

11.2.3 Insertion of *r* in the imperfective stem

The pattern in Table 11.3 occurs without and in combination with ablaut of the stem vowel. The structure of the verbal root is always $VrC(:)$ for the imperfective and $VC(:)$ for the perfective aspect. Many of these verbs have the same root vowel in the imperfective as well as the perfective stem, with the majority of verbs having *i*. Then there are a number of verbs that have diverging root vowels. Among them there are a few that occur only with a spatial preverb (*ka-* or *ha-*). Since there are regular morphophonological process of $a + i > e$ and $a + a > a(:)$ we can assume that the root vowel of these verbs is *i* for the imperfective stem and *a* for the perfective stem.

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Table 11.2: Differences in the stem vowel

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
<i>i</i> vs. <i>a/a</i> [°] (with or without gender agreement prefix)			
<i>is-</i>	<i>as-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘take, buy’
<i>irb-</i>	<i>arb-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘understand’
<i>ibχ-</i>	<i>abχ-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘comb’
<i>b-ig-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	<i>b-ag-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘see’
<i>b-ic’-</i>	<i>b-ac’-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘thaw’
<i>b-it.iq-</i>	<i>b-it.aq-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘disappear’
<i>b-irq’-</i>	<i>b-arq’-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘do, make’
<i>b-irʔ-</i>	<i>b-aʔrʔ-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘freeze, get/become cold’
<i>b-ik-</i> (<i>k</i> > <i>č</i>)	<i>b-ak-</i> (<i>k</i> > <i>č</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘smear, spread’
<i>b-it.ik’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>b-it.ak’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘shove in’
<i>b-it’.ik’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>b-it’.ak’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘pull’
<i>gu-b-ibk:-</i> (<i>k:</i> > <i>č:</i>)	<i>gu-b-abk:-</i> (<i>k:</i> > <i>č:</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘yoke’
<i>ka-b-ibχ:-</i>	<i>ka-b-aʔbχ:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘thresh’
<i>u</i> vs. <i>a/a</i> [°] (with or without gender agreement prefix)			
<i>b-urχ-</i>	<i>b-arχ-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘sew’
<i>b-urc:-</i>	<i>b-arc:-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘get tired’
<i>b-urk:-</i> (<i>k:</i> > <i>č:</i>)	<i>b-ark:-</i> (<i>k:</i> > <i>č:</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘find’
<i>ha-b-urk’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>ha-b-ark’-</i> (<i>k’</i> > <i>č’</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘throw upwards’
<i>ʔuʔmč’-</i>	<i>ʔaʔmč’-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘become bald, lose hair, scrape clean’
<i>u</i> vs. <i>e</i> (with or without gender agreement prefix)			
<i>qum.urt^a-</i>	<i>qum.ert-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘forget’
<i>urg-</i>	<i>erg^w-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘sieve’
<i>urč-</i>	<i>erč-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘saw’
<i>b-umt:-</i>	<i>b-emt:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘swell’
<i>b-urh-</i>	<i>b-erh-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘knock, strike, bang’
<i>b-uč’-</i>	<i>b-elč’-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘read, learn’

^a(*qum.a.art-* when negated)

Table 11.3: Insertion of *r* in the imperfective stem

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
VrC vs. VC (with or without gender agreement prefix)			
<i>t:ura irt'</i> -	<i>t:ura it'</i> -	- <i>ib</i>	'spill out'
<i>irx^w</i> -	<i>ix^w</i> -	- <i>ub</i>	'throw, shoot'
<i>arg^(w)</i> - (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	<i>ag</i> - (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	- <i>ur</i>	'go'
<i>b-irk-</i> (<i>k</i> > <i>č</i>)	<i>b-ik-</i> (<i>k</i> > <i>č</i>)	- <i>ib</i>	'occur, happen' (auxiliary)
<i>b-irc'</i> -	<i>b-ic'</i> -	- <i>ib</i>	'fill'
<i>b-irc-</i>	<i>b-ic-</i>	- <i>ib</i>	'sell'
<i>(ka-)b-irg-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	<i>(ka-)b-ig-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	- <i>ib</i>	'sit, be' (auxiliary)
<i>gu.r.b-irx:-</i> (<i>x:</i> > <i>š:</i>)	<i>gu.r.b-ix:-</i> (<i>x:</i> > <i>š:</i>)	- <i>ib</i>	'hide' (intr., tr.)
<i>ka-b-irx:-</i> (<i>x:</i> > <i>š:</i>)	<i>ka-b-ix:-</i> (<i>x:</i> > <i>š:</i>)	- <i>ib</i>	'put'
<i>b-urc-</i>	<i>b-uc-</i>	- <i>ib</i>	'catch, keep'
<i>b-urt'</i> -	<i>b-ut'</i> -	- <i>ib</i>	'distribute'
<i>sa-b-irβ-</i>	<i>sa-b-eβ-</i> (<i>sa-jβ-</i>)	- <i>ib</i>	'come'
<i>ka-b-irč:-</i>	<i>ka-b-ič:-</i>	- <i>ib</i>	'cut up'
<i>či-r-b-irx^w</i> -	<i>či-r-b-ix^w</i> -	- <i>ub</i>	'take off, take away' (e.g. clothes)
<i>b-irχ^w</i> -	<i>b-iχ^w</i> -	- <i>ub</i>	'be, become, be able' (auxiliary)
<i>b-irc:-</i>	<i>b-ic:-</i>	- <i>ur</i>	'stand'
<i>b-erg-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	<i>b-eg-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	- <i>ur</i>	'enter'
PRV-irC vs. PRV-aC (preverb, no gender agreement prefix)			
<i>k.ert'</i> -	<i>ka.t'</i> -	- <i>ib</i>	'pour'
<i>h.er?</i> -	<i>ha.?</i> -	- <i>ib</i>	'say'
<i>k.erx^w</i> -	<i>ka.x^w</i> -	- <i>ub</i>	'kill'
<i>k.erx^w/h.erx^w</i> -	<i>ka.x^w/ha.x^w</i> -	- <i>ub</i>	'pour, add'
urC vs. aC (with gender agreement prefix)			
<i>b-u[˘]rq-</i>	<i>b-a[˘]q-</i>	- <i>ib</i>	'strike, hit, wound'
<i>tu d-u[˘]rq-</i>	<i>tu d-a[˘]q-</i>	- <i>ib</i>	'spit'

11.2.4 Insertion of *l* in the imperfective stem

Apart from two exceptions, the verbs in Table 11.4 are all of the structure *VIC(:)* for the imperfective and *VC(:)* for the perfective aspect, with identical vowels for both verbs.

Table 11.4: Insertion of *l* in the imperfective stem

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
<i>VIC(:)</i> vs. <i>VC(:)</i> (with or without gender agreement prefix)			
<i>k.alt'</i> -	<i>k.at'</i> -	<i>-un</i>	'stick, pin, attach'
<i>ʔa`lh-</i>	<i>ʔa`h-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'fly'
<i>ic:alχ:-</i>	<i>ic:aχ:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'start aching, start hurting'
<i>b-alχ:-</i>	<i>b-aχ:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'feet'
<i>b-alx^w-</i>	<i>b-ax^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'sow'
<i>b-als:-</i>	<i>b-as:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'glue'
<i>b-alš-</i>	<i>b-aš-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'knead'
<i>b-alc-</i>	<i>b-ac-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'plough'
<i>ha-b-ilq'</i> -	<i>ha-b-iq'</i> -	<i>-un</i>	'bring up'
<i>ka-b-ils:-</i>	<i>ka-b-is:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'lay down, lie'
<i>b-ilʔ-</i>	<i>b-iʔ-</i>	<i>-u`n</i>	'steal'
<i>b-ilχ-</i>	<i>b-iχ-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'tie, fasten'
<i>či-b-b-ilš-</i>	<i>či-b-b-iš-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'go out, die out'
<i>(ha)-b-ulq-</i>	<i>b-uq-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'go, run (away),
<i>(ha-lq^w-)</i>	<i>(ha-w-q-)</i>		move, direct'
<i>či-r-b-ulg-</i>	<i>či-r-b-ug-</i>	<i>-un</i>	'cancel, delete'
<i>b-alχ-</i>	<i>b-aχ-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'know'
<i>b-alt-</i>	<i>b-at-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	'let, leave'

11.2.5 Insertion of *r* in the perfective stem

The verbs in Table 11.5 have the root structure *VC(:)* for the imperfective and *VrC(:)* for the perfective aspect. Vowels can either be identical or diverge. There are a number of verbs in this group that lack gender agreement prefixes for imperfective stems.

11.2.6 Insertion of *l* in the perfective stem (and usually *l*-initial imperfective stem)

The last group of verbs has *l* in the perfective stem, see Table 11.6. Most of these verbs have divergent stem vowels. The morphological make-up of the perfective verbs belonging to this group is always *VIC(:)*. The structure of the imperfective verbs is either *VC(:)* (only with very few verbs) or *IVC(:)* (majority of verbs). In the latter case the verbs do not have a slot for a gender agreement within the root.

11.2 The structure of underived verbal stems

Table 11.5: Insertion of *r* in the perfective stem

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
<i>VC(:)</i> vs. <i>VrC(:)</i> (gender agreement prefixes only with perfective stems)			
<i>ic:-</i>	<i>b-irc:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘milk’
<i>is:-</i>	<i>b-irs:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘shave’
<i>ic-</i>	<i>b-irc-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘wash’
<i>iq-</i>	<i>b-irq-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘chop’
<i>uq:-</i>	<i>b-urq:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘dig’
<i>uC(:)</i> vs. <i>erC(:)</i> (with or without gender agreement prefix with imperfective stems)			
<i>rux:-</i>	<i>b-erx:-</i>	<i>-ur</i>	‘color, paint’
<i>ru’q:-</i>	<i>b-a’rq:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘educate’
<i>ut:-</i>	<i>b-ert:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘tear, burst, cut off, mow’
<i>d-uz-</i>	<i>b-erz-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘spin’
<i>b-uc’-</i>	<i>b-erc’-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘bake, fry, roast’
<i>b-uq-</i>	<i>b-erq-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘carry, take’
<i>b-uč:-</i>	<i>b-erč:-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘drink, consume, smoke’
<i>b-uʔ-</i>	<i>b-erʔ-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘rot’
<i>b-uq-</i>	<i>b-erq-</i>	<i>-ib</i>	‘suck, feed’
<i>er-b-urk’-</i> (<i>k’ > č’</i>)	<i>er-b-erk’-</i> (<i>k’ > č’</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘look at’
<i>b-uk-</i>	<i>b-erk^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘eat’

Table 11.6: Insertion of *l* in the perfective stem

IPFV	PFV	preterite	translation
<i>uC/iC</i> vs. <i>elC/ulC</i> (with gender agreement prefix)			
<i>b-uq’-</i>	<i>b-elq’-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘turn, whirl, grind, mill’
<i>luC</i> vs. <i>alC/elC/iC</i> (gender agreement prefixes only with perfective stems)			
<i>luχ-</i>	<i>b-elχ^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘slaughter, cut’
<i>luk’-</i>	<i>b-elk^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘write’
<i>lug-</i>	<i>d-elg^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘count’
<i>luq’-</i>	<i>b-elq^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘break into pieces, wreck, destroy’
<i>lux-</i>	<i>b-elx^w-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘cook, boil’ (intr.)
<i>luš-</i>	<i>b-alš-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘shear, cut (hair)’
<i>luc’-</i>	<i>b-alc’-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘gather, collect’
<i>lug-</i>	<i>b-alg-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘furnish, equip’ (e.g. the house for newlyweds)
<i>luq:-</i>	<i>b-elq:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘eat one’s fill’
<i>lus:-</i>	<i>b-els:-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘snarl, braid, get tangled up’
<i>luk-</i>	<i>b-elk-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘rub away, wear off’
<i>luk’-</i>	<i>b-alk’-</i>	<i>-un</i>	‘bend’
<i>luk:-</i>	<i>b-ik:-</i> (<i>k: > č:</i>)	<i>-ib</i>	‘give’

11.2.7 Verbs with only one aspectual stem and other morphologically exceptional verbs

There are a number of defective verbs that lack the second member of the aspectual pair and only have one stem (Table 11.7). This single stem inflects for the verb forms that are normally only or at least predominantly formed from the imperfective stem (e.g. imperfective converb, modal participle, prohibitive) as well as for verb forms that are normally only or at least predominantly formed from the perfective stem (e.g. preterite, perfective converb, imperative). In the following, I will simply call these verb forms perfective and imperfective TAM forms.

There are a few exceptional verbs that have restricted possibilities for inflection. These verbs are:

b-ik- ‘want, love, like’ Inflectional forms available are the imperfective converb (*b-ik:-ul*), the modal participle (*b-ik:-an*), the habitual present in the third person used with third-person experiencers (*b-ik:-u*), another habitual present form that formally corresponds to a third person but can only be used with first person experiencers in assertions and second person experiencers in questions (*b-ik:-ar*), another word form that contains the suffix of the habitual past (*b-ik:-i*) but has the same meaning and distribution as the form just described, and one word form that formally corresponds to the habitual past, but expresses irrealis modality and is only used with first person experiencers (*b-ik:-adi*) (§13.2). Only the derived causative of this verb (*b-ič:-aq-*) can regularly be inflected for TAM forms such as the preterite (perfective converb), the imperative, and the infinitive that otherwise predominantly occur with perfective verb forms.

urč- ‘fit, suit’ Inflectional forms available are the perfective converb (*urč:-ib*), the imperative (*urč:-e!*), the prohibitive (*ma-urč:-ut!*), but no other verb forms, e.g., no infinitive, no imperfective converb, no modal participle.

b-u^q- ‘go’ Inflectional forms available are the infinitive (*b-u^q-ij*), the imperative (e.g. the form used for feminine singular addressees *r-u^q-en* or *r-u^q-aⁿ!* with no difference in meaning; masculine singular *u^q-en/u^q-aⁿ!*, etc.), the prohibitive, (*ma^q-q^a-t* (SG), *ma^q-q^a-t:aja!* (PL)), the masdar (*b-u^q-ni*), and the modal interrogative (*r-u^q-ide(l)*), whereby the prohibitive form omits the gender prefix. The verb can take the three deictic preverbs *sa-*, *ha*, and *ka-*, in which case the gender agreement prefix is left out. The resulting verb forms *sa^q-*, *ha^q-*, and *ka^q-* only inflect for the prohibitive (e.g. *sa-ma^q-q^a-t* in the singular, *sa-ma^q-q^a-t:aja* in the plural), the imperfective converb (e.g. *sa^q-u^{nne}*) and the modal participle (*sa^q-aⁿ*).

Table 11.7: Stems inflecting for all TAM forms (imperfective and perfective)

verb	translation	preterite, imperfective converb
<i>b-ax-</i> (<i>x</i> > <i>š</i>)	'go'	<i>b-aš-ib, b-ax-ul</i>
<i>b-ibx-</i> (<i>x</i> : > <i>š</i> :)	'escape'	<i>b-ibš:-ib, b-ibx:-ul</i>
<i>b-irʔ-</i>	'betray'	<i>b-irʔ-ib, b-irʔ-u`l</i>
<i>b-is-</i>	'cry'	<i>b-is:-ib, b-is:-ul</i>
<i>b-iχ-</i>	'guard, beware, care for'	<i>b-iχ:-ib, b-iχ:-u`l</i>
<i>b-iχ-</i>	'believe'	<i>b-iχ:-ib, d-iχ:-u`l</i>
<i>b-uc-</i>	'work'	<i>b-uc-ib, b-uc-ul</i>
<i>b-ug-</i> (<i>g</i> > <i>ž</i>)	'remain, stay, be'	<i>b-už-ib, b-ug-ul</i>
<i>b-uk-</i> (<i>k</i> > <i>č</i>)	'lead, gather' (people or animals, not objects)	<i>b-uč-ib, b-uk-ul</i>
<i>b-uk'-</i>	'leak, flow out'	<i>b-uk'-un, b-uk'-unne</i>
<i>b-uk-</i>	'itch'	<i>b-uk:-un, b-uk:-unne</i>
<i>b-ulk:-</i>	'beg, plead'	<i>b-ulk:-un, b-ulk:-unne</i>
<i>b-umʔ-</i>	'romp around, frolic, have fun, play around'	<i>b-umʔ-u`n, b-umʔ-u`nne</i>
<i>b-urb-</i>	'throw oneself, rush, attack'	<i>b-urb-ib, b-urb-ul</i>
<i>b-urs-</i>	'tell'	<i>b-urs-ib, b-urs-ul</i>
<i>b-urž-</i>	'strain oneself'	<i>b-urž-ib, b-urž-ul</i>
<i>bus-</i>	'rain, snow'	<i>bus-ib, bus-ul</i>
<i>či-karχ^w-</i>	'(en)wrap, cover, coat'	<i>či-karχ-ur, či-karχ-ul</i>
<i>(gu-)lik'-</i>	'listen'	<i>(gu-)lik'-un, (gu-)lik'-unne</i>
<i>halk^w-</i>	'light up, catch fire'	<i>halk-un, halk-unne</i>
<i>ibk:-</i> (<i>k</i> : > <i>č</i> :)	'steal, snaffle'	<i>ibč:-ib, ibk:-ul</i>
<i>ic-</i>	'ache, hurt'	<i>ic:-ib, ic:-ul</i>
<i>ka-b-urχ:-</i>	'beg'	<i>ka-b-urχ:-ib, ka-b-urχ:-ul</i>
<i>kemq-</i>	'hang' (intr.)	<i>kemqun, kemq-unne</i>
<i>lik'-</i>	'worry, suffer, endure'	<i>lik'-un, lik'-unne</i>
<i>rurc'-</i>	'itch, burn, twitch'	<i>rurc'-ib, rurc'-ul</i>
<i>ru`rč:-</i>	'tremble, shake, boil'	<i>ru`rč:-ib, ru`rč:-ul</i>
<i>rurg-</i>	'burn the skin'	<i>rurg-ib, rurg-ul</i>
<i>ru`rq-</i>	'boil'	<i>ru`rq-ib, ru`rq-u`l</i>
<i>umc'-</i>	'search'	<i>umc'-un, umc'-ul</i>
<i>umc-</i>	'measure'	<i>umc-un, umc-unne</i>
<i>uχ:-</i>	'shine, sparkle, glitter'	<i>uχ-ib, uχ-ul</i>

11.3 Gender agreement in verb stems

Gender agreement is an important grammatical category of East Caucasian languages, and also present in Sanzhi. Most of the vowel-initial verbal stems and the two preverbs *b-i-* ‘in(side)’ and *b-it-* ‘thither’ have gender agreement prefixes. Furthermore, the locational/existential copulas (§16.2) and the copula-auxiliary *ca-b* have a slot for gender agreement suffixes (or infix in the variant *cai*, see §16.1). The agreement affixes are displayed in Table 11.8.

Table 11.8: Gender agreement affixes in Sanzhi

	SG	1/2PL	3PL
masculine	w/∅	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>
feminine	<i>r</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>b</i>
neuter	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>

The agreement affix for masculine singular is always used when it occurs as a suffix. It is regularly omitted when it occurs as a prefix to a verbal root beginning with *u*, for example *uk:-unne=da* (masc.) vs. *r-uk:-unne=da* (fem.) (eat.IPFV-ICVB=1) ‘I will eat’. It is optionally omitted when the root starts with *i*, for example (*w-*)*ik’-ul* (masc.) vs. *r-ik’-ul* (F-say.IPFV-ICVB) ‘saying’.

The agreement prefixes disappear when the preverb *b-it-* is attached, which contains its own gender prefix (see §11.6.2 for examples). However, if the preverb is preceded by a negation prefix, then the gender agreement can be completely omitted, but such an omission is optional. Thus, the verb *b-it-eb-ij* (N-THITHER-go.PFV-INF) ‘go there’ has the neutral negative form *a-jt-eb-*, which is not specified for gender, alongside with the forms preserving the gender prefixes *a-b-it-eb-*, *a-w-it-eb-*, *a-r-it-eb-*, and *a-d-it-eb-*.

Verbal gender agreement has the clause as its domain, and in the majority of cases it is controlled by the absolutive argument of the agreeing verb. The syntax of gender agreement is treated in detail in §20.2.

11.4 Person agreement and stem augment vowels

Person agreement is rather reduced, with a clear opposition of speech act participants (first and second person) vs. third person. Formally it shows up as suffixes and as enclitics. The form of the agreement exponent varies depending on the TAM form, and not all TAM forms have person agreement markers. The following verb forms distinguish person agreement:

suffixal person agreement: habitual present and habitual past; conditional forms; optative, imperative and prohibitive

enclitical person agreement: compound present and compound past, perfect, preterite, future, etc.

In the habitual present, the realis conditional and the past conditional; the person suffix for first and second persons is preceded by a stem augment vowel (*i*, *u*, or occasionally *a*) that indicates the valency of the verb (monovalent vs. bivalent or trivalent). Throughout this grammar, the stem augment vowel is not glossed separately, but together with the following TAM suffix. For full lists of the agreement exponents and the distribution of stem augment vowels see §20.3.

Person agreement has the clause as its domain, and the rules are rather complex and subject to variation. With monovalent predicates, it is the single argument that functions as agreement controller. With predicates that require more than one argument, only subject-like arguments (agents or experiencers) or object-like arguments (patients or stimuli) control person agreement. Person agreement follows the person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3. In the case of two speech act participants, it is often the second person that triggers the agreement, but first person subject-like arguments are also able to control agreement. The syntax of gender agreement is treated in detail in §20.3.

11.5 The morpheme template of Sanzhi verbs and the structure of morphologically complex verb forms

The morphological structure of verbal predicates in Sanzhi is fairly complex. There are up to five morphemes that can precede the root and up to five that can follow it. These morphemes can be prefixes, and suffixes, but also enclitics and lexical stems functioning as first parts of compound verbs. Before the root, there are only prefixes in the form of spatial preverbs, gender/number prefixes and negation prefixes and lexical stems used in compounds. After the root, suffixes and enclitics follow. There are restrictions on the combinability of markers in the various slots, for instance TAM forms requiring person suffixes exclude the use of enclitic person or tense markers.

Table 11.9 provides a template for Sanzhi verbs. The slots are, from left to right:

- 5- first part of a compound verb (there are a few preverbs and stems used in compounding that have gender prefixes as one example in the table shows) (see §12.2 on compounding);
- 4- location preverb, optionally followed by a direction suffix that can only occur together with a preverb; the preverb *b-i-* ‘in, inside’ has an additional gender marker (§11.6.1)
- 3- negation (§11.7)
- 2- deixis/elevation preverb (§11.6.2)
- 1- gender agreement prefix (§11.3)
- 0 root
- 1 causative suffix (§12.1)
- 2 first TAM slot

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-3 second TAM slot

-4 person and tense enclitics (§11.4)

There are two slots ([5-] and [4-]) that contain items that can have gender prefixes such that the structure can even be a bit more complicated. Since only very few items in both slots are marked for gender, I did not add two additional slots for gender to the template. The slots and respective morphemes are treated in various sections of this grammar.

Table 11.9: Verb affixation order template

5-	4-	3-	2-	1-	0	-1	-2	-3	-4
	<i>či-</i> SPR-	<i>a-</i> NEG-		<i>d-</i> NHPL-	<i>ig</i> see.IPFV		<i>-ul</i> -ICVB		<i>=de</i> =PST
		<i>a-</i> NEG-	<i>ka-</i> DOWN-	<i>d-</i> NHPL-	<i>irx:</i> put.IPFV		<i>-an</i> -PTCP		<i>=da</i> =1
	<i>či-r-</i> SPR-ABL-		<i>sa-</i> HITHER-	<i>b-</i> N-	<i>ert:</i> take.PFV		<i>-ij</i> -INF		
	<i>d-al-</i> 1/2PL-	<i>hit-i-</i> behind-		<i>d-</i> HPL-	<i>irč</i> occur.IPFV	<i>-aq</i> -CAUS	<i>-ad</i> -1.PRS		
	<i>debga</i> hidden			<i>b-</i> N-	<i>arq'</i> do.PFV		<i>-ib</i> -PRET	<i>-le</i> -CVB	
	<i>k:ač</i> touch	<i>ma-</i> NEG-		<i>b-</i> N-	<i>irq'</i> do.IPFV		<i>-it:a</i> -PROH	<i>-ja</i> -PL	
					<i>umc'</i> search.IPFV		<i>-e</i> -IMP		

In principle, only the verbal root is obligatory because there is a variant of the optative that does not make use of any suffixes. There are a number of verbal roots that are bound and can only be used in combination with spatial preverbs, for example *kerx^w-* (IPFV)/*kax^w-* (PFV) 'kill', and *kert'-* (IPFV)/*kat'-* (PFV) 'pour'.

11.6 Spatial preverbs

Sanzhi Dargwa has the typical Dargwa system of preverbs, which in their original spatial meaning express location, direction, and deixis/elevation (see van den Berg 2003c for a useful overview of preverbs in Akusha Dargwa). Preverbs are generally optional, because verbs can occur without preverbs, but there are bound verbal roots for which the prefixed preverbs are obligatory.

There is a tight connection between spatial preverbs and the verbal stem, and normally they form one phonological word. The order of the preverbs is given in (2). Between the complex location/direction and the deictic preverbs, only negation prefixes and some enclitics (e.g. the additive *=ra* and *arrah* ‘at least’) can intervene.

- (2) [(location)-(direction)]-(deixis/elevation)-root

Preverbs do not express aspectual differences, but occur with imperfective and perfective stems. The Sanzhi Dargwa system of preverbs can be characterized as being somewhere in-between regular, productive, and semantically transparent systems, like the ones found in Agul, Tabasaran, and Rutul, and non-regular systems as, for instance in Budukh, Kryz, Tsakhur, and Lezgian (Tatevosov 2000; Nichols 2003; Ganenkov 2007). It is at least partially formally compositional, in the sense that all theoretically possible combinations of location/direction and deictic preverbs are attested (§11.6.3). However, not every verbal stem takes all available preverbs or logically possible combination of preverbs. With verbs of movement and posture, the semantic contribution of the preverbs is relatively straightforward and compositional (see Table 11.11 for an example), but with most other verbs there is no real semantic transparency and the spatial meaning of the preverb is lost.

Preverbs have probably developed from spatial postpositions/adverbs, but not all spatial postpositions/adverbs are used as preverbs. For instance, *ilda* ‘on the side, sideways’ and spatial adverbs derived from demonstrative pronouns do not occur as preverbs. The directional markers are identical to the directional markers used for the formation of spatial cases.

11.6.1 Location preverbs and spatial cases expressing direction

Location preverbs, just like the spatial cases, express location and direction. All preverbs in Table 11.10 except for the last one are identical to spatial postpositions (§8.1), though there are more spatial postpositions that are not used as preverbs. They express the location of an item with respect to a reference point. The directional affixes can be added to the preverbs (*-r* for the ablative, the gender marker for the essive, no affix for the lative), which are the same used with nominals or spatial adverbs (§3.4). The directional affixes are suffixes to the location preverbs, not prefixes to the verbal stem, because they cannot occur without location preverbs and semantically modify the meaning of the location preverbs. Thus, location preverbs and directional suffixes form a tight union.

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Table 11.10: Location preverbs and directional cases

meaning	lative	ablative	essive	origin
‘on’	<i>či-</i>	<i>či-r-</i>	<i>či-GM-</i>	postposition/adverb
‘under, down’	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-r-</i>	<i>gu-GM-</i>	spatial case and postposition/adverb
‘in front of’	<i>sa-</i>	<i>sa-r-</i>	<i>sa-GM-</i>	spatial case and postposition/adverb
‘in, inside’	<i>GM-i-</i>	<i>GM-i-r-</i>	<i>GM-i-GM-</i>	postposition/adverb
‘behind, after’	<i>hit:i-</i>	<i>hit:i-r-</i>	<i>hit:i-GM-</i>	postposition/adverb
‘out, outside’	<i>t:ura-</i>	<i>t:ura-r-</i>	<i>t:ura-GM-</i>	postposition/adverb
‘in(to)/to, in(to) the hands’ ^a	<i>k^wi-</i>	<i>k^wi-r-</i>	<i>k^wi-GM-</i>	adverb

^aThis preverb can also be used with respect to locations that do not have hands (e.g. animals, etc.). Thus, the meaning is not literally ‘into the hands’ anymore, and speakers do not translate it with ‘into the hands’.

Examples of the preverbs with and without markers for directed motion are provided in (3–7).

- (3) *hit:i-b-uq-un=x:ar, hit:i-a-jt-eκ-ib*
 BEHIND-N-go.PFV-PRET=CONC BEHIND-NEG-THITHER-go.PFV-PRET
 ‘Even though (the hare) run after (the turtle), it did not reach it.’
- (4) *š:at:ir t:ura-b-uq-un ca-b hex-t:i*
 walk OUT-HPL-go.PFV-PRET COP-HPL DEM.UP-PL
 ‘They went out for a walk.’
- (5) *na cara k^wi-b-ik:-a!*
 now other IN.THE.HANDS-N-give.PFV-IMP
 ‘Now give another (picture)!’
- (6) *sa-r-b-uq:-a il!*
 ANTE-ABL-N-carry.PFV-IMP that
 ‘Take it away! (from in front)’
- (7) *itwaj d-aqil d-i-d-ax-ul ak:u=q'al hex-t:i*
 like.this NPL-much NPL-IN-NPL-go.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG=MOD DEM-PL
 ‘Otherwise not much (hay) fits inside.’

For a number of verbs, the spatial semantics has been lost and has developed into a more metaphorical meaning (8). Furthermore, with verbs that do not denote the position or the movement of an item, the semantic contribution of the preverbs is synchronically opaque (9–10).

- (8) *dam či-d-d-ač'-ib-te*
 1SG.DAT SPR-NPL-NPL-COME.PFV-PRET-DD.PL
 ‘(It is enough what) I experienced.’

- (9) *iχ gu-lik'-un ca-w ħa'q'-le q:uβa-l*
 DEM.DOWN SUB-listen-PRET COP-M very-ADVZ beautiful-ADVZ
 'He is listening carefully to him.'
- (10) *dam il či-a-b-až-ib=da*
 1SG.DAT that SPR-NEG-N-see.PFV-PRET=1
 'I did not see it.' (E)

Because preverbs are identical to postpositions and adverbials, it is not always possible to determine whether a specific item functions as the one or the other. For instance, *či-r* in the following example (11) is interpreted as preverb by my main language assistant Gadzhimurad Gadzhimuradov, although the combination *urči-le-r=či-r* also exists as a postpositional phrase 'from on the horse'. In the example (11) the constituent order can be changed to *či-r-ka-jč-ib urči-le-r*, which excludes an interpretation of *či-r* as postposition and supports the preverb analysis. It is also possible to use both the postposition/adverbial and the preverb (12). See also §8.1.7 for some more examples in which *či-r* rather functions as postposition/adverbial and not as preverb.

- (11) *urči-le-r či-r-ka-jč-ib*
 horse-LOC-ABL SPR-ABL-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET
 'He fell from the horse.' (E)
- (12) *urči-le-r či-r či-r-ka-jč-ib*
 horse-LOC-ABL on-ABL SPR-ABL-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET
 'He fell from the horse.' (E)

For the most part preverbs can not be separated from the verb or follow it (13), but in certain contexts (that still await clarification) a separation is possible, just like it has been observed for Tanti Dargwa (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 107) (14).

- (13) * *admi ka-jč-ib či-r*
 person DOWN-OCCUR.PFV.M-PRET ON-ABL
 (Intended meaning: 'The man fell down.') (E)
- (14) a. *či-r-ix^w-a q:at:i!*
 SPR-ABL-remove.PFV-IMP hat
 'Take off the hat!' (E)
- b. *ix^w-a či-r q:at:i!*
 'Take off the hat!' (E)
- c. *ix^w-a q:at:i či-r*
 'Take off the hat!' (E)

11.6.2 Deixis and elevation preverbs

The participant-oriented and elevation preverbs, which are all deictic, are:

- *ha-* ‘up, upwards’
- *ka-* ‘down, downwards’
- *sa-* ‘to the speaker, hither’
- *GM-it-* ‘away from the speaker, thither’

These preverbs immediately precede the verbal root, and the only items that can intervene are gender agreement prefixes. However, if the preverb *GM-it-* is added to verbal stems possessing a gender prefix, this prefix is omitted, e.g. *či-b-uj-ij* ‘attack, hit on, fall upon’ vs. *či-b-it-uj-ij* ‘go on (something)’, and *gu-b-a’q-ij* ‘beat from down’ vs. *gu-b-it-a’q-ij* ‘beat from down’. The deictic/elevation preverbs cannot take the directional suffixes since they already convey motion.

The preverbs express upwards or downwards motion (elevation) with respect to a deictic center and motion to the speaker and away from the deictic center, which is usually the speaker (participant-oriented deixis). Relevant examples are (15–18).

- (15) *ha-jc:-e!*
 UP-get.up.PFV.M-IMP
 ‘Get up!’ (said to a man)
- (16) *ka-jž-e!*
 DOWN-remain.M-IMP
 ‘Sit down!’ (said to a man)
- (17) *heχ sa-jɣ-ib*
 DEM.DOWN HITHER-COME.PFV.M-PRET
 ‘He came back.’
- (18) *heχ hin-ni-c:e-r it:u-b-a b-it-erč’-ib=da mašin*
 DEM.DOWN water-OBL-IN-ABL there-N-DIR N-THITHER-drive.PFV-PRET=1 car
 ‘I drove the car down through that water.’

To younger speakers of Sanzhi, the specific meanings of the preverbs *ha-* and *ka-* are not fully clear anymore, and they usually employ only *sa-* as the default form. Older speakers differentiate between:

- *ha-b-eb-ij* ‘go, come upwards’, e.g. from Druzhba to Sanzhi, from the sea to Druzhba;
- *ka-b-eb-ij* ‘go, come downwards’, e.g. from Sanzhi or Bashlikent to Druzhba, from Druzhba to the sea
- *sa-b-eb-ij* ‘go, come to the speaker’, e.g. from Moscow, Germany, America to Druzhba

11 General remarks on verbal morphology

All location preverbs can be combined with all participant-oriented deixis/elevation preverbs, and almost all of the logically possible combinations are attested in natural texts. However, many if not almost all verbal roots allow only for certain preverbs and combinations of preverbs to be attached. Verbs of motion and position have, of course, the greatest freedom, since the preverbs have spatial and directional meanings. Combinations with the location preverbs *či-*, *hit-i-*, and *t:ura-* and the participant-oriented deictic preverbs *ka-* and *ha-* are significantly more frequent than combinations with the other preverbs. Combinations with *GM-it-* are generally very rare in natural texts. Table 11.11 illustrates all combinations with the verb *b-eb-ij* (PFV) ‘go, come’.

The negation prefixes *a-* and *ma-* follow the location preverbs and precede the participant-oriented deixis/elevation preverbs if there are any (22), (23). It is also possible to insert three particles that normally occur as enclitics into the same slot following the location preverbs. These clitics are the additive *=ra* (23), the emphatic particle *=q’ar* (24), and *=arrah* (see §9.4.5 for an example). If the enclitics occur in that position, they take scope over the verb.

- (22) *t:ura-ma-ka-lq-ut!*
 OUT-PROH-down-direct.M-IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Do not go out (of the car)! (said to a man)’
- (23) *ca-w w-erc-aq-ur-il-li-j er či=ra-a-w-erč’-ib*
 REFL-M M-save.PFV-CAUS-PRET-REF-OBL-DAT look SPR=ADD-NEG-M-look.PFV-PRET
 ‘He did not even look at his savior.’
- (24) *gu=q’ar-lik’-unne ca-b*
 SUB=MOD-listen-ICVB COP-N
 ‘As for listening, s/he is listening.’

11.7 Negation

Negation can be expressed through prefixes or through the negative copula, depending on the inflected verb forms. In contrast to some other South Dargwa varieties (e.g. Icari, Shiri), Sanzhi Dargwa does not express negation through reduplication of the verbal stem. There are two negative prefixes *a-* and *ma-* that occur right before participant-oriented deixis/elevation preverbs and root-initial gender markers if there are any. The prefix *a-* is occasionally preceded by an additional gender agreement prefix.

The functional distribution of the negation prefixes is as follows: the prefix *a-* is used in the imperfect/preterite, resultative, pluperfect, experiential past, and sometimes also with the perfect and with non-finite verb forms. The prefix *ma-* is only used in the prohibitive and the negative optative. For all other verb forms the negative copula is employed. The negative copula has the root *ak:w⁻¹* (allomorphs *ak^{w-}*, *ak:-*), of which the

¹The negative copula has prefixal gender agreement when it is used with locational or existential meaning, but this is impossible when it is used for the formation of analytic verb forms. See §16.1 for more information.

Table 11.11: Location preverbs with *b-eb-ij* (PFV) ‘go, come’

verb form	possible contexts of use
preverb <i>ha-</i> : the movement is always upwards	
<i>či-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	from the sea to Sanzhi, from down onto something
<i>gu-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	under something, e.g. a mouse goes along under a cupboard
<i>sa-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	towards from below to Sanzhi
<i>b-i-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	inside, e.g. enter a house
<i>hit:i-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	after something or someone, e.g. go or come after the daughter
<i>k^wi-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	into the hands, e.g. a fish jumping into the hands
<i>t:ura-ha-b-eb-ij</i>	out of, e.g. a mouse exiting a hole, come out of the house
preverb <i>ka-</i> : the movement is always downwards	
<i>či-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	from Sanzhi to Druzhba, from Druzhba to the sea
<i>gu-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	under something downwards
<i>sa-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	towards, e.g. encounter somebody who comes from Sanzhi to Druzhba
<i>b-i-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	into, e.g. down into the cellar of the house (from above)
<i>hit:i-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	reach, go after somebody downwards
<i>k^wi-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	into the hands, e.g. a child falling from a tree into the hands of the father
<i>t:ura-ka-b-eb-ij</i>	out of, e.g. a bird exiting a nest, going out of the house
preverb <i>sa-</i> : the movement is always to the speaker	
<i>či-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	reach something close to the speaker
<i>gu-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	go under something, e.g. the cat climbed under my fur
<i>sa-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	towards the speaker, e.g. my friend met me, came towards me
<i>b-i-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	enter, e.g. the guests entered our house
<i>hit:i-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	go after somebody, to get somebody or something
<i>k^wi-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	into the hands, e.g. the cat jumped into my hands
<i>t:ura-sa-b-eb-ij</i>	exit, leave, go out, e.g. the bear came out of its den
preverb <i>b-it-</i> : the movement is always away from the speaker	
<i>či-b-it-eb-ij</i>	reach something away from the speaker, e.g. reach Moscow
<i>gu-b-it-eb-ij</i>	go under, e.g. the rope reached under the cupboard away from the speaker
<i>sa-b-it-eb-ij</i>	go towards somebody away from the speaker
<i>b-i-b-it-eb-ij</i>	into something, enter something further away
<i>hit:i-b-it-eb-ij</i>	go after somebody further away, e.g. the dog chased the cat
<i>k^wi-b-it-eb-ij</i>	into the hands, e.g. the cat came into the hands of somebody away from the speaker
<i>t:ura-b-it-eb-ij</i>	out of, e.g. the horse came out of the river on the other side of the river bank

initial vowel is dropped when it is encliticized to a preceding predicate, so that we get =*k:u* and =*k:w:u*. The negative copula occurs in four forms: present, past, participial, and masdar. See the sections on the TAM forms and §16.1 on the copula for examples of negated predicates.

11.8 Morphophonological processes affecting the formation and inflection of verbs

There are a number of regular morphophonological processes that occur when verbs are inflected and that lead to the formation of stem allomorphs. These processes are in part optional, but occur frequently. See §2.6 for more information about the processes, their application and alternative variants.

1. **Delabialization of consonant:** Labialization as a consonantal feature disappears when the labial vowel *u* follows, e.g. *b-elk'^w-ij* (N-WRITE.PFV-INF) vs. *b-elk-un* (N-WRITE.PFV-CVB). Occasionally, this affects the preceding vowel, in which case both forms are given, e.g. *w-i-h.alq^w-an=da* (M-IN-GO.IPFV.M.UP-PTCP=1) 'I will/should go inside' vs. *b-i-ha-b-ulq-an ca-b* (N-IN-UP-N-GO.IPFV-PTCP COP-N) 'it will/should go inside'.
2. **Omission of root vowel:** Disappearance of the labial root vowel when the verb is inflected for masculine singular by means of an overt prefix *w-*, e.g. *sa-w-q-un* (HITHER-M-GO.PFV-PRET) 'he came' vs. *sa-b-uq-un* (HITHER-HPL-GO.PFV-PRET) 'they went away'.
3. **Omission of glottal fricative between vowels:** The glottal fricative disappears when the deictic preverb *ha-* is preceded by location preverbs. This process, in turn, affects the quality of the adjacent vowels, e.g. *b-i-* + *ha-* > *be-* (see §11.6.3 above for more examples). This process is optional, i.e., the pronunciation *bi-ha-* is also possible and attested, in particular in slow speech.
4. **Vowel lowering:** Lowering of the root vowel *i* when a spatial preverb (*ka-*, *ha-*, *sa-*) or the negation prefixes (*a-*, *ma-*) are added: *a* + *i* > *e*. This occurs when verbs show agreement for masculine singular and the overt agreement prefix is omitted or with verbs that lack an agreement prefix, e.g. *ka-r-irc:-u* (DOWN-F-stand.IPFV-PRS) 'she stands' vs. *k-erc:-u* (DOWN-stand.IPFV.M-PRS) 'he stands'.
5. **Diphthongization:** The root vowel *i* changes into a diphthong when a spatial preverb (*ka-*, *ha-*, *sa-*) or a negation prefix (*a-*, *ma-*) is added before the verbal root: *a* + *i* > *aj*. This occurs when verbs show agreement for masculine singular and the overt agreement prefix is omitted or with verbs that lack an agreement prefix, e.g. *ma-jk'-ut:a* (NEG-say.IPFV.M-PROH.SG) 'Do not talk!' vs. *ma-r-ik'-ut:a* (NEG-F-say.IPFV-PROH.SG) 'Do not talk!'

- 6. Palatalization of velar consonants:** When the front vowel *i*, the causative suffix *-aq*, or occasionally when the masdar suffix *-ni* follows velar consonants undergo palatalization, i.e. $x > \check{s}$, $x: > \check{s}:$, $g > \check{z}$, $k > \check{c}$, $k: > \check{c}:$, $k' > \check{c}'$. For instance, *či-ka-b-ix-a* (SPR-DOWN-N-put.PFV-IMP.SG) 'Put it on!' vs. *či-ka-b-iš:-ij* (SPR-DOWN-N-put.PFV-INF) 'to put it on'; *b-ik:-ar* (N-want.IPFV-3.PRS) vs. *b-ič:-aq-ar* (N-want.IPFV-CAUS-3.PRS); *b-ebč'-ni* (N-die.PFV-MSD) < *b-ebk'-* (N-die.PFV), *b-arč-ni* (N-find.PFV-MSD) < *b-ark:-* (N-find.PFV-). There is also degemination in the last example. When the masdar suffix is added, palatalization is optional, at least with some verbs, and downright ungrammatical with others, e.g. *ubč'-ni/ubk²-ni* (die.M.IPFV-MSD) < *b-ubk'-* (N-die.IPFV-); *er-b-ik^w-ni* (look-N-say.IPFV-MSD).
- 7. Gemination and devoicing of voiced stops:** The gender affixes *b-* and *d-* become devoiced geminates when preceded or followed by another stop *b* or *d/t* respectively, e.g. *let:e* (< *le-d=de*, exist-NPL=PST) vs. *le-r=de* (exist-F=PST).

12 Verb formation

There are three types of operations that allow for the formation of complex verbal lexemes from base verbs:

- spatial preverbs (treated in §11.6)
- valency-changing derivation, i.e., causativization (§12.1)
- compounding (§12.2)

In this section, causativization and compounding are discussed.

12.1 Formation of causative verbs

Causativization is a productive means of deriving causative verbs from base verbs. It can be applied to most if not all verbs, including intransitive, transitive and affective verbs of imperfective and perfective aspect. The causative suffix *-aq* is added directly to the stem prior to TAM suffixes and it does not have any impact on the aspectual value of the verb or on the choice of certain inflectional suffixes (e.g. which suffix is used for the preterite). It has a pharyngealized allomorph *-a^q*. Furthermore, suffixation of the causative marker triggers palatalization of velar consonants in the verbal root. Examples of causativized verbs and their meanings are given in (1).

- (1) a. *b-ič-ib* ‘occurred, happend’ (intr.) (N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET)
> *b-ič-aq-ib* ‘make occur, hit, strike’ (tr.)
b. *b-ik:-ul* ‘wanting, liking, loving’ (aff.) (N-want.IPFV-ICVB)
> *b-ič:-aq-ul* ‘make wanting, liking, loving’ (tr.)

In the majority of cases, causativization adds one argument to the valency frame of the base verb, i.e. intransitive verbs become transitive and transitive verbs become ditransitive. Causativization normally applies only once to the verbal stem, but in elicitation the causative suffix can also be added twice to a small number of verbs. However, due to the scarcity of examples the syntax and semantic properties of verbs that underwent double causativization could not be clarified. With the verb exemplified in (2) the meaning seems to be more emphatic, and the valency frame is transitive (as after single causativization).

- (2) *b-iḥ-ib* ‘(they) fought’ (HPL-fight.PFV-PRET)
> *b-iḥ-a^q-ib* ‘made fight’ (tr.)
> *b-iḥ-a^q-a^q-ib* ‘made fight’ (tr.)

In addition to morphological causativization, there are other formal means for making causative constructions such as light verb change and suppletion. This operation is applied to compound verbs. Intransitive compound verbs make use of the light verbs *b-irχ^w*- (IPFV)/*b-iχ^w*- (PFV) ‘be, become, can’ (3). For causativization these light verbs are replaced by *b-irq’*- (IPFV)/*b-arq’*- (PFV) ‘do, make’ (4). A full list of available light verbs is given in §12.2.1.

- (3) hel zamana hati=ra ač d-iχ-ub heχ-ti
 that time more=ADD open NPL-be.PFV-PRET DEM.DOWN-PL
 d-el-te=ra uže
 NPL-remain.PFV-DD.PL=ADD already
 ‘At that time they (the trousers) opened even more including the remaining parts
 (that had been closed up to now).’
- (4) hel hel-t-a-c:ella canille taχna ač b-arq’-ib
 that that-PL-OBL-COMIT together room open N-do.PFV-PRET
 ‘He opened the room together with them.’

See §19.2.2 for more information on the syntactic properties of causativization and more examples of causativized verbs.

12.2 Compound verbs

Verbal compounds consist of two parts, the first of which can be a noun, short adjective, ideophone, bound lexical stem, or, very rarely, another verbal stem. It can be a native lexical item or a loan word. Thus, compounding is a convenient way of extending the verbal lexicon. The second part is a light verb from a closed class of verbs. It is only the light verb that is inflected and that determines all morphosyntactic properties of the compound. All light verbs used in compounding are given at the beginning of this Section in §12.2.1 with both the imperfective and the perfective stems.

12.2.1 Light verbs used in compounding and general remarks on compounds

There are a fair number of light verbs occurring in compounding. The most frequent ones are *b-iχ^w*-*ij* ‘be, become, can’, *b-ik^w*-*ij* ‘say’ and *b-arq’*-*ij* ‘do’. The verb *b-ik^w*-*ij* is widely used in compounds that denote verbs of speech and the production of other sounds, but also in many verbs of movement. Since it means ‘say’ when used on its own, I stick to this as an overall gloss. The two tables below display intransitive (Table 12.1) and transitive (Table 12.2) light verbs.

The verb-forming processes listed in the following sections of this Chapter are relatively freely combinable. If a specific combination is available depends largely on the semantics of the resulting verb. Thus, compound verbs can contain spatial preverbs (5–7) and causativized verb stems.

Table 12.1: Intransitive light verbs

IPFV/PFV	translation	example verbs
<i>b-irχ^w-/b-iχ^w-</i>	‘be, become, can’	<i>razi b-iχ^w-</i> ‘be happy, agree’, <i>halak b-iχ^w-</i> ‘hurry, be fast’, <i>urux b-iχ^w-</i> ‘get afraid’, <i>uruc b-iχ^w-</i> ‘get embarrassed, ashamed’
<i>b-irk-/b-ik-</i>	‘occur, get, receive’	<i>ʔa^ʕʔni b-ik-</i> ‘need’, <i>ʂak b-ik-</i> ‘feel, suppose’, <i>suk b-ik-</i> ‘meet’, <i>han b-ik-</i> ‘remember’
<i>b-ik^w-</i> (IPFV)	‘say’	<i>uf b-ik^w-</i> ‘blow’, <i>ʔumku b-ik^w-</i> ‘swear’, <i>zuruq sa-b-ik^w-</i> ‘wriggle’, <i>iχtilat b-ik^w-</i> ‘chat’, <i>qus b-ik^w-</i> ‘slide’, <i>zuq^ʔ-sa-b-ik^w-</i> ‘swinging back and forth’
<i>b-ulq-/b-uq-</i>	‘go’	<i>čal b-uq-</i> ‘argue’, <i>duc^ʔ b-uq-</i> ‘run’, <i>ʔu^ʔ t^ʔ b-uq-</i> ‘fall into pieces’
<i>b-irg-/b-ig-</i>	‘be’	<i>ʔu^ʔ t^ʔ ka-b-ig-</i> ‘fall apart, be destroyed’, <i>qus ka-b-ig-</i> ‘slip (off), slide down’
<i>b-irc-/b-ic-</i>	‘stand, get up’	<i>t^ʔaš b-ic-</i> ‘stop’ (intr.), <i>ʔa^ʕh ka-b-ic-</i> ‘like, be pleased by’, <i>hitⁱ ka-b-ic-</i> ‘back, stand behind, be committed to, support’
<i>arg^w-/ag-</i>	‘go’	<i>b-iχči ag-</i> ‘believe’, <i>xadi ag-</i> ‘marry’ (woman marries a man)

- (5) *ħa^ʕħa^ʕ=t:i ka-jk^ʔ-ul ...*
laughter=after DOWN-say.IPFV.M-ICVB
‘laughing about (me) ...’
- (6) *liil š:an-te aq či-ha-b-arq^ʔ-ib-le ...*
all<HPL> villager-PL high SPR-UP-HPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
‘all villagers were mobilized, ...’
- (7) *ix-t-a-j er či-ma-ha-rk^ʔ-ut:a!*
DEM.UP-PL-OBL-DAT look SPR-PROH-UP-look.IPFV.M-PROH.SG
‘Do not look at them (the trees)!’ (said to a man)

Compounding is possible with loans. Some of the nouns listed in §12.2.2 and adjectives listed in §12.2.3 have been borrowed from other languages such as Arabic, Persian or Turkic. In the last 50 years mainly Russian borrowings entered the language. Two examples

Table 12.2: Transitive light verbs

IPFV/PFV	translation	example verbs
<i>b-irqʹ-/b-arqʹ-</i>	‘do’	<i>huʹrmat b-arqʹ-</i> ‘respect’, <i>jangi č-i-b-arqʹ-</i> ‘renovate, renew’, <i>kʹap (ka-)b-arqʹ-</i> ‘wrap’, <i>burs:i b-arqʹ-</i> ‘teach’, <i>tʹintʹ b-arqʹ-</i> ‘spread’, <i>qʹaʹqʹ b-arqʹ-</i> ‘squint’, <i>qaʹm b-arqʹ-</i> ‘grab’, <i>šina šina b-arqʹ-</i> ‘spoil’
<i>iš-/aš-</i>	‘do’	<i>qaʹš kab-</i> ‘cut into pieces’, <i>tʹaš aš-</i> ‘stop’, <i>xurtʹ aš-</i> ‘swallow’, <i>taʹh aš-</i> ‘cut, chop’, <i>b-aʹžči aš-</i> ‘direct’, <i>b-at-čir aš-</i> ‘release, set free’, <i>b-at aš-</i> ‘send’, <i>žuʹtʹ aš-</i> ‘destroy’
<i>b-uʹrq-/b-aʹq-</i>	‘hit, strike, wound’	<i>guči b-aʹq-</i> ‘gather, collect’, <i>ink b-aʹq-</i> ‘assemble, gather’, <i>xʷitʹ d-aʹq-</i> ‘whistle’, <i>tilipun d-aʹq-</i> ‘call on the phone’
<i>b-irx:-/b-ix:</i>	‘put’	<i>daʹžaʹna b-ix:-</i> ‘hide’ (intr.), <i>can ka-b-ix:-</i> ‘put together’

with Russian loans are given in (8). The first compound verb contains the infinitive of a Russian verb and the second an adverb.

- (8) a. *kupatsa b-ikʹw-* ‘bathe, take a bath’
b. *žalka ag-* ‘feel sorry for’

12.2.2 Compounds with nouns

Many compound verbs contain a noun. These nouns are often loan words. The nouns in the compounds are non-specific indefinite and can normally not be modified or referred to by anaphoric pronouns. They occur in the absolutive case, or occasionally in the genitive or are marked by spatial postpositions.

The compound verbs can be intransitive or transitive. For intransitive verbs, the noun that is part of the compound verb cannot control the agreement (Table 12.3) (9). By contrast, the noun that serves as the subject-like argument and occurs in the absolutive controls the gender agreement on the verb. Some of the compound verbs can take clausal complements (10).

Table 12.3: Examples of intransitive compound verbs

noun	light verb	translation of compound verb
<i>abdal</i> ‘fool’	<i>b-ix^w</i> - (HPL-be.PFV-)	‘be a fool’
<i>er</i> ‘life’	<i>b-ix^w</i> - (HPL-be.PFV-)	‘live’
<i>taman</i> ‘end’	<i>b-ix^w</i> - (N-be.PFV-)	‘end, finish’
<i>tiladi</i> ‘request’	<i>b-ik^w</i> - (HPL-say.IPFV-)	‘request, ask, beg’
<i>tilipun</i> ‘telephone’	<i>b-ik^w</i> - (HPL-say.IPFV-)	‘talk on the phone’
<i>pikri</i> ‘thought’	<i>b-uq</i> - (HPL-go.PFV-)/ <i>b-ik^w</i> - (HPL-say.IPFV-)	‘think’
<i>č:al</i> ‘argument, quarrel’	<i>b-uq</i> - (HPL-go.PFV-)/ <i>b-ik^w</i> - (HPL-say.IPFV-)	‘argue, quarrel’
<i>dum</i> ‘edge’	<i>b-uc</i> - (HPL-keep.PFV-)	‘fast’
<i>b-a?</i> ‘edge, begin’	<i>b-ač[?]</i> - (HPL-come.PFV-)	‘begin, start’
<i>b-a?</i> ‘edge, begin’	<i>b-ax</i> - (HPL-put.PFV-)	‘begin, start’
<i>wa^w</i> ‘cry, call’	<i>b-ik^w</i> - (HPL-say.IPFV-)	‘cry, shout, call’
<i>gap</i> ‘praise’	<i>b-ik^w</i> - (N-say.IPFV-)	‘praise’

Table 12.4: Examples of transitive compound verbs

noun	light verb	translation of compound verb
<i>er</i> ‘look’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘take a look’
<i>gap</i> ‘praise’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘praise’
<i>jašaw</i> ‘being, existence’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘make a living’
<i>jašaw</i> ‘being, existence’	<i>b-uc:-aq</i> - (N-work-CAUS-)	‘make a living’
<i>kumek</i> ‘help’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘help’
<i>mar</i> ‘truth’	<i>ka-b-ic:-aq</i> - (DOWN-N- stand.PFV-CAUS-)	‘prove’
<i>pikri</i> ‘thought’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘think, give thought to’
<i>s:alam</i> ‘greeting’	<i>b-ik:-</i> (N-give.PFV-)	‘greet’
<i>taman</i> ‘end’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-) / <i>aš</i> - (do.PFV-)	‘finish’
<i>tiladi</i> ‘request’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘request’
<i>tilipun</i> ‘telephone’	<i>d-arq[?]</i> - (NPL-do.PFV-) / <i>d-a^q</i> - (NPL-hit.PFV-)	‘call on the phone’
<i>ul</i> ‘eye’	<i>b-ix:-</i> (N-put.PFV-)	‘blink’
<i>ʔa^qjib</i> ‘blame’	<i>b-arq[?]</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	‘take offence, feel hurt’

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- (9) niš:a-la dum b-urc-ul=q'al hana da'ʔle
 1PL-GEN edge HPL-keep.IPFV-ICVB=MOD now as
 'Our (people) were fasting like nowadays.'
- (10) ca zamana bari=ra wahi-ce č'an=ra č:al d-uq-un [kut:i
 one time sun=ADD evil-DD.SG wind=ADD argument NPL-go.PFV-PRET which
 ču-c:e-rka c'aq'-ce=de=l]
 REFL.PL-IN-ABL mighty-DD.SG=PST=INDQ
 'Once the sun and the evil wind argued about who is stronger.'

For transitive verbs the subject-like argument is in the ergative and the gender agreement is almost always controlled by the noun that is part of the compound. This means that the gender agreement is fixed, mostly for neuter singular. Additional arguments fulfill the semantic functions of addressees, recipients or beneficiaries and occur in the cases that are used to express these semantic roles, e.g. dative or IN-lative. Examples are provided in Table 12.4 and (11).

- (11) cara adim-t-a-c:e [...] heχ tiladi b-arq'-ib-le ...
 other person-PL-OBL-IN DEM.DOWN request N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'when (we) asked other people, ...'

However, there is at least one transitive compound verb containing a noun in the absolutive case for which not the subject-like argument, but the noun that serves as the direct object triggers the gender agreement, namely *taman* 'end' + *b-arq'*- (HPL-do.PFV-) 'finish (off), terminate' (12). And in the example in (13) the agreement prefix on the light verb does not agree with any overt noun. The first part of the compound, the noun *tilipun* 'telephone' belongs to the neuter gender. If it functioned as the object of the light verb it would trigger the prefix *b-*.

- (12) ant:a-le ix-ub-le, taman w-arq'-ib le-w mus:a-w
 forehead-LOC throw.PFV-PRET-CVB end M-do.PFV-PRET exist-M place.LOC-M
 '(They) shot him in the forehead and finished (i.e. killed) him on the spot where he was.'
- (13) cin-na uc:i-li-j tilipun d-arq'-ib-le ...
 REFL.SG-GEN brother-OBL-DAT telephone NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'when (they) called the brother on the phone, ...'

There are some nouns that are particularly productive for the formation of compounds verbs and can combine with a variety of light verbs. One is the noun *ʋaj* 'word, talk, language', that occurs in the following compounds:

- (14) intransitive compound verbs (with subject in the absolutive)
- ʋaj (ka-)b-ik'-ij* (DOWN-HPL-say.IPFV-INF) 'say, tell'
 - ʋaj (ka-)b-uq-ij* (DOWN-HPL-go.PFV-INF) 'chat, talk, communicate, converse'
 - ʋaj ha-b-iž-ij* (UP-HPL-be.PFV-INF) 'chat'

- (15) transitive (with subject in the ergative)
- a. *ʁaj d-arq'-ij* (NPL-do.PFV-INF) 'say, tell'
 - b. *ʁaj d-urs-ij* (NPL-tell.PFV-INF) 'say, tell'
 - c. *ʁaj b-ič'-ij* (N-give.PFV-INF) 'promise'

In addition to the noun+verb compounds there are constructions that resemble those compounds but contain nouns in the genitive. The verbs used are *b-arq'*- 'do, make' and *b-iχ^w*- 'be, become' and a few other intransitive and transitive verbs (16), (17). The nouns in the genitive case do not serve any argument functions in the clause, but form compounds together with the verb and thus contribute to the semantics of the predicate. In the predicates in (16h) and (16i) the genitive-marked nouns resemble instruments, but this cannot be said about the other predicates. Note that the last two examples in (16) differ from the others because in both cases the genitive can be explained by the morphosyntactic properties of the construction. The postposition *hit:i* in (16j) generally requires the genitive case and thus *ʁaj-la hit:i d-urs-ij* consists of a postpositional phrase followed by a verb. In (16k) the genitive functions as the modifier of the following noun such that we have a genitive phrase together with a verb. However, semantically both constructions function as compound predicates analogously to the other constructions with genitive-marked nouns. All compound predicates derive their transitivity from the transitivity of the base verb. If the base verb is intransitive the compound verb is also intransitive (16a); if the base verb is transitive, then the compound is also transitive (17). Some more examples sentences can be found in §3.4.1.3 and in §19.1.2.

- (16) genitive case
- a. *qal-la b-iχ^w-ij/qal-la ka-b-iž-ij* (house-GEN HPL-be.PFV-INF/house-GEN DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-INF) 'get married'
 - b. *wa^ʔda-la b-iχ^w-ij* (contract-GEN HPL-be.PFV-INF) 'negotiate, conspire'
 - c. *abdal-la b-arq'-ij* (fool-GEN HPL-do.PFV-INF) 'take for a fool'
 - d. *qa^ʔb-la b-arq'-ij/qa^ʔb-la + b-a^ʔq-ij* (neck-GEN HPL-do.PFV-INF/neck-GEN HPL-strike.PFV-INF) 'behead'
 - e. *qal-la r-arq'-ij/qal-la ka-r-at-ij* (house-GEN F-do.PFV-INF/house-GEN DOWN-F-let.PFV-INF) 'marry off'
 - f. *χ:a^ʔb-la b-arq'-ij* (grave-GEN HPL-do.PFV-INF) 'bury'
 - g. *dawla-lla b-arq'-ij* (wealth-GEN HPL-do.PFV-INF) 'congratulate, bless'
 - h. *itul-la b-arq'-ij* (iron-GEN N-do.PFV-INF) 'iron with an iron'
 - i. *q:upi-lla b-arq'-ij* (hoe-GEN N-do.PFV-INF) 'weed'
 - j. *ʁaj-la hit:i d-urs-ij* 'gossip' (word-GEN after NHPL-tell.PFV-INF)
 - k. *ʔa^ʔjib-la (w-ah) w-arq'-ij* (blame-GEN HPL-owner HPL-do.PFV-INF) 'consider to be guilty'¹

¹The noun *w-ah* 'owner' can be omitted in this construction.

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- (17) *abdalla + b-arq'-ij* 'take for a fool'
 abdal-la w-arq'-ib=q'al it:a-l it
 fool-GEN M-do.PFV-PRET=MOD those.OBL-ERG that
 'They took him for a fool.' (E)

There is also one compound verb, which contains a noun marked with a spatial case (18).

- (18) LOC-lative case
(cin-na) vaj-le či-ka-b-ic:-ij 'to be true to one's word'
 (REFL.SG-GEN word-LOC SPR-DOWN-HPL-stand.PFV-INF)

Finally, there are compound verbs that contain nouns with the encliticized postpositions =*či* 'on' and =(i)t:i 'after'. These postpositions govern the genitive or spatial cases (§8.1.4, §8.1.7), but when they are used in verbal compounding, they are directly added to the nouns without case marking:

- (19) spatial postposition/adverb =*či*
 a. *vaj=či b-uq-ij* (word=on HPL-go.PFV-INF) 'instruct, advice, blame'
 b. *majmaj=či b-uq-ij* (quarrel=on HPL-go.PFV-INF) 'educate, swear at, abuse, condemn'
 c. *b-a^ož=ci aš-ij* (N-side=on do.PFV-INF) 'direct'
- (20) spatial postposition/adverb =(i)t:i (< *hit:i*)
 a. *er=it:i sa-b-erč'-ij* (look=after ANTE-HPL-look.PFV-INF) 'look around, check, inspect'
 b. *er=it:i b-ik'^w-ij* (look=after HPL-say.IPFV-INF) 'look (at)'
 c. *qus=it:i b-a^oq-ij* (slip=after N-drag.PFV-INF) 'pull, drag along, after oneself'
 d. *dukal=t:i ka-b-iš-ij* (smile=after DOWN-HPL-AUX.PFV-INF) 'smile about somebody'
 e. *ha^oha^o=t:i b-ik'^w-ij* (laughter=after HPL-say.IPFV-INF) 'laugh at/about someone'

12.2.3 Compounds with short adjectives

The short adjectival stems (§5.2) can easily occur in compound verbs together with the light verbs *b-iχ^w-* (PFV) 'be, become, can' (21), *b-ik-* (PFV) 'occur' (22), and *b-arq'-* (PFV) 'do, make' (23). These verbs occur in pairs of intransitive verbs that normally have an inchoative meaning and transitive verbs (24–25).

- (21) intransitive compounds with the light verb *b-iχ^w-* (N-become.PFV-)
 a. *žā^oh* 'good' > 'be, become good, get healthy'
 b. *durha* 'cheap' > 'become, get cheap'
 c. *hā^odur* 'ready' > 'prepare oneself'
 d. *ač* 'open' > 'to open'

- (22) intransitive compounds with the light verb *b-ik-* (N-occur.PFV-)
 a. *dik'ar* 'separate, different' > 'separate, divorce, disjoin'
 b. *tašmiš* 'sad' > 'get sad'
- (23) transitive compounds with the light verb *b-arq'*- (N-do.PFV-)
 a. *ʔa'ħ* 'good' > 'improve, correct'
 b. *durha* 'cheap' > 'make cheap'
 c. *ħa'dur* 'ready' > 'prepare'
 d. *ač* 'open' > 'to open'
 e. *dik'ar* 'separate, different' > 'separate, choose'
 f. *tašmiš* 'sad' > 'make miserable, sadden'
- (24) Nursijat ʔa'ħ r-iχ-ub-le, ...
 Nursijat good F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'when Nursijat gets better (healthy), ...'
- (25) hel-ti du-l ʔa'ħ d-irq'-id
 that-PL 1SG-ERG good NPL-do.IPFV-1.PRS
 'I will repair them.'

Occasionally, other light verbs are used, which leads to more idiosyncratic meanings

(26):

- (26) q:uʁa-ce, ʔa'ħ ka-b-ic:-ur mus:a het ca-b
 beautiful-DD.SG good DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET place that COP-N
 'This is a beautiful, pleasant place.'

12.2.4 Compounds with ideophones

Sanzhi has a fair number of ideophones that combine not only with verbs of speech, but also with other light verbs and auxiliaries (Table 12.5). The resulting compound verbs denote the production of various sounds as well as verbs of movement and other activities that are accompanied by typical sounds (27–29).

- (27) amma ʁa'ʁ r-ik'-ul ca-r ik'
 but scream F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F DEM.UP
 'But she is screaming.'
- (28) pa'q Ø-ik'-ul ca-w
 strike M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 '(He) is beating.'
- (29) liil xurt' aʁ-ib ca-b hel-i-la ruc-be
 all<HPL> swallow do.PFV-PRET COP-HPL that-OBL-GEN sister-PL
 '(The wolf) swallowed all her sisters.'

Table 12.5: Examples of compound verbs with ideophones

ideophone	light verb	translation of compound verb
č'a'm	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'chew'
ča'χ	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'pour'
c'ip	č <i>i-r-ab-</i> (SPR-ABL-do.PFV-)	'chop off, cut off'
č'u'p	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'suck' (intr.)/(tr.)
la'h, lap'	(<i>ha-</i>) <i>b-arq'</i> - (UP-N-do.PFV-)	'flap, wave'
pa'q	(č <i>i-ka-</i>) <i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (SPR-DOWN-N-say.IPFV-)	'strike, hit on, beat'
pa'qa'r, p'aq'	<i>b-uq-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	'shake off'
pas	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'scatter'
pirχ	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'light up'
q:eh	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'cough'
q'ac'	<i>b-ik-</i> - (N-bite.PFV-) / <i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-ax-</i> (N-go-)	'gnaw, bit'
qa'č'	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'push, shove'
qa's	<i>k-ab-</i> (DOWN-do.PFV-)	'cut off, cut into pieces'
qit	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'whisper'
ka'β	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'scream'
ku'č'	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'squeeze, press down, compress'
β ^w a'r, qamš	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'scratch'
s:ul	<i>d-a'q-</i> (NPL-hit.PFV-)	'die out, be extinguished, fade'
s:urk'	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'press'
s:urk'	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'rub, polish'
t:arβar	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'shake'
t:art:ar, t:amq:ar	<i>b-uq-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-) / <i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'stagger'
t'a'q'	<i>b-ert-</i> - (N-burst.PFV-)	'crack, split'
tu	<i>b-arq'</i> - (N-do.PFV-)	'spit'
xurt'	<i>ab-</i> (do.PFV-)	'swallow'
zuz	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'stretch'
χu'rχ	<i>b-ik'</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-)	'snore'
χ ^w a'rt	<i>b-uq-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	'flinch, cringe, wince'
x ^w it'	<i>d-ik'</i> ^w - (NPL-say.IPFV-) / <i>d-a'q-</i> (NPL-hit.PFV-)	'whistle'

12.2.5 Compounds with bound lexical stems

There is a closed class of bound lexemes that occur only in compound verbs and of which thus the meaning out of the context of a compound verb is impossible to determine. These items do not belong to any of the lexical categories that Sanzhi has. Some of the bound stems are flexible with respect to the light verbs with which they combine leading to a variety of different compound verbs containing the same bound stem (Table 12.6).

For instance, the bound stem *ta^h* occurs together with verbs of movement or posture to yield the meaning ‘jump’, but it also combines with other verbs. The resulting compounds always denote movement away from a source (30–32).

- (30) *ca ta^h b-uq-un ca-b*
 one jump N-go.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘One (boar) jumped (down).’
- (31) *šiš:im-te ta^h či-r-d-irg-an=de, b-arx=ew?*
 suffering-PL jump SPR-ABL-NPL-be.IPFV-PTCP=PST N-right=Q
 ‘I would distract from the sorrows, right?’
- (32) *ta^h aḡ-ib-le hel-ti urcul, ...*
 cut do.PFV-PRET-CVB that-PL firewood
 ‘when (they) cut off the wood, ...’

Other bound stems combine only with one or two light verbs (Table 12.7, Table 12.8). Among them the verbs *b-ik^w*- (N-say.IPFV-), *b-arq[?]*- (N-do.PFV-) and *b-uq-* (HPL-go.PFV-) are particularly frequent.

As with the compound verbs containing short adjectives (§12.2.3), there are often pairs of intransitive and transitive verbs. They can be divided into groups depending on the intransitive verbs that they make use of. Firstly, there are bound stems that are combined with *b-iχ^w*- (PFV) ‘be, become, can’ and *b-arq[?]*- (PFV) ‘do, make’ to form intransitive and transitive verbs, see, for instance, the examples in (33). Other light verbs cannot be used together with these stems.

- (33) a. *haj b-iχ^w-/haj b-arq[?]*- ‘move, drive’
 b. *b-ars b-iχ^w-/b-ars b-arq[?]*- ‘change’

And secondly, there are bound stems that are combined with *b-ik-* (PFV) ‘occur’ and *b-arq[?]*- (PFV) ‘do, make’ to form intransitive and transitive verbs:

- (34) a. *can b-ik-/can b-arq[?]*- ‘mix, unite, meet’
 b. *suk b-ik-/suk b-arq[?]*- ‘meet, gather’
 c. *šak b-ik-/šak b-arq[?]*- ‘guess, suspect, feel’

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Table 12.6: Compound verbs with bound lexical stems (Part 1)

bound stem	light verb	translation of compound verb
<i>k:ač</i>	<i>b-ik</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq</i> ^z - (N-do.PFV-) / <i>b-ik</i> - (N-occur.PFV-)	‘touch’
<i>can</i>	<i>ka-b-ix</i> - (DOWN-N-put.PFV-) / <i>ka-b-ig</i> - (DOWN-N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-ik</i> - (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-ič-aq</i> - (N-occur.PFV-CAUS-) / <i>b-arq</i> ^z - (N-do.PFV-)	‘mix, unite, meet’
<i>ta^hh</i>	<i>b-ik</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-uj</i> - (N-go.PFV-) / <i>b-ax</i> - (HPL-go.IPFV-) / <i>(či-r)-b-ig</i> - ((SPR-ABL)-N-be.PFV-)	‘jump’
<i>ta^hh</i>	<i>ab</i> - (do.PFV-)	‘cut off; make jump’
<i>b-at, b-atčir</i>	<i>(k)-ab</i> - ((DOWN-)do.PFV-) / <i>b-uj</i> - (HPL-go.PFV-) / <i>ka-b-ix</i> - (DOWN-N-put.PFV-)	‘send, free, set out for’
<i>t^hut^hu;</i> <i>t^hut^hu-q^ha^ht^h</i>	<i>b-ik</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq</i> ^z - (N-do.PFV-) / <i>b-ig</i> - (N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-iχ</i> ^w - (N-become.PFV-)	‘drive out, throw out, leave, separate, distribute’
<i>lus</i> ‘around’	<i>b-uj</i> - (HPL-go.PFV-) / <i>b-ig</i> - (N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-ik</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-ik</i> ^h - <i>aq</i> - (N-say.IPFV-CAUS-) / <i>b-arq</i> ^z - (N-do.PFV-)	‘turn around’
<i>han</i>	<i>b-ik</i> - (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-ič-aq</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>k.elg</i> - (DOWN.remain.PFV-) / <i>le-b</i> (exist-N)	‘seem, remember’
<i>čar</i>	<i>b-uj</i> - (HPL-go.PFV-) / <i>b-iχ</i> ^w - (N-become.PFV-) / <i>b-arq</i> ^z - (N-do.PFV-)	‘return’
<i>t^ha, t^haš</i>	<i>b-ic</i> - (HPL-stand.PFV-) / <i>ab</i> - (do.PFV-) / <i>b-ic</i> - <i>aq</i> - (HPL-stand.PFV-CAUS-)	‘stop’
<i>qus</i> ‘slip’	<i>b-ik</i> ^w - (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-ig</i> - (N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-a^hq</i> - (N-hit.PFV-)	‘slip, slide, drag’
<i>er</i> ‘look’	<i>(či)-b-ik</i> ^w - ((SPR-)N-say.IPFV-), <i>(či)-b-erk</i> ^z - ((SPR)-HPL-look.PFV-)	‘look’

Table 12.7: Compound verbs with bound lexical stems (Part 2)

bound stem	light verb	translation of compound verb
<i>ak:a</i>	<i>b-a[˘]q-</i> (N-hit.PFV-), <i>aq-</i> (go.through.PFV-)	'leave in a huff, withdraw offended'
<i>b-al</i> <i>b-iχč̣i(t)/</i> <i>b-iχ-b-it-</i> <i>burs:i</i>	<i>ag-</i> (go.PFV-)	'in order, fit, matching' 'believe'
<i>b-uz</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.pfv-)	'teach'
<i>duc[˘]</i>	<i>b-it[˘]-</i> (N-tear.PFV-) / <i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-)	'stretch, lengthen'
<i>guč̣i</i>	<i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-uk-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	'run'
<i>hak[˘]ar</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-a[˘]q-</i> (N-hit.PFV-)	'gather, collect, unite'
<i>ħa[˘]sib</i> <i>ink</i>	<i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'swing, shake'
<i>k[˘]ap</i>	<i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-) <i>b-a[˘]q-</i> (N-hit.PFV-)	'test, check, pay attention' 'meet, gather'
<i>k[˘]wah</i> <i>k^wir</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-)	'wrap'
<i>lak[˘]</i>	<i>ka-b-ig-</i> (DOWN-N-be.PFV-) / <i>ka-b-is-</i> (DOWN-N-lie.PFV-)	'silent' 'stop, lie down, sleep'
<i>la[˘]k[˘]</i>	<i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'throw, fling oneself'
<i>lak:a</i> <i>muc:a</i> <i>q:a[˘]p</i>	<i>b-ig-</i> (N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'leave, drive away'
<i>q:uc</i>	<i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-) <i>b-uk-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	'throw hurl, fling' 'search'
<i>qa[˘]m</i>	<i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'pull'
<i>q[˘]a[˘]q[˘]</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'touch, dip into, prick, stick into'
<i>qum</i>	<i>b-ik[˘]w-</i> (N-say.IPFV-) / <i>b-arq[˘]-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	'grab'
	<i>č̣i-b-ig-</i> (SPR-N-see.PFV-) / <i>(č̣i-)ab-</i> ((SPR)-do.PFV-)	'stare, peer at'
	<i>(k)ert-</i> ((DOWN).forget.PFV-)	'forget'

Table 12.8: Compound verbs with bound lexical stems (Part 3)

bound stem	light verb	translation of compound verb
<i>šina šina</i>	<i>b-iχ^w-</i> (N-become.PFV-) / <i>b-arq^ʔ-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	‘spoil’
<i>šak</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-)	‘guess, suspect, feel’
<i>šiq^ʔ</i>	<i>b-ig-</i> (N-be.PFV-) / <i>b-uq-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	‘sway, rock, shake’
<i>suk</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-)	‘meet, gather’
<i>t’int^ʔ</i>	<i>b-ik-</i> (N-occur.PFV-) / <i>b-arq^ʔ-</i> (N-do.PFV-)	‘spread out’
<i>urk^ʔ</i>	<i>b-uq-</i> (HPL-go.PFV-)	‘wonder, fright’
<i>xar</i>	<i>b-eβ-</i> (N-go.PFV-)	‘ask’
<i>žu^ot^ʔ</i>	<i>aβ-</i> (do.PFV-)	‘destroy’

Occasionally, stems can be combined with more than one intransitive auxiliary, e.g. (35).

- (35) a. *βudur* ‘mix’ + *b-iχ^w-* (PFV) ‘be, become, can’ and *b-ik-* (PFV) ‘occur’
 b. *qus* ‘slip’ + *b-ik^w-* (N-say.IPFV-) and *b-ig-* (N-be.PFV-)

There are a couple of compound verbs in which the first part synchronically seems to be a verb or diachronically to originate from a verb (36). However, the compounds express verbal aspect only via the stem alternation of the second verb; the first part is invariable and not inflected except for the gender/number prefixes, which agree in exactly the same way as the prefixes, which belong to the inflecting verb (37–40).

- (36) a. *b-ax-b-at-* (PFV)/*b-ax-b-alt-* (IPFV) ‘leave, let’
 < *b-ax-* (HPL-go.IPFV?) + *b-at-* (PFV) (HPL-let)
 b. *ic:aχ-* (PFV)/*ic:alχ-* (IPFV) ‘start to hurt’
 < *ic-* (IPFV) ‘hurt, ache’ + ?
 c. *b-it^ʔ-b-ak^ʔ-* (PFV)/*b-it^ʔ-b-ik^ʔ-* ‘pull, draw, move’
 < *b-it^ʔ-* (PFV) ‘lure out of, from’ + *b-ak^ʔ-* ‘grow’?
 d. *us.kelg-* (PFV)/*us.kalg-* (IPFV) ‘go to sleep, fall asleep’
 < *us-* ‘lie’ (PFV) + *kelg-* (PFV) ‘remain, stay’
 e. *b-iχ-(b)-it-ag-* (PFV)/*b-iχ-(b)-it-arg-* (IPFV) ‘believe’
 < *b-iχ-* ‘believe’ + preverb *b-it-* ‘thither’ + *ag-* (PFV) ‘go’
 f. *b-iχ-čeg-* (PFV)/*b-iχ-čerg-* (IPFV) ‘believe’
 < *b-iχ-* ‘believe’ + *či-ag-* (PFV) (SPR-go)

- (37) it r-ax-r-at-ur
 that F-go-F-let.PFV-PRET
 ‘(They/She/He) left her (at home).’

- (38) w-it'-k-ač'-e hešt:u!
 M-pull-DOWN-grow?.PFV-IMP here
 'Move here!' (E)
- (39) mašin b-it'-a-jk'-aχ:-an raχle?
 car N-pull-NEG-grow(?).IPFV-COND-PRS.3 if
 '(What) if the car does not move?'
- (40) it us-kalg-an ca-w
 that lie-remain.IPFV-PTCP COP-M
 'He will/should go to sleep.'

13 Indicative synthetic verb forms

Sanzhi Dargwa has only two indicative synthetic verb forms that head independent clauses, the habitual present (§13.1) and the habitual past (§13.2). They are formed by adding stem augmentation vowels and person agreement markers to verbal stems that have imperfective aspect. The stem augmentation vowels occur only with first and second person forms and are also used in conditional clauses with synthetic verb forms (Chapter 18.3). They are *u* for intransitive verbs and *i* for transitive verbs in the habitual present, and *a* for all verbs in the habitual past (with the exception of the verb *b-aχ-* (PFV)/*b-alχ-* (IPFV) ‘know’, which also has *a* as the stem augmentation in the habitual present). The stem augmentation vowels are not separately glossed in the examples, but given together with the person/tense suffixes.

13.1 Habitual present

The habitual present is formed by adding person suffixes to the augmented stem of imperfective verbs (Table 13.1). The third person has always the suffix *-u*, which can thus be interpreted as a person marker, although it most probably originates from the stem augmentation vowel for intransitive verbs. Alternatively there is the suffix *-ar* for the third person (see below for a discussion). Table 13.2 shows paradigms of three verbs. The intransitive verb ‘say’ is given in the female form for singular persons.

Table 13.1: Person suffixes for the habitual present (without stem augmentation vowels)

	singular	plural
1		<i>-d</i>
2	<i>-t:e</i>	<i>-t:a</i>
3		<i>-u/-ar</i>

Table 13.2: Some illustrative paradigms of the habitual present

	‘say’		‘do’		‘know’	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>r-ik’-u-d</i>	<i>d-ik’-u-d</i>	<i>b-irq’-i-d</i>	<i>b-irq’-i-d</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-d</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-d</i>
2	<i>r-ik’-u-t:e</i>	<i>d-ik’-u-t:a</i>	<i>b-irq’-i-t:e</i>	<i>b-irq’-i-t:a</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-t:e</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-t:a</i>
3	<i>r-ik’-u</i>	<i>b-ik’-u</i>	<i>b-irq’-u</i>	<i>b-irq’-u</i>	<i>b-alχ-u</i>	<i>b-alχ-u</i>

Semantic domains

1. habitual: used in time-less utterances that state general characteristics (of people, situations, etc.), in procedural texts, and for the description of (traditional) habits:

- (1) duq-n-a-lla χ:ink'-e d-irq'-id, wec'al duqu
 egg-PL-OBL-GEN khinkal-PL NPL-do.IPFV-1.PRS ten egg
 k-ert'-id, c'il neǰ k-ert'-id
 DOWN-pour.IPFV-1.PRS then milk DOWN-pour.IPFV-1.PRS
 'We make egg khinkal. We pour ten eggs; then we pour milk.'
- (2) dam qum.a.art-id cik'al
 1SG.DAT forget.IPFV.NEG-1.PRS anything
 'I don't forget anything.'
- (3) u-l b-arq'-ij w-irχ-ut:e=w?
 2SG-ERG N-do.PFV-INF M-be.able.IPFV-2SG.PRS=Q
 'Can you do this?'

2. future and potential future: 'will'/'could'/'should', including the apodosis of conditionals:

- (4) [Tell your head of administration to wait one more day.]
 c'il du hext:u-w w-irχ^w-ud hek'-i-la kabinet-le-w
 then 1SG there.UP-M M-be.IPFV-1.PRS DEM.UP-OBL-GEN office-LOC-M
 'Then I will/could be there in his office.'
- (5) di-la šiš:im-la dalaj b-elč'-id=aw a-b-elč'-id=aw?
 1SG-GEN suffering-GEN song N-read.IPFV-1.PRS=Q NEG-N-read.IPFV-1.PRS=Q
 'Should/will I sing my sad song or not?' (a more literal translation is: 'To sing or not to sing the song about my sufferings?')

The habitual/future polysemy is common for Dagestanian languages (Tatevosov 2005) and also cross-linguistically well-attested (Haspelmath 1998). The future reading has developed from the habitual reading, but it is only available for predicates that express transitory and accidental properties (4), (6). Predicates that denote temporally stable and essential properties that characterize their referents only express the habitual meaning (7), (8).

- (6) hel prosto, "dam a-b-ik:-ar", Ø-ik'-ul ca-w, "aš:i-c:ella
 that simply 1SG.DAT NEG-N-want.IPFV-3.PRS M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M 2PL-COMIT
 ka-jž-ij w-elq:-un-ne=da" Ø-ik'-ul ca-w
 DOWN-remain.PFV-INF M-safe.PFV-PRET-CVB=1 M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'He simply says, "I do not want to sit with you, I had enough of you," he says.'

- (7) ca cik'al a-b-alχ-ad
 one something NEG-N-know.IPFV-1.PRS
 'I don't know anything.' (NOT: 'I will/should not know anything.')
- (8) Madina-j du w-ič:-aq-id
 Madina-DAT 1SG M-want.IPFV-CAUS-1.PRS
 'Madina loves me (masc.)' (NOT: 'Madina will/should love me.') (E)

As can be seen in Table 13.1, the third person has two suffixes, *-u* and *-ar*. The latter suffix is less frequently attested in the corpus. It is homophonous with the third person realis conditional suffix *-ar* (§18.3.1), and therefore not always easy to identify in texts. It seems that there is a slight semantic difference such that *-u* can refer to single events whereas *-ar* refers to habitually occurring events, but this difference is hard to detect and not always clear. For instance, (9) means 'remember from time to time, think of', whereas *han b-irk-u* would just mean 'remember (once)'. Similarly, *bek' ic:-u* means 'the head aches (now)', whereas *bek' ic:-ar* means that the head aches again and again, like when people have migraine. By contrast, example (10) shows an utterance, in which *w-irχ^w-ar* could be replaced by *w-irχ-u* without any change in meaning.

- (9) at han a-r-irk-ar=uw, Ba^ha^hmma?
 2SG.DAT remember NEG-F-OCCUR.IPFV-3.PRS=Q Bahamma
 'Don't you remember her, Bahamma?'
- (10) c'il w-irχ^w-ar=uw hati ĥa^hmid-li cin-na ul-b-a-c:e lak'
 then M-be.able.IPFV-3.PRS=Q really Hamid-ERG REFL.SG-GEN eye-PL-OBL-IN throw
 d-arq'-ij il-ti řa^hnč:i?
 NPL-do.PFV-INF that-PL clay
 'Can Hamid really throw clay into his eyes?'

The verb *b-ik'^w-ij* 'say' is the most frequently used verb with *-ar*, and it is frequently but not always translated as past tense (i.e. 'said') without any habitual semantics when it bears this suffix. I do not have an explanation for why the verb form (*r/b/d*)-*ik'^w-ar* conveys non-habitual past time semantics. Example (11) illustrates the use of both suffixes *-u* and *-ar* with this verb in one sentence.

- (11) "řa^hbra^hřil-qal r-ař a-b-ik'-u=w?" hař-ib=da.
 Zhabrail-ASSOC F-go NEG-N-say.IPFV-3.PRS=Q say.PFV-PRET=1
 "a-b-ik'-u", r-ik'^w-ar
 NEG-N-say.IPFV-3.PRS F-say.IPFV-3.PRS
 'I said, "Zhabrail and his family do not invite you?" She said, "They don't invite me."' (lit. 'Don't they say "Come!"')

Negation is expressed through the prefix *a-* (9). Some affective verbs allow for the ergative construction (in addition to the dative construction) with the habitual present (this phenomenon requires future research, but see §19.1.8 for some more examples).

13.2 Habitual past

The habitual past is the past-tense counterpart of the habitual present. It is only formed from the imperfective stem by means of a suffix *-a* that is followed by person markers (first and second person). The person markers for second person are identical to the person markers used for the habitual present such that *b-aχ-* (PFV)/*b-alχ-* (IPFV) ‘know’ has identical forms for the habitual present and past in the second person (compare Table 13.2 and Table 13.4). In the third person, *-a* is absent. Instead, the suffix *-i* or alternatively the longer variants *-iri* or, rarely, *-ini* are used (Table 13.3). As an alternative to *-a* plus person suffix, *-i(ri)* can also be used with first and second person without any difference in meaning.

Table 13.3: Person suffixes for the habitual past

	singular	plural
1		<i>-di/-i(ri)</i>
2	<i>-t:ε/-i(ri)</i>	<i>-t:a/-i(ri)</i>
3		<i>-i(ri)/-ini</i>

Table 13.4: Some illustrative paradigms of the habitual past

	‘say’		‘do’		‘know’	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>r-ik^w-a-di</i>	<i>d-ik^w-a-di</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-a-di</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-a-di</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-di</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-di</i>
2	<i>r-ik^w-a-t:ε</i>	<i>d-ik^w-a-t:a</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-a-t:ε</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-a-t:a</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-t:ε</i>	<i>b-alχ-a-t:a</i>
3	<i>r-ik^w-i(ri)</i>	<i>b-ik^w-i(ri)</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-i(ri)</i>	<i>b-irq[’]-i(ri)</i>	<i>b-alχ-i(ri)</i>	<i>b-alχ-i(ri)</i>

The semantic domain is habitual situations with past time reference. The verb form is used to express habitually occurring actions in the past (12), employed in characterizing persons (13), when referring to occupations, and so on. The functional range of the habitual past also includes the expression of future-in-the-past in the protasis of past conditionals and irrealis conditionals (14). As with the habitual present, negation is expressed through the prefix *a-* (14) and some affective verbs additionally allow for the ergative construction with the habitual past (for more information see §19.1.8).

- (12) har zamana her?i niš:i-c:ε, Sanži-le w-ax-an=da
 every time say.IPFV-HAB.PST.3 1PL-IN Sanzhi-LOC M-go.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘He always told us, “I will go to Sanzhi.” ’
- (13) uc’ran-t-a-l b-uk-i, nuš:a-l k:ač a-b-irq[’]-a-di
 Icarī-PL-OBL-ERG N-eat.IPFV-HAB.PST.3 1PL-ERG touch NEG-N-do.IPFV-HAB.PST-1
 ‘Icarī people ate it (the meat of boars), we did not touch it.’

- (14) di-la aba-la uci-l du ča'ča'n-t-a-c'e
 1SG-GEN mother-GEN brother-ERG 1SG Chechen-PL-OBL-IN
 a-r-uk-ut:el r-ubk'-a-di
 NEG-F-lead.IPFV-COND.PST F-die.IPFV-HAB.PST-1

'If my mother's brother would not have brought me to Chechnya, I would have died.'

The verb *b-ik'^w-ij* 'say', which was mentioned in the previous section as expressing past time reference by means of the third person habitual present suffix for reasons that still await clarification is regularly inflected for the habitual past. However, the meaning is not always clearly habitual but seems also to be just a perfective past (15).

- (15) a presedatel ča ca-w=de Ø-ik'^w-a-t:e?
 but head who COP-M=PST M-say.IPFV-HAB.PST-2SG
 'Who (masc.) did you (masc.) say was the head (of the kolkhoz)?'

The verb *b-ik:-* (IPFV) 'want, like, love', which lacks a perfective stem, shows exceptional behavior with the habitual forms. The only available forms of the habitual present are *dam b-ik:-i* 'I want' and *niš:ij b-ik:-i* 'we want' and for questions *at b-ik:-i=w?* 'Do you (SG) want?' and *aš:ij b-ik:-i=w?* 'Do you (PL) want?'. There are no forms for third person and the second person forms cannot be used in assertions. Furthermore, the habitual past expresses irrealis modality with the first person, that is, *dam/niš:ij b-ik:-a-di* translates as 'I/we would like, I/we would want'. It is not used with other persons apart from the first person.

14 Analytic verb forms

All verb forms consisting of a lexical verb bearing a participial or converbal suffix (and possible other suffixes) followed by a person enclitic, the past enclitic, the copula *ca-b*, or the suffix *-ne* are called “analytic verb forms” and described in this chapter. When the standard copula is replaced by locational copulas or other auxiliaries, the resulting verb forms will be called “periphrastic”, and they are separately treated in Chapter 15. The division between analytic and periphrastic verb forms is mainly based on differences in morphology, semantics, and frequency of use. Among the morphologically complex verb forms, analytic verb forms are the core verb forms because they are basic in terms of the semantics and pragmatics of the inflectional element that accompanies the lexical verb. This element (person enclitic, past enclitic, standard copula, suffix *-ne*) expresses basic verbal categories such as tense, person, number, and gender.¹ The lexical verb conveys aspectual and modal meaning. By contrast, in periphrastic verb forms the accompanying auxiliary has additional modal, locational, evidential or aspectual meanings that contribute to the meaning of the complex predicate, which is therefore more specific. Furthermore, the accompanying auxiliary verbs of periphrastic verb forms are also used as full lexical verbs, but not as semantically empty copulas in copula clauses. The latter use is only attested for person enclitics, the past enclitic and the standard copula. Because of their more general meaning most analytic verb forms occur far more frequently in texts than the periphrastic verb forms with their more specific meaning.

The analytic verb forms can be divided into two main groups: forms based on the imperfective stem (§14.1) and forms based on the preterite (§14.2). The former convey mainly present time or future time reference (and an imperfective past), whereas the latter almost exclusively convey past time reference.

14.1 Forms based on the imperfective stem

The TAM forms that can be obtained from the imperfective stem can be divided into two groups, depending on whether the lexical verb bears the imperfective converb suffix or the modal participle *-an* (Table 14.1). The second group has a modal meaning due to the semantics of the participle. All forms make use of person enclitics/copula *ca-b* for present or future time reference and the past enclitic *=de* for past time reference. The following subsections treat all analytic verb forms based on the imperfective stem according to the order in the table.

¹Agreement rules and agreement exponents, i.e., gender affixes, person suffixes and person enclitics, are separately treated in Chapter 20 and therefore not discussed in this chapter.

14 Analytic verb forms

Table 14.1: Analytic verb forms based on the imperfective stem

label of TAM form	lexical verb	inflection
non-modal forms that employ the imperfective converb		
compound present	imperfective	+ person enclitics/copula
compound past	converb	+ past enclitic = <i>de</i>
modal forms that employ the participle <i>-an</i>		
future		+ person enclitics/ <i>-ne</i>
future in the past	participle <i>-an</i>	+ past enclitic = <i>de</i>
obligative		+ copula
obligative present	participle <i>-an</i>	+ person enclitics/copula
obligative past	+ <i>-ce/-te</i>	+ past = <i>de</i>

14.1.1 Compound present

The compound present is obtained by adding the imperfective converb *-ul/-un(ne)* to the verbal stem,² which is in turn followed by the person enclitics (first and second person) or by the copula *ca-b* (third person).

Table 14.2: Some exemplary paradigms of the compound present

	'eat'		'do'	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>b-uk-un=da</i>	<i>b-uk-un=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul=da</i>
2	<i>b-uk-un=de</i>	<i>b-uk-un=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul=de</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul=da</i>
3	<i>b-uk-un ca-b</i>	<i>b-uk-un ca-b</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul ca-b</i>	<i>b-irq'-ul ca-b</i>

The compound present is the default tense for conveying present time reference. It covers various imperfective meanings such as progressive, habitual, or continuative.

1. Progressive: actions and events that are happening at the moment of speech. In this function, it can also be used with stative verbs.

- (1) hana du-l b-urs-ul=da χabar
 now 1SG-ERG N-tell-ICVB=1 story
 'Now I am telling a story.'

²The imperfective converb is, at least diachronically, related to the cross-categorical adverbializer *-le* (§9.6.3), and thus also to the perfective converb. However, in order to facilitate understanding I treat the converbs and the adverbializer as separate items.

- (2) na il-t:i bahla-bahla d-aqil cik'al han d-irk-ul
 now that-PL slow-slow NPL-much thing remember NPL-occur.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-d na
 COP-NPL now

'Now these (games), many things are slowly occurring (to my mind).'

2. Habitual: describing general characteristic actions or what people do over an extended period of time, descriptions of games, etc. This use of the compound present strongly resembles the habitual present (§13.1).

- (3) cara-te da'ʔa'n b-irx:-ul ca-b
 other-DD.PL secret HPL-put.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL

'The others hide.' (in a game of hide-and-seek)

- (4) ʔu'rus ʁaj-la ce=jal b-ik'-ul ca-b it-i-j,
 Russian language-GEN what=INDQ HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB be-HPL that-OBL-DAT
 dam qum.urt-ul ca-b
 1SG.DAT forget.IPFV-ICVB COP-N

'What do they call it in Russian, I forget it.'

3. Historical present: continuative actions in narrations about the past.

- (5) š:i-l-c:e-w er Ø-ik'-ul ca-w, ča-k'al caʔarrah
 village-OBL-IN-M look M-look.at.IPFV-ICVB COP-M who-INDEF not.one
 admi w-ak:u
 person M-COP.NEG

'He is looking around in the village, nobody is there.'

Negation can be expressed either through the negative prefix *a-* or by means of the negative auxiliary. In the former case, which represents the rarer variant, the negation suffix is simply added to the lexical verb (6). In the latter case, which is far more common, the negative copula *ak:w*- 'be not' (COP.NEG) is used (7); it is inflected for person, but not for gender (see §16.1 for the paradigm of the negative copula).

- (6) ce b-arq'-idel a-b-alχ-ul=da
 what N-do.PFV-MODQ NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=1

'I do not know what to do.'

- (7) di-la ʁaj b-urs-ul ak:w-a:t:e u-l
 1SG-GEN word N-tell.PFV-ICVB COP.NEG-2SG 2SG-ERG

'You tell only my words.'

In questions with a third-person agreement controller, the copula is replaced by the respective interrogative enclitic (8). In such contexts, the interrogative enclitic acts as a predicative particle and takes over the role of the copula (§9.1).

- (8) hež-i-l ce b-irq'-ul=e?
 this-OBL-ERG what N-do.IPFV-ICVB=Q
 'What is he doing?'

The compound present can also be formed by means of existential copulas instead of the normal copula, which leads to a slight change in the meaning (§16.2).

14.1.2 Compound past

The compound past is formed by encliticizing the past marker =*de* to the imperfective stem that bears the imperfective converb suffix. Its semantics corresponds to the semantics of the compound present, but now we have past time reference.

1. Progressive/continuative: ongoing actions and states that continuously obtained in the past, situations of long duration of which the endpoint (and the beginning) is not important.

- (9) dubur-t-a-c:e-b ca admi-l qu'r-be luc'-unne=de
 mountain-PL-OBL-IN-N one person-ERG pear-PL gather.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'In the mountains there was a man gathering pears.'

2. Habitual: general characteristics of situations and habits of people.

- (10) χalq'-li-j kumek b-irq'-ul=de
 people-OBL-DAT help N-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'He helped the people.' (character trait of the grandfather)

- (11) [description of a game]
 urcul-la hež-it:e ka-b-irx:-ul=de ca krug
 wood-GEN this-ADVZ DOWN-N-put.IPFV-ICVB=PST one circle
 b-irq'-ul=de
 N-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 '(We) put wooden (sticks?) like this, we made a circle.'

- (12) b-uc:-ul b-el=de, luk'-unne=de
 N-work-ICVB N-remain.PFV=PST write.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 '(In contrast to now, at that time my hand) worked, I wrote.'

For the negation there are again two options: prefixation of *a-* (13) and use of the negative copula inflected for the past tense, with the latter option being more frequent (14).

- (13) c'il q:ačub-e χ:u'rba-c:e b-u'q'-ij a-b-irχ-ul=de=w?
 then bandit-PL graveyard-IN HPL-go-INF NEG-HPL-be.able.IPFV-ICVB=PST=Q
 'Couldn't the bandits go to the graveyard?'

- (14) hak' b-ulq-unne ak:^w-i mašina
 shake N-direct.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-HAB.PST car
 'The car did not shake.'

14.1.3 Future

The future is formed by adding the person enclitics to the lexical verb that bears the participle *-an*. In the third person, the suffix *-ne* is used (Table 14.3).

Table 14.3: Some exemplary paradigms of the future

	'eat'		'do'	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>b-uk-an=da</i>	<i>b-uk-an=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-an=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-an=da</i>
2	<i>b-uk-an=de</i>	<i>b-uk-an=da</i>	<i>b-irq'-an=de</i>	<i>b-irq'-an=da</i>
3	<i>b-uk-an-ne</i>	<i>b-uk-an-ne</i>	<i>b-irq'-an-ne</i>	<i>b-irq'-an-ne</i>

Its semantic range is:

1. Future: future time reference, predictions of future situations, potential situations.

- (15) a^wc'alla d-arq'-ij d-irχ-an=da uš:a-l
 forty.days 1/2.PL-do.PFV-INF 1/2.PL-be.able.IPFV-OBLG=2PL 2PL-ERG
 'You (pl.) will be able to spend the 40 days (without me).'

- (16) hana u=ra Ø-uk:-an=de
 now 2SG=ADD M-eat.IPFV-PTCP=2SG
 'Now (she) will eat you (masc.), too.'

2. Modal meaning: expression of obligation.

- (17) hel-t:i ĥa[˘]jwan-q:ač:a-la ak:^w-ar, cara ce ʔa[˘]či
 that-PL.ABS animal-calf-GEN COP.NEG-PRS other what work
 b-irχ^w-an-ne hext:u-b b-i-b?
 N-be.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 there.UP-N N-in-N
 'If there was not the work with the animals, what work would/should there be?'

- (18) cara ce Ø-ik'^w-an-ne?
 other what M-say.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 'What else should be said?'

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- (19) heχ u-l dirx:a gu-r-b-uq:-ij=sat,
DEM.DOWN 2SG-ERG stick SUB-ABL-N-take.out.IPFV-INF=as.much
k-erc:-an=de hešt:u
DOWN-stand.IPFV-PTCP=2SG here
'Until you take the stick out, you have to stand here.'

Negation is expressed by means of the prefix *a-*:

- (20) a-d-irc-an=da haʔ-ib=da
NEG-NPL-sell.IPFV-PTCP=1 say.PFV-PRET=1
'I will not sell them, I said.'

14.1.4 Future in the past

The future in the past is formed by adding the past enclitic =*de* to the participle *-an*. It expresses irrealis modality, referring to situations and actions that should have taken place or performed in the past (21–23). It is also used in the counterfactual apodosis of irrealis conditional clauses (24) (§25.2). The negative prefix is used for negation (23).

- (21) wat' hek'-i-la istorija luk'-an=de
well DEM.UP-OBL-GEN story write.IPFV-PTCP=PST
'Her story (i.e. autobiography) should have been written down.'
- (22) ču-l b-irq'-an=de dam k:ak:juta
REFL.PL-ERG N-do.IPFV-PTCP=PST 1SG.DAT something
'They would/should have done something for me.'
- (23) žan-ni-c:e-r a-r-ulq-an=de, ka-d-ic:-ar=ra
body-OBL-IN-ABL NEG-F-direct.IPFV-PTCP=PST DOWN-NPL-stand.PFV-COND.3=ADD
q'ijama
end.of.world
'You (fem.) should not have left your body, even if the end of the world comes.'
- (24) du-l kiniga b-uč'-an=de, rayle či-d-ig-ul
1SG-ERG book N-read.IPFV-PTCP=PST if SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB
Ø-iχ-ut:el
M-be.PFV-COND.PST
'I would have read the book if I (masc.) had seen it.' (E)

14.1.5 Obligative

The obligative is formally and functionally closely related to the future, but it makes use of the copula for all third persons instead of person enclitics. The meaning is usually modal referring to needs and obligations, close to deontic necessity. For negation the copula *ca-b* is replaced by the negative copula *ak:u* (27), (28).

- (25) “wat”, Ø-ik’-ul ca-w, “heχ b-irq’-an ca-b”
 well M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M DEM.DOWN N-do.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 “‘Well,’ he says, ‘this needs to be done.’”
- (26) c’aq’ darman-na b-irχ^w-an ca-b
 strong medicine-GEN N-become.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘It must be a strong medicine.’
- (27) du-l t’ult’ b-uk-an ca-b / ak:-u
 1SG-ERG bread N-eat.IPFV-PTCP COP-N / COP.NEG-PRS
 ‘I have/do not have to eat bread.’ (E)
- (28) χ:ula aci k-erβ-an ca-w, nik’a azi ka-r-irβ-an
 big uncle DOWN-COME-PTCP COP-M small aunt DOWN-F-COME.IPFV-PTCP
 ak:-u
 COP.NEG-PRS
 ‘The elder uncle has to go; the younger aunt should not go.’

14.1.6 Obligative present

The obligative present strongly resembles the future and the obligative. With both forms it shares the meaning, this means that, the obligative present expresses future and/or obligation. The only formal difference is the additional use of the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (plural *-te*), which is added to the participle before the person marker is encliticized.

- (29) “cina d-ax-an-te=da=jal,” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w
 where 1/2PL-go.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=2=INDQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 “‘Where will you (pl.) go?’ he says.’
- (30) du w-ax-an-ce=da
 1SG M-go.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG=1
 ‘I (masc.) will go/have to go.’ (E)

Note that in (30), although the singular form *-an-ce* is available in elicitation, it is not attested in the corpus and it seems that for the singular the future (§14.1.3) (or the obligative, §14.1.5) is preferred. All corpus examples contain the plural suffix *-te*. The reason for this might be the general distribution of the cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* / *-te* and *-il*. For plural referents only *-te* is available (29). In the singular, in principle *-ce* and *-il* compete, but in natural texts the use of *-il* is clearly preferred and only a few examples of *-ce* can be found in the corpus (see §9.6.1 and §9.6.2 for detailed analyses of the suffixes). The obligative present (and the obligative past) cannot be formed by means of the suffix *-il* for reasons that are not clear to me. Therefore, the more natural way of forming a singular from a (29) is to use the future form *du w-ax-an=da* instead of (30).

In the third person the copula is used (31). However, the copula can also be employed with first and second person, in which case the meaning of obligation is dominant (32), (33). Negation is expressed by means of the negative copula (34).

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- (31) it w-ax-an-ce ca-w
 DEM M-go.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG COP-M
 ‘He will go/have to go.’ (E)
- (32) c’il u-l b-urk:-an-te ca-b hel-ti
 then 2SG-ERG HPL-find.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL COP-HPL that-PL
 ‘Then you have to find them.’
- (33) niš:a-la bet’u luq’an-te ca-d Ø-ik’-ul ca-w
 1PL-GEN flour grind.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL COP-NPL M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘Our flour we should/(will) grind, he says.’ OR ‘Our flour should be ground, he says.’
- (34) kulpat-li-j heχ-ti bala
 family-OBL-DAT DEM.DOWN-PL misfortune
 čī-ka-jβ-an-te=k:u
 SPR-DOWN-COME.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=NEG
 ‘To a family such misfortune should not happen.’

14.1.7 Obligative past

The obligative past is formed by replacing the person enclitic or copula of the obligative present with the past enclitic. It refers to obligations that obtained in the past and that were or were not fulfilled (35–37).

- (35) c’il uc’ari čar d-irχ^w-an-te=de nuš:a
 then Icarī back 1/2PL-become.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=PST 1PL
 ‘Then we had to be back in Icarī.’
- (36) hel-ti ala pikri=ra her?-an-te=de
 that-PL 2SG.GEN thought=ADD say.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=PST
 ‘(You) should have told your thoughts.’
- (37) hešt:i padrjad sa-d-aš-aq-an-te=de
 these in.order HITHER-NPL-go.IPFV-CAUS-PTCP-DD.PL=PST
 ‘These (pictures) should have been come in the right order.’

The obligative present and past forms can also have a non-modal and non-future reading when they are instead interpreted like headless relative clauses and the person enclitic, copula or past marker makes up its own copula clause (38). Thus, in the first part of this sentence the participle has been nominalized by means of the cross-categorical suffix *-te*, which corresponds to a headless relative clause (‘the drinking ones’). This nominalized clause functions as subject in an existential copula in which the encliticized past marker =*de* serves as an existential copula. The nominalized clause does not have modal or future semantics. The second part has a similar meaning, but the copula is missing such that we have only the nominalized clause, which is more complex. It also

contains a demonstrative pronoun and an adjunct in the ergative that serves as direct object because the nominalized clause is an antipassive construction (§19.2.1).

- (38) it:u-b b-uč:-an-te=de; iš-t:i ʔa`či-l
 there-HPL HPL-drink.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=PST this-PL work-ERG
 b-irq'-an-te ...
 HPL-do.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL
 'There were the drinking ones; these working ones ...'

14.2 Forms based on the preterite

The preterite is the most important verbal suffix in Sanzhi not just because it is extremely common in terms of token frequency and used as the base for a wide range of TAM forms (Table 14.4), but also because it is the major indicator for verbal inflection classes.

Sanzhi has the standard Dargwa inventory of preterite suffixes: *-ib*, *-ub*, *-un*, and *-ur*. The suffix *-ib* is the most frequently used preterite suffix and thus sometimes treated as the default variant (e.g. Daniel 2015), and *-ub* is analyzed as a phonologically predictable allomorph that is in complementary distribution with *-ib* and occurs only with labialized stems (Belyaev In Preparation). The latter is, in fact, the case in Sanzhi, but the complementary distribution still needs further investigation (see §11.2 for lists of verbs and their preterite suffixes). The suffix *-un* is the second most frequent suffix after *-ib*. It occurs with verbs that have *l* in the perfective stem and/or an imperfective stem with initial *l*, labialized root consonants, or *l* in the imperfective stem. The suffix *-ur* is the least frequent one (though probably more common than *-ub*), and its occurrence cannot be predicted.

In principle, many verbs can inflect the imperfective as well as the perfective stem for the preterite, but not all verbs have this possibility (e.g. *b-alχ-* 'N-know.IPFV' cannot take any of the preterite suffixes). There are only very few corpus examples of imperfective verb stems bearing the preterite suffix, all occurring in the preterite. All other forms can be elicited, but speakers do not seem to have clear intuitions about the meanings and context of use of these forms and translations suggest that the forms are not truly part of verbal paradigms. For instance, experiential forms are normally translated with cleft constructions, suggesting a biclausal structure. Therefore, almost all verb forms based on the imperfective stem have been given in parenthesis in Table 14.4 and Table 14.5. They will not be further discussed here.

Table 14.4 displays the verb forms that can be obtained from the preterite and Table 14.5 provides one exemplary verb. The paradigm shows a clear symmetrical structure. All verb forms make use of one of the three available means for obtaining regular analytic verb forms: person enclitics, the copula *ca-b* or the past enclitic. The preterite is the base form and the preterite resultative is a kind of minor variant derived from it. From the preterite, three types of verb forms are built. Each of them follows the same pattern: the lexical verb occurs in the preterite form and takes one of three further suffixes. These suffixes are the perfective converb suffix, or one of the two cross-categorical

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suffixes *-ce* and *-il*. The suffixes are followed by person enclitics (first and second person) or the copula (third person), which yields one type of forms. The temporal reference of this type of verb forms can be further shifted to the past by means of the past enclitic *=de*.

At least diachronically all three suffixes used after the preterite belong to the same class of cross-categorical suffixes that are added to words of different lexical classes and form either referential attributes with the syntactic properties of nouns (*-ce* and *-il*) or adverbials (§9.6.3). Thus, the perfective converb suffix is identical with the adverbializer *-le*. But for the sake of clarity and readability of the grammar I will gloss it as perfective converb suffix and treat it as a separate item (the same was done for the imperfective converb). The syntactic properties of the cross-categorical suffixes are preserved in the verb forms containing them: the perfective converb is functionally equivalent to adverbials when it is used without the person enclitics, past enclitic or copula; the verb forms with the suffixes *-ce* and *-il* (experiential and experiential past forms) are functionally equivalent to nominalized participles that form relative clauses.

Table 14.4: Forms based on the preterite

	imperfective stem	perfective stem
preterite	preterite + person enclitic/zero	preterite + person enclitic/zero
resultative (only 3 rd person)	preterite + copula	preterite + copula
preterite + perfective converb <i>-le</i> + X		
perfect	(preterite + converb <i>-le</i> + person enclitics/copula)	preterite + converb <i>-le</i> + person enclitics/copula
past perfect (pluperfect)	(preterite + converb <i>-le</i> + past enclitic <i>=de</i>)	preterite + converb <i>-le</i> + past enclitic <i>=de</i>
preterite + cross-categorical suffix <i>-ce/-te</i> + X		
experiential I	(preterite + <i>-ce/-te</i> + person enclitics/copula)	preterite + <i>-ce/-te</i> + person enclitics/copula
experiential past I	(preterite + <i>-ce/-te</i> + past)	preterite + <i>-ce/-te</i> + past
preterite + cross-categorical suffix <i>-il</i> + X		
experiential II	(preterite + <i>-il</i> + person enclitics/copula)	preterite + <i>-il</i> + person enclitics/copula
experiential past II	(preterite + <i>-il</i> + past)	preterite + <i>-il</i> + past

Table 14.5: Exemplary paradigms based on the preterite for the verb ‘do, make’

	imperfective stem	perfective stem
preterite	<i>b-irq'-ib/=da/=de</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib/=da/=de</i>
resultative (only 3 rd person)	<i>b-irq'-ib ca-b</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib ca-b</i>
preterite + perfective converb <i>-le + X</i>		
perfect	<i>(b-irq'-ib-le=da/=de/ca-b)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-le=da/=de/ca-b</i>
past perfect (pluperfect)	<i>(b-irq'-ib-le=de)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-le=de</i>
preterite + cross-categorical suffix <i>-ce/-te + X</i>		
experiential I	<i>(b-irq'-ib-ce=da/=de/ca-b)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-ce=da/=de/ca-b</i>
experiential past I	<i>(b-irq'-ib-ce=de)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-ce=de</i>
preterite + cross-categorical suffix <i>-il + X</i>		
experiential II	<i>(b-irq'-ib-il=da/=de/ca-b)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-il=da/=de/ca-b</i>
experiential past II	<i>(b-irq'-ib-il=de)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ib-il=de</i>

14.2.1 The imperfective preterite and imperfective preterite resultative

The imperfective preterite is formed from the preterite stem of imperfective verbs to which person enclitics for first and second persons are added; for the third person no markers are used. In addition to the ergative and the affective construction, the imperfect also allows for the antipassive construction (41). The imperfective preterite expresses past time reference in combination with imperfective aspect. It can be negated by means of the prefix *a-*. The imperfective preterite is barely attested in the Sanzhi corpus (42); examples (39–41) have been elicited. The imperfective preterite resultative, which is restricted to third person agreement controllers, has been obtained only through elicitation (43).

- (39) dam u balnic'a-la ʔa`me-r č-i-w-iž-ib=da
 1SG.DAT 2SG hospital-GEN window.LOC-ABL SPR-M-see.IPFV-PRET=1
 ‘I saw you (repeatedly) from the window of the hospital.’ (E)
- (40) hinc-be d-irc-ib it-i-l
 apple-PL NPL-sell.IPFV-PRET that-OBL-ERG
 ‘S/he traded with apples.’ OR ‘S/he sold apples.’ (E)
- (41) agarad-m-a-ja-d ʔa`či-l d-irq'-ib=da nuš:a
 garden-PL-OBL-LOC-1/2.PL work-ERG 1/2.PL-do.IPFV-PRET=1 1PL
 ‘We (repeatedly) worked in the garden.’ (E)

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- (42) ča^ˈk^wa-la ʋunab-te ʋaj d-urs-ib=x:ar,
 bird-GEN EQ-DD.PL word NPL-tell.PFV-PRET=CONC
 a-jrɛ-ib=de at
 NEG-understand.IPFV-PRET=2SG 2SG.DAT
 ‘Although I said words like a bird, you did not understand them.’ (modified corpus example)
- (43) di-la χat:aj-li qul-be d-irq’-ib ca-d
 1SG-GEN grandfather-ERG house-PL NPL-do.IPFV-PRET COP-NPL
 ‘My grandfather (apparently) built houses.’ (E)

Examples (44) and (45) are from the corpus and show antipassive constructions. In (44), the demoted agent is expressed (clause-final pronoun). The demoted patients, which would have been in the ergative case, are left unexpressed in both examples. See §19.2.1 for antipassive constructions.

- (44) ha, bahsar-ka hešt:u-w uč:-ib ca-w iž
 uh first-ABL here-M drink.IPFV.M-PRET COP-M this
 ‘Uh, first he drank here.’
- (45) w-elq:-ij=sat uk-un ca-w
 M-sate.PFV-INF=until eat.IPFV.M-PRET COP-M
 ‘He ate until he was full.’ OR ‘He ate until he is full.’

14.2.2 The preterite

The preterite is the default past tense with respect to form and function. It is formed from the perfective stem by adding the preterite suffix and for first and second persons the person enclitics; the third person does not have additional marking. It conveys past time reference and is very frequent in the Sanzhi corpus, especially in autobiographical narratives (46) and in daily conversations when speakers report about past events (49). However, it can also occur in traditional narratives (47), (48) and in other narratives about the past that are not related to the personal experience of the speaker (50).

- (46) ʔa^ˈbal dus kelg-un=da, du gaupaχt-le
 three year remain.PFV-PRET=1 1SG guardhouse-LOC
 a-ka-jč-ib=da ca s:a^ˈʔa^ˈt
 NEG-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV-PRET=1 one hour
 ‘Three years I remained, I was not one single hour at the guardhouse.’
- (47) du-l kumek b-arq’-ib=da, t:ura-h-aq:-ib=da
 1SG-ERG help N-do.PFV-PRET=1 OUT-UP-take.OUT.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I helped. I pulled him out.’

- (48) ca zamana bari=ra wahi-ce č'an=ra č:al d-uq-un
 one time sun=ADD evil-DD wind=ADD argument NPL-go.PFV-PRET
 'Once upon a time the sun and the evil wind argued.'

Negation is expressed through the prefix *a-*:

- (49) q'ar S:anži-d a-d-ert:ib=da
 plant Sanzhi-NPL NEG-NPL-take.PFV-PRET=1
 'We did not gather plants in Sanzhi.'
- (50) ce kraska=de-l=ra a-b-aχ-ur
 what color=PST=INDQ=ADD NEG-N-know.PFV-PRET
 'Nobody found out what color this is.'

14.2.3 The (perfective) resultative

The perfective resultative consists of the preterite and the copula. This verb form cannot be used with the first or second person agreement controllers. The presence of the copula conveys perfectivity/resultativity, i.e. the focus is on the result of a situation (51–53). This form is usually not used in personal narratives, but it is very frequent in other texts such as traditional narratives and other third-person perspective narrations. Negation is expressed through the prefix *a-* (53).

- (51) b-ark-le b-i-b kelg-un ca-b
 N-inside-LOC N-in-N remain.PFV-PRET COP-N
 '(The color) has remained inside.'
- (52) nu^oq-be aq d-arq'ib ca-d ik'-i-l=ra
 arm-PL high NPL-do.PFV-PRET COP-NPL DEM.UP-OBL-ERG=ADD
 'He has also raised his hands.'
- (53) duč:illa=q'al il ja c'a či-b-ig-an b-a-b-už-ib ca-b, ja insan
 at.night=MOD that or fire SPR-N-see.IPFV-PTCP N-NEG-N-be-PRET COP-N or person
 w-ak:u, c'il čar Ø-iχ-ub-le ag-ur ca-w il
 M-COP.NEG then back M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB go.PFV-PRET COP-M that
 'It was at night, there was no fire visible, nobody is there, then he turned and came back.'

Sentence (54) is a corpus example with a first person pronoun in the dative. The predicate in this example is an affective verb which requires a dative experiencer and an absolutive stimulus. In contrast to almost all other bivalent affective verbs the experiencer does not obligatorily control person agreement on the predicate, but the predicate can be used with the copula (i.e. third person). See §19.1.8 for more information

- (54) qum.ert-ur ca-d na het:i mus-ne dam
 forget.PFV-PRET COP-NPL now those place-PL 1SG.DAT
 'Now I have forgotten those places.'

The focus that the perfective resultative puts on the resulting state can lead to an inferential interpretation that becomes particularly obvious to speakers when they are asked to compare the preterite to the perfective resultative. For example, the following sentence could be uttered in a situation in which Sanzhiat must wash the dishes, she goes to the kitchen and sees that somebody has already washed the dishes (55). This means that she concludes from the result that someone must have washed them.

- (55) uže t'ala^h-ne d-irc-ib ca-d
 already dishes-PL NPL-wash.PFV-PRET COP-NPL
 'The dishes have already been washed.' (E)

If she then asks *hil dircibe?* 'Who washed (them)?', an appropriate answer of somebody who attended the event could be (56), that is, now the agent is at stake, not the result of the action.

- (56) Sanžijat-li d-irc-ib
 Sanzhiat-ERG NPL-wash.PFV-PRET
 'Sanzhiat washed (them).' (E)

Similarly, when looking out of the window the speaker sees a wet road and concludes from this (57).

- (57) marka-l b-us-ib ca-b
 rain-ERG N-rain-PRET COP-N
 'It has rained.' (E)

However, the inferential interpretation can be canceled by a following utterance without leading to a special interpretation (58).

- (58) Sanijat-li t'ala^h-ne d-irc-ib ca-d. dam=q'ar il
 Sanijat-ERG dishes-PL NPL-wash.PFV-PRET COP-NPL 1SG.DAT=PRT that
 či-b-až-ib=da
 SPR-N-see.PFV-PRET=1
 'Sanijat has washed the dishes. I saw it myself.' (E)

14.2.4 The perfect

The perfect is formed by adding the perfective converb suffix to the preterite, followed by the person enclitics for first and second person and the copula *ca-b* for third person. When the perfective converb is suffixed to the preterite regular assimilation processes take place after the suffixes that end in a sonorant, such that the following allomorphs result: *-ib-le*, *-ub-le*, *-ur-le/-ur-re*, *-un-ne*. Though it can be elicited with imperfective stems, there are no such instances in the corpus and I will therefore restrict myself to the discussion of perfect forms built with perfective stems.

The perfect is not particularly frequent in narratives, but there are enough examples to describe its meaning. Its semantic range primarily covers resulting states; it mostly occurs with verbs such as ‘sit’, ‘lay down’, ‘die’, ‘get/become hungry’, etc. that denote a change of state and the perfect expresses the resulting state:

- (59) ka-r-is:-un-ne=da na ʔa^hbal bari
DOWN-F-lay.PFV-PRET-CVB=1 now three day
‘I have been lying (in the hospital) for three days.’
- (60) qili-w ča-k^h’al w-a:ku, aba r-ebč^h’-ib-le ca-r
home-M who-INDEF M-COP.NEG mother F-die.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-F
‘There is nobody at home, my mother has died.’
- (61) Naḥ idbag-la zamana hak’-ub-le=da du
Noah prophet-GEN time appear.PFV-PRET-CVB=1 1SG
‘I was born at the time of the prophet Noah.’

This includes transitive verbs of which the agent is then often omitted because the focus is on the resulting state (62).

- (62) ik’-i-la bek’ b-a^hq-ib-le ca-b hek’
DEM.UP-OBL-GEN head N-wound.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-N DEM.UP
‘Her head has been wounded.’

The following example illustrates one of the traditional greetings for women, used by men and women when the female addressee is seated, for example in front of the house, and the speaker is passing by (63). Example (64) shows a minimal pair illustrating the difference between the preterite and the perfect that formally differ only in the absence vs. presence of the perfective converb. The preterite conveys past time reference with verbs that express changes of state whereas the perfect refers to the state that obtains at the present moment. (64b) is the standard answer to (63).

- (63) ka-r-iž-ib-le=de=w?
DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=2SG=Q
‘Are you sitting (seated)?’
- (64) a. ka-r-iž-ib=da
DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET=1
‘I sat down.’ (E)
- b. ka-r-iž-ib-le=da
DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=1
‘I am sitting.’

As can be seen in (65), the agent can be overtly expressed and the ergative construction is allowed when the perfect is used in Sanzhi, in contrast to the closely related Icarí Dargwa variety, which prohibits the perfect with overtly expressed agents inflected for the ergative case.

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- (65) nu hel priblizitelno nuš:a-l b-urs-ib-le=da=q'al
 well that approximately 1PL-ERG N-tell-PRET-CVB=1=MOD
 'Well, approximately we already said it.'

And in contrast to other Dargwa varieties such as Shiri (Belyaev In Preparation), the Sanzhi perfect can also be used with verbs that do not imply a change of state in the agent (66) even though normally the preterite is preferred in such contexts.

- (66) ag-ur-re ca-b s:ika-la merg^w-li-š:u
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-HPL bear-GEN lair-OBL-AD
 'They have gone to the cave of the bear.'

In the right context, the perfect can imply inferentiality/indirect evidentiality similar to the perfective resultative. Example (67) and originates from a narrative about the history of the village of Sanzhi, and the speaker draws a conclusion about the present situation of the village based on past events that he did not witness himself. Similarly, (68) and (69) are inferences about past events that the speakers draw from observed results.

- (67) heχ š:i imc'a b-iχ^w-ij b-at-ur-re=k:u
 DEM.DOWN village additional N-be.PFV-INF N-let.PFV-PRET-CVB=NEG
 hel-t:-a-li
 that-PL-OBL-ERG
 '(They) have not allowed the village to grow.'

- (68) sa-jβ-ib-le Gudermec-le, ix-t:i t:ura
 HITHER-COME.PFV.M-PRET-CVB Gudermets-LOC DEM.UP-PL outside
 aβ-ib-il b-aχ-ur-re=k:u
 do.PFV-PRET-REF N-know.PFV-PRET-CVB=NEG
 'When he came to Gudermets he did not know that they had been thrown out (of the village).'

- (69) berk^wijce-li-j=ra q:uc ∅-ič-ib-le=k:u b-erk-un-ne=k:u
 food-OBL-DAT=ADD touch M-occur.PFV-PRET-CVB=NEG N-eat.PFV-PRET-CVB=NEG
 '(He also has not touched the food, he has not eaten).'

Negation of verb forms with first and second person agreement controllers is expressed by means of the prefix *a-*, but there are no corpus examples. For the third person the negative copula *ak:u* occurred in its shortened form as an enclitic to the verb (67–69).

14.2.5 The past perfect (pluperfect)

The past perfect is formed by attaching the past enclitic *=de* to the perfective converb. In elicitation, the past perfect is available for perfective and imperfective stems, but there are no corpus examples of the latter. In addition, there is a variant of the past perfect that makes use of the locative copulas to which *=de* is encliticized (see §15.1).

The past perfect has the typical pluperfect meaning and also past resultative meaning. It refers to an event (or the resultative state of an event) that occurred before a definite point in past time. In (70) the preceding event is mentioned in the first clause of the utterance. In the other examples (71) and (72) the reference point in the past was mentioned in the preceding context.

- (70) at:a čí-r-ka-w-q-un-ne na k:anc:up:a-la š:ule
 father SPR-ABL-DOWN-M-go.PFV-PRET-CVB already ladder-GEN at.side
 ka-jc:ur-re=de
 DOWN-get.up.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 ‘After the father came down he stood next to the ladder.’
- (71) heχ-it:e Ø-uc-ib-le=de
 DEM.DOWN-ADVZ M-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 ‘Like this (he) had caught (me).’
- (72) vājal b-ič:-ib-le=de nuš:a-l uže
 twenty N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST 1PL-ERG already
 ‘We had already given twenty.’

Negation is expressed by means of the negative prefix *a-* (73) or the negative past tense copula *ak:w*i (74).

- (73) ca ʔa^hbal dus w-iχ-ub-le=de ca dus taman
 one three year M-become.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST one year end
 a-jχ-ub-le=de durhu^h
 NEG-become.M.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST boy
 ‘One boy had turned three, the other was not even one year old.’
- (74) vājal b-ič:-ib-le=de=k:w-adi nuš:a-l
 twenty N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST=COP.NEG-HAB.PST1 1PL-ERG
 ‘We had not given twenty.’ (E)

The past perfect also expresses inferentiality. This means that the speaker concludes from an observed result that an event has taken place. Thus, (75) was uttered in a situation when the speaker found out only afterwards when reading the article that the journalist to whom he had talked had written a wrong name. Example (76) is from a narrative about past events that were not witnessed by the speaker himself (namely the grabbing that happened at night). But he inferred from the result and from his knowledge of the general circumstances that the people he is talking about in (76) were the robbers.

- (75) Tawlu ža^hndaruvič b-elk'-un-ne=de
 Tawlu Zhandaruvich N-write.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 ‘(He) had (apparently) written Tawlu Zhandaruvich.’

- (76) šara ag-ur it:a-la qul-be qa^ˆm d-arq'-ib-le=de
 S. go.PFV-PRET those.OBL-GEN house-PL grab NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 'They went to Shara and had grabbed their houses.'

The past resultative meaning can co-occur with the inferential meaning. For instance, in (77) the speaker refers to a state (= the death of his mother) that was obtained before another moment in the past (= his return to the village). At the same time the speaker was not present at the relevant event (= the dying of his mother) such that there is an inferential component.

- (77) du sa-jb-ij=sat:ina r-ebč'-ib-le=de aba
 1SG HITHER-COME.PFV-INF=until F-die.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST mother
 'Before I came (home) my mother had already died.'

When speakers are presented with past perfect sentences out of context that contain predicates that do not denote a change of state the inferential meaning is salient and therefore there is a first-person effect with core arguments that denote first persons. This means that (78) can only be uttered if the referent of the first person pronoun did not consciously participate in the situation and therefore did really see Arsen because he did not recognize him.

- (78) dam Arsen či-w-až-ib-le=de
 1SG.DAT Arsen SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 'I (apparently) saw Arsen.' (as it seems, e.g. I did not recognize him) (E)

14.2.6 Experiential I and experiential II

There are two variants of the experiential. They both involve the preterite to which the cross-categorical suffixes are added (*-ce* and *-il*). The cross-categorical suffixes are generally used to form referential attributes from various parts of speech, including verbs (§9.6.1 and §9.6.2). The resulting word forms largely have the syntactic properties of nominals (e.g. they can be inflected for case, they can take over argument positions, etc.), and this leads to very particular syntactic properties of all experiential and experiential past forms that are discussed below.

The first variant, the experiential I, is obtained by suffixing *-ce* (plural *-te*) to the preterite participle, followed by the person enclitics or the copula *ca-b*. The second variant, the experiential II, is formed by adding the suffix *-il* to the preterite, again followed by the person enclitics or the copula. The use of the two different suffixes *-ce* and *-il* does not lead to any semantic differences with respect to the experiential verb forms. Their distribution rather depends on number (this was already explained for the obligative verb forms in §14.1.5). For argument controllers in the singular *-il* is almost exclusively used, although *-ce* is also grammatical. For argument controllers in the plural only *-te* is allowed. The experiential can also be formed with the locative copulas (see §15.1 for an example).

The experiential I and II have perfect-like semantics, but are predominantly used when speakers talk about their own experiences and about situations they were personally involved in, so most of the examples contain first person core arguments:

- (79) *het:i liil=ra č:u^hrug ka-b-eκ-ib=q:el,*
 those all<HPL>=ADD Chakhri.people DOWN-HPL-go.PFV-PRET=when
ka-d-eκ-ib-te=da
 DOWN-NPL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1
 ‘When all Chakhri people moved to the lowlands, we (also) moved.’
- (80) *“jaʁari”, Ø-ik^w-ar “uš:a ʔa^hlha^m-le ha-d-ač[’]-ib-te=da=w”,*
 PRT M-say.IPFV-PRS 2PL condolence-LOC UP-NPL-come.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1=Q
Ø-ik^w-ar “hešt:u, dalaj d-ik^w-ij
 M-say.IPFV-PRS here song NPL-say.IPFV-INF
ha-d-ač[’]-ib-te=da=w?”
 UP-NPL-come.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1=Q
 ‘Then (Abdulkhalik) says, “Have you come here for condolences or for singing songs?”’
- (81) *w-arq[’]-ib-il=da du azir-lim urč[’]em darš-lim ʔa^hb-c[’]anu*
 M-do.PFV-PRET-REF=1 1SG thousand-NUM nine hundred-NUM three-TEN
xu-ra-ibil
 five-NUM-ORD
 ‘I (masc.) was born in 1935.’

Somewhat more rarely one finds third person examples that, however, usually relate to the personal sphere of the speaker or, more generally, to the sphere of the Sanzhi people (82), (83). For instance, (82) is from a procedural text in which the speaker explained how Sanzhi women used to make carpets. There are only few examples that are not immediately related to personal experience, mostly occurring in texts from the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012) (84).

- (82) *a tak nu^q-b-a-c:ella hel-t:i=ra d-arq[’]-ib-te ca-d*
 and so hand-PL-OBL-COMIT that-PL=ADD NPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP-NPL
 ‘And like this with the hands (they) also made them.’
- (83) *s:ema-la χa^hχa^h, niš:a-la at:a=ra k-ag-ur-il ca-w*
 pebble.stone-GEN Xaxa 1PL-GEN father=ADD DOWN-go.PFV-PRET-REF COP-M
hex:t:u-w
 there.DOWN-M
 ‘Semalla Xaxa (place name). Our father also fell down there.’
- (84) *it tusnaq-le-r sa-jβ-ib-il ca-w*
 that prison-LOC-ABL HITHER-come.PFV-PRET-REF COP-M
 ‘He came back from prison.’

From a morphosyntactic point of view, the experiential and the experiential past are somewhere between a monoclausal and a biclausal structure, which is due to the impact of the cross-categorical suffixes, because the suffixes form words with largely nominal morphosyntactic features. This means that clauses with experiential verb forms resemble clefts with a main copula clause that contains only the person enclitics or the copula and a subordinate relative clause. Thus, instead of person agreement enclitics one finds the copula despite a first or second person agent. For example, the first person agent in (85) is not expressed, but clear from the context of the autobiographical narrative. In the elicited example (86a), the use of a person marker instead of the copula is impossible (86b).

- (85) *julʔan-ni-gu-b b-arq'-ib-te ca-b*
 blanket-OBL-SUB-HPL HPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP-HPL
 '(I) gave birth to (my children) under a blanket.'
- (86) a. *iti q:amuš dul ka-d-ič:-ib-te ca-d*
 those reed 1SG.ERG DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP-NPL
 'I cut that reed.' (E)
- b. * *dul iti q:amuš ka-d-ič:-ib-te=da*
 1SG.ERG those reed DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1
 (Intended meaning: 'I cut that reed.') (E)

This suggests that the structure of (86a) is as displayed in (87). In fact, when translating experiential clauses speakers sometimes produce relative clauses in the Russian translation. Thus, a more literary translation that is closer to the structure of (86a) would be 'It is such that the reed was cut by me.'

- (87) [*iti q:amuš dul ka-d-ič:-ib-te*] *ca-d*
 those reed 1SG.ERG DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP-NPL
 'I cut that reed.' (E)

The almost biclausal structure becomes especially salient in term focus constructions when the person enclitic or the copula is not following the verbal complex but an argument or adjunct that is focused (88). In this context, the use of the person marker is allowed, but optional (89). Thus, in the last example we can either employ the person enclitic after the pronoun or the copula, but not both.

- (88) *iti q:amuš ca-d [dul ka-d-ič:-ib-te]*
 those reed COP-NPL 1SG.ERG DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL
 'It is the reed that I cut.' (E)
- (89) *iti q:amuš du-l=da / du-l ca-d ka-d-ič:-ib-te*
 those reed 1SG-ERG=1 / 1SG.ERG COP-NPL DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL
 'It is me who cut the reed.' (E)

The biclausal-like structure is also apparent in negation because here always the negative copula *ak:u* is used and person agreement is suppressed (90–92). A detailed account of the syntactic structure (i.e. whether it is monoclausal or biclausal or should be analyzed as something else) must be left to future research.

- (90) *dam či-b-až-ib-te=k:u, at ak:u iti*
 1SG.DAT SPR-HPL-see.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=NEG 2SG.DAT COP.NEG those
 ‘I did not see them, you also (did not see them).’
- (91) *parvat b-arq’-ib-te=k:u hel s:ika-l durhu° čar b-arq’-ij=sat*
 quiet N-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=NEG that bear-ERG boy back N-do.PFV-INF=until
 ‘The bear was not quiet before they gave it its cub back.’
- (92) *it:a-la=ɣuna amzu-dex du-l nalla či-b-až-ib-il*
 those.OBL-GEN=EQ clean-NMLZ 1SG-ERG until.then SPR-N-see.PFV-PRET-REF
ak:u
 COP.NEG
 ‘A cleanliness like theirs I have seen nowhere.’

14.2.7 Experiential past I and experiential past II

Corresponding to the experiential I and II, there are also two variants of the experiential past in which the past enclitic =*de* is used instead of the person enclitics/copula. The lexical verbs appear in the same forms as in the experiential I and II. The experiential past forms are normally used for the narration of personal experiences or of situations that lie within the personal knowledge sphere of the speaker even if s/he did not personally attend it:

- (93) *bah hila-r š:i-l-c:e-r nuš:a gu-r-ag-ur-te=de*
 most last-ABL village-OBL-IN-ABL 1PL SUB-ABL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=PST
 ‘As the very last we moved away from the village.’
- (94) *hek’t:u-b b-arč:-ib-il=de ca q:arq:a*
 there.UP-N N-find.PFV-PRET-REF=PST one stone
 ‘Up there (we) found a stone.’

These tense forms are often employed in summary-like utterances that do not move forward the main storyline (95) or when providing for background information (96), (97).

- (95) *hel=ɣuna cik’al čujna=ra d-arq’-ib-te=de nuš:a-l*
 this=EQ something how.often=ADD 1/2.PL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=PST 1PL-ERG
čujna=ra
 how.often=ADD
 ‘Things like this, how often did we do them, how often.’

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- (96) libil durĥ-ne wec'al durĥu[˘] x:unul ak:^w-ar
 all<HPL> boy-PL ten boy woman COP.NEG-PRS
 ha-b-iq'-un-te=de c'il
 UP-HPL-bring.up-PRET-DD.PL=PST then
 'All children, ten children (he) rose without his wife then.'
- (97) cin-na zu ʔa[˘]jšat=de=q'al, x:un-r-a-la
 REFL.SG-GEN name Ajshat=PST=PRT woman-PL-OBL-GEN
 či-ka-r-at-ur-il=de
 SPR-DOWN-F-let.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
 'Her name was Ajshat, she was sent there as the (leader) of the women.'

In negated clauses the negative past copula *ak:^wi* is used (98). It can be shortened to the enclitic *=k:^wi* (99) or inflected for person (100). The latter is insofar remarkable as the negative predicate in this case expresses more verbal categories than the affirmative, since person cannot be marked on the predicate in the affirmative because the past enclitic does not encode person. For example, in (100) the person suffix on the copula expresses the first person. By contrast, in affirmative clauses with the same verb form person cannot be expressed (93), (95).

- (98) Maĥa[˘]mmadĥa[˘]ži ac:i učitil-li kelg-un-il=ak:^w-i=w
 Mahammadhazhi uncle teacher-ERG remain.PFV-PRET-REF=COP.NEG-HAB.PST=Q
 ce=ja ixt:u?
 what=Q there.UP
 'Mahammadhazhi was not perhaps working as a teacher there (in Sanzhi)?'
- (99) itwaj kelg-un-te=k:^wi
 like.this remain.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=NEG.PST
 'It was not like this.'
- (100) b-ik'-ul ca-b "uškul-le w-aš-ib-il ak:^w-adi du"
 N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N school-LOC M-go-PRET-REF COP.NEG-HAB.PST.1 1SG
 '(The wolf) said, "I did not go to school."'

15 Periphrastic verb forms

Periphrastic verb forms are morphologically complex in the same manner as analytic verb forms (Chapter 14) and make use of the same range of non-finite inflectional forms (perfective and imperfective converb, and occasionally participles), but employ different auxiliaries that have, by themselves, particular semantic values. Therefore, the resulting verb forms differ in their meaning from the analytic verb forms. The auxiliaries employed are:

- locational copulas (§15.1)
- *kelg-* ‘remain’ (§15.2)
- *b-el* ‘remain, stay’ (§15.3)
- *b-ix^w*- ‘be, become, be able’ (§15.4)
- *b-urk:-* ‘find’ (§15.5)
- *b-už-* ‘be, be at, stay, remain’ (§15.6)

Some of the resulting verb forms have similar meanings although the auxiliaries differ. However, I will take a form-to-function approach and treat all formally distinct combinations of lexical verbs and auxiliaries separately.

There is a very large number of morphologically complex verb forms that can, in theory, be produced and can thus be obtained in elicitation, because various auxiliaries can be employed and partially combined. But since it is impossible to gain an understanding of verb forms if one has only one or two elicited examples, I restrict myself to the examination of commonly attested periphrastic forms and describe the meaning of these forms based on their occurrences in natural texts.

The auxiliaries are inflected according to their morphological possibilities (i.e. the existential copulas have reduced paradigms, see §15.1). Consequently, the auxiliaries can themselves be inflected for verb forms heading subordinate clauses, that is, there are also periphrastic verb forms that occur in subordinate clauses.

15.1 Verb forms with locational copulas

Sanzhi has four locational copulas that are morphologically defective in a way similar to the standard copula. They have locational and existential meaning that includes elevation (§16.2). The use of locational copulas (instead of the standard copula) for the

formation of periphrastic verb forms is not extremely frequent, but it is repeatedly attested. The most widely used locational copula verb is *le-b* ‘be located/exist close to the speaker and the hearer’, because its semantics is somewhat less specific in comparison to the other three locational copula verbs, and because of its meaning of proximity. The other three locational copulas are *te-b* ‘be located/exist away from the speaker’, *k’e-b* ‘be located/exist above the deictic center’, and *χe-b* ‘be located/exist below the deictic center’. The semantics of the locational copulas partially determine the meaning of the periphrastic verb forms. For example, the use of *le-w* in (1) implies that the situation took place close to the speaker, and that the speaker consequently saw the event with her own eyes. If *ca-w* had been used instead, then there would be no such implication. Similarly, if *te-b* is used, the situation takes place or took place (far) away from the speaker who did not participate and did not witness the event himself/herself. For instance, the utterance in (2) comes from a report about a woman who was in a hospital in Makhachkala and whom the speaker did not visit there.

- (1) Iļjas arg-ul le-w [...] kat’
Ilyas go.IPFV-ICVB exist-M down
‘Ilyas is going downwards.’
- (2) c’il hel-it:e wahi-l šiq’ r-uq-an-aj a-r-irχ-ul
then that-ADVZ bad-ADVZ stir F-go.PFV-PTCP-SUBJ.3 NEG-F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB
te-r
exist.AWAY-F
‘Then, badly like this, she is not able to move.’

The copula *χe-b* refers to events occurring in an area lower than the deictic center, which is often the speaker or a default reference point (3). This example and also (4) were produced during the *Family Problems Picture Task* (San Roque et al. 2012) and the deictic center for (3) is not the speaker who uttered this sentence (his location is irrelevant) but the people on the picture.

- (3) ka-d-ič-ib-le=q’ar χe-d heχt:u-d šuš-ne
DOWN-NPL-OCCUR.PF=PRET-CVB=MOD exist.DOWN-NPL there.DOWN-PL bottle-PL
‘There bottles have fallen down.’

The copula *k’e-b* refers to events occurring in an area higher than the deictic center (4). Example (4) is a description of pictures arranged on a table in front of the speaker that were put higher than some other pictures on the same table.

- (4) c’il hek’-ti, heχt:u-d s:urrat-le-d či-d-iž-aq-ul
then DEM.UP-PL there.DOWN-NPL picture-LOC-NPL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB
k’e-d ma’jk’a=ra koft:a=ra t:apri=ra cin-na
exist.UP-NPL T-shirt=ADD jacket=ADD shoe=ADD REFL.SG-GEN
‘Then those, there on the picture, it shows that there are his T-shirt, jacket, and shoes.’

If the lexical verb takes the imperfective converb suffix, the resulting verb form corresponds to the compound present (§14.1.1) and has a comparable semantic range covering progressive/continuative (5) and habitual (2).

- (5) ca zamana b-erč-ib-le sa[˘]-q[˘]-u[˘]nne le-w hel
 one time N-drink.PFV-PRET-CVB HITHER-go-ICVB exist-M that
 ‘One time he is coming home drunk.’

When the perfective converb (i.e. preterite plus suffix *-le*) is employed, the perfect or other forms are obtained. As the normal perfect (§14.2.4), the perfect with locational copulas mostly expresses states that obtain after a preceding event (3), (6–8).

- (6) ka-d-iž-ib-le le-d=da hana
 DOWN-1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET-CVB exist-1/2PL=1 now
 ‘(Then I relaxed) and we lived normally.’ (lit. ‘We have sat down.’)
- (7) ca qal-la ba[˘]? ka-b-uc-ib-le k[˘]e-b
 one house-GEN façade down-N-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB exist.UP-N
 ‘(The plant) has covered one wall of the house (by growing upwards).’
- (8) ca Kubači-lan, ca aḡul-an gu-b-a[˘]ḡ-ib-le k[˘]e-b
 one Kubachi-NMLZ one Agul-NMLZ SUB-HPL-release.PFV-PRET-CVB exist.UP-HPL
 ‘One Kubachi person, one Agul person are buried (in Sanzhi).’

The locational copulas can be followed by the past enclitic =*de*, so that we get a variant of the past perfect or pluperfect (§14.2.5), usually referring to states that obtained in the past as the result of preceding situations (9), but also occasionally in reference to actions and events that happened before a reference point in the past. Thus, example (10) was uttered when the speaker compared the life of the family before and after an important event that served as a temporal anchoring point in the past.

- (9) q:ap b-ic[˘]-ib-le χe-b=de
 sack N-fill.PFV-PRET-CVB exist.DOWN-N=PST
 ‘The sack was full (filled).’
- (10) ca ?a[˘]h-le b-a? b-iš-ib-le le-b=de iš-t:i χalq[˘]
 one good-ADVZ N-begin N-put.PFV-PRET-CVB exist-N=PST this-PL people
 ‘The people started off well.’

Another possible periphrastic verb form corresponds to the experiential II (§14.2.6) for which the lexical verb takes the suffixes of the preterite plus the cross-categorical suffix *-il*:

- (11) nu hej=ḡuna ka-jž-ib-il te-w Ø-urk-ar
 well this=EQ DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET-REF exist.AWAY-M M-find.IPFV-COND.3
 het š:al-le-w=ra
 that side-LOC-M=ADD
 ‘Well, he is like sitting, probably, at the side (of the road).’

As can be seen from the examples in this section, many of the lexical verbs that are used in periphrastic verb forms with locational copulas are position verbs or verbs of movement (3), (5), (6), but other verbs are also allowed (4), (9), (10).

Finally, the use of *le-b* and other locational copulas in periphrasis is more common in other Dargwa varieties such as Mehweb (Daniel 2015), Ashti (Belyaev 2012) and Shiri (Belyaev In Preparation).

15.2 Verb forms with *kelg^w*- ‘remain’

The verb *kelg^w*- (PFV) ‘remain, stay, be’ is used as an auxiliary in constructions conveying continuous, enduring and sometimes habitually occurring situations and actions in the past. The auxiliary verb is either inflected for the preterite (*kelg-un*) or some other verb form derived from the preterite. The imperfective stem *kalg-* is not used in the auxiliary function. This means that the resulting clauses always have past time reference. The periphrastic verb form can be used with verbs of various valency classes, e.g. intransitive verbs (17), transitive verbs (12), or affective verbs (14).

When the lexical verb bears the imperfective converb suffix, the resulting verb forms have habitual or continuative/progressive semantics (12–14). Note that the verb ‘see’ in (14) has the literary meaning and thus the sentence refers to a continuous situation of seeing.

- (12) it-i-l ca s:a°ʔa°t kaʁar luk'-unne kelg-un
that-OBL-ERG one hour letter write.IPFV-ICVB remain.PFV-PRET
‘He wrote the letter in one hour.’ (E)
- (13) cet'-le cin-ni x:unul it-ul kelg-un-ce=de=l
how-ADVZ REFL.SG-ERG woman beat.up-ICVB remain.PFV-PRET-DD.SG=PST=INDQ
‘[When the man was in prison he remembered a lot], how he constantly beat up his wife.’
- (14) it-i-j rurs-be č̣i-b-ig-ul kelg-un
that-OBL-DAT girl-PL SPR-HPL-see.IPFV-ICVB remain.PFV-PRET
‘He was watching at (lit. seeing) the girls.’ (E)

Periphrasis with *kelg^w*- is frequently used when talking about, for example, professions and more generally about the kind of work someone is/was doing (15).

- (15) Maħa°mmadħa°zi aci-l ce ʔa°č̣i b-irq'-ul
Mahammadħazhi uncle-ERG what work N-do.IPFV-ICVB
kelg-un-il=de?
remain.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
‘Which work was uncle Mahammadħazhi doing?’

With perfective converbs the construction is used for the expression of enduring states that obtain during a longer stretch of time (16–18). The verbs in (17) and (18) refer to the actions of getting up and lying down, but when they are used with the perfective converbs they denote the states that obtain after having carried out the respective actions.

- (16) a-b-ebč’-ib-le kelg-un hel q:ač:a
 NEG-N-die.PFV-PRET-CVB remain.PFV-PRET that calf
 ‘The calf stayed alive.’ (lit. ‘not died’)
- (17) di-la ka-b-ic:-ur-re kelg-un-ne ...
 1SG-GEN DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET-CVB remain.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘Mine (i.e. my stick) remained upright standing, ...’
- (18) č:a°ʔa°l-la s:a°ʔa°t wec’-nu ca-ra d-ik-ar-aj
 morning-GEN hour ten-TEN one-NUM NPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRS-SUBJ.3
 Ø-us:-un-ne kelg-un=da du
 M-sleep.PFV-PRET-CVB remain.PFV-PRET=1 1SG
 ‘In the morning, I (masc.) slept until eleven.’ (lit. ‘I remained lying’)

However, the use with perfective verb stems is restricted and it is possible that (16) is rather a biclausal sentence that consists of an adverbial clause with the perfective converb (‘not having died’) followed by a main clause (‘the calf remained’). Thus, in (14) the use of the perfective verb stem would lead to ungrammaticality (19). The precise conditions for this periphrastic verb form when it is used with verbs of different aktionsart classes remains open to future research.

- (19) * it-i-j rurs-be či-b-až-ib-le kelg-un
 that-OBL-DAT girl-PL SPR-HPL-see.PFV-PRET-CVB remain.PFV-PRET
 (Intended meaning: ‘He was watching at the girls.’) (E)

15.3 Verb forms with *b-el* ‘remain, stay’

The defective verb *b-el* ‘remain, stay’, which refers to enduring states that obtained in the past and still obtain at the moment of speech, is occasionally used in periphrastic constructions that express the continuation of a state similar to periphrasis with *kelg^w*-described above in §15.2. The verb *b-el* is almost exclusively used with lexical verbs inflected for the imperfective converb. When the bare stem *b-el* is used the construction conveys present time reference, referring to an ongoing event (20) or existing state. When the past enclitic is added to the verb, the periphrastic verb form denotes a past state or an ongoing situation in the past (21), (22).

- (20) išt:u-w w-is:-ul w-el iž
 here-M M-cry-ICVB M-remain this
 ‘Here he is crying.’ (i.e. he continues to cry).

15 Periphrastic verb forms

- (21) hin-ni Ø-uq:-ul w-el=de
 water-ERG M-carry-ICVB M-remain=PST
 ‘He was taken away by the water.’ (lit. ‘He remained being carried away by the water.’)
- (22) hana a-b-uc:-an=x:ar, ij b-uc:-ul b-el=de
 now NEG-N-work-PTCP=CONC this N-work-ICVB N-remain=PST
 ‘Even though now (my hand) does not work, (at that time) it worked.’

As mentioned above, the forms with *b-el* and *kelg^w*- show similarities in their semantics, especially when they bear the past enclitic =*de*. For instance, we can replace *kelg-un* in (14) with *b-el=de* and the meaning does not noticeably change (23). As with the periphrastic verb form with *kelg^w*-, the use of the perfective verb stem is not allowed in this sentence (24).

- (23) it-i-j rurs-be či-b-ig-ul b-el=de
 that-OBL-DAT girl-PL SPR-HPL-see.IPFV-ICVB HPL-remain=PST
 ‘He was watching at (lit. seeing) the girls.’ (E)
- (24) * it-i-j rurs-be či-b-až-ib-le b-el
 that-OBL-DAT girl-PL SPR-HPL-see.PFV-PRET-CVB HPL-remain
 (Intended meaning: ‘He is watching at the girls.’) (E)

Semantic differences are only perceptible when *b-el* without the past enclitic is compared to *kelg-un*, because the former has present time reference whereas the latter has past time reference. Thus, if we use *kelg-un* instead of *w-el* in (20), the resulting sentence conveys past time reference (25).

- (25) išt:u-w w-is:-ul kelg-un iž
 here-M M-cry-ICVB remain.PFV-PRET this
 ‘Here he remained crying.’ (E)

The example in (16) with *kelg-un* can be used in a context in which the calf was about to die, but stayed alive (in fact, it fell down a slope but survived). The sentence in (26), which is a modified version of (16), simply means that the calf is alive and has not died. The semantics indicates that the sentence is actually biclausal and the verb ‘die’ and *b-el* do not form a verbal complex. Periphrastic constructions with *b-el* are only marginally acceptable if the lexical verb has perfective aspect and carries the perfective converb suffix. Combinations of a perfective converb followed by *b-el* are interpreted as separate clauses. Similarly, (27) is a complex clause expressing two situations: the situation that the rye had not been taken away to the neighboring village of Icari and the situation that the rye had remained in the village of Sanzhi.

- (26) a-b-ebč’-ib-le, b-el hel q:ač:a
 NEG-N-die.PFV-PRET-CVB N-remain that calf
 ‘The calf, not having died, is alive.’ (E)

- (27) s:us:ul gu-r-a-d-erq:ib-le, d-el=de
 rye SUB-ABL-NEG-NPL-take.PFV-PRET-CVB NPL-remain=PST
 ‘The rye was still not taken (to Icarì) and had remained (in Sanzhi).’

More frequent than the use of *b-el* in finite periphrastic constructions as discussed in this section is the use in periphrastic constructions that function as heads of temporal adverbial clauses (§18.2.7).

15.4 Verb forms with the auxiliary *b-irχ^w-* (IPFV)/*b-iχ^w-* (PFV) ‘be, become, be able’

15.4.1 Periphrastic conditionals

The auxiliary *b-irχ^w-* (IPFV)/*b-iχ^w-* (PFV) ‘be, become, be able’ is used in periphrastic conditional constructions, where it is inflected for various conditional forms such as the realis conditional (28) or the past conditional (29) (see §18.3.1 and §18.3.2 for more examples and §25.2 for the syntax of conditional clauses). The periphrastic conditionals are functional equivalents of the simple conditionals and according to Sanzhi speakers there is no semantic difference between them. Thus, in (28) *b-ik:-ul ∅-iχ-ut:e* could be replaced by *b-ik:-aχ-at(te)*, and in (29) *b-alχ-ul r-iχ-ut:el* could be substituted by *b-alχ-aχ-at(te)* without any change in the meaning of the sentences.

- (28) at χabar b-ik:-ul ∅-iχ-ut:e, hel=βuna ata
 2SG.DAT story N-want.IPFV-ICVB M-be.PFV-COND.2SG that=EQ father
 ∅-irχ^w-i hel-i-la
 M-be.IPFV-HAB.PST that-OBL-GEN
 ‘If you want stories, (here is one), she had such a father (and these were the stories about him).’
- (29) d-ik:-an-ce b-alχ-ul r-iχ-ut:el, wallah,
 NPL-want.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG N-know.IPFV-ICVB F-be.PFV-COND.PST by.God
 ce-k’a b-iχ^w-ar=ra her?-adi du=ra cek’u
 what-INDEF N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD say.IPFV-HAB.PST.1 1SG=ADD whatchamacallit
 ‘If I had known what you want, by God, I would also have said something.’

15.4.2 Epistemic modal constructions

The same auxiliary is widely used in epistemic modal clauses to convey the meaning ‘probably, possibly, presumably’. In such constructions it is mostly inflected for the infinitive (suffix *-ij*) (30) or the modal interrogative (*-ide*) (34), and very rarely also for the realis conditional (*-ar*) (35). Since these are suffixes that are predominantly or exclusively used with perfective stems, it is mostly the perfective stem *b-iχ^w-* that occurs in the epistemic modal constructions. However, it is also possible to use the future in the past, in which case the imperfective stem of the auxiliary must be employed (33). The

auxiliary agrees in gender and number with the absolutive argument, just like the lexical verb. It does not assign case to the arguments; case assignment is determined by the lexical verb. Thus, it behaves just like any other auxiliary. There is, however, one important difference. In normal analytic verb forms and other periphrastic constructions, the auxiliary cannot occur in the form of an infinitive or conditional, since these suffixes are only used in subordinate clauses such as complement or conditional clauses. By contrast, in epistemic modal constructions, such a use is possible. For instance, example (30) contains a lexical verb bearing the imperfective converb suffix and the auxiliary *b-iχ^w-ij*, to which the infinitive is suffixed. The resulting clause is nevertheless a grammatical independent main clause. The lexical verb appears in a finite or non-finite verb form. A similar construction is attested in Icarı Dargwa (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 110).

- (30) hešt:i k^wel=ra b-uč:-ul b-iχ^w-ij
 these two=ADD HPL-drink.IPFV-ICVB HPL-be.PFV-INF
 ‘These two are probably drinking.’
- (31) χ:ula dard χe-b b-iχ^w-ij
 big sorrow exist.DOWN-N N-be.PFV-INF
 ‘(He) probably has big sorrows.’

The auxiliary can be used as the only verb of the clause. It occurs in the form of the infinitive but nevertheless functions as the head of an independent clause (32).

- (32) ik’ admi ∅-iχ^w-ij
 this.UP person M-be.PVF-INF
 ‘This is probably a man.’

As mentioned above, the auxiliary can also be inflected for future in the past, which itself already has epistemic modal semantics (§14.1.4) (33). Alternatively, the modal interrogative form is attested (34); this form is otherwise only used in questions with first person subjects and epistemic and deontic modality (§17.4). Very occasionally the auxiliary appears in the form of the realis conditional (35).

- (33) ʒaj r-ik’-ul r-irχ^w-an=de heχ
 word F-say.IPFV-ICVB F-become.IPFV-PTCP=PST DEM.DOWN
 ‘She must have been scolding/she was probably scolding.’
- (34) b-urs-ib-le b-iχ^w-ide murgl-a-l
 N-tell-PRET-CVB N-be.PFV-MODQ man-OBL-ERG
 ‘Probably the men had already told it.’
- (35) d-ert:-ib-te a-d-iχ^w-ar
 NPL-mow.PFV-PRET-DD.PL NEG-NPL-be.PFV-COND.3
 ‘This is probably mowed (grass).’ OR ‘If this is not mowed grass.’

Together with the infinitive, only third person controllers of person agreement (which are nevertheless suppressed, since the auxiliary is in the infinitive) are allowed. The use of the modal interrogative also permits first and second person subject-like arguments:

15.4 Verb forms with the auxiliary *b-irχ^w*- (IPFV)/*b-iχ^w*- (PFV)

- (36) it / du r-arx-le r-iχ^w-ide
 DEM / 1SG F-right-ADVZ F-be.PFV-MODQ
 ‘She/I was probably right.’ (E)

Negation can be expressed on the auxiliary (37) or on the lexical verb (38). In each case it has scope over the entire clause.

- (37) nu^q-be aq d-arq[’]-ib ca-d ik[’]-i-l=ra. b-ik:-ul
 arm-PL high NPL-do.PFV-PRET COP-NPL DEM.UP-OBL-ERG=ADD N-want.IPFV-ICVB
 a-b-iχ^w-ij
 NEG-N-be.PFV-INF
 ‘He also raised his arms. He probably does not want to (be taken away).’

- (38) a. kaj a-r-ik[’]-ul r-irχ^w-an=de heχ
 word NEG-F-say.IPFV-ICVB F-become.IPFV-PTCP=PST DEM.DOWN
 ‘Probably she was not scolding.’ (E)
 b. kaj r-ik[’]-ul a-r-irχ^w-an=de heχ
 word F-say.IPFV-ICVB NEG-F-become.IPFV-PTCP=PST DEM.DOWN
 ‘Probably she was not scolding.’ (E)

The use of the future in the past and the modal interrogative in a construction expressing epistemic modality is not particularly surprising, since (i) these forms have meanings that are similar to epistemic modality, and (ii) they are finite, that is, they can function as heads of main clauses. The use of the realis conditional and the infinitive, however, deserves further explanation. A plausible path of development is conventionalized ellipses of the main clause similar to examples of insubordination that have been investigated by Evans (2007) and Evans & Watanabe (2016). Full conditional constructions consist of an apodosis with the conditional form and a protasis, in which the verb can choose from a rich array of possible morphosyntactic forms (Chapter 18.3). In periphrastic conditionals, Sanzhi makes use of *b-iχ^w*, as was shown above in §15.4.1. If in a periphrastic conditional such as (39) the protasis is omitted, we are left with a clause expressing a likely condition for an unspecified situation (‘if X obtains’). The conditional force has been lost and instead the proposition is judged as probable or possible, i.e. ‘if X obtains’ > ‘X probably obtains’ (35). In fact, even if there is a protasis, it is nevertheless possible to have two readings for some apodosis clauses, namely a conditional reading and an epistemic modal reading.

- (39) a. hešt:i Ašura-l d-ert:-ib-te q[’]ar d-iχ^w-ar ...
 these Ashura-ERG NPL-mow-PRET-DD.PL grass NPL-be.PFV-COND.3
 ‘If Ashura has mowed this grass, ...’
 b. hešt:i Ašura-l d-ert:-ib-te q[’]ar a-d-iχ^w-ar
 these Ashura-ERG NPL-mow.PFV-PRET-DD.PL grass NEG-NPL-be.PFV-COND.3
 ‘If Ashura has not mowed this grass, ...’ > ‘Ashura has probably mowed this grass.’

A similar development might also be posited for the epistemic modals that are formed with the infinitive of *b-iχ^w*-. They possibly go back to epistemic and perhaps also deontic modal constructions with main predicates such as *belki* ‘be possible’ or *ʔa^hʔuni-l* ‘necessary, needed, must, should’ that take infinitival complements (40). If the main clause is omitted, only the clause with the infinitive remains, which in examples such as (42) has undergone a re-interpretation from deontic to epistemic modality: ‘X should obtain’ (41) > ‘X probably obtains’ (43).

- (40) *iχ-ti* *d-arx-le* *a-d-iχ^w-ij* *belki*
 DEM.DOWN-PL 1/2PL-direct-ADVZ NEG-NPL-be.PFV-INF it.is.possible
 ‘Maybe they (= my thoughts) are not right.’
- (41) *ʔa^hʔ-ce* *admi* *∅-iχ^w-ij* *ʔa^hʔuni-l* *ca-w*
 good-DD.SG person M-be.PFV-INF needed-ADVZ COP-M
 ‘He must be a good man./He should be a good man.’
- (42) *iχ-ti* *d-arx-le* *a-d-iχ^w-ij*
 DEM.DOWN-PL 1/2PL-direct-ADVZ NEG-NPL-be.PFV-INF
 ‘They (= my thoughts) are probably not right.’ (E)
- (43) *ʔa^hʔ-ce* *admi* *∅-iχ^w-ij*
 good-DD.SG person M-be.PFV-INF
 ‘He is probably a good man.’

15.5 Epistemic modality with the auxiliary *b-urk*:- ‘find’

In addition to the epistemic modal construction described in §15.4.2, there is another construction, which makes use of the verb *b-urk*:- ‘find’. The perfective stem of this verb (*b-ark*:-) is only used as an affective verb with the meaning ‘find’, which means that it requires an experiencer in the dative and a stimulus in the absolutive case. The imperfective stem *b-urk*:- is used both with the meaning ‘find’ and as an auxiliary with the epistemic meaning ‘probably, be possible’.

The *b-urk*:- constructions bears a strong similarity to the other epistemic modal construction because the lexical verb can be finite or non-finite. The default position of *b-urk*:- is the default position for auxiliaries, namely following the lexical verb. It can be the only verb in the clause and still have the epistemic meaning. The auxiliary can be negated, then behaving like any other auxiliary: it expresses the negation of the predication, that is, it has scope over the lexical verb (44). But negation can also be expressed on the lexical verb with the same semantic effect (45).

- (44) *vmešiwatsa* *iχ^w-ij* *b-ik*:-*ul* *a-b-urk*:-*ar*
 mingle be.PFV-INF N-want.IPFV-ICVB NEG-N-find.IPFV-PRS
 ‘(He) probably does not want to get involved.’

15.5 Epistemic modality with the auxiliary *b-urk:-* ‘find’

- (45) c’il a-b-irq’-an-ne Ø-urk:-ar
 then NEG-N-do.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 M-find.IPFV-PRS
 ‘Then he will probably not do (this again).’

The gender/number agreement can follow the ergative pattern and thus be with the absolutive argument (46), or it can follow the accusative pattern. In the latter case it is controlled by the subject-like argument, which can be in the ergative or dative case (‘deviant gender agreement’) (47). Such behavior is not attested for all auxiliaries, but the copula allows for it (§20.2.4).

- (46) iχ-i-j b-aļχ-ul b-urk:-ar ču-la t’ama.hama
 DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT N-know.IPFV-ICVB N-find.IPFV-PRS REFL.PL-GEN scandal
 ‘He probably knows their scandal.’
- (47) b-erč:-ib-le Ø-urk:-ar hel-i-l=ra
 N-drink.PFV-PRET-CVB M-find.IPFV-PRS that-OBL-ERG=ADD
 ‘He also drank, probably.’ [gender agreement with the ergative]

In all examples discussed so far, the auxiliary is inflected with the suffix *-ar* (44–47). The lexical verb (if there is any) is responsible for the temporal reference. The suffix *-ar* is also used in the epistemic modal construction with *b-iχ^w-* (§15.4.2), and it looks like the realis conditional suffix for the third person. However, the realis conditional is normally only formed from perfective stems (§18.3.1) and the form (*b*)-*urk:-ar* never expresses conditional semantics. Therefore, although we can suppose that there is a diachronic relationship with the conditional, synchronically the form cannot be analyzed as conditional, but is glossed with PRS. Instead of the suffix *-ar*, it is also possible to inflect the auxiliary regularly for the habitual present (48) or the habitual past, resulting in regular person agreement (49), (50).

- (48) š:alme, sala-r=ra d-urs-ib d-urk:-ud
 mint front-ABL=ADD NPL-tell-PRET NPL-find.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘(It is made from) mint; I probably also told it (= how to make it) the last time.’
- (49) har zamana b-ax-ul a-b-urč:-i=q’al
 every time HPL-go-ICVB NEG-HPL-find.IPFV-HAB.PST=PRT
 ‘Probably they did not always go (to drink milk).’
- (50) aš:i-j b-aļχ-ul d-urk:-a-t:a čina
 2PL-DAT N-know.IPFV-ICVB NPL-find.IPFV-HAB.PST-2PL where
 mus:a-d=de=l
 place.LOC-NPL=PST=INDQ
 ‘You should know/you probably know, where (in which place) they (the berries) were.’

It is possible that the construction goes back to a complement construction with *b-urk-* as matrix predicate; it is currently grammaticalizing and therefore one finds variation between those sub-constructions that show person agreement and those that do not, and between the locus of negation and the expression of temporal reference (i.e. whether the auxiliary or the main verb conveys the temporal reference). Similar epistemic modal constructions involving a verb ‘find’ are attested in many other Dagestanian languages including other Dargwa varieties, Hinuq and other Tsezic languages, Avar, and Archi (Forker 2018a,b).

In summary, the epistemic modal constructions with *b-iχ^w-* ‘be, become, be able’ and *b-urk-* ‘find’ have approximately the same range of meanings, and further research is needed to clarify if it is possible to establish semantic differences between them. The only difference observed so far pertains to morphosyntax. The verb *b-iχ^w-* is most commonly used in the form of the infinitive, which only allows for third person subject-like arguments, as the corpus examples in §15.4.2 illustrate. By contrast, *b-urk-* is also attested in inflected forms that have first or second person agreement controllers (48), (50).

15.6 Indirect evidentiality with the auxiliary *b-ug-* ‘be, be at, stay, remain’

The verb *b-ug-* ‘be, be at, stay, remain’, in addition to its use as the only predicate of a main clause, occurs as an auxiliary with evidential/inferential meaning. The auxiliary predominantly has the form of the resultative (preterite + copula), but the perfect or pluperfect are also attested. In other words, it is inflected for verb forms that by themselves express resultativity. The lexical verb appears in the form of the imperfective or perfective converb. The alignment of the auxiliary is identical to that of the lexical verb, that is, it agrees in gender with the absolutive argument.

The use of this auxiliary for conveying indirect evidentiality is a common strategy in many (if not all) Dargwa varieties, especially in traditional stories. For instance, the introductory formula for tales in Sanzhi is *b-už-ib ca-b b-už-ib-le=k:u* (N-be-PRET COP-N N-be-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG) ‘once upon a time’, with the second occurrence of *b-už-* being optional.

The construction expresses non-firsthand evidentiality, in particular propositions based on inferences from traces or results (51), (52) or reasoning (57c). For instance, example (51) occurred in a fairy tale in which the villain ate all the people of a village. After she was killed and her belly was opened, the people could be rescued because they were still alive.

- (51) il-i-l č’a^m b-irq’-ul b-už-ib-le=k:u, qurt’
 that-OBL-ERG chew HPL-do.IPFV-ICVB HPL-be-PRET-CVB=NEG swallow
 iɁ-ul b-už-ib ca-b χalq’
 do.PFV-ICVB HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL people
 ‘(It turned out that) she did not chew the people, but swallowed them.’

15.6 Indirect evidentiality with the auxiliary *b-ug-* 'be, be at, stay, remain'

- (52) c'il il-i-la šlja^op'a kelg-un-ne b-už-ib-le=de
 then that-OBL-GEN hat remain.PFV-PRET-CVB N-stay-PRET-CVB=PST
 'Then (apparently) his hat remained there.'

Negation is expressed on the auxiliary, but negated lexical verb forms that have scope over the auxiliary are also possible. Thus, in elicitation, both ways of negating can be obtained, although with a slight semantic difference that becomes apparent if both verbs are negated (55). In the latter case we can see that the scope of the negation prefix is the evidential auxiliary together with the whole clause if the auxiliary bears the prefix (53), (55). By contrast, the scope is the lexical verb together with its arguments, but excluding the evidential auxiliary, if the prefix appears on the lexical verb (54).

- (53) c'il il-i-la šlja^op'a kelg-un-ne a-b-už-ib-le=de
 then that-OBL-GEN hat remain.PFV-PRET-CVB NEG-N-stay-PRET-CVB=PST
 'Then (apparently) his hat did not remain there.' (= it did not turn out that his hat remained there) (E)
- (54) c'il il-i-la šlja^op'a a-kelg-un-ne b-už-ib-le=de
 then that-OBL-GEN hat NEG-remain.PFV-PRET-CVB N-stay-PRET-CVB=PST
 'Then (apparently) his hat did not remain there.' (= it turned out that his hat did not remain there) (E)
- (55) [context: we were betrayed by some other people who wanted to make us believe that his hat was not there anymore, but we found out the truth]
 c'il il-i-la šlja^op'a a-kelg-un-ne a-b-už-ib-le=de;
 then that-OBL-GEN hat NEG-remain.PFV-PRET-CVB NEG-N-stay-PRET-CVB=PST
 nuš:a-l b-arč:ib=da
 1PL-ERG N-find.PFV-PRET=1
 'Then it did not turn out that his hat did not remain there, (but by contrast) we found it (there).'

Indirect evidentiality can also include surprise about the inference if it contradicts the expectations of the speaker (56).

- (56) ix-ti bahsar, ix-ti quka-l er b-irχ-ul
 DEM.UP-PL first DEM.UP-PL beautiful-ADVZ life HPL-be.IPFV-ICVB
 b-už-ib ca-b hex-ti, er r-erč'e!
 HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL DEM.UP-PL look F-look.PFV-IMP
 '(It turned out) they lived well first, look!' (said to a woman)

Sometimes only evidential meaning is expressed, for example in narrations about past events of which no traces remained. In other cases, the speakers acquired their knowledge from the narrations of other people including their ancestors, such that the auxiliary expresses hearsay evidentiality. For example, (57) is part of a longer account about the history of the Sanzhi people, and the speaker speculates about other people who are

said to have lived close to Sanzhi, and others who are said to have come to Sanzhi and destroyed the village. There are no visible results of these events. Instead, the speaker, based on his knowledge of the topography of Sanzhi and of stories about assaults on the village, hypothesizes from where enemies could have reached Sanzhi.

- (57) a. hel-t:-a-j kapur-te b-ik'-ul b-už-ib ca-b
 that-PL-OBL-DAT pagan-PL HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB N-stay-PRET COP-N
 'They were (apparently) called pagans.'
- b. kerx-ul b-už-ib ca-b niš:a-lla
 kill.IPFV-ICVB HPL-stay-PRET COP-HPL 1PL-GEN
 'They apparently killed our (people).'
- c. het ša`r?a`-rka sa-b-ax-ul b-už-ib cai
 that Shari-ABL HITHER-HPL-go.IPFV-ICVB HPL-stay-PRET COP<HPL>
 'They came from Shari (to us).'

In general, the use of *b-už-* can be considered to represent a stylistic device for traditional narratives and other traditional stories about the past, including funny and fictional anecdotes that Sanzhi people recite about their ancestors (58).

- (58) il-t:a-lla k^wiriž, il-t:a-lla beret:a cik'al b-a-b-už-ib;
 that-OBL.PL-GEN machete that-OBL.PL-GEN ax something N-NEG-N-be-PRET
 a-b-alχ-ul b-už-ib ca-b
 NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB N-stay-PRET COP-N
 'They had no machete nor ax; they did not know (these tools).'

When the auxiliary is used with the first person we get the reading that the speaker does not consider himself as an active, conscious participant in the event, and was rather informed about its true properties and implications afterwards, in other words, we obtain the first-person effect (59).

- (59) [When I was a small child my father took me to Moscow to a meeting of the Party.]
 dam Stalin či-w-až-ib-le už-ib-le=de
 1SG.DAT Stalin SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET-CVB stay.M-PRET-CVB=PST
 '(It turned out, that) I (masc.) had seen Stalin.' (E)

16 The copula and other auxiliaries

The copula function in copula clauses as well as the formation of periphrastic verb forms is fulfilled by predicative particles (enclitics), a copula verb (§16.1) and other auxiliaries (§16.3). In addition, Sanzhi has a number of specialized copulas for locational and existential clauses (§16.2). The syntactic properties of copula clauses with examples of predicative particles and verbs in the copula function are treated in §22.2.

Predicative enclitics are =*da* (first person singular and plural, second person plural), =*de* (second person singular), =*de* (past time reference), =*q'al* (modal particle), =*e/=ja* (marker for content questions), =*w/=uw/=ew* (marker for polar questions) and =*l/=jal/=el* (marker for embedded questions). They are not verbs and are therefore treated separately in §9.1.

16.1 The copula

The affirmative copula is *ca-b* or *ca-i* with a gender/number agreement affix (the longer variant is much less used than the shorter one). The variant *ca-b* is homophonous with the singular reflexive pronoun in the absolutive case, and they seem to be cognates. The copula is morphologically defective, as it cannot be inflected like other verbs. The only verbal category it expresses on its own is gender/number agreement; and it can be inflected for the masdar (*ca-ni*). If no further predicative particles are encliticized it conveys present tense reference with third person arguments and affirmative polarity. It has the same functions as the predicative particles, i.e. it heads copula clauses (1) and it is used in analytic tenses of main clauses (2), but only when the person agreement controller is third person. In copula clauses the agreement is always controlled by the subject (see example (7) in §22.2).

- (1) hej urcul-la ust:a ca-w
this wood-GEN master COP-M
'He is a carpenter.' (E)
- (2) hež ka-jž-ib ca-w
this DOWN-remain.M.PFV-RET COP-M
'He is sitting.'

Predicative particles such as the person markers, the past marker, the modal particle or the interrogative markers can be added to the copula (3). When person markers are used together with the copula they are obligatorily attached to it as in (3) and can never be encliticized to another constituent (4). Furthermore, first and second person subjects require the use of the person marker (5). The use of the copula as in (3) is optional and cannot replace the person marker (6).

16 *The copula and other auxiliaries*

- (3) at du=ra darš:al-ibil juldaš ca-w=da
 2SG.DAT 1SG=ADD hundred-ORD friend COP-M=1
 ‘I am your 100th friend.’
- (4) * du ala ruci:da ca-r
 1SG 2SG.GEN sister=1 COP-F
 (Intended meaning: ‘I am your sister.’) (E)
- (5) du ala ruci:da
 1SG 2SG.GEN sister=1
 ‘I am your sister.’ (E)
- (6) * du ala ruci ca-r
 1SG 2SG.GEN sister COP-F
 (Intended meaning: ‘I am your sister.’) (E)

The past tense enclitic can also be used with (7) or without the copula (8) without any difference in the semantics. The use of the copula alone conveys present time (1), so it is the past enclitic that expresses the past time reference.

- (7) cet'-le at:a ža'č-le-r s-ax-an=q:el durħu' razi-l
 how-ADVZ father work-LOC-ABL HITHER-go-PTCP=when boy happy-ADVZ
 ca-w=de
 COP-M=PST
 ‘When the father came back from work, the boy was happy.’
- (8) durħu' razi-l=de
 boy happy-ADVZ=PST
 ‘The boy was happy.’ (E)

The copula has a masdar form built with the normal masdar suffix *-ni*. As with other verbs, the masdar occurs in complement clauses:

- (9) di-la juldaš:e [urk'i ač-te ca-b-ni] gu-r-b-uq-un
 1SG-GEN friend.PL heart open-DD.PL COP-HPL-MSD DOWN-ABL-HPL-go.PFV-PRET
 ‘My friends turned out to be open-hearted.’

For all other functions that verbs fulfill when heading independent or dependent clauses, e.g. the use as participles in relative clauses or as infinitive in complement clauses, the auxiliaries described in §16.3 below are used.

The copula is also used as an auxiliary for a number of analytic verb forms with third person arguments that control the agreement (compound present, obligative present, resultative, perfect, experiential I & II) (12). It can never be used in such verb forms with first or second person agreement controllers, not even when person markers are encliticized (10); in such clauses the person markers on their own must be used (11). However, it is possible to encliticize the past marker *=de* to the standard copula and then use it in clauses with subjects of all persons, although this has only been attested in elicitation (13). In general, the past enclitic *=de* is incompatible with the person enclitics, but not with the copula (§9.1).

- (10) * du ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul ca-r=da
 1SG laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F=1
 (Intended meaning: 'I am laughing.') (E)
- (11) du ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul=da
 1SG laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'I am laughing.' (E)
- (12) it ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul ca-r
 that laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'She is laughing.' (E)
- (13) du / it ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul ca-r=de
 1SG / that laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F=PST
 'I was/She was laughing.' (E)

The stem of the negative copula is $(b-)ak:w-$. It occurs in the following forms:

- simple present: $(b-)ak:w-a-$ + person suffix/ $(b-)ak:-u$ (short form $=k:u$)
- simple past: $(b-)ak:w-i-$ + person marker
- participle: $(b-)ak:w-ar$
- masdar: $(b-)ak^w-ri/ak^w-ni$

The full paradigms of the negative copula in the present and the past tense are given in Table 16.1 and Table 16.2. The present tense has a short variant that appears as an enclitic $=k:u$ and the past tense has the enclitic $=k:wi$. The enclitic variants are only used for third person. Examples are found in Chapter 14.

Table 16.1: The negative copula in the present tense

	singular	plural
1	$(b-)ak:w-a-di$	$(b-)ak:w-a-di$
2	$(b-)ak:w-a-t:e$	$(b-)ak:w-a-t:a$
3	$(b-)ak:u$	$(b-)ak:u$

Table 16.2: The negative copula in the past tense

	singular	plural
1	$(b-)ak:w-a-di/(b-)ak:wi$	$(b-)ak:w-a-di/(b-)ak:wi$
2	$(b-)ak:w-a-t:e/(b-)ak:wi$	$(b-)ak:w-a-t:a/(b-)ak:wi$
3	$(b-)ak:wi$	$(b-)ak:wi$

As can be seen from Table 16.1 and Table 16.2, as well as from the examples, there are two complications. The first is the syncretism of the present and the past tense in the first and second person forms, which is due to the general syncretism of the simple present and past. The third person form of the simple past can, however, also be used for the first and second person, so that in this tense person marking can be avoided and confusion with the simple present circumvented (Table 16.2). The second complication concerns the gender prefix. In principle, the verb can agree, but an agreeing negative copula can only have an existential or locational interpretation; it never has the normal copula meaning. Thus, in (14–16) gender agreement is prohibited because the clauses have identificational semantics, close to the equals sign (=). For instance, in (14) the unexpressed copula subject is female, but the copula does not exhibit feminine agreement. Similarly, in (16) the copula subject is male, but the copula does not show agreement (and copula predicates never control agreement).

- (14) ʔu^hnc-le ak:^wa-di
deaf-ADV COP.NEG-1
'I am not deaf.' (said by a woman)
- (15) zad ak:^w-ar=q^har pa^hq Ø-ik^w-an admi ak:u
nothing COP.NEG-PRS=MOD strike M-say.IPFV-PTCP person COP.NEG
'He is not the person who beats without anything (i.e. without a reason).'
- (16) il niš:a-la ak:^w-i, uc^hran=de, pirsidatil
that 1PL-GEN COP.NEG-HAB.PST Icari=PST head
'He was not one of us, he was Icari, the head (of the kolkhoz).'

As mentioned above, when the negative copula is used with a gender agreement prefix the meaning is existence or location. For this type of meaning the use of the prefix is obligatory. For instance, in (17) the subject is female and the gender prefix is the one for the feminine gender; in (19), by contrast, the agreement controller is male. In principle, the negative copula with gender prefixes can be treated as a separate word that is functionally analogous to the negated forms of the locational copulas described in §16.2, which consist of the negative copula with the gender prefix and the roots of the locational copulas (32).

- (17) insan w-ak:u
person M-COP.NEG
'Nobody is there.'
- (18) ca zamana uže hešt:u-r du r-ak:^wa-di
one time already here-F 1SG F-COP.NEG-1
'At one time I (fem.) was already not here anymore.'
- (19) š:i-l-c:e-w murgul admi w-ak:^w-i
village-OBL-IN-M man person M-COP.NEG-HAB.PST
'In the village there was no man.'

When the copula functions as auxiliary gender agreement is prohibited (20), (21).¹ In tag questions, the negative copula is always used without the gender agreement prefix (22). This is what one would expect, since in affirmative tag questions also only the standard copula and not a location copula is used (see §28.3 on tag questions).

(20) ʔa^h-le čī-d-ig-ul ak:^wa-di dam
good-ADV SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-1 1SG.DAT
'I do not see well.' (said by a woman)

(21) arg-ul ak:u
go.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
'He is not going (with his friends).'

(22) qili-b b-i-b ca-b, ak:u=w, iš-t:i?
home HPL-IN-HPL COP-HPL COP.NEG=Q this-PL
'They are inside the house, aren't they?'

The participle of the negative copula is (*b-*)*ak:^w-ar(re)*. It translates as 'not having, without' (23), (24) and fulfills the function of a postposition (§8.2.4). It can take further suffixes such as the cross-categorical suffixes *-te/-ce* and *-il*, the concessive marker *=x:ar* (25), the suffix *-dex* that derives abstracts nouns, and others. Again gender agreement is, in principle, possible, but very rare in texts (25) and the semantic differences between the omission of agreement prefixes and their occurrence are identical to what was said before: no gender agreement prefix means copula function; gender agreement prefix means locational and/or existential function (25).

(23) šuša ak:^w-ar mus:a χe-b-ak:u čīna-b-k'al
bottle COP.NEG-PTCP place exist.DOWN-N-COP.NEG where-N-INDEF
'There is no place without bottles.'

(24) χabar ak:^w-arre sa-jβ-ib-il da^ʔle, e χabar
story COP.NEG-PTCP HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET-REF as yes story
ak:^w-ar ...
COP.NEG-PTCP
'as if his arrival (was) unexpected (lit. without news), yes unexpected ...'

(25) hel-ite, du w-ak:^w-ar=x:ar aβ^wc'alla d-arq'-ij
that-ADVZ 1SG M-COP.NEG-PTCP=CONC 40.days 1/2PL-do.PFV-INF
d-irχ-an=da uš:a-l nawerna
1/2PL-be.able.IPFV-PTCP=2PL 2PL-ERG probably
'Like that, even me not being there, you should be able to do the 40 days, probably.' (i.e. the religious ceremony held 40 days after the death of a person)

¹The only exception are the occasional use of affirmative locational copulas, which have gender prefixes, as auxiliaries in periphrastic verb forms (§15.1).

The masdar of the negative copula is $(b-)ak^w-ri/ak^w-ni$. The latter form does not have an agreement prefix (not even when it encodes existential or locational meaning as in (26)). It mainly occurs in complement clauses:

- (26) “hana b-aχ-ur=da,” w-ik^w-ar ʔa^lli, [mar-ce juldaš
 now N-know.PFV-PRET=1 M-say.IPFV-PRS Ali truth-DD.SG friend
 le-w-il-le-r taliḥ-či-w-il admi ak^w-ni]”
 exist-M-REF-LOC-ABL happiness-ADJVZ-M-REF person COP.NEG-MSD
 “‘Now I know,’ says Ali, ‘that there is no happier man than the one who has a true friend.’”
- (27) [di-la mac:a b-ak^w-ri] q’an-ne šak Ø-ič-ib=da
 1SG-GEN sheep N-COP.NEG-MSD late-ADV feel M-occur.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I guessed late that my sheep were not there.’ (E)

16.2 Locational copulas

There are four locational copulas that share a consonant bearing a deictic meaning with the demonstrative pronouns (§4.2). However, in the case of the copulas this is the initial consonant, whereas with the demonstratives it is the stem-final consonant. Furthermore, the copulas agree in gender/number, whereas the demonstratives lack agreement. Except for the first copula (*le-b*)/pronoun (*hel*) the semantics of the verbs perfectly match the semantics of the pronouns (Table 16.3).

Table 16.3: Locational copulas and demonstrative pronouns

loc. copula	meaning	dem. pro.	meaning
<i>le-b</i>	‘close to the speaker (deictic center)’	<i>hel</i>	‘that/those; away from speaker, can be close to the hearer’
<i>te-b</i>	‘away from the speaker (deictic center) or undifferentiated’	<i>het</i>	‘that/those; not close to speaker or hearer, undifferentiated’
<i>k’e-b</i>	‘above the deictic center’	<i>hek’</i>	‘above the deictic center’
<i>χe-b</i>	‘below the deictic center’	<i>heχ</i>	‘below the deictic center’

The copulas can attach further suffixes (e.g. participles, temporal markers such as =*q:ella* or =*er*, cross-categorical suffixes, the masdar *-ni*) (28) and predicative enclitics (past marker, person marker) (29–31), just like the copula. But – like the copula – they are defective in comparison to standard lexical verbs because most of the verbal suffixes cannot be added (e.g. suffixes for the habitual present and habitual past, conditional suffixes, the infinitive, etc.). The most frequent copula is *le-b*, which fulfills a kind of default function.

- (28) *il-tu arc le-b-te b-ax-u značit*
 that-LOC money exist-N-DD.PL HPL-go.IPFV-PRS thus
 ‘This means that (people) go where the money is.’²
- (29) *hext:u-b hin-na k’arant’ k’e-b=de*
 there.UP-N water-GEN spring exist.UP-N=PST
 ‘There was a spring up there.’
- (30) *x:unul ca-r heχ durɦu° k^{wi} Ø-uc-ib-le*
 woman COP-F DEM.DOWN boy in.the.hands M-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB
χe-r=de=q^{al}
 exist.DOWN-F=PST=MOD
 ‘That is the woman, the one who was keeping the boy in her hands.’
- (31) *χadižat, čina-r=de u? du Sanži-r=da / Sanži-r le-r=da*
 Khadizhat where-F=2SG 2SG 1SG Sanzhi.LOC-F=1 / Sanzhi.LOC-F exist-F=1
 ‘Khadizhat, where are you? I am in Sanzhi.’ (E)

All locational copulas except *le-b* can be negated by suffixing the negative copula, and the gender agreement follows the standard rules (which means that it is controlled by the subject), i.e. *te-b-ak:u*, *k’e-b-ak:u*, and *χe-bak:u* (23) in the present tense and *te-b-ak:^{wi}*, *k’e-b-ak:^{wi}*, and *χe-b-ak:^{wi}* in the past tense (32).

- (32) *urq^l-e te-d-ak:^{wi}-i hit:u-d*
 board-PL exist.AWAY-NPL-COP.NEG-HAB.PST there-NPL
 ‘There were no boards there.’

The existential copulas, in particular *le-b* due to its less specific meaning, are occasionally used as auxiliaries in periphrastic verb forms together with lexical verbs that bear the perfective or the imperfective converb suffixes (33), (34) (§15.1).

- (33) [Talking about how a particular plant grows.]
di-la Asijat-la ca qal-la ba^ʔ ka-b-uc-ib-le
 1SG-GEN Asiyat-GEN one house-GEN fassade DOWN-N-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB
k’e-b
 exist.UP-N
 ‘[It can become large], at my Asiyat’s place it covered one wall of the house.’
- (34) *du b-ax-ul le-b=de*
 1SG N-go.IPFV-ICVB exist-N=PST
 ‘(At the time when the fox was born), I was walking around (said the wolf).’

²Regarding *le-b-te*: the agreement on the locational copula should better be *le-d-te* because *arc* ‘money’ normally controls neuter plural agreement, but neuter singular is also possible.

16.3 Other verbs used in copula-functions and as auxiliaries

There is another copula-like verb *b-el* with the meaning ‘stay, remain’. It conveys past time reference, although it does not carry any overt marking (35), (36). The verb is defective and has a reduced inflectional paradigm. In main clauses usually only the bare stem is used. It is the most frequently used base verb in the compound ‘remember’ (36).

- (35) hana bus:a[˘]?a[˘]t=ra b-el hel urχ:ab
 now this.time=ADD N-remain.FV that mill
 ‘Even nowadays that mill remained (i.e. is still there).’
- (36) hel han b-el dam
 that remember N-remain.PFV 1SG.DAT
 ‘I remember this (i.e. it remained in my memory).’

It is possible to add person markers (37) or the past enclitic (38), but it cannot be combined with the copula (e.g. **b-el ca-b*). The use of person markers with first and second agreement controlling arguments is obligatory, i.e. in (37) the person enclitic =*da* cannot be omitted.

- (37) x:unul-li-c:ella hana ižal bus:a[˘]?a[˘]t=ra canille w-el=da, c’aq’
 woman-OBL-COMIT now today this.time=ADD together M-remain.PFV=1 strong
 x:unul
 woman
 ‘I stayed together with my wife even until today; a good (strong) woman.’
- (38) ža[˘]bra[˘]?il=ra w-el=de
 Zhabrail=ADD M-remain.PFV=PST
 ‘Zhabrail remained (i.e. stayed alive).’

It can be negated in a way that strongly resembles the locative copulas (namely by employing the negative copula), but with a small change in the stem vowel, i.e. *b-il ak:u* and *b-il-ak:˘i* (39), (**b-el ak:u*). When the verb *b-el* bears the perfective converb suffix *-le* the stem vowel remains unchanged under negation (40).

- (39) erk’^w-li gu-r-b-erq:-ib-le, x:un-be=ra
 river-ERG SUB-ABL-N-carry.PFV-PRET-CVB road-PL=ADD
 d-il-ak:˘-i, q:anaw-te le-d=de, χ:ula q:anaw-te
 NPL-remain-COP.NEG-HAB.PST ditch-PL exist-NPL=PST big ditch-PL
 ‘The river carried them away, roads had not remained, and big ditches were there.’
- (40) nu hana han d-el-le=k:u čum=de=l
 well now remember NPL-remain.PFV-CVB=COP.NEG how.many=PST=INDQ
 ‘Now I don’t remember how many (rubles) it was.’ (modified corpus example)

It can be inflected for some verb forms that occur in subordinate clauses, namely for the perfective converb (41), the referential attributive form with *-ce/-te* (e.g. *d-el-te*), the referential attributive form with *-il* (42), the temporal enclitic *=q:ella* (*b-el=q:ella*) and the masdar (*b-el-ni*).

- (41) šamχal aci žahil-le w-el-le, w-ebč'-ib=q'al
 Shamkhal uncle young-ADVZ M-remain.PFV-CVB M-die.PFV-PRET=MOD
 'Uncle Shamkhal died when he was young.'
- (42) a-jteχ-ib mus:a b-el-il ak:u
 NEG-reach.M.PFV-PRET place N-remain.PFV-REF COP.NEG
 'No place is left where I (masc.) did not go.'

In conditional clauses it must occur in a periphrastic verb form together with *b-iχ^w*- since it cannot itself be inflected for any conditional form (43).

- (43) hu šalakbluk-me=ra d-el d-iχ^w-ar, ...
 well concrete.block-PL=ADD NPL-remain.PFV NPL-be.PFV-COND.3
 'If the concrete blocks remained (are left over), ...'

It can serve as an auxiliary in periphrastic verb forms that head main clauses (§15.3) or, more commonly, temporal adverbial clauses (§18.2.7). The latter function is, alongside with the use in main clauses as illustrated in the examples above, the most frequently attested use of this verb.

For all tenses or subordinate clause types, in which the predicative enclitics/negative copula cannot be used, the verb *b-irχ^w/b-iχ^w*- 'be, become, occur, can' is employed. This verb has the full inflectional paradigm including conditional forms (44) and future forms (45) and is negated like any other lexical verb. In addition to its use as a copula, as a normal lexical verb and in compound verbs (§12.2), it also occurs as an auxiliary in epis-temic modal constructions (46) (§15.4.2) and in realis conditional and irrealis conditional clauses (§15.4.1).

- (44) b-iχ^w-ardel, intersna b-irχ^w-an=de
 N-be.PFV-COND.PST interesting N-be.IPFV-PTCP=PST
 'If it would be like this, it would be interesting.'
- (45) c'aq' darman-na b-irχ^w-an ca-b
 strong medicine-GEN N-be.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 'It will be a strong medicine.'
- (46) ɤaj r-ik'-ul r-irχ^w-an=de heχ
 word F-say.IPFV-ICVB F-be.IPFV-PTCP=PST DEM.DOWN
 'She must have been quarreling.'

There are four more verbs that are also used in copula function and as auxiliaries. The verb *b-irk-/b-ik-* 'be, occur, become, get, receive' is used in copula constructions (47), especially with predicates that are marked with the IN-essive, and in many compound verbs (48).

- (47) deč-li-c:e w-ič-ib ca-w iž
 drinking-OBL-IN M-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-M this
 ‘He became a drinker.’
- (48) k^wah r-ič-e!
 silent F-OCCUR.PFV-IMP
 ‘Be silent!’ (said to a woman)

The imperfective verb *b-urk:-* ‘find’ is regularly used in epistemic modal constructions similar to those formed with the verb *b-irχ^w-/b-iχ^w-* ‘be, become, occur, can’ just mentioned (§15.5). In this function it can be used together with a lexical verb or as the only verb in a copula clause:

- (49) kulpat b-urk:-ar heχ-ti
 family HPL-find.IPFV-PRS.3 DEM.DOWN-PL
 ‘They are probably a family.’

The verb *b-už-* (PFV) ‘be, stay, remain’ is used in copula clauses with evidential semantics (50) and, more generally, as an auxiliary in evidential constructions (§15.6). It is not used in compounding and not for analytic verb forms.

- (50) ha ʔa^h rʔa^h b-už-ib ca-b
 uh chicken N-stay-PRET COP-N
 ‘Ah, it turned out to be a chicken.’

The verb *kelg^w-* (PFV) ‘remain, stay, be’ is used in copula clauses and as an auxiliary conveying habitual or continuative/progressive meaning (51). It is also not used in compound verbs (see §12.2.5 for more examples).

- (51) d-aqe č:al d-ik’-ul kelg-un
 NPL-long argument NPL-say.IPFV-ICVB remain.PFV-PRET
 ‘They were arguing for a long time.’

17 Non-indicative verb forms

Non-indicative (or non-declarative) verb forms occurring in Sanzhi are imperative (§17.1), prohibitive (§17.2), optative (§17.3) and the modal interrogative (§17.4). The imperative, the prohibitive, and the modal interrogative are restricted in their use to the second person for the first two forms and the first person for the last form. The imperative and the prohibitive share the (partial) distinction between intransitive and transitive verbs expressed through the use of dedicated stem-augment vowels in the suffixes. The same distinction and the same formal means of expressing it are found with synthetic verb forms and conditionals (§11.4).

17.1 Imperative

The form of the imperative depends on the inflectional class and on the transitivity of the verb. The suffixes are given in Table 17.1. Verbs that have the preterite suffix *-un* have the suffixes *-en* and *-ene(ja)* for singular and plural imperatives respectively, independently of their transitivity. The other three verb classes distinguish (almost) always between intransitive and transitive verbs in the formation of the singular imperative: intransitive verbs employ the suffix *-e*; transitive verbs make use of *-a*. The distinction is absent in the plural imperative, which has the suffixes *-ene(ja)* and *-aj(a)* (and *-ere* as an alternative that is not frequently used).¹ The suffix *-(j)a*, which is optionally found with all plural imperatives as well as the plural forms of the prohibitive and the second person plural optative, can be analyzed as a plural addressee marker following the suggestion by Sumbatova & Lander (2014: 163–165). See §9.5 for some other contexts of its use.

For those verbs that have an imperfective and a perfective stem, the imperative is mostly formed from the perfective stem. Regular exceptions to this rule are the imperfective stems of the verbs ‘eat’ and ‘drink’ that often behave differently from other imperfective verbs. They have the following imperatives: for the imperfective stem *r-uč̣:-e* (SG, F)/*d-uč̣:-aja* (PL) ‘drink (several times)’ and perfective *b-erč̣:-a* (SG)/*b-erč̣:-aja* (PL) ‘drink (once)’; imperfective stem *r-uk-en* (SG, F)/*d-uk-ene(ja)* (PL) ‘eat (several times)’ and perfective stem *b-erk^w-en* (SG)/*b-erk^w-en(ja)* (PL) ‘eat (once)’. Other verbs that allow for the imperfective and the perfective stem to serve as the basis for the imperative are, for example, *k.alž-* (1PFV)/*k.elg-* (PFV) ‘remain, stay’. Not all morphosyntactically affective verbs allow for an imperative, but some do, such as *b-aχ-e* (N-know.PFV-IMP) (3). Similarly, the verb in (2) has experiential/affective semantics (though its subject appears in the dative) and allows for the imperative. With those types of verbs the imperative has rather the meaning of a wish of the speaker or a deontic flavor similar to ‘you should’.

¹There is one verb with the meaning ‘go, leave’ that is exceptional because it also allows for the suffixes *-aⁿ* and *-a^{ne}*, cf. the last two lines of Table 17.1.

Table 17.1: The imperative suffixes

singular	plural	preterite	examples (singular, plural)
-e	-aj(a)/-ere	-ib	<i>ka-r-iž-e</i> , <i>ka-d-ig-aj(a)</i> ‘sit down’ <i>w-aš-(e)</i> , <i>d-ax-aj(a)</i> ‘go’ <i>k^wah r-ič-e</i> , <i>d-ik-aj(a)</i> ‘be silent’
		-ub	<i>čar r-iχ^w-e</i> , <i>čar d-iχ^w-aj(a)</i> ‘come back’
		-ur	<i>ha-r-ic:-e</i> , <i>ha-d-ic:-aj(a)</i> ‘get/stand up’ <i>b-aχ-e</i> , <i>b-aχ-ere/b-aχ-aj(a)</i> ‘know’ <i>b-at-e</i> , <i>b-at-ere/b-at-eja</i> ‘leave, let’
-a (-a’)	-aj(a)	-ib	<i>b-uc-a</i> , <i>b-uc-aj(a)</i> ‘catch’ <i>b-a^cq-a^c</i> ‘wound, hit, strike’ <i>b-arq^c-a</i> , <i>b-arq^c-aj(a)</i> ‘do’
		-ub	<i>b-ik:-aq-a</i> ‘burn’ <i>ix^w-a</i> ‘throw’ <i>kax^w-a</i> , <i>kax^w-aj(a)</i> ‘kill’
		-ur	<i>erg^w-a</i> ‘sieve’ <i>b-aχ-aq-a</i> ‘tell, make know’ <i>ka-b-ark:-a</i> ‘wrap (in)’
-en	-ene(ja)	-un	<i>r-us:-en</i> , <i>d-us:-ene(ja)</i> ‘sleep’ <i>b-elč^c-en</i> , <i>b-elč^c-ene(ja)</i> ‘read’ <i>r-u^cq^c-aⁿ/r-u^cq^c-en</i> , <i>d-u^cq^c-a^{ne}/d-u^cq^c-ene</i> ‘go, leave’

Sentences (1–3) illustrate the use of the imperative. Though it is not particularly common, imperative clauses can contain the second person pronoun referring to the addressee, which can be an argument in the absolutive (2), in the ergative (15), or in the dative.

- (1) *hel sežuna b-urs-a!* *χabar b-urs-aχ:-at:e* *hiti*
that which N-tell.PFV-IMP story N-tell.PFV-COND-COND.2SG behind
ka-jž-e!
DOWN-remain.PFV-IMP
‘Tell it like this! Sit down if you (SG) narrate the story!’
- (2) *d-iχ-d-it-ag-aj* *uš:a!*
1/2PL-believe-1/2PL-THITHER-go.PFV-IMP.PL 2PL
‘You (PL) believe (me)!’
- (3) *ala ca-w=da du, b-aχ-e!*
2SG.GEN COP-M=1 1SG N-know.PFV-IMP
‘I am yours, (you) know!’

As in some other Dargwa varieties (e.g. Icar, Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 98, Shiri, Belyaev In Preparation), the imperative cannot be used when the P argument of a transitive verb is first person. In this case, the optative is used instead (4). With second and third person P arguments the imperative is allowed, cf. (6) below.

- (4) w-at-ab-aja du!
 M-let.PFV-OPT-2PL 1SG
 ‘Leave me!’

The imperative can be used in combination with the antipassive construction, in which case the verb is intransitive and takes the suffix *-e* if the addressee is singular:

- (5) χ̣abur-t-a-l Ø-ux-e / r-ux-e!
 story-PL-OBL-ERG M-tell.IPFV-IMP / F-tell.IPFV-IMP
 ‘Tell stories!’ (E)

With labile verbs the use of *-e* and *-a* in the imperative singular is possible, where *-e* indicates that the verb is used intransitively and *-a* that it is used transitively (6–7).

- (6) ust’ul b-it’kak’-a!
 chair N-move.PFV-IMP
 ‘Move the chair!’ (E)
- (7) w-it’kač’-e!
 M-move.PFV-IMP
 ‘Move (yourself)! (said to a man)’ (E)

The imperative of the verb *b-ax-* (N-go-) is exceptional because it can be formally zero (i.e. *waš* instead of *waše*), and functionally it can be used as a cohortative, i.e. to encourage or discourage to perform an action together with the speaker. Thus, in (8) *w-aš-e* is not meant as a command to the addressee to perform the action alone, but is intended as an invitation to go together and have a look at the shop. Morphosyntactically, however, the utterance is addressed to a man because the verb agrees in gender with the addressee (masculine singular) but not with whole group. Similarly, in (9) the verb ‘go’ is used in the function of a cohortative. However, syntactically the periphrastic cohortative constructions are either asyndetic conjunctions of two independent main clauses as in (8) (‘Go!’ and ‘We will look.’) or complex clause constructions consisting of a main clause in the imperative followed by a purpose clause in the infinitive or subjunctive as in (9) (‘Go in order to eat!’).

- (8) “w-aš-e=k:ẉa!” Ø-ik’^w-ar, “ce k’e-b-il er d-urk’-an=da”,
 M-go-IMP=PRT M-say.IPFV-PRS what exist.UP-N-REF look 1/2PL-look.IPFV-PTCP=1
 Ø-ik’^w-ar, “tuken-ne-b”
 M-say.IPFV-PRS shop-LOC-N
 ‘Let’s go (together) and look what is there in the shop!’, he says.’
- (9) x:unr-a-l wa^w ha?-ib, “d-ax-aj” b-ik’^w-ar,
 woman.PL-OBL-ERG shout say.PFV-PRET 1/2PL-go-IMP.PL HPL-say.IPFV-PRS
 “d-uk-ij, d-uk-ut:aj!”
 1/2PL-eat.IPFV-INF 1/2PL-eat.IPFV-SUBJ.2
 ‘The women shouted, “Let’s go eating!”’

17.2 Prohibitive

The prohibitive is formally independent of the imperative. It consists of the prefix *ma-* and a suffix. The prefix is positioned between the orientation and the deixis/gravitation preverbs if there are any. The suffixes are similar to the habitual present (§13.1) because they make use of the same stem augment, which depends on the transitivity of the verb. Intransitive verbs take *u*; transitive verbs take *i*, and one verb behaves exceptionally (§20.3.1). In the singular the suffixes are *-ut/-ut:a*, *-it/-it:a*, and *-a^ˆt/-a^ˆt:a*; in the plural they are *-ut:aj(a)*, *-it:aj(a)*, and *-a^ˆt:aj(a)*. The short and long variants in the singular and plural seem to be in free variation. The prohibitive is only formed from the imperfective stem in case a verb has both stems. Exemplary verbs in the prohibitive singular are shown in the last column of Table 17.2.

Table 17.2: The prohibitive suffixes

singular	plural	examples
<i>-ut/-ut:a</i>	<i>-ut:aj(a)</i>	<i>ma-k-erg-ut</i> ‘sit down’ <i>ma-r-ik’-ut</i> ‘say’ <i>t:ura ma-ka-lq-ut</i> ‘go outside’ <i>ma-r-uk-ut:a</i> ‘eat’ (intr.) <i>er-či-ma-ha-rk’-ut:a</i> ‘look up’
<i>-it/-it:a</i>	<i>-it:aj(a)</i>	<i>ma-d-uč:-it</i> ‘drink’ <i>ma-b-irq’-it</i> ‘do’ <i>ma-b-urs-it</i> ‘tell’ <i>ma-luk:-it</i> ‘give’ <i>ma-b-urh-it:a</i> ‘strike’
<i>-at/-at:a</i>	<i>-at:aj(a)</i>	<i>ma^ˆ-q^ˆ-a^ˆt:a</i> ‘go’

As with the imperative, the prohibitive is only used with second persons. The second person pronoun functioning as the addressee is mostly omitted, but it can be overtly expressed. Examples (10) and (11) show intransitive verbs. Sentences (12), (13) illustrate transitive verbs. In addition, affective verbs with dative addressees (experiencers) are allowed (14).

- (10) *warilla.wari u iχ-t:-a-j er či-ma-ha-rk’-ut:a!*
no.way 2SG DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-DAT look SPR-PROH-UP-look.IPFV-PROH.SG
‘No way you look at them (i.e. the trees)!’
- (11) *ma-d-is:-ut:aj, ma-d-irh-ut:aj!*
PROH-1/2.PL-cry-PROH.PL PROH-1/2.PL-wrestle.IPFV-PROH.PL
‘Do not cry, do not wrestle!’

- (12) na^ˈq aq ma-b-irq'-it x:unul-li-j!
 hand high PROH-N-do.IPFV-PROH.SG woman-OBL-DAT
 'Do not raise your hand against your wife! (i.e. do not beat your wife)'
- (13) dirx:a ma-b-urh-it:a=n!
 stick PROH-N-strike.IPFV-PROH.SG=PRT
 'Do not hit with a stick!'
- (14) at ma-b-alχ-it:a!
 2SG.DAT PROH-N-know.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'Do not know this!' (E)

As mentioned above for the imperative, with first person P arguments the prohibitive cannot be employed. Instead, the negative optative must be used (15).

- (15) ma-jt-aba du! u-l u w-it-a!
 PROH-beat.up.M-OPT.1 1SG 2SG-ERG 2SG M-beat.up-IMP
 'Do not thrash me (masc.)! Thrash yourself (masc.)!' (E)

When the ergative construction or the antipassive construction occur together with the prohibitive, the difference in transitivity is reflected in the different stem augment vowels, that is, the antipassive construction requires *u* (16a), whereas the ergative construction requires *i* (16b).

- (16) a. Antipassive construction
 hin-ni ma-d-uč:-ut:aja!
 water-ERG PROH-1/2PL-drink.IPFV-PROH.PL
 'Do not drink water (regularly)!'

 b. Ergative construction
 hin ma-d-uč:-it:aja!
 water PROH-NPL-drink.IPFV-PROH.PL
 'Do not drink the water!'

17.3 Optative

The optative is formed from perfective verbal stems by means of suffixes (Table 17.3). The suffixes are complex, and *-ab* can be identified as the optative marker to which markers that express person agreement are added. The optative seems to obey the same rules of person agreement that obtain in indicative clauses (§20.3.2). The paradigm has a structure that is similar to other person paradigms, that is, syncretism of first singular and plural with the second plural and zero marking in the third person (§20.3). There is an optional variant *-arte* when the agreement controller is plural. The optative is negated by means of the prefix *ma-*, which is also used for the prohibitive (§17.2).

Table 17.3: The optative

	singular	plural
1		-ab-a
2	-ab-e	-ab-a / -ab-aj / -ab-aja / -arte
3	-ab	-ab/-arte

The functions of the optative cover:

1. Wishes, blessings, curses, e.g. in greetings and other idiomatic phrases. For instance, (17) is a typical greeting, and (19) is a phrase used when pronouncing the name of a deceased. Note that the gender agreement in (17) is frozen. For reasons unclear to me it is impossible to use the neuter singular prefix here, although this would be expected from the structure of the clause (see §20.2.1 for more information on default gender agreement and frozen agreement affixes).

- (17) aš:i-j / at bari ʔaʰh d-iχ^w-ab!
2PL-DAT / 2SG.DAT day good NPL-be.PFV-OPT.3
'A good day to you!' (lit. 'May the day be good for you/to you.')
- (18) Maʰhaʰmmad-la š:al-li-c:e-r d-iχ^w-ab aš:i-j salam-te!
Mahammad-GEN side-OBL-IN-ABL NPL-be.PFV-OPT.3 2PL-DAT greeting-PL
'May there be greetings to you from the side of Mahammad!'
- (19) ʔaʰpa b-arqʰ-ab cin-na
commemoration N-do.PFV-OPT.3 REFL.SG-GEN
'May God bless him/her!'
- (20) du daʰʔle ma-ka-js:-ab, ja Allah!
1SG as PROH-DOWN-sleep.PFV.M-OPT.3 oh Allah
'May (nobody) lay down (sleep) like me, oh Allah.' (i.e. with so many sorrows)

2. Indifference, when the speaker does not care about a situation or event (21–23). Note that in (22) the agreement on the verb is neuter plural because nouns referring to liquids normally control neuter plural agreement (§3.3).

- (21) hikʰ bari ruʰh b-uq-ij=sat ma-kelg-ab-a
DEM.UP sun disappear N-go.PFV-INF=as.much PROH-remain.PFV-OPT-1SG
du
1SG
'May I not remain until the sunset.' (i.e. May I die before the sunset, I don't mind.)

- (22) limonad d-iχ^w-ab
 lemonade NPL-be.PFV-OPT.3
 ‘Let it be lemonade.’ (i.e. The bottle on the picture could be lemonade or something else, I don’t care.)
- (23) “r-ebč’-aq-ab-a!” r-ik’-ul “r-is:-an=x:ar, ʔa^h-dex
 F-die.PFV-CAUS-OPT-1SG F-say.IPFV-ICVB F-cry-PTCP=CONC good-NMLZ
 b-ak:u”
 N-COP.NEG
 “‘May I be killed/may they kill me!’, I say, ‘even if I cry it will not be better.’”

3. Indirect commands

- (24) Ma^ha^hmmad-li at mac:a b-ik:-ab!
 Mahammad-ERG 2SG.DAT sheep N-give.PFV-OPT.3
 ‘May Mahammad give you the sheep!’ (E)

4. Commands (i.e. imperative and prohibitive function) with first person P arguments:

- (25) “dam kumek b-arq’-aja!” Ø-ik’-ul, “w-erc-aq-ab-aja!”
 1SG.DAT help N-do.PFV-IMP.PL M-say.IPFV-ICVB M-save.PFV-CAUS-OPT-2PL
 “‘Help me, save me!’ he says.’

Especially the first and second functions are used in situations where the speaker does not have control over what is going to happen.

The suffix *-arte* can only be used when the agreement controller is plural (26). In (27) the addressee is a not further specified group of people of whom the speaker wishes that one beloved (masculine) person may die, that is, one man² per addressee. Thus, there is a group of people for whom the speaker wishes that they would die, which explains the use of *-arte* and the plural demonstrative pronoun. The addressee is also plural (reflected in the plural possessive pronoun). If the speaker had wished that more than one beloved one should die, the verbs would change to *b-ik:-an-te b-ebk’-arte*.

- (26) Allah-li ʔa^h-le d-at-arte!
 Allah-ERG good-ADVZ 1/2PL-let.PFV-OPT.PL
 ‘May Allah leave you (plural) well!’
- (27) hiš-ti ču-la w-ik:-an w-ebk’-arte!
 this-PL REFL.PL-GEN M-want.IPFV-PTCP M-die.PFV-OPT.PL
 ‘May their beloved ones die!’

²This explains the masculine singular agreement on the two verbs.

17 Non-indicative verb forms

There is also the possibility of using the bare verbal stem in the optative function (28–30) with singular and plural addressee. There is no observable semantic difference between the use of the bare stem and the use of the optative when expressed by the suffixes given in Table 17.3.

- (28) ala w-ik:-an w-at!
 2SG.GEN M-want.IPFV-PTCP M-let.PFV
 ‘May your beloved (son) be left (in peace, alive)!’
- (29) ala urk’i b-erc’!
 2SG.GEN heart N-fry.PFV
 ‘May your heart fry!’
- (30) aš:a-la žan d-at!
 2PL-GEN organism NPL-let.PFV
 ‘May your bodies and souls remain!’ (i.e. ‘May you be healthy!’) [modified corpus example]

The bare optative can even be used like a noun and inflected without the need of adding any derivational morphology. Thus, in (31) the complete optative phrase *urk’i b-ac’* (heart N-thaw.PFV) ‘May your/his/her/their heart thaw’ has been nominalized and then the dative suffix has been added because the nominal functions as the addressee of the verb ‘telephone’. The phrase is used with the idiomatic meaning ‘idiot’.

- (31) uci-li-j tilipun d-arq’-ib-le urk’i b-ac’-li-j
 brother-OBL-DAT telephone NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB heart N-thaw.PFV-OBL-DAT
 k-ač’-e d-arq’-ib-le, ...
 DOWN-come.PFV-IMP NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘When they called the brother, this idiot, if he had told me to come, ...’

17.4 Modal interrogative

Sanzhi has a suffix *-ide* (with the allomorph *-ida*), which is only used in content questions with first person subject-like arguments of verbs of all valency classes. These questions have a modal meaning covering possibility, deontic modality and future (similar to English *can*, *should*, *will*). The questions are sometimes more like rhetorical questions to which an answer is not expected (32), but they can also have real interrogative illocutionary force as questions that are uttered to solicit answers (34).

- (32) s:anži-la š:i-la istorija cet’le b-aχ-ide dam?
 Sanzhi-GEN village-GEN history how N-know.PFV-MODQ 1SG.DAT
 ‘How can I know about the history of Sanzhi?’
- (33) na ce d-ik’^w-ide?
 now what 1/2PL-say.IPFV-MODQ
 ‘Now what can we say?’

- (34) “mašin čina b-ič-ide, ruci:?” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w
 car where N-lead.IPFV-MODQ sister M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘“Where should I bring the car, sister?” he is asking’

The suffix can be added to perfective as well as to imperfective stems with the usual difference in meaning: habitual/iterative/generic if the verb is imperfective (35) vs. specific singular event if the verb is perfective (36).

- (35) [talking about the present times and how they have changed]
 ce b-irq’-ide?
 what N-do.IPFV-MODQ
 ‘What should/can we do?’ or ‘What should/can be done (in general)?’
- (36) c’il cet’le b-arq’-ide?
 then how N-do.PFV-MODQ
 ‘Then how should I make (the plough)?’

The suffix is also obligatorily used when a second person absolutive argument of a transitive verb occurs (37). This deviates from the general rule about person agreement because normally in clauses with two speech-act participants both arguments can control person agreement (§20.3.2). Thus, in an indicative clause we could and often would have a second person controlling agreement, as the answer in (37) shows. This is impossible for the modal interrogative. From this we can conclude that the modal interrogative marker is not a person agreement marker, although its use is restricted by person.

- (37) u čina r-uč-ide, ruci: du-l u r-uk-ul=de q:ala q:urejš-le
 2SG where F-lead-MODQ sister 1SG-ERG 2SG F-lead-ICVB=2SG fortress Kurejšh-LOC
 ‘Where should I bring you, sister? I will bring you to Kala-Kurejšh (place name).’
 (E)

Occasionally, *-idel* instead of *-ide* is used (the *l* at the end is the embedded question marker/complementizer =*l*, §28.4). It seems that there is a slight difference in meaning between *-ide* and *-idel*, which reflects the fact that *-idel* is a kind of insubordination, i.e. a use of an originally subordinate form in a main clause. In the Russian translations this is reflected by the use of an additional adverb *interesno* ‘interesting’, which seems to stand for an omitted matrix clause ‘it would be interesting to know’.

- (38) cet’-le du-l qum.ert-idel ala čarχ bek’ durqa-te?
 how-ADVZ 1SG-ERG forget.PFV-MODQ 2SG.GEN figure head dear-DD.PL
 ‘How can I forget your dear figure?’ (lit. figure-head)
- (39) na ce d-ik’^w-idel?
 now what 1/2PL-say.IPFV-MODQ
 ‘Now what can we say?’ [modified corpus example]

17 *Non-indicative verb forms*

However, the form *-idel* is far more common in real embedded questions (40) (see §28.4 for more examples).

- (40) iž ceq:el=el iž-it:e pikri Ø-ik'-ul=el [d-iʔ-ij
 this when=INDQ this-ADVZ thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ NPL-steal.PFV-INF
 Ø-u^ʔq'-idel a-w-u^ʔq'-idel] Ø-ik'-ul le-w
 M-go.PFV-MODQ NEG-M-go.PFV-MODQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB exist-M
 'This is when he is probably thinking, should I steal or not.'

The modal interrogative of the verb *b-iχ^w-* (PFV) 'be, become, be able' is also used in epistemic modal constructions (§15.4.2).

18 Non-finite verb forms

There are three types of verb forms that function as heads of subordinate clauses:

- plain non-finite verb forms (§18.1)
- verb forms functioning as specialized converbs (§18.2)
- conditional and concessive verb forms (§18.3)

Plain non-finite verb forms are simple converbs, participles, the infinitive, the subjunctive, and the masdar. The specialized converbs convey more specific temporal and causal relationships. Plain non-finite verb forms (except for the subjunctive) and constructions with specialized converbs lack person agreement. Only the plain non-finite verb forms are part of the inflectional paradigm of the verb and thus formed by suffixes. Some of them are also used for the formation of analytic TAM forms. By contrast, verb forms functioning as specialized converbs mostly employ enclitics, which can also be added to other parts of speech than verbs. Conditional and concessive clauses have person agreement expressed by suffixes that strongly resemble the suffixes used in synthetic verb forms of main clauses. They are treated here as non-finite verb forms because their basic use is restricted to dependent clauses that cannot syntactically function as main clauses. All non-finite verb forms are normally negated by adding the negative prefix *a-*.

Conditional and concessive forms as well as specialized converbs and some of the plain non-finite verb forms occur in adverbial clauses (Chapter 25). Complement clauses (Chapter 24) are mostly headed by plain non-finite forms such as the infinitive and the masdar, and relative clauses are formed with participles (Chapter 23).

18.1 Plain non-finite verb forms

The following verb forms are considered to be plain non-finite verb forms:

- simple converbs (imperfective and perfective) (§18.1.1.1 and §18.1.1.2)
- participles (preterite, modal and functionally related forms with *-il* and *-ce/-te*, and the locative participle) (§18.1.2)
- infinitive (§18.1.3)
- subjunctive, i.e., agreeing infinitive (§18.1.4)
- masdar (§18.1.5)

18.1.1 Simple converbs

Like all Dargwa languages, Sanzhi has two simple converbs, an imperfective converb (§18.1.1.1) and a perfective converb (§18.1.1.2). For the syntax of adverbial clauses in which these converbs occur see Chapter 25.

18.1.1.1 The imperfective converb

The imperfective converb has the suffix *-ul* (occasionally also *-ule*) or with a few verbs, which have *-un* as the suffix for the perfective converb, *-un(ne)*. For other Dargwa varieties *-ul* has been analyzed as diachronically composed of *-u* (the stem augment that is used for the habitual present) and a converb suffix *-l* (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003; Belyaev In Preparation), and it is probable that this analysis can be applied to Sanzhi Dargwa as well. The suffix *-unne* is also diachronically complex, consisting of *-un-ne*. The second part *-ne* is an allomorph of the converb suffix *-le* that is also used for the formation of the perfective converb (§18.1.1.2) and, more generally, as an adverbializer (§9.6.3). However, synchronically the imperfective converb is not complex anymore and I will therefore gloss it as one single morpheme.

The imperfective converb can only be formed from imperfective stems and from stems of which the aspect is not specified. The functional range of the imperfective converb is as follows:

1. formation of the compound present by adding the person enclitics (1) or the copula (§14.1.1) and formation of the compound past by adding the past enclitic (§14.1.2). In interrogative clauses the enclitics and copulas can be omitted under certain circumstances and only the interrogative enclitics occur (2) (§9.1). There are also a number of other auxiliaries that co-occur with imperfective converbs in periphrastic verb forms (Chapter 15).

(1) žimiška d-ic-ij arg-ul=da
sunflower.seeds NPL-sell.PFV-INF go.IPFV-ICVB=1
'I am going to sell sunflower seeds.'

(2) ala x:unul ce r-ik'-ul=e? sa^ˈ-q'-unne=k:u=w?
2SG.GEN woman what F-say.IPFV-ICVB=Q HITHER-GO-ICVB=NEG=Q
'What is your wife saying? Is she not coming?'

2. formation of adverbial clauses expressing temporal simultaneity or precedence of the event in the adverbial clause with the event expressed in the main clause (3), (4). This use is very frequent in texts and includes the use in manner clauses that denote the way in which an event is occurring or the manner in which an action is carried out (5).

- (3) [q'aca-la neq:e hext:u arg-ul],
 he.goat-GEN canyon.LOC there.UP go.IPFV-ICVB
 či-a-ha-d-eᵛ-ib=da
 SPR-NEG-UP-1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET=1
 'We were going there to the goat canyon, but did not arrive there.'
- (4) guž ʔa°či a-b-arq'-ib=da, [w-ax-ul], [raboči
 difficult work NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET=1 M-go-ICVB workers
 b-ik-ul] [sa-b-ik-ul]
 HPL-lead.IPFV-ICVB HITHER-HPL-lead.IPFV-ICVB
 'I did not do difficult work, driving, bringing the workers (to the wine
 factory) and bringing them back.'
- (5) c'il hel-ka [duc' r-ik'-ul] t:ura-r-ič-ib ca-r
 then that-ABL run F-move.IPFV-ICVB OUT-F-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-F
 Pat'ima
 Patima
 'Then Patima appeared outside running. (i.e. ran outside)'

There are plenty of examples in which it is not easy or even impossible to unambiguously identify the main clause to which the converbal clause belongs such that it may seem that the converb can head independent main clauses. In fact, such usages have been reported for Mehweb Dargwa (Kustova (2015); see also Mithun (2008) for a more general account of how and why non-finite verb forms develop into finite verb forms and the use of dependent clauses as independent sentences). However, in elicitation converb clauses are always judged as dependent clauses that need to be related to a superordinate clause in order to form a grammatical sentence. Thus, converb clauses that seem to occur on their own in independent utterances can probably be treated as a feature of colloquial language. In (6) only the first clause is morphosyntactically unambiguously an independent main clause followed by two expressions that indicate the lack of knowledge of the speaker (*ce ca-d=de=l, aχ:u*) and two clauses with imperfective converbs without accompanying main clauses.

For instance, the utterance in (7) is part of a characterization of a person, but there is no preceding or following main clause that could serve as a syntactic anchor for the adverbial clause.

- (6) ca ca t'ult'=de=w? ce ca-d=de=l, aχ:u, [ču-la
 one one bread=PST=Q what COP-NPL=PST=PRT not.know REFL.PL-GEN
 le-b-il sa-b-iq:-ul] [luk:-unne]
 exist-N-REF HITHER-N-carry.IPFV-ICVB give.IPFV-ICVB
 'There was one bread for everyone? Whatever, I don't know, what they
 had they were bringing (to the soldiers) and giving it to them.'

- (7) [pa^ˈq Ø-ik'-ul q'is:a-l-c:ella] [vina.vina b-irq'-ul],
 strike M-say.IPFV-ICVB crook-OBL-COMIT spoil HPL-do.IPFV-ICVB
 [it-ul], ...
 beat.up-ICVB
 'hitting with the crook, disturbing, beating up, ...'

3. formation of certain complement clauses, for instance with the verb 'begin' (§24.2.8), i.e. the verbal head in the complement clause bears the imperfective converb suffix.
4. The imperfective converb of the verb *b-ik*^w- 'say' is used as a quotation marker and, more generally, as a marker of certain complement clauses (§24.2.2).

18.1.1.2 The perfective converb

The perfective converb is formed by adding the suffix *-le* to the preterite participle. The resulting complex suffixes are *-ib-le*, *-ub-le*, *-un-ne*, and *-ur-re* (or *-ur-le*), and their distribution is lexicalized (see the tables in §11.2 for many example verbs). The suffix *-le* is a cross-categorical suffix that forms adverbials from various parts of speech (§9.6.3). The perfective converb is mainly built from perfective verb stems. Thus, what is treated in this grammar under the label "perfective converb" is a conflation of several components that come with their own properties. It is therefore not ideal to gloss only the suffix *-le* as perfective converb (CVB) because this suffix only contributes to the morphosyntax, but not to the semantics. The meaning of the perfective converb originates from the combination of a (usually) perfective verb stem with the preterite suffix.

The functions of the perfective converb are:

1. Formation of analytic verb forms: resultative (§14.2.3), perfect (§14.2.4) and past perfect (§14.2.5). Furthermore, there are periphrastic verb forms with other auxiliaries that make use of the perfective converb (Chapter 15).
2. Formation of temporal adverbial clauses: The adverbial clauses refer to situations that take place before the situation expressed in the main clause or simultaneously with it (8), (9). Occasionally, the latter type of converb clauses, which express simultaneously occurring events, are semantically manner clauses (10). It is common to have sequences of adverbial clauses containing perfective converbs that denote a sequence of events (8). As with the imperfective converb, it is not always easy to find an adjacent main clause that is the syntactic anchor for perfective converb clauses. For instance, in (11) the copula clause at the end refers to the same stretch of events that the preceding converbial clauses refer to, namely the building of a house. However, the converb clauses and the copula clauses do not share any arguments. The sharing of arguments is not a syntactic requirement for the use of perfective converbs, but as the preceding examples (8–10) show it is very common (see also §25.1.3 for more information about the syntactic properties of converbial clauses with respect to argument sharing).

- (8) [razi Ø-ix-ub-le], [b-uc-ib-le ʔa t'a=ra ca-w=ra],
 happy M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB N-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB frog=ADD REFL-M=ADD
 Ø-uq'-ij b-ik:-ul ca-b qili
 M-go-INF N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N home
 'He got happy, caught his frog, and wants to go home.'
- (9) [iž ag-ur-re] ʔa rz w-arq'-ib ca-w
 this go.PFV-PRET-CVB complain M-do.PFV-PRET COP-M
 'He went away and complained.'
- (10) ca-w duc' Ø-uq-un-ne ag-ur hel
 REFL-M run M-go.PFV-PRET-CVB go.PFV-PRET that
 'He himself run away.'
- (11) [či-d-a q-a q-ib-le qul-be] [abujta-la
 SPR-NPL-hit.PFV-CAUS-PRET-CVB house-PL wall.paper-GEN
 d-as:-aq-un-ne] [ʔa m-re
 NPL-glue.PFV-CAUS-PRET-CVB window-PL
 sa-ka-d-ic:-ur-re] ilt:i urq'l-e ħa dur-re
 ANTE-DOWN-NPL-stand.PFV-PRET-CVB these board-PL ready-ADVZ
 le-d=de
 exist-NPL=PST
 'We plastered the house, hung the wallpaper, put the windows; the boards were already prepared.'

3. Formation of complement clauses: the perfective converb occurs in a range of complement clauses of the fact and of the activity type with cognition, evaluation and emotion predicates and with the verb 'finish' in the matrix clause (12) (§24.2.5).

- (12) [ca-w urči-j murt:a-l ha-jβ-ib-le] han le-w
 REFL-M horse-DAT rider-ADVZ UP-come.M.PFV-PRET-CVB remember exist-M
 '(I) remember that he came riding on a horse.'

18.1.2 Participles

Participles and functionally related forms occur in relative clauses and partially also in other constructions. Sanzhi has three participle: (i) the preterite participle (§18.1.2.1), (ii) the modal participle (§18.1.2.2), and (iii) the locative participle (§18.1.2.4). To the first two participles the cross-cateogorical suffixes *-ce* and *-il* can be added (§18.1.2.3). For the syntactic properties of relative clauses see Chapter 23.

18.1.2.1 The preterite participle

The preterite is used for a range of verb forms with past time reference that are used in main clauses. This includes the preterite itself (§14.2.2) but also many more analytic

(§14.2) and periphrastic verb forms based on it (Chapter 15). The preterite is also employed in relative clauses (Chapter 23). Formally we deal with one and the same suffix, and I will therefore use only one single gloss for it (PRET), although functionally and with respect to morphosyntactic properties the finite verb form ‘preterite’ differs from the participle. The finite verb form is used together with person enclitics, the past enclitic or the copula, which, by contrast, is impossible for the participle in a relative clause. The participle, in turn, attaches further nominalizing suffixes (16) and can then be case marked (§23.4). Relative clauses that are formed with the preterite participle obligatorily have a nominal head (13), (14).

- (13) hex-ti [sa-r-ha-aq-ib] paltar ca-d
 DEM.UP-PL ANTE-ABL-UP-hang.PFV-PRET clothes COP-NPL
 ‘These are clothes that have been hung up there.’
- (14) han d-irč-aq-ul ca-d cin-na
 remember NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB COP-NPL REFL.SG-GEN
 [b-it-ag-ur], [ag-ur] ʔuˀnru
 N-THITHER-GO.PFV-PRET go.PFV-PRET life
 ‘He is remembering his gone by, past life.’

The preterite participle cannot directly take case suffixes or similar grammatical markers used with nominals (15). In order to nominalize the preterite participle, one of the cross-categorical participles *-il* (16) or *-ce* needs to be added (see §18.1.2.3 below for more details).

- (15) * dam b-iq:a sa-r-ha-aq-ib!
 1SG.DAT N-take.IPFV-IMP ANTE-ABL-UP-hang.PFV-PRET
 (Intended meaning: ‘Give me the one that is hanging!’)
- (16) dam b-iq:a sa-r-ha-aq-ib-il!
 1SG.DAT N-take.IPFV-IMP ANTE-ABL-UP-hang.PFV-PRET-REF
 ‘Give me the one that is hanging!’ (E)

The preterite participle also attaches a number of temporal enclitics, suffixes and other subordinating enclitics such as *-er* ‘when’, *-la* ‘since, after’ (17), *=q:el(la)* ‘when, because’ and *=x:ar* ‘although’ and is then used in adverbial clauses with various specialized converbs (§18.2).

- (17) il ag-ur-ra hit:i=ra ʔaˀχuˀl-dex taman a-b-iχ-ub
 that go.PFV-PRET-POST after=ADD guest-NMLZ end NEG-B-happen.PFV-PRET
 ‘After that had happened their friendship did not finish.’

18.1.2.2 The modal participle *-an*

The modal participle *-an* is only added to imperfective stems. Its semantics covers modality (obligation, deontic necessity) and future time reference. However, in relative clauses the modal meaning is often absent. The modal participle is used for the formation of a range of finite analytic verb forms, namely future (§14.1.3), future in the past (§14.1.4), obligative (§14.1.5), obligative present (§14.1.6), and obligative past (§14.1.7). The second functional domain of the modal participle is the formation of relative clauses. They mostly have habitual semantics and refer to stable properties of the referent of the head noun (18–23). Thus, there are some participles that have been lexicalized into adjectives expressing characteristic properties, e.g. *b-uz b-ik^w-an barc:ik^w* (N-tear N-AUX.IPFV-PTCP chudu) ‘chudu filled with cheese that can be expanded and stretched when it is melted’, *dircan* ‘trader, seller’ (21).

- (18) nuš:a χalq', [ʔa[˘]çi-l d-irq'-an] χalq'=de=q'al
 1PL people work-ERG 1/2PL-do.IPFV-PTCP people=PST=MOD
 ‘We are people, people who work.’ (i.e. we are worth to be respected)
- (19) hel [Maħa[˘]mmadh[˘]a[˘]ži b-ik^w-an] durħu[˘]
 that Mahammadhazhi HPL-say.IPFV-PTCP boy
 ‘the boy called Mahammadhazhi’
- (20) bazar-re hej ka-jž-ib-le [w-irc-an] admi ca-w
 market-LOC this DOWN-be.M.PFV-PRET-CVB M-sell.IPFV-PTCP person COP-M
 ‘On the market a trader is sitting.’ (lit. a person who sells)

The relative clauses with the participle *-an* can be headless (21–23). The participle can take further case suffixes (23).

- (21) c'il hež ka-jž-ib-il d-irc-an Ø-iχ^w-ij
 then this DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET-REF NPL-sell.IPFV-PTCP M-be.PFV-INF
 ‘The one who is seated is probably selling (stuff).’
- (22) hel-t:i kunab-te ca-d, di-la w-ik:-an
 that-PL EQ-DD.PL COP-NPL 1SG-GEN M-want.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘It is like this, my beloved one.’
- (23) il ʒaj Ø-ik^w-ij b-ik:-an-ni-j=ra har zamana
 that word M-say.IPFV-INF N-want.IPFV-PTCP-OBL-DAT=ADD every time
 hana=ra dune le-b
 now=ADD world exist-N
 ‘For the one who wants to quarrel there is always an option.’ (lit. ‘a/the world’)

When the modal participle is followed by the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* it also occurs in complement clauses (24) (§24.2.3), in addition to the possible use in headless relative clauses (§23.4). The second cross-categorical suffix *-il* also often co-occurs with the modal participle in various relative clauses.

- (24) dam b-alχ-a-d [it s-erχ-an-ce]
 1SG.DAT N-KNOW.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 that HITHER-COME.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG
 ‘I know that he will come.’ (E)

Finally, a number of temporal enclitics and other subordinating enclitics such as *-er* ‘when’ (25), =*q:el(la)* ‘when, because’ and =*x:ar* ‘although’ attach to the modal participle yielding adverbial clauses (§18.2).

- (25) c’il di-la sub=ra du=ra ag-ur-re
 then 1SG-GEN husband=ADD 1SG=ADD go.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ka-d-iž-ib-le, d-uk-an-er, suk
 DOWN-1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET-CVB 1/2PL-eat.IPFV-PTCP-when meet
 b-ič-ib a^wal admi
 HPL-occur.PFV-PRET four person
 ‘Then my husband and I were sitting and when we were eating we met four men.’

18.1.2.3 The cross-categorical suffixes *-il* and *-ce/-te* in combination with the participles

The preterite and the modal participle can combine with both types of cross-categorical suffixes, *-il* and *-ce* (*-te* in the plural). The general function of these suffixes can be described as the formation of referential attributes or definite descriptions that have the morphosyntactic properties of nominals (§9.6.1 and §9.6.2). When the suffixes are added to the participles we can form relative clause with heads and headless relative clauses. Two participles and two types of cross-categorical suffixes yield four possible combinations that are not all equally common. There seem to be no semantic differences between the two cross-categorical suffixes when occurring in headless relative clauses. But there is a morphosyntactic difference: the suffix *-il* is only used with referents that are not morphologically overtly marked for plural, i.e., the relative clause needs to refer to a singular object or a mass noun such as *χalq* ‘people’ or *sungul* ‘the community of the Sanzhi people’ (even though both nouns control human plural agreement) or something similar as in (28). The referent can be overtly expressed (relative clause with a head) or not (headless relative clause). For overtly marked plural referents or for headless relative clauses denoting a plurality of referents only *-te* can be used (26–28).

- (26) b-uč:ul *ka-b-iž-ib-il /
 HPL-drink.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-REF /
 ka-b-iž-ib-te sunglan-te
 DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-DD.PL Sanzhi.person-PL
 ‘the Sanzhi people who are sitting and drinking’ (E)
- (27) ʔa[˘]či-l b-irq’-an-te / *b-irq’-an-il
 work-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL / HPL-do.IPFV-PTCP-REF
 ‘the ones who are working’ (E)

- (28) il-ti [di-c:ella b-alli b-ax-an-te] b-abq'i
 that-PL 1SG-COMIT HPL-together HPL-go-PTCP-DD.PL HPL-half
 'the half (of the people) who were going with me'

By far most common in the Sanzhi corpus are headless relative clauses in which the verb bears the preterite participle suffix plus the suffix *-il* (29). When the dative case is used, the meaning of the nominalized relative clause can be causal (due to the semantics of the dative case) such that these clauses rather function as adverbial clauses expressing cause or reason (30).

- (29) [b-uč:-ul ka-b-iž-ib-il] ka-b-iš:-ib=da helt:u
 HPL-drink.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-REF DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET=1 there
 čina=del
 where=INDEF
 'The one where they are sitting and drinking, I put this (picture) somewhere.'

- (30) hej pašman Ø-iχ-ub ca-w ʔa^h-le hel b-arq'-ib-il-li-j
 this sad M-be.PFV-PRET COP-M good-ADVZ that N-do.PFV-PRET-REF-OBL-DAT
 'He got very (lit. well) sad, because of what he had done.'

The preterite participle of the verb 'say' to which *-il* is added and which is used without the spatial preverb *ha-* (i.e. *ʔ-ib-il*, also written as *ibil*¹) functions as marker for ordinal numerals (31) (§6.2).

- (31) xu-c'anu urč'em-ra ibil dus:i-c:e-w
 five-TEN nine-NUM ORD year.OBL-IN-M
 'in the year (19)59'

The co-occurrence of both participles (preterite and modal) with *-ce/-te* is also common and it is easy to find examples with (32) and without case suffixes (33). There is a clear difference in meaning due to the participles and the aspectual properties of the verb stems. In (32) the preterite participle is used to refer to people who accomplished an action in the past (i.e. they gathered). The modal participle in (33) refers to the Sanzhi people by means of a stative characterization as the ones who eat three times at night and stay hungry during the day, i.e., fulfilling the duties of Muslims during the month of Ramadan.

- (32) d-erč-ib-t-a-l ču-j d-ut'-ib
 NPL-collect.PFV-PRET-PL-OBL-ERG REFL.PL-DAT NPL-divide-PRET
 d-urk:-ar
 NPL-find.IPFV-PRS
 'The ones that gathered (the food) probably divided it among themselves.'

¹The usual participial form of this verb is *haʔ-ib-il* with the spatial preverb.

- (33) “abdal sungul, ba^h sungul, duč:e ʔa^j-na
 fool Sanzhi.people crazy Sanzhi.people at.night three-TIME
 b-uk-an-te, ari k:uš-le b-ug-an-te”
 HPL-eat.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL during.day hungry-ADV HPL-stay.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL
 b-ik'-ul
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘Foolish Sanzhi people, crazy Sanzhi people, at night they eat three times, and
 during day they stay hungry,’ they said.’

The combination of the modal participle with *-il* is not particularly frequent; it occurs mostly together with case suffixes as in (34).

- (34) hana cek'u r-irq'-an-il-li-j xujal azir xu-c'al
 now whatchamacallit F-do.IPFV-PTCP-REF-OBL-DAT five thousand five-TEN
 azir
 thousand
 ‘now for the one who operates her 5000, 50000 rubles (need to be given)’

Finally, the suffix *-il* can also be added to the existential copulas, which do not inflect for any of the participles, in order to form headed and headless relative clauses (6). In (35) the existential copula with its suffix *-il* is inflected for a spatial case.

- (35) durqa-ce, u le-r-il-le taliḥ-la marka b-arq'-ab
 dear-DD.SG 2SG exist-F-REF-LOC happiness-GEN rain N-do.PFV-OPT.3
 ‘(My) dear, may onto the place where you (fem.) are rain the rain of happiness.’

18.1.2.4 The locative participle *-na*

The locative participle has the suffix *-an*. It is only available for imperfective verb stems. It has a spatial meaning that corresponds to the semantics of the lative case (§3.4.2). Similar to spatial adverbs it can take further spatial case suffixes, i.e. the essive and the ablative. It most commonly functions as the head of spatial relative clauses (36), (37), but it is also possible to add a head noun (38).

- (36) Ø-uq'-ij b-ik:-ul=de il-i-j [cin-na w-ax-na]
 M-go-INF N-want.IPFV-ICVB=PST that-OBL-DAT REFL.SG-GEN M-go-PTCP.LOC
 ‘He wanted to go his way.’ (lit. where he goes)
- (37) het [χalq' b-ax-na-r] a-ag-ur-re, c'il tum-la het:u-r
 that people HPL-go-PTCP.LOC-ABL NEG-go.PFV-PRET-CVB then hill-GEN there-ABL
 ag-ur=da
 go.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I did not go through where the people (normally) go, but through where the hill is.’

- (38) durh-ne ag-ur [q^wal luχ-na] mus:a
 boy-PL go.PFV-PRET cow cut.IPFV-PTCP.LOC place.LOC
 ‘The boys went to the place where cows are slaughtered.’ (this refers to a specific place in Sanzhi)

In addition, the locative participle can be fully case marked. In order to add case suffixes (other than the suffixes for the essive and the ablative) the participle appears in its oblique forms, just like any other nominal. After suffixing the oblique marker *-l* (which is identical to the ergative), case suffixes follow (39). But as (37) and the second variant in (39) show, it is also allowed to directly suffix markers that express the spatial cases essive, lative and ablative, because the locative participle has inherent spatial meaning. In elicitation, the suffixation of other than spatial cases leads to a broader variety of relative clauses (40). The case-marked participle also occurs in adverbial clauses with causative semantics (103).

- (39) [Napisat ka-r-ils-na-l-le-b /
 Napisat DOWN-F-sleep.IPFV-PTCP.LOC-OBL-LOC-N /
 ka-r-ils-na-b] te-b=de ma^l?uⁿ
 DOWN-F-sleep.IPFV-PTCP.LOC-N exist.AWAY-N=PST snake
 ‘Where Napisat was sleeping there was a snake.’ (E)
- (40) [Ma^o?a^o ka-r-ils-na-l-la] χabar le-b=de
 Maja DOWN-F-sleep.IPFV-PTCP.LOC-OBL-GEN story exist-N=PST
 ‘There was the gossip that Maja was lying (in the hospital).’ (E)

18.1.3 The infinitive

The suffix for the infinitive is *-ij*. It is very likely that the final *j* diachronically goes back to the dative case, and the formal identity of infinitive and dative case is also attested in other Dargwa languages (e.g. Tanti, Icari) and other East Caucasian languages such as Hinuq. In principle, the infinitive can be formed from imperfective and perfective stems (41) but in natural texts it is almost exclusively used with perfective stems. There are a number of imperfective verbs for which the infinitive is at least very marginal if not ungrammatical (see the last two examples in (41)).

- (41) a. *ha-b-ilq^o-ij* (IPFV) / *habiq^o-ij* (PFV) ‘raise, keep up’
 b. *luk^o-ij* (IPFV) / *b-ič^o-ij* (PFV) ‘give’
 c. *či-b-iž^o-ij* (IPFV) / *či-b-až^o-ij* (PFV) ‘see’
 d. *b-alχ^o-ij* (IPFV) / *b-aχ^o-ij* (PFV) ‘know’
 e. *?b-irc^o-ij* (IPFV) / *b-ic^o-ij* (PFV) ‘sell’
 f. *#b-ubč^o-ij* (IPFV) / *b-ebč^o-ij* (PFV) ‘die’

The functions of the bare infinitive are:

1. formation of purpose clauses

(42) hel sa-ka-b-irš:-id b-erk^w-ij
 that HITHER-DOWN-N-put.IPFV-1.PRS N-eat.PFV-INF
 ‘We put it (on the table) to eat.’

2. formation of complement clauses with different types of complement-taking predicates (volitional, modal, phasal, manipulative, etc.). The complement clauses have potential or activity meaning (§24.2.6). In (44) the infinitival complement clause is embedded into a headless relative clause formed with the modal participle *-an*.

(43) [hak’ d-arq’-ij] a-r-iχ-ub=da
 shake NPL-do.PFV-INF NEG-F-be.able.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I (fem.) was not able to move (lit. shake) (my legs).’

(44) le-b=q’al [dam [b-urs-ij] b-ik:-an]
 exist-N=PRT 1SG.DAT N-say.PFV-INF N-want.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘There exists what I want to say.’

In addition, the infinitive can take a number of suffixes and enclitics:

- (i) the cross-categorical suffix *-ce/-te* for the formation of complement clauses with potential meaning and purpose clauses (45). Note that in this function the suffix can also be omitted without any change in meaning (i.e. compare with (42)).

(45) na d-erč:-ij-te d-erk^w-ij-te li<d>il cik’al
 now NPL-drink.PFV-INF-DD.PL NPL-eat.PFV-INF-DD.PL all<PL> something
 le-d
 exist-NPL
 ‘There is something to eat and to drink.’

- (ii) the complementizer/embedded question marker *=al* for the formation of embedded polar and content questions (46) and very occasionally for rhetoric questions for which the speaker does not expect an answer (47). The latter use is due to the ongoing grammaticalization of the embedded question enclitic as a marker of epistemic modality (§28.4).

(46) it-i-j aχ:u han b-el ak:u [ce
 that-OBL-DAT not.know remember N-remain.PFV COP.NEG what
 b-ik’^w-ij=al]
 N-say.IPFV-INF=INDQ
 ‘I do not remember how to call it.’

- (47) cet'-le b-iχ^w-ij=al, aɣ^wal it:i=ra nuš:a=ra
 how-ADVZ HPL-be.PFV-INF=INDQ four those=ADD 1PL=ADD
 mašin-ni-c:ella
 car-OBL-COMIT

'How is this possible, they four and we also in one car.'

- (iii) subordinating enclitics for the formation of adverbial clauses, e.g. =*sat*/=*sat:in*/=*sat:inna* 'until', =*sar* 'before, until' and *bahandan* 'because of' (§18.2)
- (iv) the suffix *-li-j* (-OBL-DAT): the dative is generally used to express causes (§3.4.1.4), and it is the only case that the infinitive can be inflected for (48). In the causative function the dative is also suffixed to other deverbal nominals such as abstract nouns with the suffix *-dex* and the masdar (§18.1.5).

- (48) "u-l b-urs-a!" haʔ-ib=da q:ant'-le caj-na cara daʔa'n-ne
 2SG-ERG N-tell-IMP say.PFV-PRET=1 short-ADVZ one-TIME other secret-ADVZ
 [Q'urban-ni t'am a-d-aq'-ij-li-j heχ-it:e]
 Kurban-ERG sound NEG-NPL-hear.PFV-INF-OBL-DAT DEM.DOWN-ADVZ

"'You tell him!' I said briefly once more such that Kurban could not hear it."

18.1.4 The subjunctive (i.e. agreeing infinitive)

Sanzhi Dargwa has another verb form that is functionally equivalent to the infinitive, but shows person agreement, and will be called "subjunctive" in this grammar. Person agreement of the subjunctive is reduced in comparison to other verb forms such as the habitual present or the habitual past. There is no suffix for the first person and instead the normal infinitive is used. The suffixes for the second and the third person, which do not distinguish number, are displayed in Table 18.1. The second person makes use of the same stem augment vowels (*i*, *u*) that occur with other verb forms such as the habitual present or the prohibitive.² Diachronically, the suffixes *-it:aj/-ut:aj* consist of the stem augment, followed by a second person suffix *-t:*, and the last part *-aj*, which represents the actual subjunctive marker. This becomes clear when we compare the subjunctive to other verb forms (§20.3). However, for the sake of understanding I treat the suffixes as units and use a single gloss.

Table 18.1: The subjunctive

	singular	plural
1	—	—
2	<i>-it:aj/-ut:aj</i>	
3	<i>-araj/-anaj</i>	

²The second person subjunctive suffixes are identical in form with variants of the plural prohibitive.

There is a strong correlation between the stem augment vowel and transitivity, i.e. intransitive verbs mostly take *-u* (49) and transitive and affective verbs usually take *-i* (50). Thus, the subjunctive behaves as other verb forms that have person agreement suffixes (§20.3).

- (49) a. *r-is:-ut:aj* ‘cry’
 b. *r-uk-ut:aj* (IPFV) ‘eat’
 c. *r-uq’-u^t:aj* ‘go’
 d. *ka-r-is:-ut:aj* (PFV) ‘lie, sleep’
- (50) a. *b-urs-it:aj* ‘tell’
 b. *či-b-až-it:aj* (PFV) ‘see’
 c. *r-ič-it:aj* (PFV) ‘bring, lead’

In the third person, the suffixes *-ar-aj* and *-an-aj* are used, which diachronically consist of *-ar* (homophone to one allomorph of the the habitual present and the realis conditional), or *-an* (homophone to the modal participle) and *-aj*. The choice between *-araj* and *-anaj* is mostly lexicalized (51), (52) but there are a few verbs to which in elicitation both suffixes can be attached, e.g. *či-ha-b-uq-anaj/či-ha-b-uq-araj* (SPR-UP-N-go.PFV-SUBJ.3) ‘climb’. In general, *-anaj* is more common both in terms of types (i.e. verb stems to which the suffix is added) as well as in terms of token frequency in my corpus.

- (51) a. *r-is:-araj* ‘cry’
 b. *b-arq’-araj* (PFV) ‘do’
 c. *b-iχ^w-araj* (PFV) ‘be, become, can’
 d. *kax^w-araj* (PFV) ‘kill’
- (52) a. *ka-b-is:-anaj* (PFV) ‘lie, sleep’
 b. *b-elk’-anaj* (PFV) ‘write’
 c. *b-uk-anaj* (IPFV) ‘eat’
 d. *ha-b-irq’-anaj* (IPFV) ‘support, bring up, make high’

The subjunctive, just like the infinitive, is mainly obtained from perfective stems, though a number of imperfective stems can also be inflected for it (53).

- (53) a. *ha-b-ilq’-araj* (IPFV) / *habiq’-araj* (PFV) ‘raise, keep up’
 b. *luk:-araj* (IPFV) / *b-ik:-araj* (PFV) ‘give’
 c. *či-b-ig-araj* (IPFV) / *či-b-ag-araj* (PFV) ‘see’
 d. *b-alχ-araj* (IPFV) / *b-aχ-arajj* (PFV) ‘know’
 e. *b-irc-araj* (IPFV) / *b-ic-araj* (PFV) ‘sell’
 f. *b-ubk’-araj* (IPFV) / *b-ebk’-araj* (PFV) ‘die’

The functions of the subjunctive are identical to the functions of the normal infinitive and it is always possible to replace the subjunctive with the infinitive. Thus, the subjunctive heads purpose and complement clauses:

- (54) c'il uškul-la hext:u-b, mus:a=ra k'e-b b-iχ^w-ar
 then school-GEN there.UP-N place=ADD exist.UP-N N-be.PFV-COND.3
 ka-d-is:-ut:aj
 DOWN-1/2.PL-sleep.PFV-SUBJ.2
 'Then there at the school, there is a place, if it still exists, for you to sleep.'
- (55) d-uq'-ij x:un-be wahi-l d-urč-i=q'al ixt:u
 1/2.PL-go.PFV-INF way-PL bad-ADVZ NPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST=MOD there.UP
 d-uq'-a't:aj
 1/2.PL-go.PFV-SUBJ.2
 'The roads to go there were probably bad, for you to go.'
- (56) hel ruc:i-l r-aʔ r-iš:-ib ca-r b-uk:-un-ne k:alk:i
 that sister-ERG F-begin F-become.PFV-PRET COP-F N-eat.IPFV-ICVB tree
 ka-b-ik-araj
 DOWN-N-occur.PFV-SUBJ.3
 'The sister started to eat up the tree so it would come down.'

As with the infinitive it is possible to suffix the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* to the subjunctive (57). In this example, *b-arq'-araj-ce* could be replaced by *b-arq'-ij-ce* and the meaning would not change.

- (57) uškul b-arq'-araj-ce balnic:a b-arq'-ib-le b-iχ^w-ardel
 school N-do.PFV-SUBJ.3-DD.SG hospital N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB N-be.PFV-COND.PST
 'It would be better to build a hospital instead of building a school.' (E)

Furthermore, subordinating enclitics for the formation of adverbial clauses can be attached, in particular =*sat*/=*sat:in*/=*sat:inna* 'until' (58), =*sar* 'before, until' and *bahandan* 'because of' (§18.2):

- (58) k'^wah Ø-ič-ib-le, xera ag-araj=sat a-b-urs-ib
 silent M-occur.PFV-PRET-CVB dusk go.PFV-SUBJ.3=until NEG-N-tell.PFV-PRET
 'He remained silent, until it became dark he did not tell.'

It seems that the subjunctive, which is absent from the more innovative north Dargwa varieties (e.g. from Akusha/Standard Dargwa), is gradually disappearing from south Dargwa varieties. In Icari, it lacks a cell in the transitive paradigm that is replaced with *-ij* (which is not the Icari infinitive, but another suffix.). In Sanzhi, it entirely lacks first person forms. Verb forms similar to the Sanzhi subjunctive are found in other south Dargwa varieties such as Qunqi, and Xuduc, but, e.g., not in Tanti (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 136). Sumbatova & Mutalov (2003: 107) write that the Icari subjunctive (*-aj/-j*), which is clearly cognate with the Sanzhi subjunctive, is historically and structurally related to the Standard Dargwa infinitive *-es*.

18.1.5 The masdar

The suffix for the masdar is *-ni*. It has an allomorph *-ri*, which is only used with a handful of verbs such as the negative form of the copula (*((b-)ak^w-ni* and *ak:^w-ri*). The masdar is available for imperfective and perfective stems as well as for the copula (*ca-b-ni*), and the locative copulas, e.g. *le-b-ni*. The functions of the masdar are:

1. formation of complement clauses, e.g. with matrix predicates such as ‘know’ and ‘understand’ (59)

(59) *il at=cun dalaj w-ik'-ud, [w-arc-ni=ra]*
 this 2SG.DAT=only song M-say.IPFV-1.PRS M-get.tired.PFV-MSD=ADD
a-b-alχ-ul
 NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘Only for you I sing this song, not knowing whether you got tired.’

If the masdar is formed from a stem with imperfective aspect, the temporal reference of the complement clause is non-past (60), and if it is formed from a stem with perfective aspect the temporal reference is past time (61).

(60) *ubk'-ni dam a-b-alχ-ul=de*
 die.M.IPFV-MSD 1SG.DAT NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘I did not know that he dies.’ (E)

(61) *w-ebk'-ni dam a-b-alχ-ul=de*
 M-die.PFV-MSD 1SG.DAT NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘I did not know that he died.’ (E)

2. formation of deverbal nouns that can be used like other nominals (62), i.e. in the position of arguments or adjuncts. The masdar can be inflected, e.g. for the dative, which yields the expected causative reading (63), and for the genitive when it expresses the topic of a speech act (64) or other relations (65).

(62) *mig-le-r qus r-ik'^w-ni b-irχ^w-i*
 ice-LOC-F slip F-say.IPFV-MSD N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘There was skating on the ice.’ (referring to a woman skating)

(63) *“iš-t:i at ca-d, di-la juldaš, du*
 this-PL 2SG.DAT COP-NPL 1SG-GEN friend 1SG
b-erc-aq-ni-li-j” b-ik'-ul ca-b
 N-save.PFV-CAUS-MSD-OBL-DAT N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 ‘These (gems) are for you, my friend, because you saved me, said (the bear).’

- (64) čina=k'u ʔa'lha'm-le d-u'q'-ni-la χabar b-urs-idel
 where=EMPH condolence-LOC 1/2PL-go-MSD-GEN story N-tell-MODQ
 aχ:u
 not.know
 'I don't know if I should tell you the story about how we went somewhere,
 to the condolences.'
- (65) značit, ce d-arq'-ij u'q'-ni-lla ʔa'či=q'al it
 thus what NPL-do.PFV-INF go.M-MSD-GEN work=MOD that
 'What to do, this pasturing (lit. the work of going after the animals) is
 work.'

18.2 Specialized converbs

Constructions with special converbs occur in adverbial clauses that express temporal or causal relationships. Formally, they mostly consist of an enclitic or suffix bearing the specific temporal/causal meaning or of a postposition/adverb used to express temporal relationships. The converbial marker is attached either to the preterite participle and the modal participle or to the subjunctive and the infinitive (or follows the respective verb forms). Other ways of obtaining specialized adverbial clauses involve the locative participle and the noun *zamana* 'time'. Sanzhi possesses the specialized converbs that are given in (66). There are two enclitics among them (=q:el(la) and =sat/=sat:in/=sat:inna), which are not only used with verbs in order to form adverbial clauses, but also with nominals. Their use with nominals is described in §9.3. The syntax of adverbial clauses is analyzed in Chapter 25.

- (66) a. =q:el(la) 'when, while, because' (simultaneity, anteriority, causality)
 b. -er 'when, as' (simultaneity)
 c. =sat/=sat:in/=sat:inna 'until, before, as much as, as long as'
 (posteriority, manner)
 d. sar(ka) 'until, before' (posteriority)
 e. (h)it:i 'after, because' (anteriority, causality)
 f. -la 'since, after' (anteriority, causality)
 g. b-el-le 'while, as long as, as soon as, until, when'
 (simultaneity, immediate anteriority)
 h. zamana 'time' (simultaneity)
 i. =x:ar 'although, even if' (concession)
 j. the locative participle -na (causality)
 k. bahanne/bahandan 'because of' (causality)

18.2.1 The temporal/causal enclitic =*q:el(la)* ‘when, while, because’

The temporal =*q:el(la)*, which exists in a more commonly used short form and in a less frequently occurring long form, translates as ‘when, while, because’. As the other two temporal enclitics it can be hosted by verbs and other parts of speech (§9.3). When used to form adverbial clauses it is added to the preterite participle (18.1.2.1) or to the modal participle (18.1.2.2), and also to forms of the negative copula (usually the participle, but also other forms) (69). It expresses the temporal simultaneity (67), and rarely the temporal anteriority (68) of the situation referred to in the adverbial clause with respect to the situation described in the main clause. In many cases, this also implies a causal link between the two events (69).

- (67) č**i**-b-a arg-an=*q:ella* deb**ku**l-m-a-l b-ir**q**'-ul
 up-HPL-DIR go.IPFV-PTCP=*when* prayer-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-ICVB
 b-u**ž**-ib-le=*de*
 HPL-be-PRET-CVB=*PST*
 ‘When they went up there they were praying.’
- (68) hel duč**i** a-b-ič-ib=*q:ella* ikarus abt'abuz hila bar
 that night NEG-N-occur.PFV-PRET=*when* Icarus coach last day
 ag-ur-re Rast'aw=*uw* č**i**na=*jal* het:u ag-ur ca-w het:u
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB Rostov=*Q* where=*INDQ* there go.PFV-PRET COP-M there
 ‘When/after/because in that night there was no Icarus coach, he went to Rostov or somewhere else the next day, he went there.’
- (69) nu busurman-te ak:u=*q:ella*, ...
 well Muslim-PL COP.NEG=*when*
 ‘Well because (they) were not Muslims, ...’

When the enclitic is hosted by nominals (nouns, demonstrative pronouns, adjectives) it also means ‘when’. Examples are provided in §9.3.

18.2.2 The temporal marker *-er* ‘when, as’

The temporal meaning of simultaneity is also expressed by *-er*, which is, just like =*q:el(la)*, added to the preterite participle or to the modal participle (70–72). This suffix does not imply any causal relationships. In fact, in some examples there is no relationship whatsoever between the situations expressed in the two clauses (72). The suffix is only added to verbs, never to nominals or other parts of speech.

- (70) Družba-le ka-j**u**-ib-er, Družba-le so**w**χoz-la řač**i**
 Družhba-LOC DOWN-come.M.PFV-PRET-when Družhba-LOC sovkhoz-GEN work
 b-ir**q**'-ul=*de*
 N-do.IPFV-ICVB=*PST*
 ‘When I moved to Družhba, I worked in the sovkhoz in Družhba.’

- (71) heχ b-erč:-ib-le ha[˘]-q[˘]-a[˘]n-er cinna t:art:ar
 DEM.DOWN N-drink.PFV-RET-CVB UP-go-PTCP-when pause.filler shake
 uq-un-ne heχ
 GO.M.PFV-RET-CVB DEM.DOWN
 ‘When he was drunk and went there, he staggered.’
- (72) u Ø-ik^w-an-er, š:at:ir arg-ul ca-b
 2SG M-say.IPFV-PTCP-when walk go.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 ‘As you (masc.) say, they are walking around.’

18.2.3 The temporal enclitic =*sat*/=*sat:in*/=*sat:inna* ‘until, before as much/long as’

This enclitic, which also belongs to the category of enclitics that can be used with nominals (§9.3), occurs in three variants of different lengths that can be ordered according to their increasing frequency as =*sat:in* < =*sat:inna* < =*sat*. It is a cognate of the spatial/temporal adverb *sat:i* ‘at/along the front, as soon as’, which, however, occurs before verbs rather than following them. The adverb can be further decomposed into the postposition *sa* ‘in front, ago’ and the adverbializer *-t:i*, which is part of a few spatial adverbials (§7.1.2).

The enclitic follows the infinitive and the subjunctive and expresses the meaning of temporal posteriority of the situation denoted by the adverbial clause with respect to the situation referred to in the main clause, i.e. ‘before, until’:

- (73) u-l dirx:a gu-r-b-uj:=sat
 2SG-ERG stick SUB-ABL-N-take.out.IPFV-INF=as.much
 k-erc:-an=de hešt:u
 DOWN-stand.IPFV-PTCP=2SG here
 ‘Until you take your stick out, you have to stand there.’
- (74) mus-a-rka abratna čar sa-b-iχ^w-araj=sat:in ...
 place.OBL-LOC-ABL back back HITHER-N-be.PFV-SUBJ.3=until
 ‘Before (the turtle) came back from that place, ...’

When the enclitic is attached to the modal participle the meaning is ‘as much as, as long as’ (75). Two more examples are given in §9.3.

- (75) x:unul-li-j r-irχ^w-an=sat:in ja[˘]h b-irq[˘]-ul=de
 woman-OBL-DAT F-be.able.IPFV-PTCP=as.much patience N-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘The woman was patient as long as she could.’

The same meaning is also attested when the enclitic follows nominals (35), (36). Finally, the enclitic can be attached to demonstrative pronouns forming manner demonstrative pronouns that are used in comparison ‘like this, like that, such’ (37).

18.2.4 The temporal adverb/postposition *sar(ka)* ‘until, before’

The temporal adverb/postposition *sar(ka)* ‘before, until’ (which also has the spatial meaning ‘in front’, §8.1.2 and §7.1.2) follows the infinitive or the subjunctive. The resulting meaning is purely one of temporal posteriority, i.e. ‘before, until’ (76) and occasionally more like an apprehensive (77).

- (76) q'u^l-a-la dajark'a ag-ur=da bahsar hel xadi r-u^q'-ij sarka
 cow-OBL-GEN milkmaid go.PFV-PRET=1 first that married F-go.PFV-INF before
 ‘I was a milkmaid until/before I got married.’
- (77) q'is:a bek'-le ka-b-a^q-ij sar het:u ka-jc:-e!
 crook head-LOC DOWN-N-hit.PFV-INF before there DOWN-stand.M.PFV-IMP
 ‘Stand there before/lest/otherwise I hit you with the crook on the head!’

18.2.5 The temporal/causal postposition (*h*)*it:i* ‘after, because’

The postposition/adverb *hit:i* ‘after, behind’ (see §8.1.4 for the use in postpositional phrases) can occur in temporal adverbial clauses with the meaning ‘when, after’. In the majority of occurrences the postposition is shortened to its enclitic variant =*it:i* and directly attached to the preterite participle (78). However, it is always possible to replace the enclitic with the full form *hit:i*.

- (78) c'il helka ag-ur=it:i c'il a-ka-r-ač'-ib=da
 then from.there go.PFV-PRET=after then NEG-DOWN-F-COME.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘After we left from there, I did not return.’

Occasionally, the temporal relationship also implies a causal relation between the situation referred to in the adverbial clause and the situation expressed in the main clause:

- (79) b-erč:-ib=it:i urk'i b-at b-uq-un-ne, ...
 N-drink.PFV-PRET=after heart N-free N-go.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘After drinking the heart opened, (and he molested his wife).’

Instead of using the bare preterite participle it is also possible to suffix another marker *-la* to the participle, which is, in turn, followed by the postposition (80), (81). The suffix *-la* goes most probably back to the genitive case suffix since *hit:i* governs the genitive. The suffix *-la* undergoes assimilation after the sonorants /n/ and /r/ (> *-na*, *-ra*). It can also be employed on its own without the following postposition *hit:i* (§18.2.6).

- (80) il-t:i da^{wi} taman d-iχ-ub-la hit:i xadi ka-r-iž-ib
 that-PL war end NPL-be.PFV-PRET-POST after married down-F-sit.PFV-PRET
 hel
 that
 ‘After the times of the war finished he married her.’

- (81) deč-la uč:-ul w-aʔ-ač'-ib-la hit:i, ...
 drinking-GEN drink.M.IPFV-ICVB M-begin-come.PFV-PRET-POST after
 'after he started drinking, ...'

In elicitation it is possible to place the postposition *hit:i* after the modal participle *-an* to which again *-la* (in its assimilated allomorphic form *-na*) can be suffixed (82). In this construction, however, the meaning diverges and instead of the sequential meaning we get a causal/conditional meaning. Now the clause containing the postposition expresses a condition or cause for the situation that the main clause denotes.

- (82) it sa-r-ir̥-an-na hit:i du it:u a-ax-an=da
 that HITHER-F-come.IPFV-PTCP-POST after 1SG there NEG-go.M-PTCP=1
 'If/because she comes, I will not go there.' (E)
- (83) cellij du Ma^hħa^čq:ala-le w-ax-an=da=ja, dam Družba-le-b koncert
 why 1SG Makhachkala-LOC M-go-PTCP=1=Q 1SG.DAT Družhba-LOC-N concert
 či-b-ig-an=it:i?
 SPR-N-see.IPFV-PTCP=after
 'Why should I go to Makhachkala, if/since I can will see the concert in Družhba?'
 (E)

18.2.6 The temporal marker *-la* 'since, after'

This marker is suffixed to the preterite participle. As mentioned in §18.2.5, it goes back to the genitive and the construction most probably arose as a simplified variant of the use of the same marker followed by the postposition *hit:i*. The meaning of both constructions is very similar expressing temporal posteriority of the situation that the adverbial clause refers to with respect to a second situation that is normally expressed by the main clause. However, the adverbial clauses that contain only *-la* without a following postposition mean 'since then, ever since, from then on, after that'.

- (84) Sanži-b b-ak:^w-i, hana ca-b il nuš:a
 Sanzhi-N N-COP.NEG-HAB.PST now COP-N that 1PL
 ka-d-eḅ-ib-la
 DOWN-1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET-POST
 'In Sanzhi there was no (such plant), now there is, since we moved here.'

The postposition can always be added and this results in a slight change of the meaning. In (85) the speaker uses first the construction with *-la* and then the construction containing the encliticized postposition, but lacking *-la*. Both clauses have similar, but not completely identical, semantics.

- (85) hej sud b-arq'-ib-la, sud b-arq'-ib=it:i, hej
 this trial N-do.PFV-PRET-POST trial N-do.PFV-PRET=after this
 ka-jž-ib ca-w uže tusnaq-le hež
 DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M already prison-LOC this
 'Since the trial, after the trial was made, he is already sitting in prison.'

To sum up, in certain contexts the three options (only *-la*, only *=it:i*, or *-la + hit:i*) have very similar or even identical meaning ('after, when'). In other contexts when *-la* is used alone it means rather 'since'.

18.2.7 The periphrastic adverbial construction with *b-el-le* 'while, as long as, as soon as, until, when'

The defective verb *b-el* 'remain, stay' when inflected as perfective converb heads periphrastic adverbial clauses. The same type of periphrastic verb form is attested in independent clauses (§15.3), but the use in dependent clauses is far more common. The verb can occur together with a lexical verb that bears either the imperfective or the perfective converb suffix. It does not assign case to any arguments and therefore shows the same gender/number agreement as the lexical verbs (86). However, it can also be used in the invariant form *b-el-le* (89) in which gender agreement is lost in favor of the petrified prefix *n-* (neuter singular).

When *b-el* co-occurs with a lexical verb inflected for the imperfective converb the meaning of the adverbial clause is 'while, until, as long as' (86). In combination with the past perfect in the main clause the adverbial clause refers to a situation that obtained at a reference point in the past (= the situation expressed in the main clause) and continued to a later point in time at which the other situation had finished (87).

- (86) a-w-č:-ul w-el-le [...] li<d>il iš-t-a-la ʔa^h-le
 NEG-M-drink.IPFV-ICVB M-remain-CVB all<NPL> this-PL-OBL-GEN good-ADVZ
 ca-d
 COP-NPL

'While until/as long as he is not drinking, everything is good for them.'

- (87) er=či Ø-ik'-ul w-el-le il-i-la
 look=on M-look.at.IPFV-ICVB M-remain-CVB that-OBL-GEN
 q:uʒa-dex-li-j, ilt:i žaniwar-te li<d>il ag-ur-re=de
 beautiful-NMLZ-OBL-DAT these animal-PL all<NPL> go.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST

'While/as long as he was looking at its beauty, all animals had already left.'

If the lexical verb appears in the form of the perfective converb, the adverbial clause expresses immediate anteriority that can be translated with 'as soon as, immediately when'. It refers to the point in time when an event is completed or was completed or to the moment when a state obtains or obtained rather than to an enduring situation. The relevant state or event immediately precedes the situation denoted by the main clause.

- (88) il usta-j q:arq:a č-i-b-až-ib b-el-le, gargar
 that master-DAT stone SPR-N-see.PFV-PRET N-remain-CVB trembling
 Ø-ik'^w-ij ha-jž-ib ca-w
 M-move.IPFV-INF UP-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M

'When/as soon as the master saw the stone, he trembled (started to tremble).'

- (89) helka t:ura ka-w-q-un-ne b-el-le, murt:a
 from.there outside DOWN-M-go.PFV-PRET-CVB N-remain-CVB rider
 Ø-iž-ib-le urči-li-j [...] gu-r-ag-ur-il ca-w
 M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB horse-OBL-DAT SUB-ABL-go.PFV-PRET-REF COP-M
 ‘When/as soon as he went out from there, he mounted the horse, [singing a song
 he pretended to be drunk] and left.’
- (90) Aminat-li t’ult’-e d-arq’-ib-le b-el-le, niš:i-j k’wel
 Aminat-ERG bread-PL NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB N-remain-CVB 1PL-DAT two
 s-aq:-a!
 HITHER-carry.PFV-IMP
 ‘As soon as Aminat makes bread/finishes making bread, bring us two (loaves of
 bread)!’ (E)

18.2.8 The concessive enclitic =x:ar(e) ‘although, even if’

The concessive enclitic =x:ar(e) is attached to the preterite participle (91), (92), to the modal participle (93), (94), or to the participial form of the negated copula, and expresses concession ‘even if, although, though, even though’. In the main clause following a concessive clause optionally the particle *ja* can occur (92), which is probably a cognate of the disjunctive particle *ja*.

- (91) q’wila b-alχ-an, itwaj gramatni Ø-irχ^w-iri,
 a.little N-know.IPFV-PTCP like.this educated M-be.IPFV-HAB.PST
 a-b-elč’-un=x:ar
 NEG-N-learn.PFV-PRET=CONC
 ‘Knowledgeable, he was educated even if he did not study.’
- (92) r-uk-un=x:ar, ja c’erx r-irχ-ul ak:u
 F-eat.IPFV-ICVB=CONC or fat F-become.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
 ‘Although she eats, she does not get fat.’ (E)
- (93) b-ik:-an=x:ar r-irχ^w-ul ak:w-a-di
 N-want.IPFV-PTCP=CONC F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-1
 ‘Although I want, I (fem.) cannot.’
- (94) išt:u-d čibla-li-j luk:-an=x:ar=q’al, it:u-d il-i-j
 here-NPL debt-OBL-DAT give.IPFV-PTCP=CONC=MOD there-NPL that-OBL-DAT
 čibla-li-j a-luk:-an
 debt-OBL-DAT NEG-give.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘Though here they give (food) for debts, there they do not give him (food) for
 debts.’

Note that the last example in (94) is an independent clause with the modal participle *-an* suffixed to the verbal head of the main clause. Because of the use of the modal participle the sentence has a habitual meaning without any specific temporal reference. If the suffix *-ne* were added, we would obtain future tense (§14.1.3) with a modal meaning and temporal reference to future events.

Frequently concessive clauses are copula constructions without a copula item ('although X is Y'), in which case the temporal reference of the concessive clause depends on the main clause. For instance, in (95) the main clause refers to the past and therefore the concessive clause also refers to a past event even though it does not contain any morpheme expressing temporal reference (i.e. no preterite or modal participle). The host of the enclitic in such concessive phrases is the copula predicate, which can for instance be an adjective (95), and adverbial, (96), or a noun (97).

- (95) *ʁaj=či=ra uq-un=da, majmaj=či=ra uq-un=da*
 word=on=ADD go.PFV.M-PRET=1 condemnation=on=ADD go.PFV.M-PRET=1
hel-t-a-j, du winawat=x:ar
 that-PL-OBL-DAT 1SG guilty=CONC
 'I argued, I quarreled with them, though I was guilty (myself).'
- (96) *urk'i q'aq'a-le=x:are, aq-le dalaj w-ik'-ul=da*
 heart narrow-ADVZ=CONC high-ADVZ song M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'Even though the heart is sorrowful (lit. 'narrowly'), I sing my song loudly.'
- (97) *har ab^wal xujal duč:i nik'a qal=x:ar kružok b-irχ^w-i di-la*
 every four five night small house=CONC circle N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST 1SG-GEN
aba-la qili-b
 mother-GEN home-HPL
 'Every fourth or fifth night there was a circle (of people) in my mother's house though it was a small house.'

There is another way of formulating concessive clauses in Sanzhi, namely the use of conditional forms to which the additive is encliticized (§18.3.6).

18.2.9 Constructions with *zamana* 'time'

The noun *zamana* 'time', ultimately an Arabic loan word, is used in temporal adverbial clauses that are relative clauses from a syntactic point of view (Chapter 23). The noun *zamana* is the head, and the relative clause contains a verb in the form of the modal or the preterite participle. Clauses with the modal participle refer to events that were ongoing during a reference point in time or a reference period, which is expressed in the main clause ('while, when') (98), (99).

- (98) *Uc'ari-r ha°-q'-a°n zamana, lampučka ca-w=ra duč:i ha-aš-i=q'al*
 Icari-ABL UP-go-PTCP time torch REFL-M=ADD night UP-go-HAB.PST=MOD
qili ʔa°či-le-r
 home work-LOC-ABL
 'While he came from Icari, he went with a torch at night home from work.'
- (99) *ʔa°h-ʔa°h-le gulik'-an zamana, t'am b-aq'-ib-le ca-b*
 good-good-ADVZ listen.IPFV-PTCP time sound N-hear.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-N
ʔa°t'-n-a-lla t'ama
 frog-PL-OBL-GEN sound
 'When he was attentively listening he heard the sound of frogs.'

When the postposition *bahanne/bahandan* ‘because of’ (§8.2.3) follows the masdar, the resulting clause also expresses causation (105). By contrast, when it follows the infinitive or the subjunctive we get purpose clauses (106):

- (105) ka-b-ič:-ni bahanne b-ebč’-ib
 DOWN-N-cut.up.PFV-MSD because.of HPL-die.PFV-PRET
 ‘Because they cut it, they died.’
- (106) hel-t:i ce hak’ ka-d-arq’-ar-aj bahanne irk-me
 that-PL what shake DOWN-NPL-do.PFV-PRS-SUBJ.3 in.order.to threshing.board-PL
 hak’ ka-d-arq’-ij bahanne
 shake DOWN-NPL-do.PFV-INF in.order.to
 ‘in order to shake those, in order to shake the threshing boards’

18.3 Conditional and concessive verb forms and clauses

Conditional and concessive clauses are adverbial clauses that contain specialized verb forms expressing realis and irrealis conditional and concessive meaning. All verb forms here are obtained by means of suffixes that are added to a stem augmentation vowel. The vowel is the same that is used for synthetic verb forms (Chapter 13) and some non-declarative verb forms (Chapter 17) and not separately glossed in the examples. The suffixes express conditional meaning and person agreement and bear resemblance to the suffixes of the synthetic tenses. The following forms are treated in this section:

- realis conditional (§18.3.1)
- past conditional (§18.3.2)
- imperfective realis conditional (§18.3.3)
- imperfective past conditional (§18.3.4)
- periphrastic conditional clauses (§18.3.5)
- concessive conditionals (§18.3.6)

All conditional forms head dependent clauses, thus they are normally followed by a main clause. The conditional suffixes alone suffice to convey conditional meaning, but optionally the conjunction *raχle* ‘if’ can co-occur in conditional clauses (107). However, the use of the subordinating conjunction is rare.

- (107) raχle uc-arre het k-erc:-an ca-w hešt:u
 if catch.M.PFV-COND.3 that DOWN-stand.IPFV-PTCP COP-M here
 ‘If (he) caught him, he must stand there.’

For more information on the general syntactic properties of adverbial clauses see Chapter 25.

18.3.1 Realis conditional

The realis conditional is formed from perfective verb stems (for those verbs that occur in pairs of imperfective and perfective stems). To the verbal stem the stem augments (vowels *-u* or *-i*) are added, followed by the conditional suffixes (Table 18.2). In the second person singular, there are two variants possible, *-t:e* and *-t:el*, but the first is clearly preferred. In the third person, there is again largely lexically determined allomorphy between the suffixes *-an* and *-ar*. The latter suffix has a longer variant *-arre*, but the shorter variant is more common. In negative realis conditional clauses the verb bears the negative prefix *a-* (110).

Table 18.2: The realis conditional

	singular	plural
1		<i>-lle</i>
2	<i>-t:e(l)</i>	<i>-t:al</i>
3		<i>-ar(re)/-an</i>

Table 18.3: Some illustrative paradigms of the realis conditional

	'say'		'do'		'know'	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	<i>r-ik'-u-lle</i>	<i>d-ik'-u-lle</i>	<i>b-arq'-i-lle</i>	<i>b-arq'-i-lle</i>	<i>b-aχ-i-lle</i>	<i>b-aχ-i-lle</i>
2	<i>r-ik'-u-t:e(l)</i>	<i>d-ik'-u-t:al</i>	<i>b-arq'-i-t:e(l)</i>	<i>b-arq'-i-t:al</i>	<i>b-aχ-i-t:e(l)</i>	<i>b-aχ-i-t:al</i>
3	<i>r-ik'w-arre</i>	<i>b-ik'w-arre</i>	<i>b-arq'-ar(re)</i>	<i>b-arq'-ar(re)</i>	<i>b-aχ-ar(re)</i>	<i>b-aχ-ar(re)</i>

The function of the conditional is the expression of real non-past conditions:

- (108) “hana ka-r-iž-ib c'ikuri-li,” Ø-ik'-ul ca-w, “misa
 now DOWN-F-sit.PFV-PRET bride-ERG M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M mouth
 či-b-ik:-arre urχ:ab k^wir ka-b-irg-an-ne”
 SPR-N-give.PFV-COND.3 mill stop DOWN-N-be.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 “The bride who just married,” says one, “if she kisses the mill it will stop.”
- (109) a-b-elč'-ille, w-ark Ø-ut:ud
 NEG-N-read.PFV-COND.1 M-inside M-burst.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘If I do not read (my song), I (masc.) burst inside.’
- (110) “a-w-g-ut:e, u parbat Ø-irq'-an=de,” Ø-ik'-ul ca-w
 NEG-M-stay-COND.2SG 2SG quiet M-do.IPFV-PTCP=2SG M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ik'
 DEM.UP
 “If you (= masc.) do not calm down, I make you calm,” he says.’

It also occurs in utterances in which the conditional is not a condition for the apodosis because there is no conditional connection between the two clauses. This includes the common idiomatic expression ‘to be honest’ (lit. ‘if I tell correctly’) (112).

- (111) celi d-aqil k'e-d, či-d-u^q-u^t:al
 whole NPL-much exist.UP-NPL SPR-1/2PL-go.PFV-COND.2PL
 ‘There is much there (i.e. the graveyard is large), if you go there.’
- (112) du, b-arx-le b-urs-ille ?a^{bal} dus kelg-un=da
 1SG N-direct-ADVZ N-say-COND.1 three year remain.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I, to be honest, remained for three years.’

As with the two indicative analytic verb forms, the habitual present and the habitual past, in conditional clauses ergative alignment is, in addition to the dative construction, possible with some affective verbs.

18.3.2 Past conditional

The past conditional bears strong formal resemblances to the realis conditional and the second person is almost identical for both conditional forms (Table 18.4). Before the conditional past suffixes the stem augment vowels occur that are the same as for the realis conditional and for a number of other verb forms such as the subjunctive. In the third person, the first part of the two allomorphic suffixes *-ar-del* and *-an-del* is identical with the suffixes used in the realis conditional (Table 18.2). The second part probably originates from the past enclitic =*de*. Negation is marked with the prefix *a-*. Only perfective verb stems can function as the basis for the past conditional.

Table 18.4: The past conditional

	singular	plural
1		<i>-t:el</i>
2	<i>-t:el</i>	<i>-t:al</i>
3	<i>-ar-del/-an-del</i>	

The semantic range of the past conditional comprises the expression of realis conditions that were obtained in the past.

- (113) raχle q'an d-iχ-ut:el, ...
 if late 1/2PL-be.PFV-COND.1
 ‘If we were too late, ...’

- (114) č'imi b-uc-ib-le, aq b-arq'-ib-le, hak'
 tail N-catch.PFV-PRET-CVB tall N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB shake
 ka-b-arq'-it:el, dig-be k-arž-i skelet
 DOWN-N-do.PFV-COND.2SG meat-PL DOWN-go.IPFV-HAB.PST skeleton
 kalž-i
 remain-HAB.PST
 'If you held the tail (of the fish) and lifted it up and shook it, the meat fell down
 and the skeleton remained.'
- (115) χ:u^hrbe ka-d-ik-ardel, χ:u^hrbe ʔa^hħ d-irq'-ul=de
 graves DOWN-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-COND.PST graves good 1/2.PL-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'When/if graves fell down, (grandfather) put them up again.' (lit. made them
 good)

Furthermore, it conveys irrealis conditional meanings, i.e. conditions with low probability and counterfactual conditions (116), and those sentences can lack the apodosis (117), (118). The apodosis of past conditional clauses often contains a verb marked for future in the past (§14.1.4) or habitual past (§13.2) (114).

- (116) cin-ni b-urs-ardel=ra cin-na t:ut:u-l ...
 REFL.SG-ERG N-tell-COND.PST=ADD REFL.SG-GEN beak-ERG
 'if he would have said it with his own mouth, ...'
- (117) b-u^hq'-a^hndel! či-b-b-et'-ib ca-b
 HPL-go-COND.PST SPR-HPL-HPL-bore.PFV-PRET COP-HPL
 'If they would go! They bore (me).' (E)
- (118) s:us:ul-la t'ult' b-erk^v-it:el=ra, at bahlalla ʔa^hħ-ce
 rye-GEN bread N-eat.PFV-COND.2SG=ADD 2SG.DAT most.EMPH good-DD.SG
 ca-b žan-ni-j, q'arq'ala-li-j
 COP-N body-OBL-DAT body-OBL-DAT
 'If (you) would eat bread made of rye, it is the best thing for you, for the body,
 the organism.'

18.3.3 Imperfective realis conditional

The imperfective realis conditional is formed from imperfective verb stems (for those verbs that occur in pairs of imperfective and perfective stems) by means of the suffix *-aχ*, followed by the vowel *-a* that functions as a stem augment without expressing transitivity, and finally by (almost) the same person suffixes that are used for the realis conditional (§18.3.1). As with all conditional forms treated in this Section, negation is marked by means of *a-* (119). Some affective verbs can occur in the dative experiencer construction and in the ergative construction when inflected for the imperfective realis conditional.

Table 18.5: The imperfective realis conditional

	singular	plural
1		-aχ:-a-lle
2	-aχ:-a-t(te)	-aχ:-a-t(tal)
3	-aχ:-a-n(ne)/-aχ:-a-r(re)	

Table 18.6: Some illustrative paradigms of the imperfective realis conditional

	'say'		'do'	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1	r-ik' ^w -aχ:-alle	d-ik' ^w -aχ:-alle		b-irq'-aχ:-alle
2	r-ik' ^w -aχ:-at	d-ik' ^w -aχ:-t(tal)	b-irq'-aχ:-at(te)	b-irq'-aχ:-at:al
3	r-ik' ^w -an(ne)	b-ik' ^w -an(ne)		b-irq'-aχ:-an(ne)

The imperfective realis conditional is basically the imperfective counterpart of the realis conditional. According to Sanzhi speakers, it covers the same meanings, with the only difference being the aspectual value that the stem carries. Thus, we have realis conditional semantics with present and future time reference (119), (120) and occasionally in utterance in which no genuine conditional semantics is expressed (121).

- (119) “hej ha-r-iq'-ij a-r-irχ^w-aχ:-alle,” r-ik'^w-ar, “dam
 this UP-F-bring.up-INF NEG-F-be.able.IPFV-COND-COND.1 F-say.IPFV-PRS 1SG.DAT
 ʔu^ˆmru hã^ˆʒat-le=k:u”
 life need-ADVZ=NEG
 ‘‘If I cannot educate (i.e. bring up) her (myself),’’ she said, ‘‘then life is of no need for me.’’
- (120) hel-t:i ha-q:-ij a-r-irχ^w-aχ:-an il ce
 that-PL UP-carry.PFV-INF NEG-F-be.able.IPFV-COND-COND.3 that what
 r-irq'-an=e dam?
 F-do.IPFV-PTCP=Q 1SG.DAT
 ‘If she is not able to carry those (sacks), of what use is she for me?’ (i.e. a wife that is unable to carry the sacks of flour is useless)
- (121) qus t:ura-k-a^ˆq-ib-le, er Ø-ik'^w-aχ:-an, il bek'
 slip OUT-DOWN-drag.PFV-PRET-CVB look M-look.at.IPFV-COND-COND.3 that head
 b-ak:u
 N-COP.NEG
 ‘After having pulled (him) out, if they look, there is no head.’

The verbs that do not have an aspectual distinction can form the realis conditional as well as the imperfective realis conditional without any noticeable semantic difference

between the two forms (122). For verbs with two aspectual stems the semantic difference is restricted to the aspectual difference between imperfective and perfective aspect; the conditional meaning is identical for both forms (123).

- (122) nuš:a d-ax-ulle / d-ax-aχ:-alle
 1PL NPL-go-COND.1 / NPL-go-COND-COND.1
 ‘if we go’ (E)
- (123) dam urči či-b-ig-aχ:-alle / či-b-až-ille
 1SG.DAT horse SPR-N-see.IPFV-COND-COND.1 / SPR-N-see.PFV-COND.1
 ‘if I see the horse (regularly/once)’ (E)

18.3.4 Imperfective past conditional

There is also a past version of the imperfective conditional formed only from imperfective verbs. The precise formal make-up is still to be clarified since the form is only very rarely used. There are no corpus examples and elicitation is hard due to the insecurity of the speakers. It seems that the suffix *-aχ:-an-del* can be used with all persons. It expresses irrealis conditional (124), (125) and past conditional meaning (126), depending on the sentence and the further context.

- (124) mašin b-ax-aχ:-andel urx-n-a-c:e nuš:a d-ax-adi
 car N-go-COND-COND.PST sea-PL-OBL-IN 1PL 1/2PL-go-HAB.PST.1
 ‘If a car would go to the sea, we would go.’ (i.e. if somebody would go to the sea by car, we would go with him.) (E)
- (125) dam q:uβa mašin či-b-ig-aχ:-andel, b-ik:-ul
 1SG.DAT beautiful car SPR-N-see.IPFV-COND-COND.PST N-want.IPFV-ICVB
 hajq-i
 be.enough.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 ‘If I would see a nice car, I would want it.’ (E)
- (126) dam šahar-ri-c:e-b het=q:el q:uβa mašin
 1SG.DAT town-OBL-IN-N DEM=when beautiful car
 či-b-ig-aχ:-andel, b-ik:-ul hajq-i
 SPR-N-see.IPFV-COND-COND.PST N-want.IPFV-ICVB be.enough.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 ‘At that time when I saw a nice car in the city, I wanted it.’ (But now I do not care about cars anymore) (E)

18.3.5 Periphrastic conditional clauses

As shown in (127–131), conditional clauses can be periphrastic, i.e., make use of the additional auxiliary *b-iχ^w-* (PFV) ‘be, become, can’. In such clauses, the lexical verb bears a converb or occasionally a participial suffix and the auxiliary *b-iχ^w-* takes one of the conditional forms, e.g. realis conditional (127) or past conditional/irrealis conditional (129–131). More examples can be found in §15.4.1, which describes all uses of *b-iχ^w-* as auxiliary.

18 Non-finite verb forms

- (127) du b-arx-le Ø-ik'-ul a-jχ-ulle raχle u-l ʔa^h
 1SG N-direct-ADVZ M-say.IPFV-ICVB NEG-be.PFV-COND.1 if 2SG-ERG good
 či-b-arq'-a!
 SPR-N-do.PFV-IMP
 'If (masc.) I do not tell it correctly, correct me!'
- (128) w-aš-e a-ag-ur-il Ø-iχ-ut:e!
 M-go.IPFV-IMP NEG-go.PFV-PRET-REF M-be.PFV-COND.2SG
 'Let's go if you (masc.) did not go there!'
- (129) it:u-b adim-te te-b b-irχ^w-an=de. a-b-iχ^w-ardel,
 there-HPL person-PL exist-HPL HPL-be.IPFV-PTCP=PST NEG-HPL-be.PFV-COND.PST
 it:i kaj a-d-ik^w-an=de
 those word NEG-1/2PL-say.IPFV-PTCP=PST
 'There must have been people there. If there were (no people there), you would not have said so.'
- (130) iš-t-a-j er Ø-ik^w-ni b-alχ-ul Ø-iχ-ut:el,
 this-PL-OBL-DAT look M-look.at.IPFV-MSD N-know.IPFV-ICVB M-be.PFV-COND.1
 ulbasne d-alli ha-d-iq:-adi=q'al
 glasses NPL-together UP-NPL-carry.IPFV-HAB.PST.1=MOD
 'If I (masc.) had known that I will look at them, I would have brought my glasses.'
- (131) r-ilʔ-uⁿ-ne r-iχ^w-ardel, x:unul
 F-steal.IPFV-ICVB-CVB F-be.PFV-COND.PST woman
 r-i-ka-jβ-an=de=q'al
 F-IN-DOWN-drive.PFV-PTCP=PST=MOD
 'If the woman had stolen, they would/should have imprisoned her.'

18.3.6 Concessive conditionals

The conditional forms presented in the preceding sections can acquire a concessive conditional meaning ('even if') when the additive is encliticized to the conditional suffixes. For instance, the realis conditional (132) or the past conditional (133) can serve as the base for concessives.

- (132) "ižal r-ebk'-ulle=ra awara b-ak:u," r-ik^w-ar
 today F-die.PFV-COND.1=ADD worries N-COP.NEG F-say.IPFV-PRS.3
 "Even if I die today, I am not worried," she said.'
- (133) di-la arc d-iχ^w-ardel=ra du-l mašin
 1SG-GEN money NPL-be.PFV-COND.PST=ADD 1SG-ERG car
 a-js:-adi
 NEG-buy.PFV-HAB.PST.1
 'Even if I had money, I would not buy a car.' (E)

The third person concessive conditional form of the auxiliary *b-iχ^w*- (N-be.PFV) used in combination with interrogative pronouns lexicalized into a universal indefinite free choice pronoun similar to the English *-ever* series (134) (§4.6.3). Similarly, the verb *b-ik:-* ‘like, want, love’ can function as universal indefinite free choice when it takes a concessive conditional form and co-occurs with an interrogative pronoun (135).

- (134) “u-l b-arq’-ij w-irχ-ut:e=w” w-ik’-ul ca-w
 2SG-ERG N-do.PFV-INF M-be.able.IPFV-PRS.2SG=Q M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 “ce-k’a b-iχ^w-ar=ra?”
 what-INDEF N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD
 ‘“Are you able to do whatever?” he says.’

- (135) čujna ča w-ik:-aχ:-at=ra du=da ala q’iblama
 how.often who M-want.IPFV-COND-COND.2=ADD 1SG=1 2SG.GEN compass
 ‘No matter how often or who you love, I am your compass.’

However, conditional forms with an additional additive enclitic do not always express conditional concessive meaning. For present conditional forms the concessive semantics can be very weak (136) or even absent, in which case only the conditional meaning is conveyed. For past conditionals the meaning is irrealis conditional instead of concessive (118).

- (136) hel=de hel pepel p’aq’ ka-b-arq’-it:e=ra, “uberi!”
 that=PST that ashes shake.off DOWN-N-do.PFV-COND.2SG=ADD take.away
 b-ik’-ul=de “heti”
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB=PST those
 ‘(Even) if you let the ashes of your cigarette fall down, they said, “Put it away!”’
 (i.e. make it clean)

There is another way of forming concessive clauses by means of the enclitic =*x:ar* (§18.2.8).

Part IV

Syntax

19 Valency classes and modification of valency patterns

19.1 Valency classes

19.1.1 Introduction

Valency classes cross-cut the morphological classes of verbs. This means that the morphological classes (underived verb stems with or without preverbs, derived verbs, compound verbs, see §11.1 and Chapter 12) distribute over the valency classes with probably a preference for the simple underived verbs to occur in the intransitive, the transitive and to a somewhat lesser extent the affective valency class.

I will categorize verbs into valency classes according to two main criteria: (i) the number of arguments and (ii) the case marking of the subject-like argument. By ‘subject-like argument’ I refer to the argument of the simple clause that has the most subject properties as opposed to all other arguments (see §22.3 for more details). Subject-like arguments are marked with one of the three cases absolutive, ergative or dative. I use the terms “one-place” or “monovalent”, “two-place” or “bivalent”, and “three-place” or “trivalent” for referring to the number of semantic arguments required by the verbs. The basic valency classes and the case marking of the subject-like argument are summarized in Table 19.1.

Table 19.1: Valency classes and case marking of subject-like arguments

# valency	subject-like argument		
	absolutive	dative	ergative
monovalent	intransitive (§19.1.2)	monovalent affective (§19.1.3)	one verb (11)
bivalent	extended intransitive (§19.1.4)	bivalent affective (§19.1.8)	transitive (§19.1.5)
trivalent	#	#	ditransitive (§19.1.6)

The term “extended intransitive” refers to two-place predicates that, in addition to an argument in the absolutive, have a further argument in the dative or another case; “extended transitive” verbs are three-place verbs that besides having two arguments bearing the cases that are also used for transitive verbs, have an additional argument marked with the dative or in some other way Dixon (1994: 122–123). Thus, extended transitive

verbs are ditransitive verbs. Furthermore, I use the term “affective predicates” for a clear-cut class of mostly experiential predicates that express the experiencer argument in the dative and the stimulus argument, if there is one, in the absolutive. Affective verbs typically form their own valency class in East Caucasian (see, e.g. Comrie & van den Berg 2006; Ganenkov 2006; Comrie et al. 2018). One might hypothesize that they belong to the class of extended intransitive verbs. However, if one applies the commonly used test for subjecthood to the extended intransitive verbs and the affective verbs it immediately becomes clear that with the former class it is the absolutive argument that exhibits most subject properties whereas with the latter class it is the dative argument. For more information on grammatical relations in Sanzhi see §22.3 and Forker 2019b.

Table 19.2 provides an overview of the major valency classes discussed in this chapter; some minor classes are not listed, but discussed below. All verbs in the table and in the following subsections are presented in the order imperfective/perfective if they have two stems. Otherwise the single stem that is unspecified for aspect is given. In the table and in this chapter as well as elsewhere in the grammar I will use the following letters as mnemonics for macro roles (see Bickel 2011 and Bickel et al. 2015):

- S = single argument of an intransitive predicate or absolutive argument of an extended intransitive predicate
- A = the argument with the most agentive properties of a bivalent or trivalent predicate (except for extended intransitive predicates, for which S is used)
- P = the argument with the least agentive or most patientive properties of a bivalent predicate
- G = goal-like argument of a trivalent predicate (e.g. recipient)
- T = more stationary theme-like argument of a trivalent predicate

Subject-like arguments are of the type S or A. Note that S occurs with monovalent and bivalent verbs, which might seem slightly unusual. My reason for using the label S in this way is case marking, because all arguments falling under this label are marked by the absolutive case, which leads to a range of common morphosyntactic properties. For more details on grammatical relations see §22.3.

As Table 19.1 shows, monovalent verbs have three possibilities for marking their single argument. The majority of the monovalent verbs assign the absolutive case to the single argument (§19.1.2), though dative or, in case of one verb, ergative are also possible (§19.1.3).

Table 19.3 summarizes the case-marking patterns available in constructions with bivalent predicates, because they are the largest and most heterogeneous group. The columns represent the possible cases for subject-like arguments, which can be absolutive (S) or ergative (A), or dative (A). The rows display the possible cases for P arguments (absolutive, dative, genitive, spatial cases, ergative). As the table shows, the absolutive case is the most versatile case that can be combined with all other cases and encodes S, A or P, but the ergative is also quite flexible.

Table 19.2: Major valency classes

case marking patterns	number of arguments	predicates and examples
MONOVALENT PREDICATES		
intransitive (absolutive)		
S-ABS	1	<i>b-ubk’-/b-ebk’-</i> ‘die’; <i>či-r-ha-b-ulq-/či-r-ha-b-uq-</i> ‘vomit’ (2), (3)
monovalent affective verbs (dative)		
S-DAT	1	<i>ʔaʔh-le ca-b</i> ‘feel good, be well’; <i>c’aχ</i> <i>ka-b-irc-/c’aχ ka-b-ic-</i> ‘feel ashamed’ (9), (10)
BIVALENT PREDICATES		
extended intransitive (absolutive + dative/spatial case)		
S-ABS, P-DAT	2	<i>k:ač b-irk-/k:ač b-ik-</i> ‘touch’, <i>gu-lik’-</i> ‘listen to’ (15)
S-ABS, P-IN-LATIVE/-DAT	2	<i>b-ik’^{w-}</i> ‘talk to’; <i>x^{wit}’ b-ik’^{w-}</i> ‘whistle at’ (17), (21)
S-ABS, P-ANTE-ABLATIVE	2	<i>uruχ b-irχ^{w-}/uruχ b-iχ^{w-}</i> ‘become/be afraid of’; <i>uruc b-irχ^{w-}/uruc b-iχ^{w-}</i> ‘be/become ashamed/embarrassed of’ (24)
bivalent affective verbs (dative + absolutive/other)		
A-DAT/ERG, P-ABS	2	<i>či-b-ig-/či-b-ag-</i> ‘see’; <i>b-irB-/b-arB-</i> ‘understand’ (56), (60)
A-DAT, P-ANTE-ABLATIVE	2	<i>c’aχ-le ca-b</i> ‘to feel/be ashamed in front of’; <i>b-irt’-/b-et’-</i> ‘long for, miss’ (74)
transitive (ergative + absolutive)		
A-ERG, P-ABS	2	<i>b-irc-/b-ic-</i> ‘sell’; <i>b-urχ-/b-arχ-</i> ‘sew’ (32), (33)
other bivalent verbs (ergative + dative)		
A-ERG, P-DAT	2	<i>b-a^q-/b-u^{rq}-</i> ‘hit’; <i>za^{nB} d-a^q/za^{nB} d-u^{rq}-</i> ‘phone’ (49)
TRIVALENT PREDICATES		
extended transitive (ergative + absolutive + other)		
A _{dir} -ERG, T-ABS, G-DAT/-IN-LATIVE	3	<i>luk-/b-ik-</i> ‘give’; <i>či-b-iž-aq-/či-b-až-aq-</i> ‘show’; <i>haʔ-/herʔ-</i> ‘say, tell’; <i>b-urs-</i> ‘say, tell’; <i>xar</i> <i>b-irB-/xar b-eB-</i> (36), (39), (44)

Table 19.3: Case-marking of arguments in constructions with bivalent predicates

	absolutive S	ergative A	dative A
absolutive P	y (28), (29)	y (transitive)	y (affective)
dative P	y (extended intr.)	y	#
genitive P	y (30)	y	#
spatial P	y (extended intr.)	y	y
ergative P	y (antipassive)	#	#

Note that Table 19.3 conflates basic valency classes for bivalent predicates (i.e. extended intransitive, transitive, affective) with a number of other special constructions, which are available for some predicates of the basic valency classes (antipassive, constructions with absolutive, dative or genitive Ps).

The first row in Table 19.3 lists all constructions that consist of an S argument in the absolutive and a further P argument. These clauses with extended intransitive predicates, but also antipassives (§19.2.1), and two minor constructions with absolutive and genitive P arguments are described in §19.1.4. In all clauses with bivalent verbs and absolutive S arguments it is the S that controls gender agreement. Gender agreement with any other arguments is ungrammatical.

The second row in Table 19.3 contains all constructions with ergative A arguments and P arguments with various cases. First of all, the P argument can have the absolutive case (standard transitive verbs including causativized intransitive verbs, and, in certain TAM forms, affective verbs, §19.1.5, §19.1.8, §19.2.2). A few bivalent verbs with an ergative agent (A) require a goal or beneficiary argument marked with the dative or IN-lative, or even an experiencer in the genitive (51), which represents the P argument. These verbs commonly have lexicalized direct objects in the absolutive case that are invariable parts of the compound verb and therefore do not count as arguments (§19.1.7).

Third, bivalent verbs with A arguments taking the dative are, as mentioned above, mostly affective verbs that have a P (stimulus) in the absolutive.

19.1.2 Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs are one-place verbs. The single argument occurs in the absolutive and controls the gender/number agreement and the person agreement on the verb. Example verbs are given in (1) and examples sentences in (2–6).

- (1) a. *ʔaˈlh-/ʔaˈh-* ‘fly’
 b. *b-ubk’-/b-ebk’-* ‘die’
 c. *b-ilš-/b-iš-* ‘die out, extinguish’
 d. *ka-b-ils:-/ka-b-is:-* ‘lie down, sleep’
 e. *ʔiˈbh-/ʔaˈbh-* ‘get tired’
 f. *rurt-/b-ert-* ‘curdle, solidify’

- g. *či-r-ha-b-ulq-/či-r-ha-b-uq-* ‘vomit’
 h. *luq-/b-elq:-* ‘be, become full, fed up’
 i. *t’aš b-irc:-/t’aš b-ic:-* ‘stop’
 j. *uruc b-ik’w-; uruc b-irχ’w-/uruc b-iχ’w-* ‘be/become embarrassed, ashamed’
- (2) nu^ˆq-be ʔa^ˆbh-ib ca<d>i
 arm.OBL-PL get.tired.PFV-PRET COP<NPL>
 ‘My arms got tired.’
- (3) aʒal d-iχ^w-ar-del, dawnu r-ubk’-a-di
 death NPL-be.PFV-PRS-COND.PST long.ago F-die.IPFV-HAB-1
 ‘If it was (the time) to die, I (fem.) would have died long ago.’
- (4) w-elq:-un-ne=da
 M-sate.PFV-PRET-CVB=1
 ‘I (masc.) got fed up.’

There are a variety of intransitive verbs that are compounds and contain a nominal part (§12.2.2). The nominal part, however, does not function as argument of the verb. It most frequently appears in the absolutive case (6), but the genitive case is also possible (7), or the LOC-lative or spatial postpositions/adverbials. Note that in (6) the absolutive argument that controls the agreement has been omitted and only its genitive modifier appears in the clause.

- (5) a. *dum b-urc-/dum b-uc-* ‘fast’
 b. *č:al b-ik’w-; č:al b-ulq-/č:al b-uq-* ‘argue, quarrel’
 c. *s:iħ b-ik’w-* ‘breath’
 d. *qal-la b-iχ^w-ij/qal-la ka-b-iž-ij* ‘get married’
 e. *wa^ˆʔda-la b-iχ^w-ij* ‘negotiate, conspire’
- (6) niš:a-la dum b-urc-ul=q’al hana da^ˆʔle
 1PL-GEN fasting HPL-keep.IPFV-ICVB=MOD now as
 ‘Our (people) were fasting like nowadays.’
- (7) b-arq’-ib-le qal, qal-la ka-jž-ib ca-w
 N-make.PFV-PRET-CVB house house-GEN DOWN-be.PFV.M-PRET COP-M
 ‘He built a house and married.’

19.1.3 Monovalent affective verbs and exceptional monovalent constructions

Sanzhi Dargwa has a few constructions with monovalent predicates and a single argument fulfilling the role of a dative-marked experiencer (8). Such constructions can be copula constructions with adverbs (9) or contain compound verbs (10). Gender/number agreement is frozen (prefixes *b-* or occasionally *d-*) and the person agreement is invariably third person.

- (8) a. *b-uχ:ar-(le) ca-b* ‘be cold’
 b. *wahi-l ca-b* ‘feel bad’
 c. *ʒa^h-le ca-b* ‘feel good, be well’
 d. *buruš hit:i sa-b-irk-/buruš hit:i sa-b-ik-* ‘sleep, fall asleep’
 e. *beža hit:i d-irk-/beža hit:i d-ik-* ‘catch a cold’
- (9) *dam wahi-l ca-b heχ-t:u-b*
 1SG.DAT bad-ADVZ COP-N DEM.DOWN-LOC-N
 ‘I feel bad there.’
- (10) *duč:i dam buruš hit:i a-sa-b-ič-ib*
 night 1SG.DAT mattress behind NEG-HITHER-N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET
 ‘At night I had no sleep.’ (E)

The affective verbs ‘see’ and ‘hear’ can also be used as monovalent verbs with the meaning ‘be/become visible, show off’ and ‘be/become audible’ (see §24.5 for two example sentences and §19.1.8 below for a discussion).

There is a special predicate denoting weather phenomena that has one single argument marked with the ergative (11), (12). The verb does not have an aspectual distinction and always shows neuter gender and third person agreement. The same phenomenon is observed in the neighboring Icaric Dargwa variety (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 155), but apparently not in Standard Dargwa.

- (11) a. *marka-l b-us-* ‘rain’
 b. *mig-li b-us-* ‘hail’
 c. *du^hi-l b-us-* ‘snow’
- (12) *marka-l b-us-ul ca-b*
 rain-ERG N-rain-ICVB COP-N
 ‘It is raining.’

19.1.4 Extended intransitive verbs and other constructions with bivalent predicates and absolutive S arguments

The major class of predicates falling into this category are extended intransitive verbs. They are bivalent and have one S argument in the absolutive and another argument in the dative or in a spatial case. Gender/number as well as person agreement on extended intransitive verbs is always controlled by the absolutive argument.

The largest number of extended intransitive verbs have a goal argument in the dative (13). Example sentences are provided in (14–19). For the verb *xadi ag-/arg^w-* ‘marry’ it is always the nominal referring to the woman that occurs in the absolutive while the dative argument denotes the man (18). Some of the verbs given in (13) can be used as one-place verbs with reciprocal meaning, e.g. *qa^b lus b-ilk-/qa^b lus b-ik-* ‘embrace each other, hug each other’.

- (13) a. *q'uc' b-irχ^w-/q'uc' b-iχ^w*- 'be offended by'
 b. *hit:i ka-b-ig-* 'wait for'
 c. *k:ač b-irk-/k:ač b-ik-* 'touch'
 d. *gu-lik'*- 'listen to'
 e. *x^wit' b-ik'^w*- 'whistle at'
 f. *wa^w b-ik'^w*- 'shout at, call, cry'
 g. *b-iχč(i) arg^w-/b-iχč(i) ag-* 'believe'
 h. *xadi arg^w-/xadi-ag-* 'marry'
 i. *er b-ik'^w*- 'look at'
 j. *pa^w q b-ik'^w*- 'hit at, strike'
 k. *b-urχ-* 'shoot'
 l. *qa^w b lus b-ilk-/qa^w b lus b-ik-* 'embrace, hug'
- (14) *il-ti q:ačur-e k:ač a-b-ič-ib il-i-j*
 that-PL bandit-PL touch NEG-HPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET that-OBL-DAT
 'The bandits did not touch him.'
- (15) *du gu.lik'-unne=da it-i-la dalaj-li-j*
 1SG listen.IPFV-ICVB=1 that-OBL-GEN song-OBL-DAT
 'I am listening to her/his song.' (E)
- (16) *du at r-iχč(i) a-arg-ud*
 1SG 2SG.DAT F-believe NEG-go.IPFV-1.PRS
 'I (fem.) do not believe (in) you.' (E)
- (17) *durhu^w w-a? aš:-ib ca-w x^wit' Ø-ik'-ul, wa^w Ø-ik'^w-ij*
 boy M-begin.PFV-PRET COP-M whistle M-say.IPFV-ICVB shout M-say.IPFV-INF
š:i-l-c:e-d χu-d-a-j
 village-OBL-IN-NPL dog-PL-OBL-DAT
 'The boy began to whistle and to shout at the dogs in the village.'
- (18) *c'il q:aq hu^wsen-ni-j xadi ag-ur-il=de=w Kursum?*
 then Kak Husen-OBL-DAT married go.PFV-PRET-REF=PST=Q Kursum
 'Then did Kursum (fem.) marry Kak (lit. 'back') Husen (masc.)?'
- (19) *iti χalq' niš-i-j b-urχ-ul ca-b*
 those people 1PL-DAT HPL-shoot-ICVB COP-HPL
 'The people are shooting at us.'

Verbs of speech and verbs with similar meanings may mark their addressee argument with the dative (17), but much more common is the use of the IN-lative (21), (22). There is only one extended intransitive verb of speech, *b-ik'^w*- 'say', which is, however, also widely used in compound verbs (20).

- (20) a. *x^wit' b-ik^w-* 'whistle at'
 b. *wa^w b-ik^w-* 'shout at, call, cry'
 c. *ba^s b-ik^w-* 'scream, yell'
 d. *t'irt'ir b-ik^w-* 'chat'
 e. *ɓaj (ka-)b-ik^w-* 'quarrel, scold, argue, discuss, talk'
 f. *pa^q b-ik^w-* 'hit at, strike'
- (21) di-c:e wa^w Ø-ik'-ul ca-w hel χat:aj
 1SG-IN call M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M that grandfather
 'The grandfather is calling me.'
- (22) c'il hel-t:i tuχtur-t-a-c:e ɓaj Ø-ik^w-an Ø-irχ^w-iri il
 then that-PL doctor-PL-OBL-IN word M-say.IPFV-PTCP M-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3 that
 'He was the one who was talking to the doctors.'

There are a number of compound verbs and copula constructions with experiential semantics that belong to the extended intransitive class and mark the second argument with the ANTE-ablative (23), (24) or take a clausal complement (25) (see Chapter 24).

- (23) a. *uruχ-le ca-b, uruχ b-ik^w-* 'be afraid of, fear'
 b. *uruχ b-irχ^w-/uruχ b-iχ^w-* 'be/become afraid of, fear'
 c. *uruc ca-b, uruc b-ik^w-* 'be ashamed of, be embarrassed of'
 d. *uruc b-irχ^w-/uruc b-iχ^w-* 'be/become ashamed of, be/become embarrassed of'
- (24) "x:unul-li-sa-r uruχ Ø-ik'-ul=de=w," Ø-ik'-ul ca-w,
 woman-OBL-ANTE-ABL fear M-AUX.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 "u?"
 2SG
 '“Are you afraid of your wife?” he says.'
- (25) χ:^walle ɓaj d-ik^w-ij=ra uruc d-ik'-ul=de
 much word 1/2PL-say.IPFV-INF=ADD embarrassed 1/2PL-AUX.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'We were embarrassed to talk a lot.'

Extended intransitive verbs expressing location, position, or movement combine with various spatial cases. Which spatial case is used depends on the semantics of the spatial reference point (i.e. the ground) and on the type of localization or motion (e.g. in or on a reference point, movement to a goal or from a source). The most common spatial series employed in these functions are the SPR-series (26), the IN-series (27), and the AD-series. Many more examples can be found in §3.4.2 on the spatial cases.

- (26) ca-la ant:a-le či-ka-b-iž-ib ca-b zija
 one-GEN forehead-LOC SPR-DOWN-N-sit.PFV-PRET COP-N horsefly
 'A horsefly sat down on the forehead of one (man).'

- (27) *il-ti dubur-t-a-c:e-d er d-irχ-ul d-už-ib*
 that-PL mountain-PL-OBL-IN-NPL life NPL-become.IPFV-ICVB NPL-be-PRET
ca-d
 COP-NPL
 ‘(Apparently) they (= the animals) lived in the mountains.’

Other constructions with an absolutive S and a bivalent predicate are instantiated by verbs that assign absolutive or genitive to the P argument, depending on the meaning of the construction. The combination absolutive S plus absolutive P is rare (28), (29). These clauses syntactically strongly resemble copula clauses but make use of verbs that express meanings other than the simple copula meaning. The verb agrees in person, number and gender with the subject-like argument, which can be distinguished from the second argument in the absolutive by reference to prominence properties such as animacy and person.

- (28) *χalq’ q:arq-ne arž-i*
 people stone-PL go.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 ‘The people turned into stones.’
- (29) *du wer-c’anu xu-ra dus r-irχ^w-an=da*
 1SG seven-TEN five-NUM year F-be.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘I (fem.) will be 75 years old.’

Example (30) illustrates a clause with two arguments that also resembles copula clauses. The S argument in the absolutive case functions as subject-like argument (e.g. it controls agreement on the verb). The nominal bearing the genitive is not a possessor of an omitted head noun, but an argument of the verb. Note that it is possible to replace the genitive by the absolutive with no salient change in the meaning of the clause.

- (30) *gacbe c’aq’ darman-na d-irχ^w-an-te ca-d*
 hips strong medicine-GEN NPL-become.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL COP-NPL
 ‘The hips will be a strong medicine.’ (E)

19.1.5 Transitive verbs

Simple transitive verbs have two arguments: one is marked with the ergative and functions in a subject-like manner, and the other one bears the absolutive. Gender/number agreement is triggered by the absolutive argument. Person agreement can be controlled by the ergative or the absolutive argument and mostly follows the hierarchy 1,2 > 3 (see §20.3 on person agreement for more details and examples). Transitive verbs can be simple underived verbs as the six first verbs in (31) and the examples in (32), (34), verbs containing various preverbs, compounds containing transitive light verbs (33), (91), or causativized intransitive verbs (111), (113).

- (31) a. *b-is:-/b-as:-* ‘take, buy’
 b. *b-irq’-/b-arq’-* ‘do, make’
 c. *b-irc-/b-ic-* ‘sell’
 d. *b-urχ-/b-arχ-* ‘sew’
 e. *b-aš-/b-aš-* ‘knead’
 f. *b-it-* ‘beat up’
 g. *ač b-irq’-/ač b-arq’-* ‘open’
 h. *qa^š k-ab-* ‘cut into pieces’
 i. *aq (či-ha-)b-irq’-/aq (či-ha-)b-arq’-* ‘lift up, take up’
 j. *t’aš b-irc-aq-/t’aš b-ic-aq; t’aš-ab-* ‘stop’
 k. *burs:i b-arq’-/burs:i b-irq’-* ‘teach’
- (32) u r-it-ib-il=de=w heš:i χalq’-li?
 2SG F-beat.up-PRET-REF=2SG=Q these people-ERG
 ‘Did these people beat you (fem.) up?’
- (33) dur^{hu}-l t’aš ab-ib it
 boy-ERG stop do-PRET that
 ‘The boy stopped him.’
- (34) du-l a-b-iʔ-uⁿ=da q:arq:a. ča-k’al du-l
 1SG-ERG NEG-N-steal.PFV-PRET=1 stone who-INDEF 1SG-ERG
 a-kax-ub=da
 NEG-kill.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I did not steal the stone. I did not kill anyone.’

19.1.6 Extended transitive verbs (i.e. ditransitive verbs)

Extended transitive verbs have three arguments bearing the ergative, the absolutive and a further case. They follow the same agreement rules as simple transitive verbs. This means that the absolutive argument triggers the gender/number agreement. Person agreement is controlled by the absolutive or the ergative argument, but never by the third argument (recipient, addressee, etc.). It normally follows the person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3. The extended transitive verbs in (35) all have dative arguments in addition to the ergative and absolutive arguments.

- (35) a. *luk:-/b-ik:-* ‘give’
 b. *qar b-irq’-/qar b-arq’-* ‘charge, entrust with’
 c. *xadi luk:-/xadi b-ik:-* ‘marry off’
 d. *či-b-iž-aq-/či-b-až-aq-* ‘show’
- (36) dam b-ič:-ib iž ma^lʔuⁿ-ni
 1SG.DAT N-give.PFV-PRET this snake-ERG
 ‘The snake gave it to me.’

- (37) š:an-ni-j xadi r-ič:-ib=da di-la uc-i-l
 fellow.villager-OBL-DAT married F-give.PFV-PRET=1 1SG-GEN brother-ERG
 ‘My brother married (me) off to a fellow villager.’

To this group belong a number of verbs expressing violent physical contact (38). These verbs have an absolutive argument denoting the instrument of the action (39). The instrument is usually omitted such that we are left with two arguments, the ergative agent and the goal that takes the dative or the IN-lative (40). The valency frame is typical for this semantic type of verbs and has been described for other East Caucasian languages (Khalilova 2009: 332–334; Forker 2013a: 476).

- (38) a. *b-u^ˆrq-/b-a^ˆq-* ‘beat, hit’
 b. *b-urh-/b-erh-* ‘knock, strike, bang’
 c. *irx-/ix^w-* ‘throw at, shoot’
- (39) x:unul-la qajqaj-t-a-c:e q^ˆu^ˆš b-a^ˆq-ib ca-b
 woman-GEN jaw-PL-OBL-IN fist N-hit.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘He hit with the fist on the jaw of his wife.’
- (40) x:unul-li-j b-a^ˆq-ib ca-b hel-i-l
 woman-OBL-DAT N-hit.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-ERG
 ‘He hit his wife.’
- (41) itilil-li ix-ub-le tupang ant:a-l-c:e ...
 other-ERG throw.PFV-PRET-CVB weapon forehead-OBL-IN
 ‘when the other shot into the forehead ...’

However, the verb *b-erh-* (PFV) ‘knock, strike, bang’ takes only instruments in the ergative or the comitative case that do not control the agreement, such that the resulting clauses lack absolutive arguments (42). The agreement trigger is not overtly present in the clause and cannot be retrieved by speakers. The difference in gender agreement goes hand in hand with a difference in the meaning of the clauses: when the neuter singular prefix *b-* is used the event occurred only once; when the neuter plural suffix is used the knocking-event occurred repeatedly such that the meaning is rather ‘beat off’.

- (42) ʔa^ˆli-l weliχan-ni-j na^ˆq-li / na^ˆq-li-c:ella b-erh-ib /
 Ali-ERG giant-OBL-DAT hand-ERG / hand-OBL-COMIT N-strike.PFV-PRET /
 d-erh-ib
 NPL-strike.PFV-PRET
 ‘Ali knocked/beat off the giant with the hand.’ (E)

Another group of extended transitive verbs are verbs of speech that take an addressee argument in the IN-lative (43–45). Their absolutive argument is either a clause (44), (45), or a noun that refers to the speech event such as *χabar* ‘story’ (108).

- (43) a. *ha-ʔ-/h-erʔ-* ‘say, tell’
 b. *b-urs-/b-ux-* ‘say, tell’
 c. *xar b-irʔ-/xar b-eʔ-* ‘ask’
- (44) “il-i-l=ra cellij a-b-urs-ib=el niš:i-c:e hin
 that-OBL-ERG=ADD why NEG-N-tell.PFV-PRET=INDQ 1PL-IN water
 a-ka-d-ax-u,” haʔ-ib-le ...
 NEG-down-NPL-go.IPFV-PRS say.PFV-PRET-CVB
 “‘Why did he not tell us that the water does not flow,’ they said ...’
- (45) du-l Isaq’adi-c:e xar.b.eʔ-ib=da, ...
 1SG-ERG Isakadi-IN ask.N.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘I asked Isakadi, ...’

Verbs denoting movement and positioning of objects or animate entities combine with various spatial cases, e.g. the AD-lative or the LOC-lative.

- (46) a. *b-at-(it)-aʔ-* ‘send’
 b. *sa-b-ik-/s-ak-, h-ak-, k-ak-* ‘bring, lead’
 c. *b-uk-/b-erč-* ‘take, collect, bring’
 d. *(či-)(ka-)b-irx:-/(či-)(ka-)b-ix:-* ‘put’
- (47) hek’ tuʔtur-ri-š:u u-l r-at.aʔ-ib=de
 DEM.UP doctor-OBL-AD 2SG-ERG F-send.PFV-PRET=2SG
 ‘You sent (me, fem.) to the doctor.’

19.1.7 Bivalent verbs with lexicalized objects and other rare constructions with bivalent verbs

There are a couple of verbs with ergative subject-like arguments that have fixed, lexicalized objects that control the gender/number agreement on the verb, but cannot be exchanged with other nominals because they are constitutive for the meaning of the predicate (48). For such verbs, it is impossible to add another nominal in the absolutive, because the object-like position is already occupied by the lexicalized object. However, it is not always clear whether the lexicalized object controls the gender agreement on the verb or whether the gender agreement is frozen. From a semantic point of view, the verbs can be analyzed as bivalent or trivalent. The bivalent verbs have additional arguments in the dative (49) or IN-essive (50) or occasionally in other cases (51). Verbs of speech preferably make use of the IN-essive whereas other verbs mostly employ the dative. Some of these verbs take additional complement clauses.

- (48) a. *za’nb d-u’rq-/za’nb d-a’q-; telepun d-a’q-/telepun d-u’rq-* ‘call on the phone’
 b. *kumek b-irq’-/kumek b-arq’-* ‘help’
 c. *tamaša b-arq’-/tamaša b-irq’-* ‘wonder’

- d. *urk'ec'i b-irq'-/urk'ec'i b-arq'-; urk'ec'i čī-d-urq-/urk'ec'i čī-d-ulq-* 'pity, feel sorry for'
- e. *ɤaj b-irq'-/ɤaj b-arq'-* 'talk, tell, speak'
- f. *tiladi b-irq'-/tiladi b-arq'-* 'beg, request'
- g. *anru luk:-/anru b-ik:-* 'command'
- h. *ɤaj luk:-/ɤaj b-ik:-* 'promise'
- i. *qaʼb (sa)-b-urc-/qaʼb (sa)-b-urc-* 'embrace, hug'
- (49) *uc:i-l at zaʼnɤ d-aʼq-ib*
 brother-ERG 2SG.DAT ring NPL-hit.PFV-PRET
 'Brother called you.' (E)
- (50) *x:unul-li tiladi b-arq'-ib ca-b hel-i-c:e, ma-∅-ax-ut:a!*
 woman-ERG request N-do.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-IN PROH-M-go.IPFV-PROH.SG
 r-ik'-ul
 F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'His wife begged him: "Don't go!"'
- (51) *du-l ala qaʼb b-urc-ul=da*
 1SG-ERG 2SG.GEN neck N-keep.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'I am hugging you.' (E)
- (52) *du-l at ci-k'al-la ɤaj a-b-ič:-ib=da*
 1SG-ERG 2SG.DAT what-INDEF-GEN word NEG-N-give.PFV-PRET=1
 'I did not promise you anything.'

Some of the frozen objects occur in more than one construction. For instance, *urk'ec'i*, when combined with a verb, can occur in the ergative construction with an agentive experiencer (53), in a construction with a dative experiencer (71), and together with an experiencer in the genitive (72). The stimulus is always a goal or beneficiary-like argument and therefore takes the dative.

- (53) *du-l ʔaʼjib-kar-t-a-j urk'ec'i b-irq'-id*
 1SG-ERG guilt-NMLZ-PL-OBL-DAT pity N-do.IPFV-1.PRS
 'I pity the convicted.' (E)

Note that Sanzhi also has a range of compound verbs with nouns marked by the genitive or by spatial postpositions. However, the nouns used in such constructions are not lexicalized objects but nominal parts of compound verbs. For examples see §12.2.2.

19.1.8 Bivalent affective verbs

Bivalent affective verbs are a relatively small class of two-place verbs with experiential/affective semantics (54). They express unintentional and uncontrollable perception, emotion, volition, cognitive activities and other non-agentive events and situations.

- (54) a. *či-b-ig-/či-b-ag-* ‘see’
 b. *t’am b-iq’-t’am b-aq’-* ‘hear’
 c. *b-ik:-* ‘want, like, love’
 d. *b-irɓ-/b-arɓ-* ‘understand’
 e. *qum urt-/qum ert-* ‘forget’
 f. *b-alχ-/b-aχ-* ‘know’
 g. *b-urk:-/b-ark:-* ‘find’
 h. *han b-irk-/han b-irk-* ‘remember, seem’
 i. *b-ič:-aq-* ‘like, love’
 j. *či-b-b-irt’-/či-b-b-et’-* ‘be bored’
 k. *b-irt’-/b-et’-* ‘be bored’

Most bivalent affective verbs have an experiencer argument in the dative and a stimulus argument in the absolutive. They follow the same agreement rules as transitive verbs, i.e. gender/number agreement with the absolutive argument and person agreement is ruled by the hierarchy 1, 2 > 3 (55), (56), and/or it is the experiencer that controls the agreement (55), (56), or it is invariably third person (61), (70).

- (55) *dam qum.a.art-id cik’al*
 1SG.DAT forget.IPFV.NEG-HAB.PST.1 anything
 ‘I did not forget anything.’
- (56) *dam ʔa`h mus:a b-alχ-ad*
 1SG.DAT good place N-know.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘I know a good place.’

When inflected for some tenses such as the habitual past, the compound present (57) or the future (58), (59) and in some types of subordinate clauses certain affective predicates allow for the experiencer to bear the ergative instead of the dative case. The ergative alignment pattern is more common in other Dargwa varieties such as Icar Dargwa, and has been investigated from a diachronic perspective in Ganenkov (2013). In Sanzhi Dargwa, it is less common and the precise conditions that allow for ergative experiencers still need further investigation. In any case, it follows the same agreement rules as dative experiencers, e.g. in (57) person agreement is controlled by the ergative experiencer and in (58) by the absolutive stimulus.

- (57) *či-w-ig-ul ak:w a-di du-l heχ admı, x:unul=el*
 SPR-M-see.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-1 1SG-ERG DEM.DOWN person woman=INDQ
murgul=el
 masculine=INDQ
 ‘I do not see this person (on the picture), whether it is female or male.’

- (58) u du-l nikagda qum.a.art-an=de
 2SG 1SG-ERG never forget.IPFV.NEG-PTCP=2SG
 ‘I will never forget you.’
- (59) na it du-l r-alχ-an=q’al het Saliha’t
 now that 1SG-ERG F-know.IPFV-PTCP=PRT that Salikhat
 ‘I know her, that Salihat.’

It is not always possible to determine if a specific examples follows the person hierarchy or if it is the experiencer, who controls the agreement (which can also be formulated as semantic role hierarchy: experiencer > stimulus). For instance, in (60) the person agreement enclitic on the verb =*da* expresses first person singular or plural and second person plural agreement, such that it could be either the experiencer (in accordance with the experiencer controlling agreement independently of person) or the stimulus (in accordance with the hierarchy) that functions as controller. Similarly, in both (55) and (60), a first person experiencer controls the agreement suffix, which can be explained by the person hierarchy or by the semantic role hierarchy).

- (60) čī-d-d-et’-ib-le=da, haʔ-ib=da, uš:a dam
 SPR-1/2PL-1/2PL-bore.PFV-PRET-CVB=1/2PL say.PFV-PRET=1 1PL 1SG.DAT
 ‘‘You (pl.) bored me,’’ I said.’

In general, experiencer verbs seem to allow for a higher degree of variation concerning person agreement than transitive verbs. This includes the fact that under certain circumstances the person agreement is third person although the clause contains a first or second person dative pronoun in the semantic role of experiencer. For instance, with the verb ‘forget’ both person agreement enclitics and third person agreement are found in the Sanzhi corpus, but third person agreement prevails. Thus, in (58) we find second person singular controlled by the stimulus and (55) the verb agrees with the experiencer in the dative (first person singular). By contrast, in (61) and (62) the agreement is third person instead of the expected first person agreement.

- (61) qum.ert-ur-re ca-d dam cik’al
 forget.PFV-PRET-CVB COP-NPL 1SG.DAT thing
 ‘I have forgotten everything.’
- (62) qum.urt-u dam, han kalg-unne ak:u
 forget.IPFV-PRS.3 1SG.DAT remember remain.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
 ‘I forget (it), I do not remember it.’

As the following minimal pair shows, the variation that the verb ‘forget’ shows between person agreement and invariably third person does not imply any differences in meaning and is not tied to certain TAM forms (as it is the case for ergative experiencers, which are only available for a restricted number of TAM forms, but for all affective verbs). The variation includes forms with person suffixes and forms with person enclitics alike.

One and the same tense form can show variation as the following two examples of the preterite demonstrate. The first sentence (63) shows person agreement with the first person experiencer whereas the second sentence (64) has a verb form that corresponds to the third person preterite (i.e. no person enclitic, no copula).

- (63) dam qum.ert-ur=da w-ah-la š:i
 1SG.DAT forget.PFV-PRET=1 M-OWNER-GEN village
 'I (masc.) forgot my own village.' (E)
- (64) dam qum.ert-ur w-ah-la š:i
 1SG.DAT forget.PFV-PRET M-OWNER-GEN village
 'I (masc.) forgot my own village.' (E)

Based on the data collected so far I am not able to explain the variation by means of linguistic or extralinguistic factors. Another, more general question concerns the nature of the third person forms in (61), (62), (64), and other affective verbs below, for which three different hypotheses could be suggested. First, we can perhaps analyze it as third person agreement controlled by the absolutive patient that overrules the agreement hierarchies stated above. It would then follow the ergative pattern analogously to the ergative agreement attested in certain TAM forms and discussed in §20.3.2. Alternatively, we can claim that we deal with 'suspended person agreement' in the sense that the verb shows the default person agreement form, namely third person, but this form does not underlie control but shows actually the lack of an agreement controller.

A third alternative would be to suggest that the verbs in (61) and (62) are one-place verbs and the dative pronouns are not genuine arguments of the verb but something like adjuncts and can therefore not control the agreement.¹ This argumentation could be supported by the fact that even the verbs 'see' and 'hear', which are normally used as two-place affective verbs can be used as one-place bivalent verbs with the meanings 'be visible' and 'be audible'. In that case normally the dative experiencer can be omitted. Thus, (65) can be used with a dative pronoun, in which case two translations are possible 'I began to see the mountains.' or 'The mountains started to be visible to me.' If the pronoun is omitted, then the only translation is 'The mountains started to be visible.'

- (65) (dam) dubur-te či-d-ig-ul d-a? aš:-ib
 1SG.DAT mountain-PL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB NPL-begin begin.PFV-PRET
 'I began to see the mountains.' OR 'The mountains started to be visible to me.' (E)

Similarly, the verb 'remember' is a compound verb in which the verbal part consists of the otherwise intransitive light verb *b-ik-* 'occur'. I found only third person agreement in all corpus examples as well as in elicitation, which suggests that the dative experiencer is syntactically not an argument but an adjunct such as a goal (66).

¹If this approach can be corroborated by further research, then the discussed verbs and examples have to be classified as monovalent affective verbs. For the sake of the argumentation and because I am unable to draw a conclusion at the present moment I prefer to leave this part of the section where it is.

- (66) heχ-t:u-b han b-ič-ib dam kulpat=ra
 DEM.DOWN-LOC-HPL remember HPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET 1SG.DAT family=ADD
 ‘There I also remembered my family.’

There are some more predicates that can be classified as two-place affective predicates because they come with two semantic roles, an experiencer and a stimulus, but which differ from the predicates discussed so far in this section. First of all, there are two copula constructions with adverbials that mean ‘needed’ (67). In these constructions the absolutive stimulus functions as copula subject and thus person and gender agreement controller (68), or alternatively complement clauses can be used. The dative can be classified as copula predicate and its use is optional. The predicates therefore behave in the same way as what has been said above about ‘see’ and ‘hear’, i.e., they can be used as monovalent predicates without an experiencer in impersonal constructions or as bivalent affective verbs.

- (67) a. *ʔaʷuni-l ca-b* ‘need, be necessary’²
 b. *ħaʷzat-le ca-b* ‘need, be necessary’
- (68) dam ħaʷzat-le ca-b ala kumek
 1SG.DAT need-ADVZ COP-N 2SG.GEN help
 ‘I need your help.’ (E)

There are two bivalent affective verbs that do not show person or gender agreement, but invariable third person forms and the default gender agreement prefix *d-* (69).³ The verb *simi d-ug-/simi d-ulq-* ‘be angry’, already mentioned in §19.1.4, is a one-place verb that can be changed into a two-place verb with a further experiencer/goal argument in the dative by adding the spatial preverb *či-* to it (70). This experiencer/goal argument can never control person agreement (i.e. first person agreement in the examples below is ungrammatical) and thus the person agreement is always third person. The identical lexical verb with the same preverb can also occur in a compound with *urkʷecʷi* ‘pity’ with exactly the same morphosyntactic properties (71). Note that in (72) the dative pronoun has been replaced by a genitive possessor that now encodes the semantic role of experiencer. This examples is an indication that the dative pronouns in the other examples (70) and (71) are not arguments but adjuncts, perhaps comparable to external possessor that can be expressed in the dative or in the genitive.

- (69) a. *d-ug-/simi d-ulq-* ‘be angry’
 b. *urkʷecʷi d-ug-/urkʷecʷi d-ulq-* ‘pity’

²This predicate can also occur with an experiencer argument in the absolutive that takes over the role as copula subject and controls agreement. See example (33) in §20.2.1.

³The same lexical item *urkʷecʷi* ‘pity’ is used in another semantically very similar predicate together with the lexical verb ‘do, make’. In that construction the lexical verb has the agreement prefix *b-* for neuter singular (53). Therefore, the agreement prefix *d-* in (69) cannot be controlled by the items preceding the verbs but must be a default prefix. In general, both *b-* and *d-* function as default agreement exponents in a number of different constructions (§20.2.1).

- (70) dam simi čī-d-ulq-u Sanžijat-li-j
 1SG.DAT anger SPR-NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS Sanzhiat-OBL-DAT
 ‘I am angry with Sanzhiat.’ (E)
- (71) dam urk’ec’i čī-d-ulq-u Madina-la durh-n-a-j
 1SG.DAT pity SPR-NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS Madina-GEN boy-PL-OBL-DAT
 ‘I pity Madina’s sons.’ (E)
- (72) di-la urk’ec’i čī-d-ulq-u Madina-la durh-n-a-j
 1SG-GEN pity SPR-NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS Madina-GEN boy-PL-OBL-DAT
 ‘I pity Madina’s sons.’ (lit. My pity is directed onto Madina’s son.) (E)

Finally there are a few constructions with dative experiencers and a source-like or cause-like stimulus arguments that bear the ANTE-ablative (73). This is the same case that is used by some monovalent experiential verbs for marking the source/cause-like arguments (24). In these constructions, there is again invariable third person agreement and default neuter singular gender agreement that is frozen and not controlled by any of the constituents (74–76).

- (73) a. c’ax ka-b-irc:-/c’ax ka-b-ic;; c’ax-le ca-b ‘feel ashamed, be/become embarrassed’
 b. c’ax-le ca-b ‘be ashamed by’
 c. b-irt’-/b-et’- ‘long for’
- (74) jaɣari Q’urban, dam a-sa-rka c’ax-le=ra ca-b=q’al=nu
 PRT Kurban 1SG.DAT 2SG-ANTE-ABL shame-ADVZ=ADD COP-N=MOD=PRT
 ‘Hey, Kurban, I am ashamed because of you.’
- (75) dam Keno-sa-rka c’ax ka-b-irc:-ur
 1SG.DAT Keno-ANTE-ABL shame DOWN-N-stand.IPFV-PRET
 ‘I got embarrassed in front of Keno.’ (E)
- (76) dam a-sa-r b-et’-ib ca-b
 1SG.DAT 2SG-ANTE-ABL N-long.for.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘I miss you.’ (E)

19.1.9 Labile verbs

Sanzhi Dargwa has a number of labile verbs that can be used as intransitive verbs (with the corresponding morphology) or as transitive verbs. Because in Sanzhi arguments can be omitted and are often omitted if their reference is clear from the context, at times it can be difficult to identify labile verbs. Furthermore, occasionally transitive verbs occur in impersonal constructions without arguments that could syntactically be defined as subjects or semantically identified as agents (77), (78). Outside of the constructions shown in (77) and (78), the verb *b-irq’-* (IPFV)/*b-arq’-* (PFV) is transitive and I therefore do not include it in the list of labile verbs.

- (77) χ:ula-ce du^hi b-irq'-iri
big-DD.SG snow N-do.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
'It used to snow a lot.'
- (78) hež-it:e hak' w-irq'-ul ak:w-i
this-ADVZ shake M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-HAB.PST
'He was not shaking like this (i.e. he was not able to move).'

Sanzhi Dargwa makes use of different suffixes for the imperative of many intransitive and transitive verbs, and the stem augment vowels in the prohibitive and the habitual present also differ according to transitivity. Thus, the verbal morphology provides decisive clues for deciding whether a verb is used intransitively or transitively.

The majority of the labile verbs are S=P-labile, preserving the argument with the patientive semantic role (79). The first example sentence in (80) shows the intransitive use, and the second one in (81) illustrates the transitive use.

- (79) a. (b-)ik:w- 'burn' (not specified for aspect)
b. b-elq'- (PFV)/luq'- (IPFV) 'break, shatter, smash'
c. b-erc'- (PFV)/b-uc'- (IPFV) 'fry, roast, bake'
d. b-ic'- (PFV)/b-irc'- (IPFV) 'fill'
e. b-a^č (PFV)/b-a^{lč} (IPFV) 'squeeze, break, crush, crack, trample'
- (80) da^rq^w b-ik:-ub
barn N-burn-PRET
'The barn burnt.' (E)
- (81) χalq'-li qal c'a-l b-ik:-ul ca-b
people-ERG house fire-ERG N-burn-ICVB COP-N
'The people burn the house with fire.' (E)

The prohibitive of the intransitive clause is given in (82), and the prohibitive of the transitive can be found in (83).

- (82) da^rq^w, ma-jk:-ut!
barn PROH-burn-PROH.SG
'Barn, do not burn!' (E)
- (83) ej dur^hu^č, qal ma-jk:w-it!
eh boy house PROH-burn-PROH.SG
'Eh boy, do not burn the house!' (E)

I found a few S=A labile verbs that preserve the subject-like argument, namely:

- (84) a. b-elč'- (PFV)/b-uč'- (IPFV) 'read, learn, study, sing', (85), (86)
b. b-erk^w- (PFV)/b-uk- (IPFV) 'eat'

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- c. *b-erč-* (PFV)/*b-uč-* (IPFV) ‘drink, smoke, consume’
 d. *b-arq’-* (PFV)/*b-irq’-* (IPFV) ‘do, make, be busy’

Translational equivalents of ‘read’ are also labile in a number of other East Caucasian languages (e.g. in Icarı Dargwa, Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 154–155, and in Hinuq, Forker 2013a: 492). Note that lability surfaces only with the imperfective aspect of those verbs that can be used intransitively or transitively. This means that the perfective stems always occur in transitive constructions.

(85) intransitive construction

- a. *uč’-un* *ca-w hež*
 read.M.IPFV-PRET COP-M this
 ‘He is reading/studying.’ (E)
 b. *uč’-en* / *ma-wč’-ut!*
 learn.M.IPFV-IMP / PROH-learn.M.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Study!’ OR ‘Read!’/‘Do not study!’ OR ‘Do not read!’ (E)

(86) transitive construction

- a. *du-l* *kazat* *b-uč’-an=da*
 1SG-ERG newspaper N-read.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘I will read the newspaper.’ (E)
 b. *kiniga b-elč’-en* / *kiniga ma-b-uč’-it!*
 book N-read.PFV-IMP / book PROH-N-read.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Read the book!/Do not read the book!’ (E)

Furthermore, an optional P argument can be added in the intransitive use. This argument needs to be semantically plural and indefinite, and is marked with the ergative case (87). This construction is called “antipassive” in Dargwa languages and treated in more detail in §19.2.1.

- (87) *hana Sanijat kiniga-b-a-l* *r-uč’-unne* *ca-r*
 now Sanijat book-PL-OBL-ERG F-read.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘Now Sanijat reads books.’ (E)

19.2 Modification of valency patterns

Sanzhi Dargwa has two major means of modifying the valency patterns of verbs, the antipassive as a detransitivizing operation (§19.2.1), and the causative as an argument-increasing operation (§19.2.2). There are no potential constructions, which in other East Caucasian languages are used to detransitive verbs. There is also no biabsolutive construction, which would allow for the use of two absolutive arguments with a transitive verb.

19.2.1 Antipassive

Sanzhi Dargwa has an antipassive that is formed by reversing the case marking of A and P in a clause with a canonical transitive predicate (88–89). Since both A and P are obligatorily arguments in the antipassive construction, it is not an argument-decreasing operation, although the A argument is frequently covert in examples from natural texts. The verb remains unmarked, but the gender/number agreement on the verb changes. Due to the lack of formal marking on the verb the antipassive in Sanzhi is not a typical antipassive from a typological perspective (Polinsky 2005).

(88) ergative construction

it-i-l k:urt:i b-urχ-u
 that-OBL-ERG dress N-sew.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘S/he sews a dress.’ (E)

(89) antipassive construction

it kurt:i-l r-urχ-u
 that dress-ERG F-sew.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘She is a dressmaker.’ OR ‘She habitually sews dresses.’ (E)

Apart from being restricted to only one predicate class, namely canonical transitive verbs, the antipassive is additionally constrained in other ways:

1. Only the A argument can be omitted. In texts, it is frequently omitted as the examples in (90) and (91) show. The overt presence of the P argument is obligatory in order to have an antipassive construction, and it is usually the best indicator of the antipassive because the gender agreement affixes do not unambiguously indicate the controller.
2. It is largely (if not fully) restricted to imperfective verb stems and consequently to those tenses that are available for verbs with imperfective stems such as, for instance, the compound present, the compound past, the habitual present, the habitual past, the future forms and the obligative forms. Other tenses, e.g. the preterite or the resultative, cannot be used for antipassive constructions because they are basically formed from the perfective stems. It can also occur in subordinate clauses if the respective clause types allow for verb forms based on stems with imperfective aspect. For instance, (90) and (92) show adverbial clauses with antipassive constructions, (91) shows a complement clause, and (93) a relative clause. In (90) the verb in the main clause is intransitive. Due to the antipassive constructions in the preceding sentences the subject that is shared in all three clauses would be in the absolutive case if it would occur overtly. At the first glance, one might think that the antipassive has been used in order to make argument sharing across the three clauses possible, but this is not the case. There are (almost) no syntactic restrictions on co-reference and shared argument between adverbial and main clauses (90). Therefore, the use of standard transitive constructions with ergative subjects

would be equally grammatical in the two adverbial clauses. In other words, the antipassive is not needed for pivot modulation. On the contrary, it is used for purely semantic reasons.

- (90) [baliq:-a-l d-uc:-ul hel-it:e] [c'idx-li d-uk-unne]
 fish-OBL-ERG 1/2PL-bake.IPFV-ICVB that-DD fruit-ERG 1/2PL-eat.IPFV-ICVB
 d-už-ib=da
 1/2.PL-be-PRET=1
 'Frying fish, eating fruits we stayed.'
- (91) hel-t:-a-l burs:i w-arq'-ib=da [q:ama-l uč:-ij]
 that-PL-OBL-ERG teach M-do.PFV-PRET=1 hemp-ERG consume.M.IPFV-INF
 'They taught me to smoke marihuana.'
- (92) ha°z-t-a-l b-irq'-ib=q:el, ʔa°t'a-c:e-r durɦu°=ra
 game-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-PRET=when frog-IN-ABL boy=ADD
 kac'i=ra b-arc:-ur-re, ka-b-is:-un
 puppy=ADD HPL-get.tired.PFV-PRET-CVB DOWN-HPL-sleep.PFV-PRET
 b-us:-anaj
 HPL-sleep.PFV-SUBJ.3
 'When they played with the frog, the boy and his dog got tired and lay down to sleep.'
- (93) [deč-li b-uč:-an] juldaš:-e
 drinking-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-PTCP friend-PL
 'the drinking friends'

3. Not all transitive verbs allow for the antipassive construction. The majority of antipassive clauses in the Sanzhi corpus contain either of the three verbs *b-uk-* 'eat' (95), *b-uč:-* 'drink, consume, smoke' (91), (93), and *b-irq'-* 'do, make, be busy' (92), (103), but a few more are also attested (101). Typical verbs for which the antipassive is not available are verbs for which it is unclear what the result of the action that they denote would be (94b).⁴

- (94) a. ergative construction
 Rašid-li mašin q:urt b-irq'-ul ca-b
 Rashid-ERG car push N-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 'Rashid is pushing a/the car.' (E)
- b. ergative construction
 Rašid mašin-ni q:urt Ø-irq'-ul ca-w
 Rashid car-ERG push M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'A/the car is pushing Rashid.' (NOT: 'Rashid is pushing a/the car.') (E)

⁴An anonymous reviewer pointed out that the unavailability of the antipassive reading in (94b) might also be due to the fact that the antipassive expresses repeated or habitual situations. This is possible and more research is needed to give a conclusive answer for why this example cannot be interpreted as antipassive.

4. The antipassive is not available with first or second person patients. There are no person restrictions on the agent (95), (97a), but the patient must be third person.

(95) du t'ult'-li r-uk-un-ne=da
 1SG bread-ERG F-eat.IPFV-PRET-CVB=1
 'I (fem.) am eating bread.' (E)

5. There are animacy restrictions: it is impossible for A and P to be both animate or both inanimate. The last two constraints are not really syntactic in nature since the resulting clauses are grammatical. However, the meaning would not be what is intended. If we switch the case marking of A and P in (96a) the outcome is simply a normal clause in which the roles of A and P have been reversed (96b).

(96) a. aždaha-l du Ø-uk:-unne=da
 monster-ERG 1SG M-eat.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'The monster is eating me.' (E)
 b. du-l aždaha b-uk:-unne=da
 1SG-ERG monster N-eat.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'I am eating the monster.' (NOT: 'The monster is eating me.') (E)

Syntactically, the antipassive is a detransitivizing operation. The main proof for this is, of course, that the A argument occurs in the absolutive case and controls the gender agreement, whereas the P argument takes the ergative case. The functional range of the ergative comprises not only the expression of agents, but also of other semantic roles with a more peripheral status (adjuncts), most notably instruments (§3.4.1.2). The ergative P of the antipassive largely fits into this range. Furthermore, the distinction between suffixes for intransitive and for transitive verbs that is made in the imperative and in the prohibitive shows that verbs in the antipassive construction are detransitivized. Thus, the prohibitive suffixes for intransitive verbs are *-ut* (SG)/*-ut:aja* (PL) with the stem augment vowel *u*, whereas the transitive verbs have *-it* (SG)/*-it:aja* (PL) with the stem augment *i* (§17.2). The antipassive construction requires the same prohibitive suffix as intransitive verbs (97), which is ungrammatical in the ergative construction (98).

(97) antipassive construction

a. uš:a hin-ni ma-d-uč:-ut:aja!
 2PL water-ERG PROH-1/2PL-drink.IPFV-PROH.PL
 'You do not drink water (regularly)!' (E)
 b. dig-li ma-w-k-ut!
 meat-ERG PROH-M-eat.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'Do not (always) eat meat!' (said to a man) (E)

(98) ergative construction

- a. uš:a-l hin ma-d-uč':it:aja!
 2PL-ERG water PROH-NPL-drink.IPFV-PROH.PL
 'You do not drink the water!' (E)
- b. dig ma-b-uk-it!
 meat PROH-N-eat.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'Do not eat the meat!' (E)

The major problem in the analysis of antipassive constructions concerns the closeness to S=A labile verbs that can be used intransitively and transitively, thereby preserving the agent argument (§19.1.9). For instance, the imperfective stem of the verb *b-elč'*- (PFV)/*b-uč'*- (IPFV) 'read, learn, study, sing' can be used in an intransitive construction. When adding the ergative adjunct *student-li* (student-ERG) to (99) the translation is unambiguously 'she studies (at a university as a student)'. The same verb can be used in a transitive construction with an ergative agent and an absolutive patient (100).

- (99) it r-uč'-unne ca-r
 that F-read.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'She reads/studies.' (E)
- (100) it-i-l turk-me d-uč'-unne ca-d
 that-OBL-ERG nasheed-PL NPL-read.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL
 'S/he reads (i.e. sings) nasheeds.' (E)

In the antipassive construction, to the intransitive clause in (99) a P argument in the plural marked with the ergative case is added (101). The presence of the P argument is the only difference between the two sentences (99) and (101). Thus, instead of speaking of an antipassive construction we can also say that Sanzhi has a number of S=A labile verbs that are used intransitively with an optional nominal in the ergative that has syntactically rather the status of an adjunct.

- (101) it turk-m-a-l r-uč'-unne ca-r
 that nasheed-PL-OBL-ERG F-read.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'She reads (i.e. sings) nasheeds.' (E)

The verb *b-irq'*- (IPFV)/*b-arq'*- (PFV) 'do, make, be busy' belongs to the verbs that frequently occur in antipassive constructions (92) and can also be used intransitively without any P argument (102). For this verb, there is a further possibility of use in weather constructions in which there is no A argument (77). The latter construction thus resembles S=P-labile verbs (§19.1.9).

- (102) it r-irq'-ul ca-r
 that F-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'She is busy.' (E)

In sum, we can divide verbs in Sanzhi into three classes:

1. the class of verbs that do not allow for the antipassive construction at all as exemplified by (94) above
2. the class of S=A labile verbs that allow for transitive and intransitive use with or without a patient such as *b-irq'*- (IPFV) (PFV) 'do, make, be busy' and *b-uč'*- (IPFV) 'read, learn, study, sing'; if an ergative patient is present we can speak of the antipassive construction (92), (101)
3. the class of verbs that form an antipassive with an obligatory P argument that can never be omitted; the verb *b-ux-* (IPFV) 'tell' belongs to the latter class since in clauses such as (109) the patient needs to occur overtly

The use of antipassives is semantically rather than syntactically motivated. It has habitual semantics, which is typical for antipassives in general and antipassives in East Caucasian languages in particular (89) (see, e.g., van den Berg 2003a, Tatevosov 2011, Comrie et al. Forthcoming). Most notably, in all corpus examples the P argument is indefinite and usually in the plural or it has the meaning of a mass noun. Morphologically singular P arguments are only allowed if they can have mass noun readings. The P argument does not refer to a particular, specified object, but is semantically demoted. The sentences refer to repeatedly or habitually occurring actions. For instance, in (103) the speaker was talking about the life of her grandfather and how he used to be, which types of work he used to do.

- (103) *χat:aj ʔa°či-l w-irq'-i, ...*
 grandfather work-ERG M-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'Grandfather used to work, [as a builder, as ...]'
- (104) *c'il ag-ur lak [...] turk-m-a-l b-uč'-unne heti*
 then go.PFV-PRET up nasheed-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-sing.IPFV-ICVB those
ʔa°rab-la ʋaj-li illallah b-ik'-ul
 Arabic-GEN word-ERG Illallah HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 '(The bandits) went upwards [...], singing a nasheed in Arabic, "Illallah"'
- (105) *debʋul-m-a-l b-irq'-ul b-už-ib-le=de*
 prayer-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-ICVB HPL-be-PRET-CVB=PST
 'They were apparently praying.'
- (106) "hel b-ik-ul=da," Ø-ik'-ul, "hešt:u," niš:i-j kaʋur-t-a-l
 that N-lead.IPFV-ICVB=1 M-say.IPFV-ICVB here 1PL-DAT letter-PL-OBL-ERG
luk'-unne
 write.IPFV-ICVB
 'Saying "I drive that, here", he was writing letters to us.'

- (107) ʔaʕžib q:uka ʔaʕjur-t-a-l b-irq'-ul=de, niš:a-la-te
 surprising beautiful dance-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST 1PL-GEN-DD.PL
 daʕʔle ak:w-ar, χ:ula x:un-re=ra
 as COP.NEG-PRS.3 big woman-PL=ADD
 'They were dancing surprisingly beautifully, not like our (women), also the elderly women.'

By contrast, the P argument in the ergative construction can have a definite interpretation, referring to specific object. Thus, compare (108) in which the subject referent is telling a specific story⁵ to (109), which refers to the action of storytelling without specifying the stories further, but could rather be a characterization of the person as a story-teller.⁶

- (108) ergative construction
 hež-i-l χabar b-urs-ul ca-b
 this-OBL-ERG story N-tell-ICVB COP-N
 'He tells the story.'
- (109) antipassive construction
 hež χabur-t-a-l ux-ul ca-w
 this story-PL-OBL-ERG tell.M.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'He tells stories.'

19.2.2 Causativization

Sanzhi has a very productive derivational process for the formation of causativized predicates by means of the suffix *-aq*. The derived causativized verbs behave like any other underived verbs, i.e., there are no differences in the range of verbal forms and constructions in which they may appear. The suffixation of *-aq* does not have any impact on the aspectual properties of the verb, such that the differences between imperfective verbs and perfective verbs are preserved. In addition, there are other formal means for making causative constructions such as auxiliary change.

Causative constructions are very widespread among the East Caucasian languages, though not all languages have dedicated derivational suffixes. In Sanzhi Dargwa, causativization normally applies only once to the verbal stem, but in elicitation it can also be added twice. When it is added to the verb, usually the number of arguments of the verb is augmented by one. This means that a monovalent verb becomes bivalent whereby S changes to P and a second argument, the ergative A in the role of the causer is introduced.

⁵This is clear from the context of the example. Without a context the same sentence could also be translated as 'He tells a story.'

⁶The two verb in the examples represent two distinct lexemes, which are partially in complementary distribution because of their aspectual properties. The verb in (109) is used as the imperfective counterpart of the verb *b-urs-ij*, which occurs in (108). It is morphologically defective because it can only be inflected for the imperfective converb and the modal participle, whereas *b-urs-ij* can be inflected for all verb forms and is aspectually neuter. The exact relationship between the two verbs requires further investigation.

- (110) intransitive
 heχ urχ:ab lus b-ik'-u
 DEM.DOWN mill around N-move.IPFV-PRS.3
 'This mill spins around.' (E)
- (111) intransitive
 heχ-i-l heχ urχ:ab lus b-ik'-aq-u
 DEM.DOWN-OBL-ERG DEM.DOWN mill around N-move.IPFV-CAUS-PRS.3
 'This makes the mill spin around.'
- (112) transitive
 Sanži-b b-ik'-u=w ij=βuna?
 Sanzhi-N N-grow.IPFV-PRS.3=Q this=EQ
 'Does something like this grows in Sanzhi?'
- (113) transitive
 Marijam-li χijal-te d-ač'-aq-ib
 Marijam-ERG cucumber-PL NPL-grow.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 'Marijam was growing cucumbers.' (E)

Similarly, after causativization the S argument of bivalent extended intransitive predicates (114) becomes P and thus does not change its case marking, the second argument also remains unchanged and a third argument, the causer in the form of an ergative A is added (115).

- (114) extended intransitive
 χalq' q:arq-ne arž-i
 people stone-PL go.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 'The people turned into stones.' (E)
- (115) extended transitive
 hek' ha'šuk:-a-d rurč:-an χ:ink'-e ʔa't'-ne arž-aq-i
 DEM.UP pot-LOC-NPL boil-PTCP khinkal-PL frog-PL go.IPFV-CAUS-HAB.PST.3
 heχ Irbihin-ni
 DEM.DOWN Irbihin-ERG
 'Irbihin turned the khinkal that was boiling in the pot into frogs.' (E)

Bivalent transitive predicates become trivalent extended transitive predicates when they are causativized, and the former As become Gs whereas Ps are unaffected (116). The G argument, that is, the causee, must be marked with the IN-lative case. This case is frequently used in valency patterns of various predicates for semantic roles such as addressee, goal or beneficiary, which explains its use in causative constructions. The causee has semantic properties close to these roles since it is the argument, at which the action is directed and that might profit from it.

- (116) a. transitive
 Madina-l kaš b-uk-unne=de
 Madina-ERG porridge N-eat.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘Madina was eating porridge.’ (E)
- b. extended transitive
 aba-l Madina-c:e kaš b-erk-aq-un
 mother-ERG Madina-IN porridge N-eat.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Mother made Madina eat porridge.’ (E)

In the Sanzhi corpus, causativized transitive verbs are rather rare. Sentences (117) and (118) show two instances. Many corpus examples of causative constructions have intransitive base verbs such as (111) and (113) above, but causativized affective verbs also occur frequently (122).

- (117) heχ cara zapisat b-irq'-aq-an=da du-l il-i-c:e
 DEM.DOWN other record N-do.IPFV-CAUS-PTCP=1 1SG-ERG that-OBL-IN
 ‘If it is like this, I will also make him record that other (story).’
- (118) heχ-ti durh-n-a-c:e b-erč:-aq-araj
 DEM.DOWN-PL boy-PL-OBL-IN N-drink.PFV-CAUS-SUBJ.3
 ‘to make the boys drink’

With bivalent experiential predicates there are two possibilities: either one argument is added or the number of arguments is preserved. In the first case, the experiencer (the former A) becomes G without changing its case marking, but an additional A is added to the clause because the derived verb is trivalent (119b).

- (119) a. Madina-j jangi k:urt:i či-b-až-ib
 Madina-DAT new dress SPR-N-see.PFV-PRET
 ‘Madina saw a new dress.’ (E)
- b. Pat'ima-l Madina-j jangi k:urt:i či-b-iž-aq-ib
 Patima-ERG Madina-DAT new dress SPR-N-see.IPFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Patima showed Madina a new dress.’ (E)

The same option is available for the causative of ‘know’, which translates as ‘tell, inform, make know’ (120). It is also possible for the experiencer argument to change its case marking from dative to IN-lative because the latter case is regularly used for addressees with verbs of speech, but also for causees of causativized transitive and extended transitive verbs (121), (122).

- (120) il-i-l bari-li-j barkalla b-aχ-aq-ur
 that-OBL-ERG sun-OBL-DAT thanks N-know.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘He thanked the sun.’

- (121) [ce ag-ur=el], Allah, b-aχ-aq-a=k:^wa di-c:e!
 what go.PFV-PRET=INDQ Allah N-know.PFV-CAUS-IMP=PRT 1SG-IN
 ‘Allah, tell me what happened.’
- (122) tuχtur Ma^ha^hammad-li χalq^l-li-c:e w-arč:-aq-ij
 doctor Mahammad-ERG people-OBL-IN M-find.PFV-CAUS-INF
 ‘(that) doctor Mahammad makes the people find (him)’

The second option for affective verbs is not to have any change in the argument structure of the predicate such that both grammatical relations (A and P) as well as semantic roles remain unaltered. Only the semantics of the predicate slightly changes when the verb is causativized (123a–123b) and acquires a more agentive reading. This becomes especially obvious when the ergative instead of the dative is used to encode the experiencer of a causativized affective predicate. Verbs that choose this strategy are *b-ik-* ‘want, like’, *b-ark-* (PFV) ‘find’, and *han d-irk-* (IPFV) ‘remember’ (>*han d-irč-aq-*).

- (123) a. aba-j dur^hu^h w-ik:-u
 mother-DAT boy M-want.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘Mother likes/wants her son.’ (E)
- b. Murad-li-j Madina r-ič:-aq-ib
 Murad-OBL-DAT Madina F-want.IPFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Murad loved Madina.’ (E)
- (124) d-aq ^ha^hkim-dex d-ič:-aq-u di-la uc:iq^lar-li-j
 NPL-much official-NMLZ NPL-want.IPFV-CAUS-PRS.3 1SG-GEN cousin-OBL-DAT
 ‘My cousin loves official appointments very much.’

If trivalent predicates are causativized, then A becomes the causee with the appropriate case suffix (IN-lative) and a new causer in the ergative is added to the clause (125). Since the verb *b-ik-* (PFV)/*luk-* (IPFV) ‘give’ assigns not only the dative case to the recipient, but alternatively also the IN-lative, it is possible to have two arguments with the same case marking in a clause with the causativized verb ‘give’ (126). Due to the identical case marking such clauses are ambiguous.

- (125) at:a-l it-i-c:e dam x:un č-i-b-až-aq-aq-ib
 father-ERG that-OBL-IN 1SG.DAT way SPR-N-see.PFV-CAUS-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Father made him show me the way.’ (E)
- (126) at:a-l di-c:e it-i-c:e kiniga b-ič:-aq-ib
 father-ERG 1SG-IN that-OBL-IN book N-give.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Father made me give him the book.’ OR ‘Father made him give me the book.’ (E)

In sum, if an additional argument is added by means of causativization, it is always a causer marked with the ergative, independently of the valency class of the base predicate. Because the causer takes the subject position, the original subject (S or A) is demoted

into a non-subject position (S > P, A > G), taking over the highest free position on the hierarchy of grammatical relations. For S this is the direct object position (P); for A this is the indirect object position (G) since the direct object position (P/T) is already occupied. It is never P or T that is affected when bivalent or trivalent predicates are causativized such that causativization can perhaps be taken as a weak indicator of an accusative pivot (see the discussion of grammatical roles in §22.3).

Double causativization seems to be possible, as (125) shows, and can lead to the addition of two arguments (i.e. the two-place verb ‘see’ becomes a four place verb). However, it can also be used for emphasis only such that the second causativization does not result in the addition of a second argument (129). In the corpus I found only one example of this (130). The precise properties of double causative constructions are hard to determine because speakers have divergent intuitions about the acceptability and meaning of elicited examples and the only corpus example (130) is difficult to understand and to judge, even within its context.

- (127) χ:u-de d-iħ-ib
 dog-PL NPL-wrestle.PFV-PRET
 ‘The dogs fought.’ (E)
- (128) ʔa^ˆli-l χ:u-de d-iħ-a^ˆq-ib
 Ali-ERG dog-PL NPL-wrestle.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Ali made the dogs fight.’ (E)
- (129) ʔa^ˆli-l χ:u-de d-iħ-a^ˆq-a^ˆq-ib
 Ali-ERG dog-PL NPL-wrestle.PFV-CAUS-CAUS-PRET
 ‘Ali made the dogs fight.’ (E)
- (130) hek’-i-l b-a^ˆq-ib-le, d-iħ-a^ˆq-a^ˆq-ib=da
 DEM.UP-OBL-ERG N-strike.PFV-PRET-CVB 1/2PL-wrestle.PFV-CAUS-CAUS-PRET=1
 Ø-ik’-ul
 M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘He hit her, and “(we) were made to fight”, he says.’

The meaning of causative constructions can be described as the expression of “a causal relation between two events, one of which is believed by the speaker to be caused by the other” (Kulikov 2011). Depending on the semantics of the predicate and on the context, the meaning of the causative construction can be close to force (‘make do X’, ‘cause to X’), but it can also be ‘soft causation’, i.e., asking, requesting or begging (131), or sometimes even quite idiosyncratic and unpredictable. Thus, the meaning of the causativized intransitive verb *b-uc-* ‘work’ is ‘support, sustain’ (134) in addition to the expected causative meaning of ‘make work’.

- (131) χabar b-urs-aq-an=da
 story N-tell-CAUS-PTCP=1
 ‘We will ask for a story to be told.’

20 Agreement

Sanzhi Dargwa has gender, number and person agreement. Formally, there are several systems of agreement exponents that act completely independently from each other and are therefore treated separately. We can distinguish between pure number agreement, combined gender/number agreement and person agreement. Pure number agreement occurs noun-phrase internally and at the clausal level with a restricted number of TAM forms (§20.1). Combined gender and number agreement is attested for the vast majority of East Caucasian languages, including Sanzhi Dargwa (§20.2). It is often found within the noun phrase and at the clausal level with all TAM forms, including verb forms such as converbs and participles. Person agreement is rather rare for East Caucasian languages. Among the languages that have it are Dargwa languages such as Sanzhi (§20.3), Lak, Tabasaran, Batsbi (Tsova-Tush), Udi, and to a lesser extent Hunzib, Akhvakh, and some Avar varieties (see Helmbrecht 1996; van den Berg 1999; Schulze 2011). It only occurs at the level of the clause.

I will use the terms “agreement”, “target”, and “controller” in the sense of Corbett 2006 to describe the properties of the three types of agreement in Sanzhi.

20.1 Pure number agreement

Pure number agreement is found in the noun phrase and at the clausal level. Within the noun phrase, demonstrative pronouns (§4.2) and definite descriptions formed by means of the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (§9.6.1) agree with the head noun in number. If the head noun is in the plural the demonstrative pronoun must occur in the plural and the cross-categorical suffix must change to *-te* (or be omitted) (1), (2).

- (1) hin-na χ:ula-ce šu'ra
water-GEN big-DD.SG puddle
'a big puddle of water'
- (2) χ:ula-te q'asta-ne le-d
big-DD.PL target-PL exist-NPL
'There are big targets.'

Noun phrases modified by numerals other than *ca* ‘one’ are semantically plural and thus require demonstratives to appear in the plural and prohibit the use of the singular cross-categorical suffix¹ although no overt plural marking on the noun occurs (3). Some mass nouns also require plural agreement even though they are not overtly marked for plural, e.g. terms for ethnic groups of inhabitants of villages (6).

¹The suffix can also be omitted because the adjectives in attributive function can generally occur with or without it.

- (3) hel-ti ʔa^hbal d-uqna(-te) q^wal
 that-PL three NPL-old-DD.PL cow
 ‘those three old cows’ (E)

At the clausal level pure number agreement is expressed by means of the special plural suffix of the optative, *-ar-te*, which is only used for plural addressees (4) (§17.3), and through the cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* (plural *-te*) and *-il* in those periphrastic verb forms, which make use of the suffixes (experiential I, experiential II, obligative present). Singular agreement controllers require *-ce* (5) or *-il* (7); plural agreement controllers require *-te* (6), (8). This type of agreement follows ergative alignment. For one-place verbs and extended intransitive verbs the number agreement controller is the single argument in the absolutive (5), (6); with transitive verbs and affective verbs the number agreement controller is the absolutive patient or stimulus (7), (8). More examples are given in §20.3.2.

- (4) Allah-li ʔa^hle d-at-arte!
 Allah-ERG good-ADVZ 1/2PL-let.PFV-OPT.PL
 ‘May Allah leave you (plural) well!’
- (5) du w-ax-an-ce=da
 1SG M-go.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG=1
 ‘I (masc.) will go/have to go.’ (E)
- (6) het:i liil=ra č:u^hrug ka-b-e^h-ib=q:el,
 those all<HPL>=ADD Chakhri.people DOWN-HPL-go.PFV-PRET=when
 ka-d-e^h-ib-te=da
 DOWN-1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1
 ‘When all Chakhri people moved to the lowlands, we (also) moved.’
- (7) du-l julʔan-ni-gu-w w-arq^h-ib-il ca-w
 1SG-ERG blanket-OBL-SUB-M M-do.PFV-PRET-DD.SG COP-M
 ‘I gave birth to (my son) under a blanket.’ [modified corpus example]
- (8) [The others are hiding.]
 c^hil u-l b-urk-an-te ca-b hel-ti
 then 2SG-ERG HPL-find.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL COP-HPL that-PL
 ‘Then you have to find them.’ [modified corpus example]

20.2 Combined Gender/number agreement

20.2.1 General remarks on gender/number agreement

Combined gender/number agreement is a pervasive feature of East Caucasian languages including Sanzhi Dargwa. It is possible that within one clause three, four, or even more linguistic items agree with one and the same agreement controller. Sanzhi has three

genders that have a transparent semantic basis: masculine, feminine, and neuter (§3.1). Agreement targets for gender/number agreement can be divided according to the same two agreement domains that have been mentioned for pure number agreement in the previous section, i.e. (i) the clausal domain (§22.1), and (ii) domain of the noun phrase (§21.1). Within the domains the various targets can co-occur, depending on the morphosyntactic context (i.e. a noun in the essive case can but need not to be accompanied by an agreeing postposition). Example (9) illustrates agreement within a clause. Four targets (lexical verb, copula, noun and postposition) agree with the agreement controller (a nominal with a masculine singular referent), which is not overtly expressed. The noun phrase in (10) contains two agreeing modifiers, a quantifier and an adjective.

Clausal domain

- most vowel-initial verbs (§11.3)
- a few compound verbs with bound lexical stems (e.g. *b-al* ‘together’, *b-at* ‘set free, let’), the spatial preverbs *b-i-* ‘in, inside’ and *b-it-* ‘thither’ (§11.6)
- the standard copula (§16.1) as well as the locative copulas (§16.2) (including the negative locative/existential copula *b-ak:u*)
- the postpositions/adverbs *b-i* ‘in’, *b-alli* ‘together’, *b-arxle* ‘directly, straight’
- all items that can be inflected for the essive case, e.g. nouns, pronouns, spatial adverbs, postpositions, and all items that inflect for the directional case, i.e. mostly spatial adverbs (§3.4)

- (9) na w-is:-ul ca-w tusnaq-le-w w-i-w
 now M-cry-ICVB COP-M prison-LOC-M M-in-M
 ‘Now he is crying in prison.’

Domain of the noun phrase

- a handful of adjectives (§5.1)
- the quantifier *liil* ‘all’ and group numerals (§6.4)
- the derivational suffixes *-či-b* and *-azi-b*, which derive adjectives (§5.3)
- nouns, which function as modifiers in noun phrases and are inflected for the essive case (§3.4)

- (10) li<d>il d-ac’ šuš-ne
 all<NPL> NPL-empty bottle-PL
 ‘all empty bottles’ (E)

Furthermore, a small number of nouns (e.g. *b-ah* ‘owner, master’) (§3.1) and reflexive pronouns in the absolutive (§4.3) and one reciprocal pronoun (§4.4) contain gender exponents that express the gender of the referent.

The agreement affixes are given in Table 20.1. (Almost) all forms can occur as prefixes, suffixes, and infixes.² The only exception to this rule is the zero marking for masculine singular agreement, which is only possible in the prefixal position (see below for examples). Verbs (except for copulas) and adjectives have prefixes; the other agreement targets have suffixes or infixes. The agreement slots for prefixes, suffixes, and infixes are obligatorily filled for all targets that have them (i.e. all agreement targets with agreement slots always exhibit agreement).

Table 20.1: Agreement affixes in Sanzhi

	SG	1/2PL	3PL
masculine	w/∅	d	b
feminine	r	d	b
neuter	b	d	

As Table 20.1 shows, there are fewer distinctions in the plural than in the singular, because masculine and feminine are united in human plural agreement. In addition, human plural is conditioned by person: first and second person plural agreement controllers are marked with *d*, third person with *b*. This phenomenon is also found in other Dargwa varieties, Archi, Ingush, and Chechen (see, e.g. Chumakina et al. 2007 and Corbett 2012: 239–251 for analyses of Archi) (25).

The prefix for masculine singular is *w-*, but it is (optionally) deleted when it occurs between vowels or in initial position when followed by the vowels /i/ or /u/. Deletion of /w/ between two vowels leads to vowel lengthening when the two vowels have the same quality, e.g. *a-w-ax-an=da* (NEG-M-go-PTCP=1) > *axanda* ‘I will not go’ (vs. *a-r-ax-an=da* for female speakers), or the vowel quality changes according to the standard sandhi rules. For instance, *a-w-irχ-ud* (NEG-M-be.able.IPFV-1.PRS) > *a-irχud* > *erχud* ‘I cannot’ (vs. *a-r-irχ-ud* for female speakers) (see §2.6 for morphophonological rules). When occurring in initial position before *i* the prefix *w-* is optionally omitted, e.g. *∅-ik’-ud/w-ik’-ud* (M-say.IPFV-1.PRS) vs. *r-ik’-ud* (F-say.IPFV-1.PRS) ‘I say’. Before *u* the deletion is obligatory, e.g. *∅-uq-un/*w-uq-un* (M-go.PFV-PRET) vs. *r-uq-un* (F-go.PFV-PRET) ‘I went’.

There are two agreement domains for gender agreement, the noun phrase and the clause, which follow two different rules. Within the noun phrase, modifiers agree with the head in gender and number independently of the case marking on the head (11)–(14) (see §21.1 for the syntax of noun phrases).

- (11) a. *∅-uqna admi* ‘old person’ *b-uqna adimte* ‘old people’
 b. *r-uqna x:unul* ‘old woman’ *b-uqna x:unre* ‘old women’
 c. *b-uqna χ:we* ‘old dog’ *d-uqna χ:ude* ‘old dogs’

²There are only two agreement targets that have infixes, namely the quantifier *li-il* ‘all’ (10) and a variant of the standard copula *ca-i*. The form *ca-i* is used by a few speakers of Sanzhi in free variation with the much more common form *ca-b*. The quantifier *li-b-il* is diachronically complex and the gender marker is rather a suffix added to a stem *li-* and followed by the referential attributive suffix *-il*.

- (12) di-la Ø-uqna χat:aj
1SG-GEN M-old grandfather
'my old grandfather'
- (13) r-uqna aba le-r=de di-la
F-old mother exist-F=PST 1SG-GEN
'My old mother was alive.' (i.e. existed).
- (14) b-arx x:un-ne k-erc:-an=da
N-straight way-LOC down-stand.IPFV.M-PTCP=1
'I will be on the straight road.' (i.e. I will not behave badly)

Note that within the noun phrase as well as within the clause, gender agreement with a noun modified by a numeral other than *ca* 'one' is semantically based, i.e. it is plural, although the noun itself does not bear an overt plural suffix. See §20.2.2 below for another example and §21.1.2 for number marking and agreement within the noun phrase.

Within the clause, the agreement controller is most commonly the argument in the absolutive, though it is not necessarily overtly present in the clause. This rule applies independently of polarity, TAM features, and clause types, i.e. it is found with all finite and non-finite verb forms including various nominalized verb forms (participles, *masdars*). Examples (15–18) illustrate monovalent predicates agreeing with the S argument.

- (15) it pa^h-le r-itaq-ib
that steam-ADVZ F-disappear.PFV-PRET
'She disappeared like steam.'
- (16) hel-ti a-b-ebč'-ib
that-PL NEG-HPL-die.PFV-PRET
'They (human) did not die.'
- (17) li<d>il=ra ka-d-ič-ib x:un-be
all<PL>=ADD DOWN-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET way-PL
'All roads broke.'
- (18) nuš:a a-d-ebč'-ib=da
1PL NEG-1/2PL-die.PFV-PRET=1
'We did not die.'

In (19–22) bivalent predicates are presented. Example (19) contains a canonical transitive predicate. The agreement on the verb is controlled by the P argument. Other predicates behaving the same as canonical transitive verbs with respect to agreement are affective predicates with experiencers arguments in the dative or ergative and stimulus arguments in the absolutive case (20) (see also §19.1.8 for more information on bivalent affective predicates). Sentence (21) illustrates an extended intransitive predicate whose argument in the absolutive is the agreement controller. In (22) a ditransitive predicate is given that agrees with its T argument.

20 Agreement

- (19) it-i-l t'ult' b-erk^w-un
 that-OBL-ERG bread N-eat.PFV-PRET
 'S/he ate bread.'
- (20) na it du-l r-alχ-an=q'al
 now that 1SG-ERG F-know.IPFV-PTCP=MOD
 'Well, I must know her.'
- (21) it dam kač a-r-ič-ib
 that 1SG.DAT touch NEG-F-OCCUR.PFV-PRET
 'She did not touch me.'
- (22) it-i-l qu^r-be=ra d-ič-ib hel-t:i durh-n-a^c-j
 that-OBL-ERG pear-PL=ADD NPL-give.PFV-PRET that-PL boy-PL-OBL-DAT
 'He gave pears to the boys.'

In the antipassive construction, agreement is also controlled by the absolutive, which is now the agent (23) (see §19.2.1 for a detailed account).

- (23) it χabur-t-a-l r-ux-ul ca-r
 that story-PL-OBL-ERG F-tell.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'She is telling stories.'

Gender agreement with other than absolutive arguments is also attested. It is not very common, but corpus examples can be found. The non-absolutive arguments controlling the agreement are either ergative agents or experiencers in the dative. This phenomenon is discussed in detail in §20.2.4.

In complement constructions in which the complement clause functions as the absolutive argument of the matrix predicate the agreement affix *b* is used in case of local agreement of the matrix predicate with the complement clause (24). This can be interpreted as default agreement, because in Sanzhi predicates that do not govern any argument in the absolutive case and therefore do not have a syntactic agreement controller predominantly take the agreement marker *b* (see below). Alternatively, we can say that the matrix verb agrees with the nominalized complement clause. Nominalization of any linguistic items results in nominals belonging to the neuter gender and therefore the matrix predicate must take *b*-.

- (24) [niš:a-la baliq:-e le-d-ni niš:a-la erk^w-li-c:e-d] b-alχ-ul=de
 1PL-GEN fish-PL exist-NPL-MSD 1PL.OBL-GEN river-OBL-IN-NPL N-know-ICVB=PST
 '(S/he/they) knew that there were our fish in our river.'

Sanzhi Dargwa, like many other Dagestanian languages, also has the option for long-distance agreement where the gender/number agreement on the matrix verb is controlled by the absolutive argument of the complement clause. Long-distance agreement occurs rather infrequently in the Sanzhi corpus because there are only few agreeing

matrix predicates and the respective complement constructions are not very often used. Therefore, the precise rules specifying its distribution still need to be studied. In (25) the complement clause contains an intransitive predicate whose single argument is suppressed due to co-reference with the overt argument of the main clause. Nevertheless, it controls agreement on both predicates. More examples of long-distance agreement and references to the literature on East Caucasian languages can be found in §24.4.

- (25) niš:ij d-ik:ul=de [d-is:-ij]
 1PL.DAT 1/2PL-want.IPFV-ICVB=PST 1/2PL-cry-INF
 ‘We wanted to cry.’ (E)

If the clause does not contain an agreement controller because it is lacking an argument in the absolutive, then mostly the default affix *b* is used:

- (26) dam a-sa-r b-et'-ib ca-b
 1SG.DAT 2SG-ANTE-ABL N-long.for.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘I miss you.’ (E)

- (27) at b-uχ:ar(-re) ca-b
 2SG.DAT N-cold(-ADVZ) COP-N
 ‘You are cold.’ (E)

The same happens with the verb *b-us-* denoting precipitation phenomena (e.g. rain, snow). This predicate governs one single argument marked with the ergative (28). The identical phenomenon is observed in the neighboring Icari Dargwa variety (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 155), but apparently not in Standard Dargwa.

- (28) marka-l b-us-ul ca-b
 rain-ERG N-rain.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 ‘It is raining.’

Occasionally, not *b-* but *d-* is used as default agreement exponent. This mainly concerns some compound verbal predicates that consist of a bound stem that is not a nominal, and a light verb (§19.1.7). For instance, in (29) the verb is a compound consisting of the verbal part *b-ulq-* with the meaning ‘direct’ and a first part *simi*, and the agreement is always *d-*. Another example is the phrase with which one wishes a good day (17).

- (29) dam simi d-ulq-u
 1SG.DAT anger NPL-direct.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘I am angry.’

In addition to verbs also items bearing the essive case and the directional are agreement targets within the clausal domain. All essive cases in Sanzhi Dargwa as well as in other Dargwa varieties are expressed by adding a gender/number suffix to one of the spatial suffixes (§3.4). Thus, in the verbless sentence in (30), the noun bearing the spatial case suffix *-c:e* in the second clause agrees with the omitted absolutive argument

that is identical to the argument in the preceding clause. Both clauses represent copula constructions with an adverbial predicate (first clause) and a nominal predicate (second clause) respectively. Similarly, (31) shows two spatial adverbs agreeing with the absent absolutive argument.

- (30) χ alq' k:uš-le=de, da'w-i-la dus-m-a-c:e-b=de
 people hungry-ADVZ=PST war-OBL-GEN year-PL-OBL-IN-HPL=PST
 'The people were hungry, during the years of war.'
- (31) hila-d-a hekka gu-d-a ag-ur=da š:a
 behind-1/2PL-DIR from.there down-1/2PL-DIR go.PFV-PRET=1 village.LOC
 'Back (reversing) from there we went down to the village.'

However, it is possible and occasionally attested in the corpus that gender markers of spatial adverbials show default agreement rather than agreement controlled by the absolutive. For instance, in (32) the omitted absolutive argument is female, as can be seen from the agreement on the verb, but the directional adverbial exhibits default agreement. Similarly, in (33) the agreement controller is the masculine singular noun phrase at the end of the clause, but the adverb in clause-initial position has the neuter singular suffix.

- (32) hel-it:e-b-a r-u'q'-a'n!
 that-ADVZ-N-DIR F-go-IMP
 'Go like that (i.e. in that direction)!' (E)
- (33) ixt:u-b č:a'ʔa'l-li-j s:a'ʔa't k:aʔal-li-j w-iχ^w-ij ʔa'ʔuni-l
 there.UP-N morning-OBL-DAT hour eight-OBL-DAT M-be.PFV-INF needed-ADVZ
 ca-w hel admi
 COP-M that person
 'That person needs to be there in the morning at 8 o'clock.'

Another agreement target is the concessive converb of *b-iχ^w*- (PFV) 'be, become, be able, can', which is used in concessive clauses and, when the verb follows interrogative pronouns, for the formation of free-choice indefinite pronouns (see §4.6.3). Since *b-iχ^w*- is a verb with an agreement slot, the indefinite pronouns can, in principle, agree. Mostly they have default agreement, but they can also deviate from this pattern, for instance by being controlled by the absolutive argument. Thus in (34), *biχ^warra* could be replaced by \emptyset -*iχ^warra* which would represent agreement controlled by the omitted absolutive subject. At the present moment I do not have enough data to explain this variation.

- (34) da'ʔa'na w-irx-ul hi-la-k'a b-iχ^w-ar=ra qili
 secret M-become.IPFV-ICVB who.OBL-GEN-INDEF N-be.PFV-COND.3=ADD home
 '(He was) hiding at the house of whomever.'

20.2.2 Semantic agreement and other peculiarities

Semantic agreement refers to cases in which the morphosyntactic feature values of the agreement target do not match the formal features of the controller. Instead, the agreement matches some semantic properties of the controller. Many instances of semantic agreement are number or gender mismatches. In Sanzhi Dargwa, such examples are found with gender/number agreement exponents on verbs where the agreement controller is an NP containing numerical quantifiers. A noun modified by a numeral normally does not take a plural suffix, but it requires plural agreement on the verb (35), (36).

- (35) di-la k^wel x:unul le-b
 1SG-GEN two woman exist-HPL
 ‘I have two wives.’
- (36) č̣i-d-až-ib ca-d ʔa^hbal k:alk:i
 SPR-NPL-see.PFV-PRET COP-NPL three tree
 ‘(He) saw three trees.’

A further example of semantic agreement occasionally occurs in fairy tales in which the acting personas are animals. In such cases mostly the inherent gender of the nouns is used, i.e. neuter, but sometimes the referents are treated as if they were human beings and thus masculine agreement affixes appear. In (37), the verb of speech has the neuter singular prefix in accordance with the natural gender of the referent, a wolf. But the verb in the quote shows masculine singular agreement and thus the referent has been humanized.

- (37) “du”, b-ik’-ul ca-b “uškul-le w-aš-ib-il ak:^w-a-di du”
 1SG N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N school-LOC M-go-PRET-REF COP.NEG-HAB.PST-1 1SG
 ‘(The wolf) said, “I did not go to school.”’

Agreement with conjoined noun phrases can partially also be treated as semantic agreement (§20.2.3).

Another deviation that cannot readily be explained as semantic agreement is represented by a special construction for words denoting time spans such as *dus* ‘year’, *bac* ‘month’, *sa ʔa^ht* ‘hour’, or *minut* ‘minute’. These words belong to the neuter gender (38) and all of them except for *bac* have a plural form. However, when they are used to express periods of time with the verb *b-ič-* (PFV) ‘occur, be’, then agreement is neuter plural (39).

- (38) ca dus č̣i-r-b-it-ag-ur
 one year SPR-ABL-N-THITHER-go.PFV-PRET
 ‘One year finished.’ (e.g. of my studies) (E)
- (39) ca dus d-ič-ib ca-d, du sa-jɣ-ib-la
 one year NPL-occur.PFV-PRET COP-NPL 1SG HITHER-come.M.PFV-PRET-POST
 ‘One year passed by since I came here.’ (E)

20.2.3 Gender/number agreement with conjoined noun phrases

Agreement with conjoined noun phrases follows two strategies: either the conjoined noun phrase is treated like a noun marked for plural and thus controls plural agreement or there is agreement with the closest conjunct.

The first case can be treated as an instance of semantic agreement since the nouns are not morphologically marked for plural. The rules for this type of agreement with conjoined noun phrases are as follows: two nouns denoting human beings control human plural agreement (40), and two nouns denoting animals or objects control neuter plural agreement (41).³

- (40) heba er b-ik'-ul ca-b sa-b-eb-ib-le
 then look HPL-look.at.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL HITHER-HPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB
 at:a=ra aba=ra
 father=ADD mother=ADD

‘Then the mother and the father came and looked.’

- (41) χazajn-ni d-erč-ib ca-d urči=ra amyχa=ra
 owner-ERG NPL-lead.PFV-PRET COP-NPL horse=ADD donkey=ADD
 či-ka-d-iš:-ib-le dex=ra
 SPR-DOWN-NPL-put.PFV-PRET-CVB load[NPL]=ADD

‘The owner took the horse and the donkey and put the load on them.’

When the first and second person singular or plural pronouns are conjoined with nouns the agreement for first and second person plural is used, i.e. *d* (42), (43).

- (42) u=ra du=ra kaj d-uq-ij ja zamana a-b-ič-ib
 2SG=ADD 1SG=ADD word 1/2PL-go.PFV-INF or time NEG-N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET

‘There was not time for you and me to chat.’ (E)

- (43) c'il sa-č-ib-le, niš:a-la zunra=ra nuš:a=ra q:uβa-l
 then HITHER-lead.PFV-PRET-CVB 1PL-GEN neighbor=ADD 1PL=ADD beautiful-ADVZ
 ka-d-iž-ib-le, ...
 DOWN-1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET-CVB

‘Then after having invited (them), our neighbors and we sat together, ...’

When a noun denoting a human being occurs in conjunction with a noun denoting an animal or object the agreement is human plural:

- (44) zija=ra kax-ub ca-b, χudec'an=ra kax-ub ca-w,
 horsefly=ADD kill.PFV-PRET COP-N Khuduc.person=ADD kill.PFV-PRET COP-M
 b-ebč'-ib ca-b
 HPL-die.PFV-PRET COP-HPL

‘(The Sanzhi man shot) and killed the horsefly and he killed the Khuduc man, and (they both) died.’

³The same rules apply if one or both of the conjuncts are plural nouns.

- (45) er b-ik'-ul ca-b
 look HPL-look.at.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 '(The boy and the dog) are looking.'

Plural agreement is sometimes even found in comitative constructions. There are two ways of expressing comitative roles. One is via the use of the comitative case (46), (48) and the other is via the use of the reflexive pronoun (47), (49) (§30.3). In both constructions normally the absolutive argument controls the agreement as the following two sentences show:

- (46) hana hež x:unul-li-c:ella w-irh-u'l ca-w
 now this woman-OBL-COMIT M-fight.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'Now he is fighting with this wife.'
- (47) uže heχ durhu[°]=ra ca-w=ra arg-ul ca-w=nu
 already DEM.DOWN boy=ADD REFL-M=ADD go.IPFV-ICVB COP-M=PRT
 'He is already walking with this son.'

However, there are very few examples in which the comitative phrase is treated as a plural noun phrase and therefore controls plural agreement. Example (48) illustrates this for the comitative case, and example (49) shows the comitative construction with a reflexive pronoun. In the first example, the human plural agreement could be replaced with masculine singular *w-*. In the second example, the agreement is first/second person plural *d-* since the author of the quote is referring to himself and his wife, thus the sentence is a quote with an omitted matrix clause.

- (48) a hel ža[°]h durhu[°] cin-na q:uža x:unul-li-c:ella er
 and that good boy REFL.SG-GEN beautiful woman-OBL-COMIT life
 b-iχ-ub ca-b hana-li-j=sat=ra
 HPL-be.PFV-PRET COP-HPL now-OBL-DAT=as.much=ADD
 'The good boy with this beautiful wife lived until now.'
- (49) [he probably thinks]
 heχ-it:e x:unul=ra ca-w=ra q:uža-l
 DEM.DOWN-ADVZ woman=ADD REFL-M=ADD beautiful-ADVZ
 ka-d-iž-ib d-iχ-ut:el, ža[°]h-le
 DOWN-1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET 1/2PL-be.PFV-COND.PST good-ADVZ
 b-urč:-i
 N-find.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 'If he would sit together with his wife well like this, this would be good.'

The alternative to plural agreement in conjoined noun phrases is called "closest conjunct agreement". Closest conjunct agreement has been demonstrated to exist in a number of East Caucasian languages (see e.g. Gagliardi et al. 2009 on Tsez, and Chumakina 2014 on Archi). It is possible with conjoined noun phrases that follow or precede the

verb. In each case, the member of the conjunction that happens to occur closer to the agreement target controls the agreement instead of agreement with the noun phrase as a whole:

- (50) *du^hrhu^h-la b-už-ib ca-b χ^we=ra ?a^ht^ha=ra*
 boy-GEN N-stay-PRET COP-N dog=ADD frog=ADD
 ‘The boy had a dog and a frog.’

Gagliardi et al. (2009) show that in Tsez, agreement with the closest conjunct is only possible when the agreement controller is adjacent to the verb. This is not the case in Sanzhi. Example (51) shows that the noun *kulpat* ‘family’ controls the agreement on the preceding verb (HPL) even though the personal pronoun intervenes.

- (51) *heχ-t:u-b han b-ič-ib dam kulpat=ra,*
 DEM.DOWN-LOC-HPL remember HPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET 1SG.DAT family=ADD
li<d>il cik'al hel-t:i=ra ...
 all<NPL> something that-PL=ADD
 ‘And there I remembered my family and everything, ...’

In the following two examples, the agreement affix *b* can either be interpreted as neuter and thus as instantiating closest conjunct agreement or as human plural agreement, i.e. semantic agreement with a noun phrase that is treated as a noun in the plural (52), (53). More specifically, in example (52), the verb shows closest conjunction agreement with the following noun *du^hrhu^h* ‘boy’, and the agreement of the clause-final spatial adverb *b-i* ‘into’ is ambiguous. Similarly, in (53), the agreement suffix of the copula *ca-b* is also ambiguous and both noun phrases are equally close to the verb in terms of linear adjacency.

- (52) *il alen-ni qi-m-a:c:e-r lak' w-arq'-ib ca-w du^hrhu^h=ra*
 that deer-ERG horn-PL-OBL-IN-ABL throw M-do.PFV-PRET COP-M boy=ADD
χ^we=ra hin-ni-c:e b-i
 dog=ADD water-OBL-IN N/HPL-IN
 ‘The deer threw the boy and the dog into the water on its horns.’
- (53) *zija=ra kax-ub ca-b il admi=ra*
 horsefly=ADD kill.PFV-PRET COP-N/HPL that person=ADD
 ‘(He) killed the horsefly and the man.’

20.2.4 Gender agreement with arguments in other than the absolutive case (“Deviant agreement”)

Surprising for East Caucasian languages is the fact that, in Sanzhi Dargwa, under certain circumstances the agreement in a simple clause can be controlled by arguments not in the absolutive case, but in the ergative or dative. These arguments can be present or absent from the clause. In the following, I will refer to this phenomenon as “deviant gender

agreement” or simply “deviant agreement”. The agreement targets for which agreement with the ergative or dative is attested are the standard copula (54–57) and the existential/locational copulas (63) when they are used as auxiliaries in periphrastic verb forms and also the exponents of the essive case (61). It is mostly found in clauses with a number of analytic verb forms such as the compound present (54) or the resultative (57).

In my Sanzhi corpus agreement with non-absolute arguments is not particularly frequent, but there are a few clear examples. The majority contains verbs of speech or cognition, in particular *b-urs-* ‘N-tell’ (54–56), but also a few other verbs (57). In all examples (54–57) the standard copula *ca-b* has an agreement suffix that differs from the agreement prefix of the lexical verb with which the copula forms an analytic verb form.

- (54) *il sa-sa-jɕ-ib=q:el, xabar b-urs-ul ca-w*
 that ANTE-HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET=when story N-tell-ICVB COP-M
il-i-l
 that-OBL-ERG
 ‘When he came home, he was talking (telling stories).’
- (55) *it-i-l di-c:e d-urs-ul ca-r*
 that-OBL-ERG 1SG-IN NPL-tell-ICVB COP-F
 ‘She tells (stories) to me.’
- (56) *b-urs-ul ca-w heχ-i-l cin-i-j*
 N-tell-ICVB COP-M DEM.DOWN-OBL-ERG REFL.SG-OBL-DAT
či-d-ič-ib-t-a-lla qari=či-d
 SPR-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-DD.PL-OBL-GEN up=on-NPL
 ‘He is telling about what he experienced.’
- (57) [The wife came and says, Come home!]
heχ b-ič-aq-ib ca-w q:u^ˆnq-li-c:e
 DEM.DOWN N-OCCUR.PFV-CAUS-PRET COP-M nose-OBL-IN
 ‘(He) put it on her nose (i.e. he hit her nose).’

There are also a number of examples with dative experiencers that control gender agreement (58–60).

- (58) [The boy is looking at this, right?]
ce=jal il-t:i; h-as:-ij b-ik:-ul ca-w il-i-j
 what=INDQ that-PL UP-take.PFV-INF N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-M that-OBL-DAT
 ‘Maybe these; he wants to take (it).’
- (59) *ʔa^ˆq^ˆlu b-ik:-ar-aj b-ik:-ul ca-w*
 mind N-give.PFV-PRS-SUBJ.3 N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘(He) wants to give him knowledge.’
- (60) *han b-irk-ul ca-w heχ-i-j*
 seem N-OCCUR.IPFV-ICVB COP-M DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT
 ‘He is thinking/imagining.’

There are very few corpus examples in which it is a spatial adjunct in the essive case that shows deviant agreement with an argument that is not marked for absolutive case. In example (61) the ergative first person pronoun is omitted, but it controls the masculine singular agreement on the clause-initial adverbial. More examples can be elicited; in (62) the lexical verb does not have an agreement prefix, so the agreement mismatch is not immediately obvious, but the absolutive patient *kiniga* ‘book’ is neuter singular and would require the suffix *-b* on the copula in case of non-deviant agreement.

- (61) hež sawχuz-li-c:e-w aᵏʷ-c'al dus ʔa'ci b-arq'-ib=da
 this sovkhoz-OBL-IN-M four-TEN year work N-do.PFV-RET=1
 ‘In the sovkhoz (I, masc.) worked for 40 years.’
- (62) Isaq'adi-l uškul-le-w kiniga luk'-unne ca-w
 Isakadi-ERG school-LOC-M book write.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘Isakadi is writing a book in the school.’ (i.e. sitting in the school). (E)

Deviant agreement with the existential copulas can be elicited:

- (63) χabar b-urs-ul le-w/te-w/χe-w/k'e-w il-i-l
 story N-tell-ICVB exist-M/exist.AWAY-M/exist.DOWN-M/exist.UP-M that-OBL-ERG
 ‘He is telling a story.’ (E)

Deviant agreement never occurs with agreement exponents that belong to the lexical part of the predicate (lexical root, preverbs), but only with copula-auxiliaries and clausal adjuncts. Furthermore, the controller is in the ergative or dative and functions as a agent or experiencer argument of the predicate. It cannot be in any other case. Ergative agents and dative experiencer arguments of transitive and affective verbs share many subject properties with absolutive arguments of intransitive verbs (Forker 2017; 2019b). By contrast, arguments that do not function as agents or experiencers and are marked by other cases lack subject properties and cannot function as agreement controllers.

Deviant agreement is unusual for East Caucasian languages, but has been documented for a number of Dargwa varieties, most notably Akusha (Standard) Dargwa (van den Berg 1999; Ganenkov 2018), Tanti Dargwa (Sumbatova & Lander 2014: 450–493) and Shiri Dargwa (Belyaev 2016; 2017a,b). The different authors have put forward various explanations and hypotheses concerning the syntactic and semanto-pragmatic properties of the construction. According to all authors, gender agreement with the ergative argument (but also with the absolutive or dative) is conditioned by information structure. In her account, van den Berg (1999) states that deviant agreement with ergative agents does not require any specific pragmatic conditions whereas agreement with patients in the absolutive highlights them. She further claims that absolutive patients controlling agreement are topical (“themes” in her terminology). Sumbatova & Lander (2014) refine this analysis and claim that topical arguments independently of their case marking control gender agreement. Sumbatova (2010) and Sumbatova & Lander (2014) write that deviant agreement with ergative agents is frequent in Tanti Dargwa narratives. They further show that deviant agreement can also occur in cleft constructions that express constituent focus.

When discussing sentences with ergative agreement with Sanzhi speakers and eliciting new examples, an effect on the information structure is noticeable. Absolutive agreement is always possible, so it is the deviation from this pattern that requires an explanation. Absolutive agreement is preferred in answers to constituent questions regarding the agent or the patient that have narrow focus (64a). By contrast, ergative agreement is readily available when the question is, for example, about the place in which the agent is located (64b).

- (64) a. [Who is tearing out the carrots?]
 Aminat-li žit'a gu-r-ha-b-ilt'-unne ca-b
 Aminat-ERG carrot SUB-ABL-UP-N-tear.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 'Aminat is tearing out a carrot from under the earth.' (E)
- b. [Where is Aminat?]
 Aminat-li žit'a gu-r-ha-b-ilt'-unne ca-r
 Aminat-ERG carrot SUB-ABL-UP-N-tear.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'Aminat is tearing out a carrot from under the earth.' (E)

Constituent order and closeness to the agreement controller also play a role for deviant agreement. In sentence (65a) the controller occurs in sentence-initial position whereas the target, the copula, appears clause-finally. With such a constituent order agreement with a dative (or ergative) controller is highly marginal (although available in elicitation as (64b) proves). It becomes possible when the controller occurs next to the target, more specifically when it is following the target (65b). In fact, in all but one instance of agreement with an ergative or dative argument attested in the Sanzhi corpus the controller immediately follows the copula (58), (60). Furthermore, the controllers are expressed by pronouns (55), (60), or absent from the clause (57), (59)

- (65) a. Rasul-li-j cin-ni d-arq'-ib-te han
 Rasul-OBL-DAT REFL-ERG NPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL remember
 d-irčaq-ul ca-d
 NPL-occur.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL
 'Rasul remembers what he had done.' (E)
- b. cin-ni d-arq'-ib-te han d-irčaq-ul ca-w
 REFL-ERG NPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL remember NPL-occur.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 Rasul-li-j
 Rasul-OBL-DAT
 'Rasul remembers what he had done.' (E)

This seems to point to an explanation based on topicality as formulated by Sumbatova & Lander (2014), i.e., topical items control agreement. And more specifically, deviant agreement is only possible by topical controllers, because (i) pronouns and zero arguments are usually topical, and (ii) the position after the predicate is a frequent position for topical subjects in Sanzhi, and can also be used for contrastive topics (§27.2).

This idea has been proposed by Sumbatova (2010) and Ganenkov (2018). Ganenkov observes that certain characteristics of deviant gender agreement, namely that it is restricted to the copula-auxiliary (as opposed to agreement prefixes of lexical verbs) and thus found only in periphrastic tenses, resemble biabsolutive constructions. In biabsolutive constructions, the agent agrees with the copula-auxiliary and the patient with the lexical verb (68). They have been described for many East Caucasian languages (see Forker (2012) and Gagliardi et al. (2014) for recent accounts) including Sanzhi's neighbor Icari Sumbatova & Mutalov (2003: 156), but are not attested in Sanzhi. In biabsolutive constructions, the agent is generally topicalized whereas the patient is pragmatically demoted and backgrounded. For biabsolutive constructions a biclausal analysis has been proposed (Kazenin 1998; Kazenin & Testelefs 1999; Kazenin 2001): the agent in the higher clause controls agreement on the copula-auxiliary just like other intransitive predicates; the patient is located in the subordinate clause and thus only controls the agreement of the lexical verb (68).

- (68) Icari Dargwa (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 156)
 Murad [mura d-ut-a-ti] ca-w
 Murad hay NPL-MOW.IPFV-PROG-PROG.CVB COP-M
 'As to Murad, he is mowing hay.'

Ganenkov (2018) adopts the biclausal analysis for deviant agreement and poses an unexpressed absolutive argument higher in the clause that is co-referent with the ergative (or dative) argument and controls the agreement on the copula auxiliary. In other words, the initial ergative subject raises to the position of the higher absolutive subject (subject-to-subject raising) and controls gender agreement. By contrast, the expressed ergative argument is located in the subordinate clause as schematized in (69).

- (69) _i(ABS) [Aminat-li_i žit'a gu-r-ha-b-ilt'-unne] ca-r
 Aminat-ERG carrot SUB-ABL-UP-N-tear.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'Aminat is tearing out a carrot from under the earth.'

Ganenkov's proposal goes back to the suggestion by Sumbatova (2010) to analyze deviant agreement as backward control and thus also as having a bipartite structure. In backward control constructions, the subject-like argument of a complement-taking predicate is expressed in the complement clause and thus receives case marking from the embedded lexical verb. Nevertheless, the matrix verb shows agreement with the embedded controller (see (42) in §24.2.6 and also (116), (117) in §24.5). On the surface this looks like agreement with an oblique argument, but as Polinsky & Potsdam (2002; 2006) have shown for Tsez, it can be argued that the matrix verb contains a covert controllee in the absolutive case.

However, the biclausal approach seems to be problematic. As Forker (2012) demonstrated, a synchronic biclausal analysis for many biabsolutive constructions is not tenable. The same can be said for constructions with deviant agreement. As explained above, in natural texts the default position of the agreement controller is after the predicate.

Since subordinate clauses cannot be discontinues or split up by constituents from the main clause, we thus would have to claim that the pronoun in (70) occurs to the right of the clausal boundary. However, topical pronouns following the predicate are common and there is no reason to assume that they are extraclausal constituents (e.g. no intonational break). Furthermore, in examples such as (56) not only the subject pronoun but also the complement would have to be treated as extraclausal.

- (70) [χabar b-urs-ul] ca-w il-i-l
 story N-tell-ICVB COP-M that-OBL-ERG
 ‘He was talking (telling stories).’

In sum, neither the functional-pragmatic properties nor the syntactic properties of deviant agreement are settled. It seems that a synchronic biclausal analysis for deviant agreement poses problems (though a diachronic analysis may still be possible). Alternatively, we can argue that a binary opposition of monoclausal vs. biclausal constructions is too limited. We should instead refine our notion of clause by applying the model of Multivariate Typology (Bickel 2011; 2015). This would mean breaking up the notion of clause into a sensible number of variables by means of detailed language-specific studies. In a second step we can then check our data for clusters around potential categories such as “monoclausal” and “biclausal” constructions and determine whether the Sanzhi deviant agreement construction fits into one of these.

A typologically-informed account of deviant agreement needs to not only take into account what we know so far, but also non-verbal agreement controllers, more detailed information about word order and further aspects that have not been investigated yet. To the latter belong referential properties of the agreement controller such as animacy or humanness, since we know that some languages do not allow inanimate agents in biabsolute constructions (Forker 2012).

20.3 Person agreement

20.3.1 Introduction

Like all Dargwa varieties, Sanzhi Dargwa has person agreement enclitics and agreement suffixes. When suffixes are used and when enclitics are used depends on the TAM forms of the verbs, which means that all verbs can, in principle, be used with person suffixes and with person enclitics (with the exception of the morphologically defective copula verbs, which can only attach person enclitics). Suffixes and enclitics follow the same agreement rules, but differ in their form and morphosyntactic characteristics. The origins of the Dargwa agreement systems including Sanzhi Dargwa remain opaque. Pronouns and auxiliaries have been proposed as possible sources but there are no reliable proofs (Sumbatova 2011: 147–158).

The form of the agreement suffixes varies depending on the TAM form. There are a number of different sets. They mostly resemble each other because (i) the third person is either unmarked or differs from the other persons in morphological make-up, (ii) the first

and third person are not differentiated for number, and (iii) only the second person has two distinct suffixes for the singular and the plural. Thus the person systems are rather reduced, with a clear opposition of speech act participants (first and second person) vs. third person.

The use of the suffixes is restricted to verbs, i.e. only verbs can serve as targets. The most common sets of person suffixes are given in Table 20.2, Table 20.3, and Table 20.4. Imperative and prohibitive suffixes are given here because of their resemblance with the optative paradigm (imperative) and the habitual present, habitual past and conditional paradigms (prohibitive), which suggests a diachronic relationship.

Person agreement is subject to clause-level conditions because not all verb forms of main clauses have person agreement markers. Certain forms with past time reference (e.g. the past progressive, the evidential past, and the evidential pluperfect) make use of the past enclitic, which is in complementary distribution with the person enclitics. Another factor is finiteness: almost exclusively verb forms in finite main clauses and in conditional clauses can be marked for person agreement. Thus, the masdar, converbs, and participles, when used in subordinate clauses, do not contain agreement markers (see (116) below for the subjunctive, which represents the exception to this rule).

In the habitual present, the realis conditional, and the past conditional, the person suffix for the first and second person is preceded by a stem augment vowel that is indicated with *V* in the Tables above. The vowel is either *i* or *u*. The same vowels are also used in the subjunctive and the prohibitive (116), and the same distinction (though without the stem augment vowels) is attested in the imperative. For one-place verbs *u* is the only vowel that is used. For two-place verbs the following distribution is observed:

- *-u* with reflexive and reciprocal constructions and agentive third persons
- *-i* with patientive third persons
- *-u* or *-i* in all other cases, i.e. agentive second person with patientive first, and vice versa agentive first person with patientive second person

This has been summed up in Table 20.5. The stem augment vowels are treated as part of the suffixes. They are not part of the stem. Therefore, they are not separately glossed, but written together with the TAM suffixes. As the Table shows, there is variation when both core arguments are speech act participants (i.e. first and second person). Based on my corpus data and on elicitation I do not have an explanation for the variation and thus my analysis is only preliminary and requires further research before a conclusion can be reached.

In the following, I will briefly illustrate the use of the stem augment vowels. Sentence (71) shows the habitual present first person of an intransitive verb (see also (75) below for another intransitive verb with the stem augment vowel *u*).

- (71) ix^wle dawlači-w w-irχ-ud
 fast rich-M M-become.IPFV-1.PRS
 ‘I (masc.) become rich fast.’

Table 20.2: Person agreement suffixes in the habitual present and habitual past

	habitual present (IPFV)		habitual past (IPFV)	
	singular	plural	singular	plural
1		-V- <i>d</i>		- <i>a-di</i>
2	-V- <i>t:e</i>	-V- <i>t:a</i>	- <i>a:t:e</i>	- <i>a:t:a</i>
3		- <i>u/-ar</i>		- <i>i(ri)</i>

Table 20.3: Person agreement suffixes in conditional forms

	realis cond. (PFV)		past cond. (PFV)		imperfective cond. (IPFV)	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1		-V- <i>lle</i>		-V- <i>t:el</i>		- <i>aχ:-a-lle</i>
2	-V- <i>t:e(l)</i>	-V- <i>t:al</i>	-V- <i>t:el</i>	-V- <i>t:al</i>	- <i>aχ:-a-t(te)</i>	- <i>aχ:-a-t(tal)</i>
3		- <i>ar(re)/-an</i>		- <i>ar-del/-an-del</i>		- <i>aχ:-a-n(ne)/-aχ:-a-r(re)</i>

Table 20.4: Person agreement in the optative, imperative, and prohibitive

	optative (PFV)		imperative (PFV)		prohibitive (IPFV)	
	singular	plural	singular	plural	singular	plural
1		- <i>ab-a</i>	—	—	—	—
2	- <i>ab-e</i>	- <i>ab-a/</i> - <i>ab-aj/</i> - <i>ab-aja</i>	- <i>a /</i> - <i>e /</i> - <i>en</i>	- <i>aj(a)/</i> - <i>ene</i>	-V- <i>t:(a)</i>	-V- <i>t:aj(a)</i>
3		- <i>ab</i>	—	—	—	—

Table 20.5: Stem augment vowels for transitive and two-place affective verbs

	1 patient	2 patient	3 patient
1 agent	- <i>u</i>	- <i>i, -u</i>	- <i>i</i>
2 agent	- <i>i, -u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>i</i>
3 agent	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>	- <i>u</i>

Examples (72) and (73) illustrate the realis conditional with a person marker for second singular. In the first sentence, the stem augment is *u* but *i* would also be possible). In (73) there is a second person agent acting upon a third person, hence only *i* is allowed.

(72) u-l du w-it-ut:e
2SG-ERG 1SG M-beat.up-COND.2SG
'if you beat me up' (E)

(73) u-l it w-it-it:e
2SG-ERG that M-beat.up-COND.2SG
'if you beat him up' (E)

In sentence (74a), the habitual present illustrates a first person experiencer with a third person stimulus with the stem augment *-i* and (74b) shows the reversed scenario with the stem augment vowel *u*.

(74) a. dam it č̣i-w-iž-id
1SG.DAT that SPR-M-see.IPFV-1.PRS
'I will see him.'

b. it-i-j du č̣i-w-ig-ud
that-OBL-DAT 1SG SPR-M-see.IPFV-1.PRS
'S/he will see me (masc.)'

Table 20.6 displays the agreement enclitics. As can be seen in this table, only the second person singular has a unique marker. For the third person there are no person markers. Instead, depending on the time reference of the clause and on the context, the third person is left unmarked, or some other marker appears filling the gap in the paradigm (e.g. the copula *ca-b*, which exhibits gender/number agreement or the suffix *-ne*). Person agreement enclitics are widely used throughout the verbal paradigm, e.g. in the compound present and past, the perfect, the preterite, the future, etc.

Table 20.6: Person agreement enclitics

	singular	plural
1		= <i>da</i>
2	= <i>de</i>	= <i>da</i>
3	—	—

The person enclitics belong to the predicative particles (§9.1). They are normally added to the predicate, but, just as other predicative particles, can also be used to express term focus (also called “constituent focus”). In this case, they are encliticized to the item in focus, which can be an argument or adjunct, such that agreement targets are not only verbs but can be also nominals, adverbs, or other items (Kalinina & Sumbatova 2007, Sumbatova 2013, Forker 2016b).

Person suffixes and person enclitics are subject to the same syntactic alignment rules: S, A, P, and T (i.e. the theme argument of a ditransitive verb) control person agreement. Person agreement is obligatory and it is freely combinable with gender/number agreement because both agreement systems operate independently of each other. Only one argument can control the agreement. The alignment patterns for person agreement among the Dargwa languages vary to a substantial extent (see Sumbatova 2011 and 2013 for overviews). They are determined by the ranking of absolutive vs. ergative arguments, and in a number of varieties also by person hierarchies. The person hierarchies found are either $2 > 1 > 3$ (e.g. Icarı, Kajtag, Qunqi, and Xuduc) or $1, 2 > 3$ (e.g. Akusha and Standard Dargwa, Chirag). In many varieties the hierarchies are combined with a ranking of grammatical roles: patient argument (absolutive) > agent argument (ergative) is found in Akusha and Standard Dargwa, whereas agent argument (ergative) > patient argument (absolutive) has been documented for Chirag, Kubachi, and Mehweb. In Shiri Dargwa, in contrast to the above mentioned varieties, there is a considerable amount of variation within the speech community, and Belyaev (2013) distinguishes three slightly different alignment systems. A similar conclusion can be drawn for Sanzhi. There is also a certain degree of intra- and inter-speaker variation.

20.3.2 Person agreement rules

In clauses with monovalent predicates, only the S argument serves as controller. Examples of first and second person are given in (75–77) for verbal predicates and (78) for a copula construction.

- (75) Habitual present
 du ha^hha^h Ø-ik'-ud
 1SG laughter I-say.IPFV-1.PRS
 'I (masc.) laugh.'
- (76) Realis conditional
 celij d-aqil k'e-d, čı-d-u^q'-u^t:al
 whole NPL-much exist.UP-NPL SPR-1/2PL-go.PFV-COND.2PL
 'There is much there (i.e. the graveyard is large), if you go there.'
- (77) Compound present
 čına arg-ul=de?
 where go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG
 'Where are you going?'
- (78) du k:uš-le=da
 1SG hungry-ADVZ=1
 'I am hungry.'

In the following examples, third person agreement with intransitive predicates is illustrated. The agreement exponent can be a suffix as in the examples of the habitual past

in (79). Example (88) shows the compound present for which the copula is used for third person agreement (whereas in the third or second person a person enclitic would occur, see (77)). Other analytic tenses such as the preterite do not make use of the copula for the third person (but employ person markers for the first and second person) (80). In the copula construction in (81) also the copula is used. Finally, verb forms such as the compound present that in declarative main clauses require a copula for the third person omit the copula in questions with interrogative enclitics (82). This is possible because the interrogative enclitics belong to the predicative particles, which fulfill copula-functions, among other things (§9.1).

- (79) Habitual Past
 daže hex-t:i dubur-t-a:c:e t'ama ha-d-aš-iri
 even DEM.UP-PL mountain-PL-OBL-IN sound UP-NPL-go-HAB.PST.3
 'The sound went even to the mountains.'
- (80) Preterite
 di-la c'a d-iš-aq-un
 1SG-GEN fire NPL-die.out.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 'My fire died out.'
- (81) rurs:i aba-j miši-l ca-r
 girl mother-DAT similar-ADVZ COP-F
 'The daughter is similar to her mother.' (E)
- (82) Compound present
 čina it arg-ul=e?
 where that go.IPFV-ICVB=Q
 'Where is s/he going?'

The same rule applies to extended intransitive verbs, i.e. verbs that have one argument in the absolutive and another one marked with the dative or a spatial case. Thus in (83) and (84), verb forms with first and second person markers occur; in (85), the preterite is used, which lacks a marker for the third person.

- (83) Habitual past, conditional past
 tiliwizur-ri-j er r-ik'^w-a-di, či-d-ig-ul
 television-OBL-DAT look F-look.at.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB
 r-iχ-ut:el
 F-be.able.PFV-COND.1SG
 'I would watch TV if I were able to see.'
- (84) Compound present
 x:unul-li-sa-r uruχ ∅-ik'-ul=de=w?
 woman-OBL-ANTE-ABL fear M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q
 'Are you afraid of your wife?'

- (85) Preterite
 ilt:i q:ačub-e k:ač a-b-ič-ib il-i-j
 those bandit-PL touch NEG-HPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET that-OBL-DAT
 ‘The bandits did not touch him.’

There are a number of monovalent predicates that lack absolutive arguments and have only dative arguments. In §20.2.1 the consequences for gender agreement were discussed. These predicates cannot control person agreement, and instead the third person is always used (86), (87). A number of weather predicates only have ergative arguments, and likewise they only exhibit third person agreement (88).

- (86) dam / at / hel-i-j wahi-l ca-b heχ-t:u-b
 1SG.DAT / 2SG.DAT / that-OBL-DAT bad-ADVZ COP-N DEM.DOWN-LOC-N
 ‘I/you/she/he feel(s) bad there.’ (E)
- (87) dam b-uχ:ar ač:-ib
 1SG.DAT N-cold get.PFV-PRET
 ‘I got cold.’ (E)
- (88) Compound present
 du^hi-l b-us-ul ca-b
 SNOW-ERG N-SNOW.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 ‘It is snowing.’ (E)

There are other monovalent predicates that are compound verbs, and that from a morphological point of view contain petrified nominal arguments which in some cases control gender agreement and in others do not. These behave just like any other monovalent predicate, i.e. the single argument controls the person agreement (89); see also (29) above.

- (89) Future
 dawaj (nuš:a) dum d-alt-an=da
 let’s (1PL) eating 1/2PL-let.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘Come on, we will eat.’ (modified corpus example)

In clauses with bivalent verbs that are either genuine transitive verbs or affective verbs both arguments (i.e. agents/experiencers, and patients/stimuli) can control person agreement, but only one argument at a time.

In clauses with only third person arguments we find the respective agreement markers for the third person:

- (90) Habitual present
 it-i-j it či-w-ig-u
 that-OBL-DAT that SPR-M-see.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘S/he sees him.’ (E)

- (91) Resultative
 milic'a-b-a-l w-erč-ib ca-w il
 police-PL-OBL-ERG M-lead.PFV-PRET COP-M that
 'The police took him.'
- (92) Future
 na=ra bala q'adar či-sa-d-iq:-an-ne
 now=ADD misfortune destiny SPR-HITHER-NPL-carry.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 'Now he will also bring trouble.'

If we have one third-person argument and one first or second-person argument the latter controls the agreement, independently of the grammatical relation, i.e. these clauses are governed by the person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3.

- (93) Realis conditional 1 > 3
 di-la w-at k-ač-ille ...
 1SG-GEN M-send DOWN-do.PFV-COND.1
 'If (I) send my (brother) ...'
- (94) Realis conditional 2 > 3
 wot tak het het:u-b-a sa-q:-it:el urk:a ...
 well so that there-N-DIR HITHER-carry.PFV-COND.2SG between
 'like this, if (you) put this here, in the middle ...'
- (95) Habitual present 2 > 3
 iž di-la uc:iq'ar χe-w, Mamma-la Q'urban b-ik'-ul,
 this 1SG-GEN cousin exist.DOWN-M Mamma-GEN Kurban HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 aš:i-j w-alχ-at-a
 2PL-DAT M-know.IPFV-PRS.2PL
 'I have a cousin called Mamala Kurban, you know him.'
- (96) Habitual past 3 > 1
 š:amχal ac:i-l r-ik-a-di
 Shamxal uncle-ERG F-lead.IPFV-HAB.PST-1
 'Uncle Shamkhal led me (fem.).'
- (97) Preterite 3 > 2
 t:ura ha-q:-ib=de=w u iž miskin-ni?
 outside UP-carry.PFV-PRET=2SG=Q 2SG this poor-ERG
 'Did the poor man pull you out?'

In clauses with two speech act participants, in principle either participant can control agreement independently of its grammatical role. All four logically possible combinations can be obtained in elicitation with male and female Sanzhi speakers of various ages:

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- (98) a. 1 > 2, agent controls agreement
 du-l u k^wi urc-an=da
 1SG-ERG 2SG in.the.hands keep.M.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘I will keep you (masc.) in my hands.’ (E)
- b. 1 > 2, patient controls agreement
 du-l u k^wi urc-an=de
 1SG-ERG 2SG in.the.hands keep.M.IPFV-PTCP=2SG
 ‘I will keep you (masc.) in my hands.’ (E)
- (99) a. 2 > 1, agent controls agreement
 u-l du k^wi urc-an=de
 2SG-ERG 1SG in.the.hands keep.M.IPFV-PTCP=2SG
 ‘You will keep me (masc.) in my hands.’ (E)
- b. 2 > 1, patient controls agreement
 u-l du k^wi urc-an=da
 2SG-ERG 1SG in.the.hands keep.M.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘You will keep me (masc.) in my hands.’ (E)

There is only one example of such a scenario in my corpus (100), and it shows agreement controlled by a second person agent.

- (100) Realis conditional 2 > 1
 du w-erc-aq-ut:e
 1SG M-save.PFV-CAUS-COND.2SG
 ‘(I give you a lot of money) if you save me.’

It seems that there is a slight tendency in elicitation for speakers to prefer the examples in which the second person controls the agreement, be it a second person agent, patient, experiencer, or stimulus (101). Nevertheless, Sanzhi Dargwa is unlike Icari in having also first person agreement controllers in clauses with only speech act participants (102), (103). The same variation in person alignment has also been attested for Shiri Dargwa in Belyaev (2013).

- (101) Habitual present 2 > 1
 at du č̣i-w-ig-ut:e
 2SG.DAT 1SG SPR-M-see.IPFV-2SG
 ‘You see me.’ (E)
- (102) Habitual present 1 > 2
 dam u č̣i-w-ig-ut:e
 1SG.DAT 2SG SPR-M-see.IPFV-2SG
 ‘I see you.’ (E)

- (103) Habitual present 1 > 2
 nuš:a-l uš:a d-u[˘]rq-it:a
 1PL-ERG 2PL 1/2PL-hit.IPFV-PRS.2PL
 ‘We hit you.’ (E)

To sum up scenarios with two speech act participants functioning as agents and patients, I can only state that my preliminary analysis did not yield more precise results and that the variation is an interesting problem, which requires further testing.

The alignment patterns, including the described variation, seems to slightly change for predicates with three arguments. As said above, recipients, addressees, beneficiaries, and other arguments that are not agents or patients never control person agreement. In sentences with first person agent arguments and second person patient arguments, both agent and patient can control the agreement. This means we either have hierarchical agreement with 2 > 1 as in the second version of (106), or agreement with the agent as in the first version of (104) and in (105). If the agent is a second person pronoun, only this argument can control the agreement (106). Agreement controlled by the first person patient argument is ungrammatical. This is in contrast to examples with two-place predicates such as (99b) which has a first person patient argument controlling the agreement. At the present moment I do not have any explanation for why the agreement patterns of three-place verbs seem to diverge from those of two-place verbs and the few examples I was able to elicit do not allow me to draw and further conclusions or to develop hypotheses, so this topic must be left for future research.

- (104) Preterite 1 > 2
 du-l u Madina-j či-w-až-aq-ib=da /
 1SG-ERG 2SG Madina-DAT SPR-M-see.PFV-CAUS-PRET=1 /
 či-w-až-aq-ib=de
 SPR-M-see.PFV-CAUS-PRET=2SG
 ‘I showed you to Madina.’ (E)
- (105) Future 1 > 2
 hek’ k:alk:i či-b-až-aq-an=da
 DEM.UP tree SPR-N-see.PFV-CAUS-PTCP=1
 ‘(I) will show (you) the tree.’
- (106) Future 2 > 1
 u-l du Madina-j či-w-iž-aq-an=de=w /
 2SG-ERG 1SG Madina-DAT SPR-M-see.IPFV-CAUS-PTCP=2SG=Q /
 * či-w-iž-aq-an=da=w?
 SPR-M-see.IPFV-CAUS-PTCP=1=Q
 ‘Will you show me to Madina?’ (E)

As soon as a speech act participant co-occurs with a third person agent or patient, it is the speech act participant that controls the agreement (107), (108). In (108) the verb also has a gender/number agreement prefix that is controlled by the absolutive argument. Thus, we can clearly see that person and gender/number agreement function independently. In clauses with only third person agents and patients we find third person agreement, even if we have first or second person recipients (109).

- (107) Preterite 1 > 3
 du-l a-c:e cik'al-la tiladi a-b-arq'-ib=da
 1SG-ERG 2SG-IN thing-GEN request NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET=1
 'I did not ask you anything!'
- (108) Realis conditional 2 > 3
 het-a-la durĥu'li-j hej rursi r-iĉ:-it:e
 those-OBL-GEN boy-OBL-DAT this girl F-give.PFV-COND.2SG
 'if you give the girl to their son'
- (109) Preterite 3 > 3
 sumk'a di-c:e b-iĉ:-ib
 bag 1SG-IN N-give.PFV-PRET
 '(He) gave me his bag.'

The obligative (§14.1.5), the obligative present (§14.1.6) and the experiential I and II (§14.2.6) diverge from the TAM forms discussed so far in their agreement rules because they do not make use of any person hierarchy, but person agreement is always controlled by the patient (in clauses with two-place verbs). Thus, example (110) shows the experiential I with the third person patient serving as agreement controller. The use of the first person enclitic is ungrammatical. Sentence (111) from the corpus illustrates the experiential II and does not have an overt agent, but an overt first person patient, which controls the agreement on the verb. All examples also show that the patient also controls the gender marking on the lexical verb (and on the copula if there is any), which is expected and in accordance with the gender agreement rules. Furthermore, the cross-categorical suffix on the lexical verb agrees in number with the patient: a singular patient requires the suffix *-ce* (112) or *-il* (111), (7); a plural patient requires *-te* (8), (110), (113).

- (110) it:i q:amuš dul ka-d-iĉ:-ib-te ca-d /
 those reed 1SG.ERG DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP-NPL /
 * ka-d-iĉ:-ib-te=da
 DOWN-NPL-cut.up.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=1
 'I cut those reeds.' (E)
- (111) w-arq'-ib-il=da du azir-lim urĉ'em darš-lim ʔa`b-c'anu
 M-do.PFV-PRET-REF=1 1SG thousand-NUM nine hundred-NUM three-TEN
 xu-ra-ibil
 five-NUM-ORD
 'I (masc.) was born in 1935.'

- (112) du-l julʁan-ni-gu-w w-arq'-ib-ce ca-w
 1SG-ERG blanket-OBL-SUB-M M-do.PFV-PRET-DD.SG COP-M
 'I gave birth to (my son) under a blanket.' [modified corpus example]

In (113) the modal enclitic =*q'al* functions as a predicative marker such that the copula can be omitted (which is accordance with the general rules for the omission of the copula).

- (113) arc luk-an-te=*q'al* du-l
 money give.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=MOD 1SG-ERG
 'I have to give the money back.'

The four TAM forms are analytic and make use of either the cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* or *-il*, which, among other things, are used for the formation of referential attributes that have the morphosyntactic properties of nominals (e.g. headless relative clauses). These constructions therefore resemble biclausal constructions, but a detailed investigation is needed before any conclusions can be made.

In sum, person agreement in Sanzhi is conditioned by person, by grammatical relations, and by TAM forms. Only agent, experiencer and patient arguments control person agreement, and the relevant hierarchy is 1, 2 > 3. In clauses with two speech act participants either argument can control agreement, even if it seems that there is a small preference for second person controllers because in elicitation speakers seem to accept them more readily. Variation in clauses with speech act participants is also found with respect to the stem augment vowels (Table 20.5), whereas in all other scenarios no variation is allowed.

Person agreement does not interact with polarity. However, the form of the verb and therefore the form of the agreement marker may change, e.g. in a copula clause with a first or second person subject and present time reference, the person enclitics given in Table 20.6 are used; if the same clause is negated, the negated forms of the copula to which person suffixes are added occur (114).

- (114) du k:uʃ-le ak:^wa-di
 1SG hungry-ADVZ COP.NEG-1
 'I am not hungry.' (E)

As was mentioned above, non-finite verb forms mostly cannot take person markers. For example, the adverbial clause in (115) headed by a converb lacks an agreement marker. Only the finite verb in the main clause shows person agreement.

- (115) [hel-t:i d-ič:-ib-le] qili sa-ač'-ib=da
 that-PL NPL-give.PFV-PRET-CVB home HITHER-COME.PFV-PRET=1
 '(They) gave them (to me) and (I) went home.'

The only exceptions are certain complement clauses exhibiting control. They can be headed by an infinitive or alternatively by the subjunctive which has the suffix *-Vt:aj* for the second person and *-anaj/-araj* for the third person (see §18.1.4). There is no suffix for the first person and instead the infinitive is used. Relevant examples are:

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- (116) a. niš:ij b-ik:-ul=de [d-is:-ij]
1PL.DAT N-want.IPFV-CVB=PST 1/2PL-cry-INF
'We wanted to cry.' (E)
- b. aš:ij b-ik:-ul=de [d-is:-ut:aj / d-is:-ij]
2PL.DAT N-want.IPFV-CVB=PST 1/2PL-cry-2SUBJ / 1/2PL-cry-INF
'You wanted to cry.' (E)
- c. il-t:a-j b-ik:-ul=de [b-is:-araj / b-is:-ij]
that-PL.OBL-DAT N-want.IPFV-CVB=PST HPL-cry-3SUBJ / HPL-cry-INF
'They wanted to cry.' (E)

21 Noun phrases and postpositional phrases

This chapter addresses the properties of noun phrases (§21.1) and postpositional phrases (§21.2) including their constituent order. Nominal modifiers that occur outside the noun phrase (i.e. so-called “floating modifiers”) are only briefly discussed (§21.1.4). For a detailed treatment of floating modifiers see §27.1.2 and §27.1.3.

21.1 Noun phrases

21.1.1 Introduction

The noun phrase (NP) with an overt head noun minimally consists of a nominal head that can be optionally modified. Nominals that occur as heads of NPs are all sorts of pronouns, common nouns, personal names, or nominalized items. Noun phrases can be coordinated (§26.1), and it is possible to have noun phrases with nominalized modifiers instead of head nouns (§21.1.5). Noun phrases are head-final and thus modifiers precede the head. Usually, nouns are most prone to be modified, but occasionally other nominals can also take modifiers. Noun phrases admit the following types of modifiers:

- lexical modifiers such as demonstrative and possessive pronouns, adjectives, numerals and other quantifiers, and nouns (appositive nouns, nouns marked by the genitive)
- spatial modifiers in the essive case (e.g. nouns with spatial case marking or postpositional phrases)
- relative clauses and purpose clauses

Noun phrases occur in core argument and adjunct position (e.g. as instruments or temporal adjuncts). They can also be used as predicates in copula clauses (§22.2) and as complements in postpositional phrases (§21.2).

Within the noun phrase, there is gender and number agreement. Targets for gender/number agreement are a number of vowel-initial adjectives (1) and adjectival quantifiers that have agreement affixes (8), (36), any items bearing essive cases (5), (9), and participles of verbs with gender prefixes (20). Number agreement without gender agreement is found with demonstrative pronouns (12), and with modifiers that have the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (singular) (4) vs. *-te* (plural) (7) (§9.6.1). There is no case agreement between modifiers and the head noun within the noun phrase, and case suffixes can only occur on the head noun.

- (1) *ca b-uqen q'a'li*
 one N-long branch
 'a/one long branch'

21.1.2 Lexical, phrasal, and clausal modifiers in noun phrases

Sanzhi does not have a special class of articles. Instead, demonstrative pronouns (§4.2) and the numeral *ca* 'one' can be used in the function of definite and indefinite articles respectively, but often their interpretation is ambiguous between definite article and demonstrative pronoun, or indefinite article and numeral (2).

- (2) *hel-t-a-lla hel-t:u-w le-w=de ca žahil durħu°*
 that-PL-OBL-GEN that-LOC-M exist-M=PST one young boy
 'There with them was also a/one young boy.'

Nouns frequently occur without the numeral *ca* or a demonstrative pronoun and receive an indefinite or definite interpretation from the context. Personal names can take demonstrative pronouns when they occur as topical noun phrases (3), but normally they occur without demonstratives.

- (3) *hila=de il Ražab?*
 whose=PST that Razhab
 'Whose was that Razhab?' (i.e. from which family)

There are no special possessive pronouns. Personal pronouns (first and second person), demonstrative pronouns (third person) or reflexive pronouns (third person) marked by the genitive are used instead (9), (16). Most adjectives distinguish between a short bare form and a long form with the suffix *-ce* (plural *-te*) (§5.2). The use of the suffix is obligatory for adjectives in predicative function and for attributive adjectives that do not occur in their canonical pronominal position (see §21.1.3 below). Adjectives used as attributes to nouns can occur with (4) or without the suffix (5), the omission of the suffix being far more frequent than its presence.

- (4) *χ:ula-ce du°hi b-irq'-iri*
 big-DD.SG snow N-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'It snowed a lot.'
- (5) *cara welisipjed-li-c:e-r nik'a rurs:i*
 other bike-OBL-IN-F small girl
 'another little girl on a bike'

Nouns modified by numerals are not marked for plural (as are nouns modified by the interrogative word *čum* 'how many'), although they trigger plural agreement on demonstrative pronouns (12), adjectives (7), and also within the clause, i.e. on verbs, postpositions or adverbs (6). This means that not only semantically, but also syntactically, the

noun phrase is plural. Modifying adjectives in noun phrases can occur in the stem form or with the cross-categorical suffix, which has a singular form *-ce* and a plural form *-te* (§9.6.1). In noun phrases with numerals as modifiers, the plural form must be used when the noun has plural reference (7)

- (6) il-t:u-b [Q'adiʔaʃra=ra b-ik'-ul] [Bat'aj=ra b-ik'-ul]
 that-LOC-HPL Kadiashra=ADD HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB Bataj=ADD HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 k'wɛl x:unul b-irχ-i il-t:a-lla atrjad-la
 two woman HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST that-OBL.PL-GEN troop-GEN
 'There were two women of their troops called Kadiashra and Bataj.'
- (7) ʔaʃbal d-uqna(-te) q'wal
 three NPL-old-(DD.PL) cow
 'three old cows' (E)

Younger speakers occasionally use the plural suffix on the noun in noun phrases with numerals as it is done in Russian (8). In Sanzhi noun phrases that contain quantifiers such as *b-aqil* 'much, many' (36), the noun has also to be marked for plural.

- (8) ʔaʃbal durh-ne sa-b-eκ-ib-le, quʃr-be li<d>il
 three boy-PL HITHER-HPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB pear-PL all<NPL>
 d-alc'-un
 NPL-gather.PFV-PRET
 'Three boys came and gathered all the pears.'

Nominal modifiers in NPs can be appositions, nouns bearing the suffixes *-il* or *-ce*, and nouns marked for spatial cases (9) or for the genitive case (6). If plural nouns bear the genitive they can have a non-specific interpretation, not referring to a specific possessor but restricting the meaning of the head noun to a certain type (10).

- (9) [cin-na qal-li-sa-b] mus:a
 REFL.SG-GEN house-OBL-ANTE-N place
 'the place in front of his house'
- (10) χ:ula q:uʃa hinc-b-a-lla k:alk:i
 big beautiful apple-PL-OBL-GEN tree
 'a big beautiful apple tree'

Appositions consist of two (or more) nouns with the same referents immediately following each other. As indicated by their modifiers and case marking, appositional phrases behave like a single noun phrase. They most frequently consist of a proper name and a kinship term, namely *aci* 'uncle' (11) or *azi* 'aunt' or of nouns denoting different types of roles such as social roles (e.g. *zunra* 'neighbor', *saldat* 'soldier', *tuxtur* 'doctor', *busurman* 'Muslim', *jatim* 'orphan') (12) or gender roles (*x:unul* 'woman', *murgul* 'man'). The role-denoting nouns modify more general terms such as *admi* 'person, man', *insan*

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‘person’ (12), and some other nouns. Appositions not involving proper names resemble compounds (12) since the meaning of the second nouns is restricted through the meaning of the preceding noun.

- (11) š:amχal aci-l r-ik-a-di
 Shamxal uncle-ERG F-lead.IPFV-HAB.PST-1
 ‘Uncle Shamkhal guided me (fem.)’
- (12) hel-ti k^wel=ra zunra admi=ra
 that-PL two=ADD neighbor person=ADD
 ‘and those two neighbors’

Furthermore, the nominals cannot be separated, their order is rather fixed, and only the second nominal is marked for case (13)

- (13) du tuχtur Ma^hha^hmmad-li-c:e Ø-ik^h-ul=da ...
 1SG doctor Mahammad-OBL-IN M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1
 ‘I say to Doctor Mahammad ...’

Other nominals occurring in appositive phrases are reflexive pronouns that function as emphatic reflexives (§29.1.2) or pronouns with quantifiers, e.g. *nuš:a lidil* ‘we all’.

The noun phrase can contain an equative expression that either contains the adjective *miši*, which governs the dative (14), or the particle *ɓuna* (15), (16) that changes to *ɓunab* when the suffix *-ce* is added.

- (14) [admi-li-j miši] dig
 person-OBL-DAT similar meat
 ‘meat similar to human (flesh)’
- (15) ha^hpra.qu-m-a-ja-r č-i-b-a ɓuna x:un
 Hapra.field-PL-OBL-LOC-ABL on-N-DIR EQ road
 ‘a road like through Hapra-field’ (place name)
- (16) niš:a-la ɓuna muk:at:a-lla aruš-la napitka-be
 1PL-GEN EQ alcoholic.drink-GEN home.brew-GEN drink-PL
 ‘drinks like our alcoholic homebrew’

Phrasal and clausal modifiers of noun phrases are postpositional phrases (15), (17), (18), relative clauses (20), (22) (see also Chapter 23), purpose clauses (19) and other clauses (20). Although not obligatory, the suffix *-il*, which is used to form nominal modifiers from various parts of speech (§9.6.2), has been added to the postpositional phrase in (17). The suffix can be omitted as example (15) shows, but then the postpositional phrase can either function as a modifier of the noun or as a clausal modifier. Sentence (20) illustrates the use of a commemoration formula that is headed by a verb in the unmarked optative. The unmarked optative can be nominalized and take further case markers. Therefore, the optative clause can be interpreted as a clausal modifier to the noun *x:unul* ‘woman’. But it can also be interpreted as a parenthesis that is not syntactically related to the noun. The optative clause is followed by a short relative clause consisting only of a participle.

- (17) [x:unul-li-c:e-b k^wi-b-il] sumk'a
 woman-OBL-IN-N in.the.hands-N-REF bag
 'the bag in the hands of the woman'
- (18) [qič'-me urk:a-b] ašrapi
 rock-PL between-N golden.coin
 'the golden coin between the rocks'
- (19) [pikri Ø-ik'^w-ij] zamana
 thought M-say.IPFV-INF time
 'time to think'
- (20) it [ʔa[˘]pa b-arq' cin-na] [r-ebč'-ib-il] x:unul
 that commemoration N-do.PFV REFL.SG-GEN F-die.PFV-PRET-REF woman
 'that dead woman, may she rest in peace'

21.1.3 The structure and order of constituents within the noun phrase

Noun phrases can be complex consisting of several modifiers, but in natural texts three or more modifiers are not very common. Because the modifiers themselves can be complex, the actual number of words in noun phrases might easily reach five or more. The usual order of modifiers is displayed in (21), which shows that the noun occupies the right-most position in the noun phrase.

- (21) demonstrative/genitive
 numeral / quantifier
 phrase or clause
 adjective
 demonstrative / genitive / quantifier
 appositive noun
 head

Testelefs (1998a: 654) has proposed for other East Caucasian, particularly Avar-Andic and Tsezic languages, that the order of modifiers in the noun phrase reflects "the degree of their contribution to the identification of the NP's referent." If this generalization is taken to express a tendency, rather than a strict rule, it can be applied to the Sanzhi noun phrase as well. For example, genitive modifiers and demonstrative pronouns demonstrate this tendency since the former, typically closer to the head noun than the latter (see (23) above), make a larger contribution to identification of referents, although the reverse order is possible (29).

The modifiers can be divided into two groups: (i) quantifiers, demonstratives, and genitives, which specify the quantity, definiteness, and referentiality of the noun phrase and thus anchor it in the discourse, and (ii) adjectives, nominals, phrases, or clauses, which denote qualities and provide further information about the properties of the referent. The two groups are not only distinguished by their semantics, but also by their position within the noun phrase. Members of the first group, i.e. quantifiers, demonstratives, and

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genitives, can occur in two different positions as (21) shows: either in phrase-initial position or (almost) immediately before the head noun. Furthermore, they can float off from the head noun and occur outside the noun phrase. This will be discussed in detail below.

The examples in (22–26) illustrate complex noun phrases. Relative clauses are given in square brackets. More examples in this chapter illustrate other constellations of nominal modifiers in complex noun phrases: numeral + adjective (1), demonstrative + numeral + noun (12), adjective + adjective + genitive (10), and relative clause + relative clause + numeral (6).

- (22) relative clause + relative clause + genitive pronoun
 [debʁalla b-irq'-an] [arilla muza b-ik'-ul] niš:a-lla mus:a
 prayer N-DO.IPFV-PTCP during.day summit HPL-SAY.IPFV-ICVB 1PL-GEN place
 k'e-b
 exist.UP-N
 'There is our place, called the midday summit, the praying summit.'
- (23) demonstrative + genitive pronoun + genitive noun
 iž ala sub-la bek'
 this 2SG.GEN husband-GEN head
 'your husband's head'
- (24) demonstrative + relative clause + genitive pronoun
 hel [ʔu°sban b-ik'°w-an] niš:a-lla š:an
 that Osban HPL-SAY.IPFV-PTCP 1PL-GEN fellow.villager
 'that fellow villager of ours called Osban'
- (25) demonstrative + adjective
 hešt:i cara durĥ-n-a-c:ella
 these other boy-PL-OBL-COMIT
 'with these other boys'
- (26) relative clause + quantifier
 [š:at:ir sa-b-ač'°-ib-te] liil=ra xalq'
 visit HITHER-HPL-COME.PFV-PRET-DD.PL all<HPL>=ADD people
 'all people who had come for a visit'

Short adjectives are subject to a positional restriction: they can be separated from the head noun only by other adjectives (short or long ones, which bear the attributive suffix *-ce*) (36) or by appositive nouns (27). All other modifiers need to precede short adjectives (36), every other order being ungrammatical (28).

- (27) ʔa°rk:a tuxtur Ma°ĥa°mmad
 sick doctor Mahammad
 'the sick doctor Mahammad'
- (28) * jangi di-la mašin
 new 1SG-GEN car
 (Intended meaning: 'my new car') (E)

There are two positions in which genitives, especially genitive pronouns, occur (21). They are either placed in phrase-initial position (29) or, more frequently, directly preceding the head (22). As mentioned above, the common order of demonstrative pronouns and genitive pronouns is for the demonstrative to precede the genitive (23), but the reverse order is also attested (29).

- (29) genitive pronoun + demonstrative
 hež-t-a-la hej χabar
 this-PL-OBL-GEN this story
 ‘this story of theirs’

There can be scope differences associated with certain constituent orders. For instance, the genitive pronoun in (30) can scope over the entire noun phrase or it can be restricted to the immediately following noun. Similarly, the interpretations of (31a) and (31b) differ slightly.

- (30) di-la t’ult’-e d-irc-an ruci
 1SG-GEN bread-PL NPL-sell.IPFV-PTCP sister
 ‘my sister who sells bread’ OR ‘the sister who sells my bread’ (E)
- (31) a. di-la ʔa`bal kiniga
 1SG-GEN three book
 ‘my three books’ (E)
- b. ʔa`bal di-la kiniga
 three 1SG-GEN book
 ‘three books of mine’ (E)

If the genitive is a genuine possessor rather than a genitive which denotes the material and can be retrieved from the context, the head noun is frequently omitted. The second genitive in (32) lacks an overt head. Headless genitive-marked nominals can also, just like other modifiers in noun phrases, be nominalized and take case suffixes (§21.1.5).

- (32) š:an-t-a-lla deq’a d-elq’-un ca<d>i; t:ura
 fellow.villager-PL-OBL-GEN grain NPL-grind.PFV-PRET COP<NPL> outside
 š:an-t-a-lla d-elq’-un ca<d>i
 fellow.villager-PL-OBL-GEN NPL-grind.PFV-PRET COP<NPL>
 ‘The villagers’ grain has been ground; (The grain) of the people from other villages has been ground.’

In content interrogative questions with the meaning ‘which other X’, the order is adjective-first (*cara* ‘other’), followed by the interrogative pronoun *ce* ‘what’, which belongs to the modifiers of the first group (33):

- (33) cara ce χurejg d-irχ-u=ja niš:a-lla?
 other what food NPL-be.IPFV-PRS=Q 1PL-GEN
 ‘What other food of ours exists?’

21.1.4 Floating modifiers

In principle, all modifiers except for demonstrative pronouns can float off to positions outside the noun phrase (i.e. they can be extraposed). We find genitive pronouns (33) and genitive nouns (34) as well as quantifiers (38), adjectives (42) and relative clauses (43) outside the noun phrase. However, the extent to which floating is possible and which positions in the clause are common or available for floating modifiers depends on the type of modifier. The greatest freedom is enjoyed by floating genitives because they do not require any special marking when they are extraposed. Floating quantifiers require overt case marking, and floating modifiers of the second group (nominals, adjectives, relative clauses, etc.) need special additional marking (in addition to case).

Floating modifiers are semantic modifiers of nouns, but do not occur within the corresponding noun phrase; they are separated from the noun phrase by other constituents. In the following, the morphosyntactic properties of different types of floating modifiers will be discussed in more detail. The information-structural properties are mainly discussed in §27.1.2 and §27.1.3.

The most common modifier that occurs detached from the noun is the genitive, and this has been noticed for other East Caucasian languages, the first detailed analysis of floating genitives being made by Creissels (2013) for Akhvakh. Floating genitives often follow the noun and occur at the end of the clause after the verb (6), (34), but sometimes the reverse order is found in which case the genitive precedes a clause-final noun (35). In the latter example it seems that it is the head noun which has been extraposed while the two genitives simply remain in their canonical position.

- (34) lamus:-e=ra ha-d-erχ:-ur ca-d χalq'-la
 respect-PL=ADD UP-NPL-fulfill.PFV-PRET COP-NPL people-GEN
 'The people's respect also finished. (i.e. people do not show respect any more.)'
- (35) niš:a-lla sunglan-t-a-lla le-b χabar
 1PL-GEN Sanzhi-PL-OBL-GEN exist-N story
 'We Sanzhi people have a story.'

Example (36) shows a relatively complex noun phrase that functions as the subject of the existential copula clause. The genitive pronoun and the quantifier following the copula are semantically associated with the noun phrase, but have been dislocated to the right of the copula. A possible explanation for this might be that the noun phrase would be otherwise quite complex and difficult to interpret. More examples of floating genitives and a detailed discussion of their information-structural interpretation can be found in §27.1.2.

- (36) [hel kumek-le ha-b-ač'-ib žahil] durñ-ne le-b=de
 that help-LOC UP-HPL-come.PFV-PRET young boy-PL exist-HPL=PST
 hel-t-a-lla b-aqil
 that-PL-OBL-GEN HPL-much
 'They had many young boys who had come to help.'

Some corpus examples of floating quantifiers can also be found: (8), (36–38). Example (37) illustrates that postnominal modifiers can be interpreted contrastively, in particular in elicited, context-free sentences, but as (38) shows, a contrastive reading is not obligatory.

- (37) hinci ca ka-b-ix:-a, k^wel ma-ka-d-irš:-it!
 apple one DOWN-N-put.PFV-IMP two PROH-DOWN-NPL-put.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Put one apple (there), do not put two (apples)!’ (E)
- (38) cara-r heχt:u š:i-la t:ura-b-te χalq’ liil=ra
 other-ABL there.DOWN village-GEN outside-HPL-DD.PL people all<HPL>=ADD
 ‘and all the people from the other villages down there’

Quantifier floating will be illustrated through the use of the quantifier ‘all’, which contains a gender/number infix agreeing with the noun it modifies. If the modified noun bears the absolutive, the quantifier can occur in various positions other than the canonical position before the noun (39b–39d).

- (39) a. s:a liil rurs-be ag-ur uškul-le
 yesterday all<HPL> girl-PL go.PFV-PRET school-LOC
 ‘Yesterday all girls went to school.’ (E)
- b. *s:a rursbe libil agur uškulle*
- c. *s:a rursbe agur libil uškulle*
- d. *s:a rursbe agur uškulle libil*

If the modified noun occupies the A function and has non-absolutive case marking, then the quantifier can, when it bears the same case suffix as the noun it modifies, only occur in positions other than the canonical position preceding the verb. Otherwise the sentence becomes ungrammatical (40c). The reason is that in a noun phrase, case marking can only occur once, namely on the head noun. If the quantifier appears directly before the noun, it is part of the noun phrase and can not be case-marked.

- (40) a. liil rurs-b-a-l t’ams-ne d-irq’-i
 all<HPL> girl-PL-OBL-ERG carpet-PL NPL-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘All girls used to make carpets.’ (E)
- b. rurs-b-a-l liil-li t’ams-ne d-irq’-i
 girl-PL-OBL-ERG all<HPL>-ERG carpet-PL NPL-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘All girls used to make carpets.’ (E)
- c. * *libilli rursbal t’amsne dirq’i*

For other grammatical relations, the restrictions are more severe. Quantifiers of addressee arguments floating away from their canonical position are rarely acceptable even if they bear the same case marking as the noun they modify. Sentences such as (41) are marginal. It is possible to make a short break before the quantifier, which is then interpreted as right dislocated, and the translation is ‘Mother told the stories to the women, to all (of them).’

- (41) ?? aba-l χabur-te x:un-r-a-c:e liil-li-c:e d-urs-i
mother-ERG story-PL woman-PL-OBL-IN all<HPL>-OBL-IN NPL-tell.PFV-HAB.PST

‘Mother told the stories to all women.’

Floating quantifiers are occasionally found in texts, but all examples have head nouns in the absolutive case (8), (36).

In contrast to genitives and quantifiers, modifiers of the second group, that is, adjectives, postpositional phrases, or relative clauses, need special marking when they occur in a position outside the noun phrase, either immediately following it or further extraposed to the right. There are only a few corpus examples of floating modifiers in a position before and at the same time outside a noun phrase (35) (see also §27.1.3).

There are two markers: the suffix *-ce* (plural *-te*) (§9.6.1) and the suffix *-il* (§9.6.2). These markers optionally occur on modifiers within the noun phrase as (4), (7), (20) and (26) show, but for extraposed modifiers the use is obligatory. Both markers are cross-categorical suffixes and are used for the formation of referential attributes, which morphosyntactically behave like nominals. Their use is similar, but *-ce* and *-il* can only express singular referents, whereas *-te* requires plural referents. The suffix *-ce* is used with adjectives (42), spatial modifiers in the essive case (=postpositional phrases), and occasionally relative clauses; the suffix *-il* is mainly used with relative clauses (43). The same two markers are employed when no head noun is present in the clause and the items, which would otherwise be used as modifiers, are nominalized and take over the function of nouns (§21.1.5). Furthermore, adjectival roots are obligatorily marked with *-ce* when they are employed in predicative function (§5.2).

- (42) detski šampun le-b durqa-ce
children’s shampoo exist-N expensive-DD.SG

‘There is shampoo for children, expensive.’

- (43) iž=ra het=ra, het ʔa˘χ:u˘l ∅-iχ˘w-ij [x:unul-la qajqaj-li-c:e
this=ADD that=ADD that guest M-be.PFV-INF woman-GEN jaw-OBL-IN
b-a˘q-ib-il]
N-hit.PFV-PRET-REF

‘This also and this also is probably the man who hit the woman on the jaw.’

As was mentioned for postnominal quantifiers above, all corpus examples of floating modifiers occur in clauses in which the noun to which they semantically belong appears in the absolutive case. This means that it does not have overt case marking. If the noun is case-marked, it is not sufficient to add the special marking in form of the suffix *-ce* or *-il* to the modifier (44), but the modifier must also take case marking identical to the case of the noun (45).

- (44) * it sa-jβ-ib tuχtur-ri-š:u ʔa˘h-ce, wahi-ce-lli-š:u
that HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET doctor-OBL-AD good-DD.SG bad-DD.SG-OBL-AD
a-ag-ur
NEG-go.PFV-PRET

(Intended meaning: ‘He went to a good doctor, he did not go to a bad one.’) (E)

21 Noun phrases and postpositional phrases

- (47) ala-ce b-ič-ib-le χajri b-irχ-i
 2SG.GEN-DD.SG N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-CVB benefit N-be.able.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘(I) could profit from yours. (i.e. from your milk)’
- (48) niš:a-la-t-a-l=q’ar a-b-at-ij haʹžat-le ca-b
 1PL-GEN-PL-OBL-ERG=MOD NEG-N-let.PFV-INF need-ADVZ COP-N
 ‘It is necessary to not let our (people to sell our land).’
- (49) b-ik:-an-il-li pisuk’ č-i-k-erx-u
 N-want.IPFV-PTCP-REF-ERG sugar SPR-DOWN-pour.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘The one who wants pours sugar (on the dish).’

However, headless relative clauses in which the verb bears the modal participle suffix *-an* and that function as absolutive arguments without any further case marking, frequently occur without *-ce* or *-il* (see §23.4 for examples).

Nominalized modifiers can themselves be modified. In (50), a nominalized adjective is modified by a participle, and in (51) the relative clause, which consists of only one participle, is preceded by a demonstrative pronoun.

- (50) as:-a [b-iq’-ur(-ce)] it’in-ce!
 buy.PFV-IMP N-ripen-PRET(DD.SG) red-DD.SG
 ‘Buy a/the red one that is ripe!’ (E)
- (51) hej ka-jc:-ur-il Ø-ik’-ul ca-w, ...
 this DOWN-get.up.M.PFV-PRET-REF M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘The one who is standing says, ...’

21.2 Postpositional phrases

Postpositional phrases consist of a postposition that is preceded by a noun phrase. The noun phrase can be complex containing modifiers, quantifiers or determiners (52). Postpositions govern various cases, most notably the genitive and a few spatial cases (52), (53). Non-spatial postpositions mostly govern the absolutive case. See Chapter 8 for more examples of postpositions and postpositional phrases.

- (52) ca aq dahag-le-b č-i-b
 one high precipice-LOC-N on-N
 ‘on one high precipice’
- (53) na w-is:-ul ca-w tusnaq-le-w w-i-w
 now M-cry-ICVB COP-M prison-LOC-M M-in-M
 ‘Now he is crying in prison.’

Postpositional phrases are always head-final, so it is ungrammatical for a postposition to precede the noun. However, all spatial postpositions also occur as adverbials and/or

spatial preverbs without any additional morphology. Thus, it is not always easy to identify which part of speech a relevant item belongs to. For instance, the postposition *b-i-b* ‘in, inside’ governs, among other cases, the LOC-essive, LOC-lative or LOC-ablative (§8.1.9), as shown in (53). However, there is also a spatial preverb *b-i* and an adverbial *b-i* with the same meaning. In example (54), what looks like a stranded postposition *w-i(-w)* is instead the spatial adverb. Example (55) illustrates the preverbal use. No case marked noun phrase is preceding *w-i*.

- (54) *w-i-w kelg-un hel tusnaq-le-w*
 M-IN-M remain.PFV-PRET that prison-LOC-M
 ‘He stayed in prison.’
- (55) *du w-i-ha-lq^w-an=da*
 1SG M-IN-UP-direct.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ‘I will go inside.’

22 Simple clauses including copula clauses and grammatical relations

This chapter addresses the basic structural properties of simple main clauses, including declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses that express different illocutionary acts, namely assertions, questions and directives. These three clause types contrast mainly by their morphological marking (verbal suffixes, predicative particles), rather than by differences in constituent order or intonation. Simple clauses can be divided into simple verbal clauses with verbs other than the copula (§22.1) and copula clauses (§22.2). This division cross-cuts the division into declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses. Grammatical relations and the notion of subjecthood are analyzed in §22.3. Word order at the clausal level and information-structural properties of simple clauses and other types of clauses are analyzed in Chapter 27.

22.1 Simple clauses headed by verbs other than copulas

This section discusses simple clauses with verbal predicates, which can be declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative clauses. The main focus of the section is on declarative clauses. The other clause types will be briefly mentioned at the end of the section. The constituent order in simple clauses is discussed in §27.2.

Verbal clauses obligatorily consist of a verbal predicate. All other constituents (arguments and adjuncts) can be left out. By contrast, declarative copula clauses can be formed with non-verbal predicates and without finite verb forms if they contain predicative particles (§22.2).

In general, the number of arguments, their semantic roles as well as their case-marking, depend on the valency classes of the verbs and on whether further valency-changing operations such as antipassive or causativization have been applied. Valency patterns of predicates can be divided into one-place (monovalent), two-place (bivalent) and three-place (trivalent) patterns (see §19.1 for a detailed overview). I will follow the macrorole approach as presented in Bickel (2011) and Bickel et al. (2015) and distinguish between bivalent predicates between an A argument (the argument with the most agentive properties) and a P argument (the argument with the least agentive or most patientive properties). Three-place verbs have, in addition to the A argument, a G argument and a T argument. The G (goal-like) argument is more stationary than the T (theme-like) argument, and, in contrast to T, might be receiving an experience or being exposed to an experience. The label S will be used for the single argument of intransitive verbs and for absolutive arguments of extended intransitive verbs.

Cases used to encode the arguments are absolutive, ergative, dative, and to a lesser extent, genitive and spatial cases such as the ANTE-ablative or the IN-lative. Gender agreement is controlled in most cases by the absolutive argument of the clause (§20.2). However, certain verb forms allow the ergative or the dative argument as controller (§20.2.4), while other clauses lack absolutive arguments and resort to default agreement (§20.2.1). Person agreement, which works independently of gender agreement, follows the hierarchy 1, 2 > 3, whereby only S, A, P, and T arguments can function as controllers. From the person hierarchy follows that speech act participants control the agreement if the clause has any speech act participants. In clauses with only first and second person arguments, either person can control agreement independently of their grammatical role, although there might be a small tendency for second person arguments to outrank first person arguments (see §20.3 for more information).

Declarative verbal clauses obligatorily contain finite verb forms, which exhibit the full range of TAM marking and gender and person agreement. Negation is expressed through a prefix *or*, if the verb form includes the copula as auxiliary, by means of the negative copula (§11.7). Arguments and adjuncts can be pronouns or full noun phrases (4), (5). Arguments that can be interpreted through the context are often omitted (1). Adjuncts can be instruments, companions or express temporal, spatial or other circumstances (§3.4.1, §3.4.2). The following examples illustrate simple verbal declarative clauses with verbs of the major valency classes: intransitive, extended intransitive, affective, transitive, and extended transitive.

Intransitive verbs (§19.1.2) have one single argument (S) in the absolutive case controlling gender, number and person agreement (1).

- (1) cellij r-is:-ul=de?
 why F-cry-ICVB=2SG
 ‘Why are you (fem.) crying?’

Extended intransitive verbs are bivalent and have an S argument in the absolutive and a further argument either in the dative, IN-lative, ANTE-ablative, or in other spatial cases (2) (see §19.1.4 for further examples).

- (2) bec' kurt:a-j er b-erč'-ib-le, ...
 wolf fox-DAT look N-look.PFV-RET-CVB
 ‘The wolf looked at the fox, ...’

Bivalent affective verbs (§19.1.8) have a dative-marked experiencer (A) and a stimulus argument in the absolutive case (P) (3).

- (3) d-aqil q:ihin-dex či-d-ič-ib nik'a uci-j
 NPL-much difficult-NMLZ SPR-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-RET small brother-DAT
 ‘The little brother experienced many difficulties.’

Transitive verbs (§19.1.5) require an agent in the ergative (A) and a patient in the absolutive (P) (4).

- (4) hel-i-l k:urt:a a-kax-ub
 that-OBL-ERG fox NEG-kill.PFV-PRET
 ‘He did not kill the fox.’

Extended transitive verbs (§19.1.6) add a further G argument marked by the dative or by spatial cases to the ergative A and the absolutive T (5).

- (5) k:urt:a-l b-ič:-ib hel-i-j cin-na kez
 fox-ERG N-give.PFV-PRET that-OBL-DAT REFL.SG-GEN hair
 ‘The fox gave him his hair.’

More detailed information on these and other valency classes can be found in §19.1.

Interrogative clauses are marked by interrogative enclitics, which also belong to the class of predicative particles. They are often but not always signaled by rising intonation. They usually contain finite verb forms, but it is also possible to encode interrogative clauses with certain non-finite verb forms and interrogative enclitics. See Chapter 28 for more information on their morphosyntactic properties and §27.2.2 for the constituent order, which is largely identical to the constituent order of declarative clauses (except for differences that are due to the information structure). Sanzhi has another type of interrogative clause with modal semantics. This type, which I call the *modal interrogative* contrasts to all other interrogative clauses since it makes use of a special verbal suffix. This suffix exists only for first person subject-like arguments (§17.4) and does not express tense. The modal interrogative is thus more like imperative and optative clauses than interrogative clauses.

Imperative, prohibitive and optative clauses contain verbs inflected with suffixes which do not express tense. Imperative and prohibitive clauses are restricted in their use to second person subject-like arguments, which can be overtly expressed as in declarative or interrogative clauses (§17.1 and §17.2). The optative does not show person restrictions, but cannot be formed from imperfective verb stems and is thus constrained in its aspectual value (§17.3).

22.2 Morphosyntactic properties of copula clauses

Copula clauses are constructions prototypically containing a copula, a copula predicate and a copula subject. The copula can, but does not have to be, a verb. Genuine copulas are considered to be semantically empty (Pustet 2003: 5). According to this definition, Sanzhi Dargwa *ca-b* can be considered a copula as well as the person enclitics =*da* and =*de* and the past enclitic =*de*. In addition, Sanzhi has four locational copulas and a number of auxiliaries that also head copula clauses. Table 22.1 provides an overview of all items used in copula constructions with references to the sections in which more information about the morphology of the items is given. In the following section I will refer to all items in Table 22.1 as copulas whenever they are used in copula constructions. The items listed in the last part of the table are auxiliaries that are not entirely “semantically empty”. They are included in the table and discussed in this section because they are used to express

TAM forms of copula clauses for which the copulas and predicative particles cannot be used since they lack those forms. Some of the items in Table 22.1 regularly combine in copula clauses. (I) The predicative particles can occur as enclitics on the copula *ca-b* (see below for examples), but not on the negative copula. They can also occur on the locational copulas (§22.2.2) and on the other auxiliaries because they are a regular part of certain TAM forms. (II) The copula *ca-b* and its negative counterpart are also used in a few TAM forms and thus can combine with most auxiliaries given in Table 22.1 (30). (III) The same applies to the locational copulas, which are also occasionally used in certain periphrastic TAM clauses and therefore can combine with the auxiliaries in copula clauses (§15.1).

Which copula item is chosen depends on the person of the copula subject, on the meaning of the copula construction, on the temporal reference of the clause, and on further categories such as mood, epistemic modality, illocutionary force, and clause type. The copula *ca-b*, the locational copulas, and the verb *b-el* are defective, and in the case of *ca-b*, also suppletive under negation. This means that they form only a very small set of verb forms compared with the forms available for regular verbs (including the other auxiliaries listed in Table 22.1).

Under certain circumstances, one of the three constituents can be absent. Copula clauses without a subject are, for instance, weather constructions (45) or other impersonal clauses (47) (§22.2.3). The copula predicate is present in most types of copula clauses, but often lacking in existential copula clauses (34) or when possession is expressed (41). The copula can only be omitted in copula clauses with third person subjects and predicative particles (§22.2.4).

The copula subject occurs in the absolutive case and controls agreement. It may be any kind of noun phrase (common noun, proper name, pronoun, etc.) or nominalized clause. The copula predicate, which bears the absolutive case or an overt case marker, may be a noun phrase, but it may also be an adjective, an adverbial, a postpositional phrase, or a nominalized clause; this partially depends on the copula item. Sentence (6) illustrates a copula construction with the first person pronoun in the absolutive as copula subject and a noun with its adjectival modifier as predicate. The past enclitic =*de* fulfills the copula function.

- (6) *nik'a durħu⁺=de du*
small boy=PST 1SG
 'I was a little boy.'

The gender/number and person agreement is always controlled by the copula subject, not by the predicate (7), (12a), (13), (16), but not all copulas have gender agreement slots, for example the negative copula lacks an agreement prefix. In copula clauses that lack arguments in the absolutive case, the copula bears the default agreement suffix *-b* and there is invariable third person agreement (see §22.2.3 below for more details). This mainly concerns experiential constructions with affective predicates and experiencers in the dative case (8). One item used as a copula, the past enclitic =*de*, does not encode person (6) (see also §22.1 below for the general structure of simple clauses with other verbs than the copula).

22.2 Morphosyntactic properties of copula clauses

Table 22.1: Items functioning as copulas

Copulas (§16.1)	
<i>ca-b</i> , <i>cai</i>	third person, present tense, habitual
<i>ak:-u</i>	third person, negation, present tense, habitual
<i>b-ak:-u</i>	third person, negation, existence/location
Predicative particles (§9.1)	
<i>=da</i>	first person (singular and plural), second person plural; present tense, habitual
<i>=de</i>	second person singular; present tense, habitual
<i>=de</i>	all persons, past tense
Locational copulas (§16.2)	
<i>le-b</i>	existence/location close to speaker and hearer or undifferentiated
<i>te-b</i>	existence/location away from the deictic center (speaker)
<i>k'e-b</i>	existence/location above the deictic center (speaker)
<i>χe-b</i>	existence/location below the deictic center (speaker)
Other auxiliaries used in copula constructions (§16.3)	
<i>b-el</i>	past tense ('remain, stay')
<i>b-irχ^w-</i> (IPFV) / <i>b-ik-</i> (PFV) / <i>b-iχ^w-</i> (PFV)	subordinate clauses, future tense, non-indicative mood ('be, become, happen, can')
<i>b-irk-</i> (IPFV) / <i>b-ik-</i> (PFV)	future tense, non-indicative mood ('be, occur, get, receive')
<i>b-ug-</i>	indirect evidentiality ('be, stay, remain')
<i>b-urk:-</i> (IPFV)	epistemic modality ('find')

- (7) *het durɦu^o aždaha ca-w / *ca-b*
 that boy monster COP-M / COP-N
 'That boy is a monster.' (E)
- (8) *dam wahi-l ca-b heχ-t:u-b*
 1SG.DAT bad-ADVZ COP-N DEM.DOWN-LOC-N
 'I feel bad there.' (E)

In copula clauses, where both the subject and the predicate are in the absolutive and are identical in gender (12), and in copula clauses, where the copula function is taken over by an item that does not exhibit agreement (6), it is impossible to determine the copula subject by means of agreement. But based on general information-structural properties, we can assume that the topical noun phrase is usually the subject, which in many cases is a pronoun (6), (18), (19). In a similar fashion, constituent order can be indicative.

The person enclitics, as well as the past enclitic, can optionally be accompanied by the copula (*ca-b*), and in such constructions the copula always serves as the host for the enclitic (9).

- (9) iž-i-la x:unul ca-r=de=w?
 this-OBL-GEN woman COP-F=2SG=Q
 ‘Are you his wife?’

Furthermore, the copula and the person enclitic or past enclitic need to occur on the same host; they cannot be separated (10). If in the example below the copula at the end is omitted, the clause becomes grammatical with the meaning given in brackets below.

- (10) * du=da ala ruc:i ca-r
 1SG=1 2SG.GEN sister COP-F
 (Intended meaning: ‘It is me who is your sister.’) (E)

In contrast to the neighboring Dargwa variety of Icari (Sumbatova & Mutalov 2003: 138), the copula and the interrogative enclitics can co-occur in Sanzhi (11). According to Nina Sumbatova (p.c.), Icari is the only Dargwa variety found so far where the copula *ca-b* excludes all other predicative particles; in contrast, the situation that we have in Sanzhi Dargwa is common and attested in many other Dargwa varieties (e.g. Akusha).

- (11) miši-l ca-w=uw iχ iχ-i-j?
 similar-ADVZ COP-M=Q DEM.DOWN DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT
 ‘Is this similar to him?’

In line with other clause types, the copula most frequently occurs in clause-final position. Subjects predominantly precede the predicate, such that we can assume that the first absolutive constituent is the copula subject and the second one, which is often the host of enclitical copula items, functions as the predicate in clauses with two absolutive constituents (12), (15a), (18). The standard third person copula *ca-b* is comparably strict in its requirement to occur in clause-final position in elicited assertions (12), though it might be followed by additional demonstratives that refer to the same item as the subject, and in questions from the corpus we also find copula subjects and predicates following *ca-b* (11). In principle, *ca-b* can occur on its own and make up a full clause, such that phonological dependency is ruled out as an explanation for the ungrammaticality of (12b).

- (12) a. Murad ust:a ca-w
 Murad master COP-M
 ‘Murad is a/the master.’ (E)
 b. * *ca-w Murad ust:a*
 c. * *Murad ca-w ust:a*

For other copula items, it is easier to find utterances with other than clause-final position of the copula, in particular when the predicative particles are used in copula function (6). Locational copulas can also occur in clause-initial position:

- (13) a. *išt:u-w Murad le-w*
 here-M Murad exist-M
 ‘Murad is here.’ (E)
 b. *le-w išt:u-w Murad*

When used in copula clauses, the predicative particles can only occur on the head of the phrase that functions as the subject (14) or on the head of the phrase that functions as the copula predicate (14), (15a). Alternatively, they in case of coordinated constituents on the leftmost member of the coordination (17). They cannot be encliticized to any constituent that modifies the head (15b).

- (14) [it ʔa^h-ce]=de dalaj-či, cara wahi-ce=de
 that good-DD.SG=PST song-NMLZ other bad-DD.SG=PST
 ‘The good one was a singer, not the bad one.’ (lit. the other was the bad one) (E)
- (15) a. *Madina [dark:^wan rurs:i]=de*
 Madina Dargwa girl=PST
 ‘Madina was a Dargwa girl.’ (E)
 b. * *Madina [dark:^wan=de rurs:i]*

The only exception to this rule that I found so far are genitive modifiers: they can host predicative particles in copula clauses even if they do not occupy the functions of copula subject or copula predicate. The genitive noun in (16) modifies the following copula predicate. This is only possible in term focus constructions in which the host of the enclitic is the focal part of the clause. Furthermore, in term focus constructions, the predicative particles can, in principle, also be attached to adverbial modifiers such as spatial adverbials, but the properties of these constructions require further research.

- (16) *du sawχuz-la=da dajark’a, kalχuz-la ak:^wa-di*
 1SG sovkhöz-GEN=1 milkmaid kolkhoz-GEN COP.NEG-1
 ‘I am milkmaid of the SOVKHOZ, not of the kolkhoz.’ (E)

In (17), the nominal predicate is a coordinated noun phrase that consists of three members, each bearing the additive enclitic as required for nominal coordination (§26.1). The person enclitic follows the last member of the nominal predicate.

- (17) *u [s:unku^q=ra, deč-la χ^we=ra, bilʔu^t=ra]=de*
 2SG liar=ADD drinking-GEN dog=ADD thief=ADD=2SG
 ‘You are a liar, a drinking dog, and a thief!’

Copula constructions in Sanzhi can express identity, group membership, attribution, possession, benefaction, and also location and existence (see, e.g. Curnow 2000, Dixon 2010: 159–188).

22.2.1 Copula constructions expressing identity, group membership and attribution

In copula constructions that express identity, group membership, and attribution, all items displayed in Table 22.1 except for the locational copulas are used. Predicates are mostly nominals, adjectives, or adverbials. Sentences (18) and (19) show copula constructions expressing identity, including deictic identificational clauses, and group membership.

- (18) e, heχ-t:i ca kulpat ca-b
 yes DEM.DOWN-PL one family COP-HPL
 ‘Yes, they are one family.’
- (19) hež / hej Keno ca-w
 this / this Keno COP-M
 ‘This is Keno.’ (E)

If the subject is first or second person and the temporal reference is present time or there is no temporal reference because of habituality, then the person enclitics are used (17), (20). If the clause has past time reference, the past enclitic occurs (21).

- (20) busurman at:a.aba-la durɦu[◌]=de; du busurman insan=da
 Muslim father.mother-GEN boy=PST 1SG Muslim person=1
 ‘I was the son of Muslim parents; I am a Muslim.’
- (21) ɦa[◌]bal nuš:a daɦistan-na=de, k[◌]wel ɦu[◌]rus du[◌]rɦu[◌]=de
 three 1PL Dagestan-GEN=PST two Russian boy=PST
 ‘We three were from Dagestan, and there were two Russian guys.’

Adjectives distinguish a short form from a long form. The long form contains the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (plural *-te*) (§9.6.1). The short form is reserved for the attributive usage within noun phrases (in addition to compounding) (22); the long form is required for the predicative use (23).

- (22) hel r-uqna x:unul=de hel
 that F-old woman=PST that
 ‘She was an old woman.’
- (23) ca r-uqna-ce ɦuna ca-r iχ, ca ɦahil-ce ɦuna
 one F-old-DD.SG EQ COP-F DEM.DOWN one young-DD.SG EQ
 ‘One (fem.) is like old, one like young.’

Adverbials can also serve as predicates in copula clauses. Example (24) shows a nominalized participial clause in the subject position and an adverb as predicate of the copula clause.

- (30) ču-la qu b-urk:-ar hel
REFL.PL-GEN field N-AUX.IPFV-PRS.3 that
'That is probably their field.'

Note, however, that there are clauses with other auxiliaries that superficially look like copula clauses, but represent intransitive clauses. This is because the auxiliary functions as an intransitive verb and not as a copula. For instance, the sentence in (31) contains an S argument in the absolutive case, *χalq* 'people'. The item following it, *mic'ir* 'alive', is a short adjectival stem which cannot be used as adjectival predicate in copula clauses. As mentioned above, short forms of adjectives only occur as attributes within noun phrases or as part of compound verbs. The complex *mic'ir b-irχ^w*- has to be treated as one compound predicate with the meaning 'be/become alive', and therefore the construction does not contain a copula verb.

- (31) χalq' mic'ir b-irχ^w-i
people alive HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
'The people were alive.'

22.2.2 Location, existence, and possession

Location and existence are generally expressed by specialized locational copulas (32), (34), (35), and in negative clauses by the negated copula with the gender prefix (33), which can optionally be preceded by a locational copula (34) (Table 22.1). If the negated copula does not have the gender prefix, it cannot express location or existence but only identity, group membership or attribution (27), (28).

- (32) xujal du^o rhu^o le-d=de nuš:a
five boy exist-1/2PL=PST 1PL
'We were five guys.'
- (33) c'il čar Ø-iχ^w-ij q'ast b-ak:-u
then back M-be.PFV-INF intention N-COP.NEG-PRS.3
'There is no intention to go back.' (i.e. I do not have the intention).
- (34) cik'al χe-b-ak:-u
something exist.DOWN-N-COP.NEG-PRS.3
'There is nothing more.'

Sentences expressing location contain spatial adverbials such as adverbs or nominals bearing spatial cases, which can precede or follow the locational copulas (35), (36). The standard copula *ca-b* can also be used (38), although locational copulas are normally preferred.

- (35) χalil-la ųu^o mer b-ik'-ul te-w Kaspisk-le-w
Khalil-GEN Omar HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB exist.AWAY-M Kaspisk-LOC-M
'Omar's Khalil is in Kaspisk.'

- (36) tut-la k:alk:i-l-gu-b le-b=de hek' š:al-le-rka
 mulberry-GEN tree-OBL-SUB-HPL exist-HPL=PST DEM.UP side-LOC-ABL
 'They were under the mulberry tree, from that side.'

The person enclitics (37) and the past enclitic (21) can also be used in locational or existential clauses. In addition, the location copulas can attach the person enclitics:

- (37) χadizhat, čina-r=de u? du Sanži-r=da / Sanži-r le-r=da
 Khadizhat where-F=2SG 2SG 1SG Sanzhi-F=1 / Sanzhi-F exist-F=1
 'Khadizhat, where are you? I am in Sanzhi.' (E)

For locational copula clauses the standard copula *ca-b* can also be used (38), although locational copulas are normally preferred. The exact distribution of existential/locational copulas vs. the standard copula *ca-b* needs to be determined by future research.

- (38) hež tusnaq-le-w ca-w
 this prison-LOC-M COP-M
 'He is in prison.'

The expression of possession implies the existence of the possessed item. This means that when talking about any types of possession that one has, be it objects or relatives, the locational copulas are used. In the unmarked case this is *le-b* (39). The possessor occurs in the genitive case.

- (39) durh-ne le-b wec'al, weral rurs:i cai ža`bal durhu`
 boy-PL exist-HPL ten seven girl COP<HPL> three boy
 '(I) have ten children; they are seven girls and three boys.'

The following minimal pair illustrates the difference between the two types of copulas. The first sentence in (40) requires an identificational interpretation. It can, for instance, be used when showing and identifying the house. The more literal translation of the second sentence (41) would be 'With/at me there is a house.' or 'My house exists.' If the genitive pronoun is a predicate instead (27) or if other semantic components play a role, the other copulas are used.

- (40) het di-la qal ca-b
 that 1SG-GEN house COP-N
 'That is my house.' (E)
- (41) di-la qal le-b
 1SG-GEN house exist-N
 'I have a house.' (E)

Less common ways of constructing locational and existential copula clauses or copula clauses expressing possession are available by means of the other auxiliaries given

in Table 22.1. The example in (42) represents the traditional opening formula for fairy tales and is thus not a normal existential clause. The verb *b-ug-* can express indirect evidential semantics, which is often found in fairy tales. The verb *b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘be, become, happen, can’ is used, among other things, to express epistemic modal constructions including different subtypes of copula clauses with a modal meaning (43). The sentence in (44) expresses not only past time reference, but also habituality and therefore also contains the auxiliary *b-irχ^w-*, because neither the standard copula *ca-b* nor the past enclitic =*de* can express this specific combination of temporal and aspectual meanings.

- (42) b-už-ib ca-b, b-už-ib-le=k:u ?a`bal durħu`
 HPL-stay-RET COP-HPL HPL-be-RET-CVB=COP.NEG three boy
 ‘Once upon a time there were three boys.’ (lit. ‘there were, there were not’)
- (43) hež hešt:u-b b-irχ^w-an ca-b
 this here-N N-be.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘This (picture) must be here.’
- (44) a c`il ca ca=ra b-irχ^w-i niš:a-la dubur-ri-c:e-b
 and then one one=ADD N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-GEN mountain-OBL-IN-N
 ‘We used to have something else in the mountains.’

22.2.3 Copula clauses without a subject

Copula clauses with temporal or spatial adverbials can occur without an overt copula subject. They only contain a copula predicate:

- (45) ganilla c`aq`-le b-ux:ar-re b-irχ^w-iri
 in.winter strong-ADVZ N-cold-ADVZ N-become.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘It used to be very cold in the winter.’
- (46) dubur-t-a-c:e-b=de
 mountain-PL-OBL-IN-N=PST
 ‘It was in the mountains.’ (E)

More generally, copula clauses with predicates expressed by manner adverbs do not require a subject, but can be impersonal (47), (48). The gender agreement affix in such clauses is invariably *b*, since this is the default agreement affix (§20.2). It is possible to add a dative argument fulfilling the semantic role of experiencer or beneficiary (49).

- (47) qihin-ne ca-b, wahi-l ca-b
 difficult-ADVZ COP-N bad-ADVZ COP-N
 ‘It is difficult, it is bad.’
- (48) guna=q:el ca-b, hel-it:e da`?le b-arq`-ib qal
 warm=when COP-N that-ADVZ as N-do.PFV-RET house
 ‘When it is warm (i.e. in warm places) the houses are built like this.’

- (49) dam ʔa^oh-le ca-b
 1SG good-ADV COP-N
 'I am well.'

22.2.4 Copula clauses without a copula

Copula clauses obligatorily require a copula item (Table 22.1), otherwise they are ungrammatical:

- (50) * du ust:a
 1SG master
 '(Intended meaning: I am a master.)' (E)
- (51) * ij, ča iż?
 this who this
 '(Intended meaning: This, who is it?)' (E)

In copula constructions that have third person subjects and present time reference or habitual meaning, the copula can be omitted when one of the pragmatic predicative particles is used. This can be either one of the three interrogative enclitics if the copula clause is a question (polar question, content question, embedded question) (Chapter 28), or the modal enclitic =*q'al* (§9.4.2). This is possible because the modal enclitic and the interrogative enclitics belong, just like the person enclitics =*da* and =*de* and the past enclitic =*de*, to the predicative particles that can head finite clauses (§9.1). The following examples show the use of =*q'al* (52), a content question (53) and a polar question (54).

- (52) ʔu^orus ʔaj-la=q'al il
 Russian word-GEN=MOD that
 'That is a Russian word.'
- (53) čina-b=e ala biq'ru-me?
 where-HPL=Q 2SG.GEN witness-PL
 'Where are your witnesses?'
- (54) hež at:a=w iż?
 this father=Q this
 'Is this the father?'

Similarly, in copula clauses that function as embedded questions or assertions expressing epistemic modality (uncertainty), the embedded question marker is used (55) and the copula is absent. Sentence (56) does not show an embedded question, but an epistemic uncertainty construction (§28.4).

- (55) či-d-až-aq-a hari [ce q'ar=e]!
 SPR-NPL-see.PFV-CAUS-IMP let's what herbs=INDQ
 'Show what herbs these are!'

- (56) hana k^wel dus=el
 now two year=INDQ
 ‘Now it is probably two years (that have passed by).’

The sole use of a pragmatic predicative particle is impossible if the copula subject is first or second person. In such cases, the predicative person marker needs to occur before the question enclitic and cannot be omitted:

- (57) urux-le=de=w?
 fear-ADVZ=2SG=Q
 ‘Are you afraid?’

When two copula clauses are coordinated, the copula can be omitted in one of the clauses, usually the second clause (58) (see §26.2 for one more example).

- (58) du ʔa^h-ce=da, u wahi(=de)
 1SG good-DD.SG=1 2SG bad(=2SG)
 ‘I am good, you (are) bad.’ (E)

22.3 Grammatical relations

There are only a few studies on grammatical relations in Dargwa varieties so far by Nina Sumbatova (Sumbatova 2014; 2017), but there is a considerable amount of literature on grammatical relations in other East Caucasian languages, and there are works from a comparative perspective that include Dargwa (see Forker 2017 for a recent overview). Case studies of individual languages are often centered on the question whether the investigated language(s) is only morphologically ergative, or whether it also shows indications of syntactic ergativity (cf. Nichols 1980, Crisp 1983, Comrie et al. 2013). The majority of scholars state that ergativity is mostly restricted to morphology. Kibrik (1985; 1997; 2003) concludes that East Caucasian languages belong to the so-called “role-dominated” languages (Foley & Van Valin 1984: 123) in which the marking of arguments is semantically motivated.

In this section, I will briefly discuss the constructions (or variables) displayed in Table 22.2. The section does not present and discuss the data, but contains only cross-references to the relevant sections in this grammar that contain data for most of the constructions given in the table. See Forker 2019b for data and analysis of more constructions such as complement control or quantifier floating and a detailed account of grammatical relations in Sanzhi. I will not analyze word order because word order on the clausal level strongly depends on the information structure and not on grammatical relations (§27.2).

We can identify three alignment types in Sanzhi Dargwa: ergative alignment, accusative alignment, and neutral alignment. Additionally, there are a number of constructions in Sanzhi that are not sensitive to grammatical relations. The most important constraint is the case-defined predicate class, that is, the distinction between canonical transitive,

Table 22.2: Grammatical relations in Sanzhi Dargwa

Construction	Grammatical relations	Constraints
Person agreement	S=A=P	TAM forms, person hierarchy 1, 2>3
Gender/number agreement	S=P vs. A (but mostly only for S and P in the absolutive)	case (predominantly absolutive)
Case	S=P vs. A (but this depends on the predicate class)	case-defined predicate class (Table 19.1), clause type
Imperative	S=A vs. P ^a	semantic predicate class
Complement control	S=A vs. P	
Reflexivization, Reciprocalization	S=A=P for experiential verbs and for default transitive verbs with complex reflexive/reciprocal pronouns; S=A otherwise	case-defined predicate class
Conjunction reduction	tendency for S=A vs. P	no known constraints
Relativization	not sensitive to grammatical relations	
Antipassive	not sensitive to grammatical relations	case-defined predicate class and verb semantics, TAM form
Causativization	S=A vs. P	
Quantifier floating	S=P vs. A (§21.1.4)	case (only absolutive)

^aBut the evidence for affective verbs is inconsistent because imperative formation of affective verbs is often impossible for semantic reasons.

affective, extended intransitive, and other verbs. These valency classes of verbs are defined on the basis of case assignment patterns to the arguments, and not so much on the basis of the meaning of the predicates. In other words, cases have a high semantic load and the choice of one case suffix over the other largely depends on the semantic contribution of the cases. Thus, Sanzhi Dargwa confirms once more the fact that the semantic impact of cases for East Caucasian languages should not be underestimated.

Ergative alignment, labeled as S=P vs. A in Table 22.2, is basically found in the morphology, namely in the gender agreement and the case marking. There is a large number of bivalent and trivalent verbs that assign ergative case to their A argument, although not all bivalent and trivalent verbs belong to this class. Additionally, there are even more verbs whose S and P arguments trigger gender/number agreement because the arguments bear the absolutive case. Outside the realm of morphology there are almost no indications for ergativity, apart perhaps from quantifier floating (§21.1.4) and causativization (§19.2.2). Instead, accusative alignment (symbolized with S=A vs. P), neutral alignment (S=A=P) and no alignment (no grammatical roles identifiable) are found. Person agreement and reflexivization/reciprocalization are neutral since S, A, P and T are not distinguishable. They only behave differently from G, but this is not relevant for

the determination of grammatical roles. All four macroroles S, A, P and T can control person agreement (§20.3) or reflexive and reciprocal pronouns (Chapter 29) and thus we have neutral alignment. In contrast, relativization largely depends on pragmatics and a suitable context and is not sensitive to grammatical relations because a large variety of positions (S, A, P, G, T, other) can be relativized. Accusativity is found with imperatives because both S and A can be subjects in imperative clauses, but not P or any other position (§17.1). This is not surprising and frequently found in ergative as well as in accusative languages, and some authors do not consider imperatives to represent suitable test constructions for establishing grammatical roles, e.g. Dixon (1994: 131). Furthermore, complement control (§24.5) and conjunction reduction in clauses with the preterite verb show some accusative traits because S and A are always suitable controllers of arguments in complement clauses or converbial clauses, but P is largely excluded. Similarly, causativization can be analyzed as distinguishing between S/A on the one side and P on the other side because it is never the P or the T that is affected when bivalent or trivalent predicates are causativized (§19.2.2). P arguments remain unchanged (because P and T essentially have the same morphosyntactic properties), whereas S changes to P, and A changes to G under causativization, such that causativization can perhaps be taken as a further indicator of an S/A pivot. The antipassive is not a suitable test construction because its application is restricted to the class of transitive verbs, excluding all other valency classes, such that we cannot check how S would be treated.

To sum up, there is no justification for establishing a category of ergative subject that would comprise S and P, and thus Sanzhi Dargwa is only morphologically ergative. This claim is not surprising but supports what has been previously stated for the East Caucasian languages. The only indications for syntactic accusativity are complement constructions and causativization, which is not enough for establishing a category of subject comprising S and A as we know it from European languages. However, simple reflexive constructions and imperative could be viewed as further, though weaker indications for singling out S and A in contrast to P. At the basis of textual frequency even person agreement shows a tendency to occur predominantly with S and A controllers in natural texts because P arguments that are second person are relatively rare.

In this grammar, I use the term “subject-like” or even sometimes “subject” in order to refer to S and A arguments, whereas P arguments are called “object-like” or “object”. This terminology has been chosen for reasons of convenience and familiarity. It has to be viewed against the background of the discussion of grammatical roles in Sanzhi as given in this Section.

23 Relative clauses

23.1 Introduction

Sanzhi Dargwa uses participles for the formation of relative clauses. Like other modifiers, relative clauses normally precede the head. There are two simple participles that consist of a suffix added to the verbal stem, and complex participles that make use of additional suffixes. The simple participles are the preterite participle (§18.1.2.1), which is identical in form to the preterite, and the modal participle *-an* (§18.1.2.2). For verbs whose stems exhibit the aspectual distinction, the preterite participle is almost exclusively used with perfective stems, whereas the modal participle occurs only with imperfective stems. The complex participles consist of the simple participles plus the cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* or suffix *-il* (§18.1.2.3). Furthermore, Sanzhi has a locative participle that is used when the head of the relative clause denotes a location (§18.1.2.4).

The simple participles and the complex participles derived from them express temporal relations. The modal participle occurs in relative clauses with non-past time reference (e.g. present, future, habitual) (1); the preterite participle occurs in relative clauses with past time reference (2).

- (1) [hã°hã° r-ik°w-an] rurs:i di-la ruc:i ca-r
laughter F-say.IPFV-PTCP girl 1SG-GEN sister COP-F
'The girl who is laughing is my sister.' (E)
- (2) [hã°hã° r-ik°-ub] rurs:i di-la ruc:i ca-r
laughter F-say.IPFV-PRET girl 1SG-GEN sister COP-F
'The girl who was laughing is my sister.' (E)

Since the preterite participle is identical to the preterite itself, in a number of cases two interpretations are possible: a main clause that precedes another clause with argument sharing between the two clauses or a relative clause:

- (3) raχ:az b-ert:-ib χ°we sa-r-b-uq-un
chain N-tear.PFV-PRET dog ANTE-ABL-N-go.PFV-PRET
'The dog tore off the chain and left.' OR 'The dog who tore off the chain left.' (E)

The suffixes *-ce* (plural *-te*) and *-il* are used to form attributes that can denote referents. This means that items that bear these suffixes can be used as modifiers in noun phrases but also as predicates or as nominals. With respect to relative clauses, they are used whenever the relative clause occurs in a position that diverges from its canonical prenominal position. See §23.3 below for a discussion.

Moreover, purpose clauses with nominal heads are structurally similar to relative clauses, but must contain an infinitive (or subjunctive) and can also be marked with *-ce* (4), (5). Participles are not allowed if the clause has a purposive meaning.

- (4) [du qili uq'-ij] pikri le-b
 1SG home go.M-INF thought exist-N
 'There is the thought to go home.' (i.e. I have the thought) (E)
- (5) sa-ka-b-iš:-ib-le, [cini-j b-erk^w-ij-ce]=ra
 ANTE-DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET-CVB REFL.SG.OBL-DAT N-eat.PFV-INF-DD.SG=ADD
 χe-b ca-w=ra
 exist.DOWN-N REFL-M=ADD
 'He is there and (something) to eat for him, which has been placed in front (of him).'

In the following, I will first show which positions can be relativized (§23.2), then analyze further semantic and syntactic properties of relative clauses (§23.3), and then briefly discuss headless relative clauses (§23.4).

23.2 Positions that can be relativized

The following examples illustrate the positions that can be relativized. They are labeled with the semantic roles and the cases that nominals in that role bear in a main clause.

1. single argument of an intransitive verb (absolutive)

- (6) il-t:i [bahla-l ag-ur] durh-ne
 that-PL slow-ADVZ go.PFV-PRET boy-PL
 'the boys who went slowly'
- (7) [ħa[˘]šuk:-a-r rurq-aⁿ] hin-ni-c:e-r il r-ebč'-ib ca-r
 pot-LOC-F boil-PTCP water-OBL-IN-F that F-die.PFV-PRET COP-F
 'In the water that boiled in the pot, she died.'
- (8) s:a hext:u [r-embk:-un] x:unul-la rurs:i-š:u
 yesterday there.UP F-give.birth.PFV-PRET woman-GEN girl-AD
 ag-ur-re=de
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 'Yesterday I went to the daughter (baby girl) of the woman who gave birth.'

2. agent of transitive verb (ergative)

- (9) ca ca le-b [x:un-re-ja-r na^qq
 one one exist-HPL woman-PL-LOC-ABL hand
 či-r-a-ha-js:-an] murg-le
 SPR-ABL-NEG-UP-take.PFV-PTCP man-PL
 ‘There are those, the men who do not take away their hands from their
 wives.’ (i.e. who beat them constantly)
- (10) hež [paltar ic-an] mašin
 this clothes wash.IPFV-PTCP machine
 ‘the washing machine’ (lit. the machine that washes clothes)

3. experiencer of bivalent affective verb (dative or ergative)

- (11) [du w-alχ-an] rurs:i
 1SG M-know.IPFV-PTCP girl
 ‘the girl who knows me (masc.)’ (E)
- (12) [ħa^q-le q:uβa-l ca-l-li ca urk’i ha-b-eβ-ib]
 very-ADVZ beautiful-ADVZ one-OBL-ERG one heart UP-N-go.PFV-PRET
 sub-x:unul-li-j miši-l ca-b hešt:i
 husband-woman-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP-HPL these
 ‘They look like husband and wife who very well understand each other.’
- (13) il-t:i [a-jk:-an] admi-li-j
 that-PL NEG-want.M.IPFV-PTCP person-OBL-DAT
 ‘to those people who do not love you (masc.)’

4. agent in the antipassive construction (absolutive)

- (14) [ʔa^q-l b-irq’-an] adim-te ca-b hel-t:i
 work-ERG HPL-do.IPFV-PTCP person-PL COP-HPL that-PL
 ‘They are (hard)-working people.’
- (15) [deč-li b-uč:-an] juldaš:-e
 drinking-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-PTCP friend-PL
 ‘the friends who are drinking’

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5. patient of transitive (absolutive)

(16) [iž-i-l d-alc'-un] q'ar le-d=de
 this-OBL-ERG NPL-gather.PFV-PRET plant[NPL] exist-PL=PST
 'There were plants that she gathered.'

(17) [umq:a-l b-irq'-an] dis
 whetstone-ERG N-do.PFV-PTCP knife
 'a knife that has been sharpened' (E)

6. theme of ditransitive verb (absolutive)

(18) [ču-la χu-d-a-j luk:-an] χurejg
 REFL.PL-GEN dog-PL-OBL-DAT give.IPFV-PTCP food
 'the food that is given to their dogs'

7. stimulus of bivalent affective verb (absolutive)

(19) [a-b-alχ-an] šahar-ri-c:e-w
 NEG-N-know.IPFV-PTCP TOWN-OBL-IN-M
 'in a town that (you) do not know' (E)

8. recipient of ditransitive verb (dative)

(20) [du-l kiniga b-ič'-ib] durħu'
 1SG-ERG book N-give.PFV-PRET boy
 'the boy to whom I gave the book' (E)

9. goal of extended intransitive verb (dative)

(21) [du er=či w-erč'-ib-il] rurs:i
 1SG look=on M-look.PFV-PRET-REF girl
 'the girl at whom I looked' (E)

10. beneficiary (dative)

(22) [at:a-l qal b-arq'-ib-il] durħu' razi Ø-iχ-ub
 father-ERG house N-do.PFV-PRET-REF boy happy M-become.PFV-PRET
 'The son for whom father built the house got happy.' (E)

11. spatial location (essive cases)

- (23) caj-na arg-ul le-d=da [s:ika b-ebč'-ib] q:at:a-r
 one-TIME go.IPFV-ICVB exist-1/2PL=1 bear N-die.PFV-PRET canyon.LOC-ABL
 či-d-a
 on-1/2PL-DIR
 'One time we went there through the canyon where the bear had died.'
- (24) durh-ne ag-ur [q'wal luχ-na] mus:a
 boy-PL go.PFV-PRET cow cut.IPFV-PTCP.LOC place.LOC
 'The boys went to the place where cows are slaughtered.' (this refers to a specific place in Sanzhi)
- (25) [pa'χ.pa'χ-le či-w-ax-an] mus:a-r
 pakh.pakh-LOC SPR-M-go-PTCP place.LOC-ABL
 'across the place where (you) go to the Pakh-Pakh (place name)'

12. spatial goal (lative cases)

- (26) [du a-r-it-eβ-ib] mus:a b-a-b-urč:i
 1SG NEG-F-THITHER-go.PFV-PRET place N-NEG-N-find.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 'You did not find a place that I (fem.) did not reach.' (E)

13. spatial source (ablative cases)

- (27) [du sa-jβ-ib] šahar haraq-le ca-b
 1SG HITHER-come.M.PFV-PRET town far-ADVZ COP-N
 'the town from which I (masc.) came is far away.' (E)

14. source of emotion (IN-ablative)

- (28) [du uruχ Ø-ik'w-an] durhu°
 1SG fear M-say.IPFV-PTCP boy
 'the boy that I am afraid of' (E)

15. cause/source (IN-ablative)

- (29) d-iq:-a dam [χalq' c'erx a-b-irχ'w-an]
 NPL-carry.IPFV-IMP 1SG.DAT people fat NEG-HPL-become.IPFV-PTCP
 q'ampit'-e!
 chocolates-PL
 'Give me the chocolates from which the people do not get fat!' (E)

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16. topic of conversation or addressee (IN-ablative for addressee or complement of postposition for topic of conversation)

(30) [Madina-l χabar b-urs-ib-il] x:unul di-la ruc:i ca-r
 Madina-ERG story N-tell-PRET-REF woman 1SG-GEN sister COP-F
 ‘The woman about whom Madina talked is my sister.’ OR ‘The woman to whom Madina talked is my sister.’ (E)

(31) [Aminat vaj=či-r ka-r-ik^w-an] x:unul
 Aminat word=on-ABL DOWN-F-say.IPFV-PTCP woman
 ‘the woman about Aminat talks (gossips)’ (E)

17. comitative

(32) [du ĥa^z-t-a-l Ø-irq[’]-an] durĥ-ne
 1SG game-PL-OBL-ERG M-do.IPFV-PTCP boy-PL
 ‘the boys with whom I (masc.) play’ (E)

18. possessor (genitive)¹

(33) [sub w-ebč[’]-ib-il] x:unul r-is:-ul ca-r
 husband M-die.PFV-PRET-REF woman F-cry-ICVB COP-F
 ‘the woman whose husband died is crying’ (E)

19. instrument (comitative or ergative)

(34) [du-l t[’]ult[’] ka-b-ič:-ib-il] dus q:ut[’]-a-l ca-b
 1SG-ERG bread DOWN-N-cut.up.PFV-PRET-REF knife blunt-ADVZ COP-N
 ‘The knife with which I cut the bread is blunt.’ (E)

Complements of postposition heading relative clauses are not found in the corpus and somewhat hard to elicit, but (35) shows an example. Another one is (30) above in the interpretation in which the head of the relative clause is the topic of conversation (which is normally expressed by a postposition, see §8.1.6).

(35) [durĥu[°] sala sa-ka-jc:-ur-il] qal niš:a-lla ca-b
 boy front ANTE-DOWN-stand.M.PFV-PRET-REF house 1PL-GEN COP-N
 ‘The house in front of which the boy is standing is ours.’ (E)

More complex constructions are also possible. For instance, the argument of a complement clause can function as the head of a relative clause (36). Similarly, arguments of adverbial clauses can be extracted in order to serve as heads of relative clauses (37). We can have multiple relative clauses embedded into each other (38).

¹If in (33) the simple instead of the complex participle is used, the first clause is interpreted as a main clause preceding another main clause (‘The husband died. The wife is crying’).

- (36) [du [b-elč'-ij] r-a? r-iš:-ib-il] kiniga
 1SG N-read.PFV-INF F-begin F-put.PFV-PRET-REF book
 'the book that I (fem.) started to read' (E)
- (37) [[du-l istikan b-ič:-ib-le] b-elq'-aq-un-il] durħu°
 1SG-ERG glass N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB N-break.PFV-CAUS-PRET-REF boy
 'the boy who broke the glass after I gave it to him' (E)
- (38) [[Tarkama-le-r er r-irχ^w-an] rurs:i r-alχ-an] durħu°
 Terkeme-LOC-F life F-be.IPFV-PTCP girl F-know.IPFV-PTCP boy
 'the boy who knows the girl who lives in Terkeme' (E)

It is possible to find examples in which the head noun does not bear any syntactic relation to the relative clause, i.e., in which it is impossible to argue that the relative clause contains a gap from the extracted head. This is widespread in case of head nouns with a very broad semantics such as *zamana* 'time' but there are also sentences with other head nouns. For instance, (39) illustrates a common construction that explicates the name of a person. The verb *b-ik^w*- 'say, call', that is used in the relative clause, normally requires an absolutive argument that denotes its subject. However, in (39) the subject is absent because it is an impersonal construction, retrievable only from the context and from the fact that the human plural gender prefix is used. The gender agreement prefix is frozen and cannot be replaced by any other prefix. Instead of a complement clause, which is usually used together with the verb *b-ik^w*- 'say, call', the name *Maħa^ommadħa^oži* occurs. The head noun *durħu^o* 'boy' does not fulfill an argument or adjunct role in the relative clause. This issue is discussed further in the following §23.3. Example (40) is similar in that the head noun *ħa^oz* 'game' is also not in a syntactic relationship with the verb in the relative clause 'hide'.

- (39) [Maħa^ommadħa^oži b-ik^w-an] durħu^o=ra
 Mahammadħazhi HPL-say.IPFV-PTCP boy=ADD
 'the boy called Mahammadħazhi'
- (40) [da^o?a^ona b-irχ-an] ħa^oz b-irχ-i niš:a-la
 secret HPL-become.IPFV-PTCP game N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-GEN
 'There was this game of ours, the hide-and-seek.' (lit. the game where one had to hide)

23.3 Other syntactic properties of relative clauses

Relative clauses can have a nominal head or be headless (see §23.4 below). The head is normally a common noun, but it can also be a personal pronoun, an indefinite pronoun, a demonstrative pronoun, or a personal name. Thus, relative clauses can be restrictive or non-restrictive without any difference in their morphosyntactic form.

23 Relative clauses

1. head is a third person pronoun/demonstrative pronoun

- (41) nu [aš:i-j čī-b-ig-an] hel b-urs-an ca-b
 well 2PL-DAT SPR-N-see.IPFV-PTCP that N-tell-PTCP COP-N
 ‘Well, you (pl.) will say what you see.’
- (42) hešt:i ak:u=w hešt:i [b-iḥ-ib-te]?
 these COP.NEG=Q these HPL-wrestle.PFV-PRET-DD.PL
 ‘Are these not the ones who wrestle?’

2. head is a personal pronoun

- (43) [Rassija-le ag-ur-il] du-l arc d-irq’-ul=de
 Russia-LOC go.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG-ERG money NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘I, who went to Russia, made money.’ (i.e. earned money) (E)

3. head is an interrogative pronoun (used as indefinite pronoun)

- (44) [t’ut’u b-arq’-ib-te] ča-qal Ø-ik’^w-a-t:e?
 throw.out HPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL who-ASSOC M-say.IPFV-HAB.PST-2SG
 ‘The ones who were thrown out, who did you say this was?’

4. head is an indefinite pronoun (45), including pronouns used as nouns with a light semantics (49)

- (45) du-l [mar haʔ-ib-il] ča-k’al a-jt-an=da
 1SG-ERG truth say.PFV-PRET-REF who-INDEF NEG-beat.up-PTCP=1
 ‘I will not beat anybody who told the truth.’ (E)

5. head is a personal name

- (46) [irig x:unul ka-r-iž-ib-il] di-la uci Zamir er
 last.year woman DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG-GEN brother Zamir life
 Ø-irχ-u Agni-le-w
 M-be.IPFV-PRS Ogni-LOC-M
 ‘My brother Zamir, who married last year, lives in Ogni.’ (E)

The verbal categories expressed in relative clauses are fewer than those expressed in main clauses. Due to the participles employed, the expression of tense is possible to a certain degree (1), (2) and negation is available (107), but person agreement and the marking of illocutionary force are excluded.

Within the noun phrase, to which a relative clause belongs, the relative clauses can be preceded and followed by other nominal modifiers such as demonstrative pronouns (42), possessive pronouns (46), quantifiers, adjectives, and others. See §21.1 for further information on the structure of noun phrases. They can be modified by adverbials just like adjectives (47).

- (47) [c'aq'-le b-al b-ič-ib] mus:a
 very-ADVZ N-fit N-occur.PFV-PRET place
 'a very fitting (= good) place'

In elicitation, Sanzhi speakers report that there is no difference in the meaning between a relative clause with a simple participle and a relative clause with a participle to which one of the suffixes *-ce* or *-il* is added. Relative clauses with complex participles in the default position preceding the nominal head are relatively rare in the Sanzhi corpus. The following three sentences (48–50) illustrate the use of both suffixes with the preterite participle. In (49) the speaker is talking about the tools with which Sanzhi women used to cook and compares them with new appliances. Example (50) shows that the cross-categorical suffixes are also added to other parts of speech. In this sentence, *-il* appears on the preterite participle which because of the suffix acquires nominal properties and can function as referent with the meaning 'the one that has been put down'. The second appearance on the noun that is inflected for the IN-essive case makes a referent with the meaning 'the one that is in the hand' out of a spatial adverbial

- (48) ce b-ik'-u=ja niš:a-la ʒaj-la, hež [hit:i kemq-un-il]
 what N-say.IPFV-PRS=Q 1PL-GEN language-GEN this behind hang-PRET-REF
 q'ucur=uw?
 bag=Q
 'How do we call in our language the bag that hangs behind his back? (i.e. a backpack)'
- (49) hana [tura d-uq-un-te] cara cik'al le-d
 now outside NPL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL other something exist-NPL
 'Now there are other things that appeared (lit. went out).'
- (50) iž [ka-b-iš:-ib-il] na`q-li-c:e-b-il=de
 this DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET-REF hand-OBL-IN-N-REF=PST
 'The one had been put down was the one the one in the hand.'

The head noun in the vast majority of corpus examples follows the relative clause, but other positions are possible, too. Whenever the relative clause occurs after the head or separated from the head (preceding it or following it), the cross-categorical suffixes or the modal participle need to be employed and it can be argued that the relative clause is morphosyntactically not part of the noun phrase anymore. Note that such examples are not particularly frequent and most of the following examples stem from staged narrations and poems. Sentence (51) comes from the translation of a fairy tale from Standard Dargwa/Russian. Russian has postnominal relative clauses and the Russian word order has simply been copied. Similarly, (52) and (53) are translations from Russian. Example (54) and (55) come from spontaneous narratives, and (56) is part of a poem.

23 Relative clauses

1. relative clause following the head noun

- (51) dam b-ič:-ib iž ma'ľu^ˈn-ni [ca kur-re
 1SG.DAT N-give.PFV-PRET this snake-ERG one pit-LOC
 ka-b-iž-ib-il dawla-či-w Isma'ľil-li-c:ella]
 DOWN-N-be.PFV-PRET-REF wealth-ADJVZ-M Ismail-OBL-COMIT
 'The snake that sat in a pit together with the rich Ismail gave it to me.'

2. relative clause following the head noun

- (52) uc-be [čar b-iχ-ub-te d-ac' nu^ˈq-b-a-c:ella]
 brother-PL back HPL-be.PFV-PRET-DD.PL NPL-empty hand-PL-OBL-COMIT
 'the brothers who came back with empty hands'

3. relative clause following the head noun and separated from it

- (53) dam rurs:i r-ik:-ul=da [t'ams-ne d-irq'-an]
 1SG.DAT girl F-want.IPFV-ICVB=1 carpet-PL NPL-do.IPFV-PTCP
 'I love the girl who makes carpets.' (E)

4. relative clause following the head noun and separated from it

- (54) il c'ikuri r-arč:-ib ca<r>i, [hana xadi
 that bride F-find.PFV-PRET COP<F> now married
 ka-r-iž-ib-il]
 DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-REF
 'They found this bride who had just married'

5. relative clause in canonical positions and relative clause preceding the head noun

- (55) [nuš:a-l hež b-arq'-ib-il] χabar, [hext:u ag-ur-il] a-c:e
 1PL-ERG this N-do.PFV-PRET-REF story there.UP go.PFV-PRET-REF 2SG-IN
 b-urs-ul=da χabar da'ľle
 N-tell-ICVB=1 story as
 'We tell you the story like the story that we put together, how we got there.'

6. relative clause preceding the head noun and headless relative clause

- (56) [[čum-k'al=ra dus halk-un-te] di-la c'a
 how.many-INDEF=ADD year catch.fire.PFV-PRET-DD.PL 1SG-GEN fire
 d-iš-aq-un-ce]
 NPL-die.out.PFV-CAUS-PRET-DD.SG
 'the one that turned out my fire that was burning for so many years'

23 Relative clauses

Relative clauses with semantically empty or light head nouns can be found, and in most cases it is the noun *zamana*, which takes over this function. These clauses have been grammaticalized into adverbial clauses expressing temporal simultaneity (62), (63) (§18.2.9). Relative clauses with *mus:a* ‘place’ as head can be interpreted in a similar fashion as adverbial clauses referring to the location of an event (24), (25).

- (62) [ʔa^h-ʔa^h-le gu-lik'-an] zamana
 good-good-ADVZ DOWN-listen-PTCP time
 ‘at the time (when they) were listening carefully’
- (63) [ʔaⁿⁱ-le-r gu-d-a hin d-at-aʔ-ib] zamana
 aperture-LOC-ABL down-NPL-DIR water NPL-send-do.PFV-PRET time
 ‘at the time (when) you send the water from the aperture’

In general, relative clauses in Sanzhi Dargwa are part of a larger family of constructions that can be classified as ‘noun-modifying clause constructions.’ They include, apart from genuine relative clauses in which the head has a position in the relative clause, also constructions with ‘light nouns’ such as *zamana* ‘time’ (62), (63) and other sentential complements of nouns. Sentences (39), (40) above already showed that the same formal means that are employed to formulate relative clauses are also used when there is no syntactic relationship between the head noun and the preceding noun. In such cases the hearer is expected to establish the semantic link between the noun and the clause that modifies the noun on the basis of the context and of general knowledge. The sentences in (64–67) provide more examples of such sentential modifiers. Such versatility of the relative clause construction is typical for East Caucasian languages and has been repeatedly discussed in the literature (Daniel & Lander 2008; 2010; Comrie et al. 2017).

- (64) [Malla Nasret:in-ni amɣa b-ic-ib] ɣabar
 Mullah Nasredin-ERG donkey N-sell.PFV-PRET story
 ‘the story that Mullah Nasredin sold a donkey’ (E)
- (65) [qulexa b-irq'-an] usta-dex
 bracelet N-do.IPFV-PTCP master-NMLZ
 ‘the mastery of making bracelets’ (E)
- (66) [sadaq'a luk:-an / luk-ni-la] ʔa^{dat}
 alms give.IPFV-PTCP / give.IPFV-MSD-GEN custom
 ‘the tradition of giving alms’ (E)
- (67) [t'ult' b-uc'-an] t'em
 bread N-bake.IPFV-PTCP smell
 ‘the smell of baking bread’ (E)

Instead of relative clauses it is also possible to have a nominalized clause with the *masdar* suffix that is marked for the genitive (65), (68). Such constructions are semantically equivalent to the noun-modifying construction above (57), (64).

- (68) [čina-k'u ʔa'lħa'm-le d-u'q'-ni-la] χabar
 where-INDEF condolence-LOC 1/2PL-go-MSD-GEN story
 'the story how we went somewhere for condolences'

23.4 Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses can be formed in four different ways: (i) with the modal participle (*-an*) (69–71), (ii) by using the locative participle (see §18.1.2.4 for further information and examples), (iii) by attaching the cross-categorical suffixes *-il* (50), (72) or *-ce* (plural *-te*) to the preterite or the modal participle (56), (75), and (iv) occasionally by means of the nominalized optative (80). The types differ with respect to their function and morphosyntactic properties. Headless relative clauses with the modal participle can only be used when the nominalized relative clause takes over the function of an absolutive argument and therefore does not require further case marking. For instance, in (69) the relative clause functions as P argument, and in (70) and (71) as copula predicate.

- (69) [at b-ik:-an] b-arq'-a!
 2SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-PTCP N-do.PFV-IMP
 'Do what you want!' (E)
- (70) it [r-alχ-an] ca-r, urc'muc:an
 that F-know.IPFV-PTCP COP-F Kala-Kureish.person
 'She is the one who (I) know, from Kala-Kureish.'
- (71) ja [ʁaj Ø-ik'^w-an] w-ak:u
 even word M-say.IPFV-PTCP M-COP.NEG
 'There is not even anybody who is talking.'

Relative clauses with the locative participle can only express spatial meaning, and the locative participle can be marked with directional case suffixes (essive, ablative), but not with any other cases.

The use of the cross-categorical suffixes *-il* and *-ce* is a major strategy for the formation of headless relative clauses. The two suffixes are used in a variety of contexts and their overall function can be roughly described as forming referential attributes/definite descriptions. Items marked with the suffixes acquire the morphosyntactic properties of nouns (see §9.6.1 and §9.6.2 for detailed accounts). There is a functional distribution between the two suffixes. Both suffixes are used when the headless relative clause denotes a singular referent and when it is used without any further case marking, i.e., when it is an argument in the absolutive case in the main clause (56), (72), (73), but the suffix *-il* is more common. Note that the headless relative in (73) contains a further adverbial clause that is embedded into the relative clause. I could find only a handful examples of headless relative clauses bearing *-ce* in the corpus. The example in (56) comes from a poem.

- (78) hešt:i [deč-li b-uč:-an-t-a-l] cik'al=č'u ʔa^h-dex,
 these drinking-ERG N-drink.IPFV-PTCP-PL-OBL-ERG thing=EMPH good-NMLZ
 iš-t-a-l ce b-irq'-u=ja, cik'al=č'u a-b-irq'-u
 this-PL-OBL-ERG what N-do.IPFV-PRS.3=Q thing=EMPH NEG-N-do.IPFV-PRS.3
 'The ones who are drinking, what good things do they do, they do not do
 anything (good).'
- (79) hel-ti cinna het:i [ca-w uč:-ib-t-a-c:ella]
 that-PL pause.filler those REFL-M drink.M.IPFV-PRET-PL-OBL-COMIT
 'these, hm, with whom (he) himself was drinking'

The suffix *-ce* (but not *-il* or *-te*) is also used as a nominalized verb form taking over an argument position in a clause with a complement-taking predicate. This means that *-ce* functions as a complementizer in complement clauses of the fact-type (see §24.2.3). In some cases the nominalized clause, which occurs together with a complement-taking predicate, does not express a proposition, but refers to an entity such as a human being or an event or to abstract entities such as thoughts, wishes, etc. In that case the nominalized verb does not function as a complement, but as a headless relative clause (§24.6.2).

In addition to the just discussed types of nominalized relative clauses, Sanzhi has a nominalized optative that functions like a headless relative clause in the sense that it can take over arguments or adjunct positions in the clause and can be inflected. It preserves the semantics of the optative (§17.3). In example (80), the nominalized verb *w-ebk'* 'die' is inflected for the ergative because it functions as the agent of the verb *kax-* 'kill'.

- (80) ah, w-ah w-ebk'-ar-t-a-l di-la durhu^h kax-ub-le
 ah M-owner M-die.PFV-OPT-PL-OBL-ERG 1SG-GEN boy kill.PFV-PRET-CVB
 už-ib-le=q'al
 be.M-PRET-CVB=MOD
 'Ah, may the ones die who have (a beloved one), since they apparently killed my son!'

24 Complementation

Complement clauses are subordinate clauses that function as arguments of verbs. Complement taking predicates can be divided into several semantic subgroups (§24.1). Complement strategies vary according to these subgroups. However, more important for the choice of the formal marking is the semantics of the complement clause (e.g. potential vs. activity vs. fact type) as well as co-reference and control relations between the subject of the matrix predicate and the arguments in the complement clause. Therefore, I will start with a list of complement-taking predicates (§24.1). Then I will discuss the semantic types of complement clauses and how the formal strategies are distributed across the semantic types (§24.2). Due to their high overall frequency in the corpus, reported speech constructions will be treated separately in §24.3, although they do not exhibit many peculiarities that distinguish them from other complement constructions. In §24.4, I analyze the syntactic properties of complement constructions and in §24.5 I discuss in more detail complement control.

The chapter closes with a short discussion of constructions that syntactically do not represent complementation, but semantically resemble complement constructions. Parentheticals (§24.6.1), nominalized relative clauses (§24.6.2), and adverbial clauses (§24.6.3) belong to these constructions.

I use square brackets throughout this chapter in order to indicate the complement. Note, however, that the complement is not always syntactically a clause, but can also be a nominalized verb form or an associated clause in case of parenthetical constructions.

24.1 Complement-taking predicates

Not all predicates listed in this section are complement-taking predicates in the strict sense that they always require a clausal complement (as an alternative to a nominal argument) in order to build a complete grammatical sentence. Copula constructions with adverbs are by themselves independent main clauses, but the clauses that can be added to them formally behave like genuine complement clauses and are therefore included.

24.1.1 Utterance verbs

Sanzhi has the following simple verbs of speech:

- (1) a. *b-ik*'w- (IPFV) 'say, think'
- b. *ha?*- (PFV)/*her?*- (IPFV) 'say'
- c. *b-urs*- 'tell'
- d. *b-ux*- (IPFV) 'tell'

24 Complementation

More specific verbs are compounds consisting of a first part that can be a noun, an ideophone, or a bound stem, and a following light verb. There are especially many compounds with the noun *ʒaj* ‘word, language, talk’ (see §12.2.2 for more examples); and the simple verbs of speech listed above also occur frequently together with *ʒaj*. Examples include:

- (2)
- a. *xar b-εʒ-* (PFV)/*xar b-irʒ-* (IPFV) ‘ask’
 - b. *ʒaj (ka-)b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘quarrel, scold, argue, discuss, talk’
 - c. *ʒaj b-arq^ʔ-* (PFV)/*ʒaj b-irq^ʔ-* (IPFV) ‘say, tell’
 - d. *ʒaj b-ik:-* (PFV)/*ʒaj luk:-* (IPFV) ‘promise’
 - e. *č:al b-uq-* (PFV)/*č:al b-ulq-* (IPFV) ‘argue, quarrel’
 - f. *anru b-ik:-* (PFV)/*anru luk:-* (IPFV) ‘command, order’
 - g. *burs:i b-arq^ʔ-* (PFV)/*burs:i b-irq^ʔ-* (IPFV) ‘teach’
 - h. *wa^{ˈw} b-ik^w-* (IPFV); *wa^{ˈw} ha^ʔ-* (PFV)/*wa^{ˈw} her^ʔ-* (IPFV) ‘call, cry’
 - i. *ʒa^{ˈʒ} b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘shout’
 - j. *t^ˈirt^ˈir b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘chat’

Not all utterance verbs take complement clauses that represent reported speech. Some rather denote actions that involve speech (e.g. ‘teach’, ‘command, order’) or they denote specific sounds that imitate speech sounds (e.g. *t^ˈirt^ˈir b-ik^w-* ‘chat’). In §24.3, I will only discuss constructions containing quotes.

24.1.2 Liking and fearing verbs and other verbs denoting emotions and volition

The following verbs belong to this group:

- (3)
- a. *b-ik:-* ‘want, like’
 - b. *b-ič-aq-* ‘want, like, love’ (the causativized variant of *b-ik:-*)
 - c. *razi b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*razi b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘be happy, agree’
 - d. *xul b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘dream, wish, hope’
 - e. *urk^ʔ b-uq-* (PFV)/*urk^ʔ b-ulq-* ‘be frightened, astonished, wonder’
 - f. *tamaša b-arq^ʔ-* (PFV)/*tamaša b-irq^ʔ-* (IPFV) ‘wonder’
 - g. *uruχ b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘get afraid’, *uruχle ca-b* ‘be afraid’
 - h. *uruc b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*uruc b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘get embarrassed, ashamed’, *uruc ca-b* ‘be embarrassed, ashamed’
 - i. *c^ˈaχ ka-b-ic:-* (PFV)/*c^ˈaχ ka-b-irc:-* (IPFV) ‘be embarrassed, ashamed’
 - j. *pašman b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*pašman b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘be sad about, regret’
 - k. *q^ˈas b-arq^ʔ-* (PFV)/*q^ˈas b-irq^ʔ-* (IPFV) ‘decide’
 - l. *sa-b-aq-* (PFV)/*sa-b-arg-* (IPFV) ‘imagine, envisage, see’

Some of these verbs denote emotions that are cognitively based feelings and that are semantically close to verbs of cognition. Other verbs denoting volition have some semantic overlap with modality.

24.1.3 Cognition predicates

Based on their semantics, I will divide the cognition predicates that take complements into three groups:

1. verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge
2. propositional attitude predicates
3. other cognition predicates

24.1.3.1 Verbs of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge

Verbs expressing knowing and the acquisition of knowledge include:

- (4)
- a. *b-aχ-* (PFV)/*b-alχ-* (IPFV) ‘get to know, know’
 - b. *arβ-* (PFV)/*irβ-* (IPFV) ‘understand’ (can be used together with *urk’i* ‘heart’)
 - c. *b-elč’-* (PFV)/*b-uč’-* (IPFV) ‘read’

In addition, there is a particle *aχ:u* ‘I don’t know, dunno’ that takes complement clauses, as in (50). It most probably goes back to the verb ‘know’. This particle can be used with the first person singular dative pronoun *dam*, but not with any other dative experiencer and not with nominal stimuli, which indicates its status as a particle (in contrast to the full verb, which can be used with arguments of all persons and numbers and also with nominal stimuli arguments). Furthermore, it is also used parenthetically (§24.6.1).

24.1.3.2 Propositional attitude predicates

These predicates express a kind of propositional attitude toward the truth of the complement.

- (5)
- a. *pikri b-ik’w-* (IPFV), *pikri b-uq-* (PFV), *pikri b-arq’-* (PFV) ‘think, worry, give thoughts to’
 - b. *b-iχ:-* ‘believe’
 - c. *b-iχ-(b)-it-ag-* (PFV)/*b-iχ-(b)-it-arg-* (IPFV) ‘believe’ (compound verb, containing *b-iχ:-* ‘believe’)
 - d. *b-iχ-či ag-* (PFV)/*b-iχ-či arg-* (IPFV) ‘believe’ (compound verb, containing *b-iχ:-* ‘believe’)
 - e. *šak b-ik-* (PFV)/*šak b-irk-* (IPFV) ‘guess, suspect, feel’

In addition, there is a phrase *dila pikri ĥa’sible* ‘in my mind’ (1SG.GEN thought following) that also expresses a propositional attitude, but syntactically represents a parenthetical, not a complement-taking predicate, as in (127) and (128).

24.1.3.3 Other cognition predicates

These predicates are achievement verbs for positive (e.g. ‘remember’) and negative achievement (e.g. ‘forget’) in the domain of cognition.

- (6) a. *qum-ert-* (PFV)/*qum-urt-* (IPFV) ‘forget’
 b. *han b-ik-*, *b-ičaq-* (PFV)/*han b-irk-*, *b-irčaq-* (IPFV) ‘remember, seem to, imagine, think’
 c. *han b-el*, *han ca-b* ‘remember’
 d. *urk'i-le sa-b-eB-* (PFV)/*urk'i-le sa-b-irB-* (IPFV) ‘descend on the heart, remember’
 e. *urk'i-le-b le-b* ‘think, have thoughts’ (lit. ‘be on the heart’)
 f. *ħa'sib b-arq'-* (PFV)/*ħa'sib b-irq'-* ‘test, check’

24.1.4 Manipulative verbs

Manipulative verbs typically have subjects that differ from the subjects in the complement clause and the semantics of the complement clause is irrealis. Utterance verbs belong to this group, such as ‘command, order’ and ‘teach’ and the basic verb of speech *b-ik^w-* (IPFV) ‘say’, which is frequently used with a manipulative meaning. Other manipulative verbs are:

- (7) a. *b-at aB-* (PFV) ‘send’
 b. *b-at-* (PFV)/*b-alt-* (IPFV) ‘let, leave’
 c. *iχtija**r** b-ik:-* (PFV)/*iχtija**r** luk:-* (IPFV) ‘give permission, right’
 d. *χajri a-b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*χajri a-b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘forbid’

24.1.5 Phasal verbs

Sanzhi phasal verbs include:

- (8) a. *b-aʔ.ak'-* (PFV)/*b-aʔ.ik'-* (IPFV) ‘begin, start’
 b. *b-aʔ b-ax:-* (PFV)/*b-aʔ b-irx:-* (IPFV) ‘begin, start’
 c. *či-ka-b-iħ-* (PFV) *či-ka-b-irħ-* (IPFV) ‘begin, start’
 d. *taman b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*taman b-irχ^w-* (IPFV), *taman b-arq'-* (PFV)/*taman b-irq'-* (IPFV) ‘stop, finish’

There are two verbs that can express the meaning ‘continue’, *kelg^w-* (PFV) ‘remain, stay, be’ and the defective verb *b-el* ‘remain, stay’. Both are used in periphrastic verb forms, which are not complement constructions (see §15.2 and §15.3).

24.1.6 Modal predicates

Modality comprises epistemic modality (likelihood, certainty), deontic modality (necessity, obligation, permission), and ability. In Sanzhi, modality is typically not expressed through modal verbmodal verbs such as English *must*, *should*, or *may*, but instead by means of analytic and periphrastic verb forms. The obligative tenses denote obligation in addition to future (§14.1.5–§14.1.7). There are a number of periphrastic epistemic modal constructions that express likelihood and certainty (§15.4.2, §15.5). In addition, it is possible to use the embedded question marker together with the optional adverb *belki* ‘be possible’ (§9.1). The only complement-taking predicates that express modality convey the meaning of ability or necessity:

- (9) a. *b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘can, be able’
 b. *ʔa^ʔʔunil ca-b* ‘be needed, necessary’
 c. *ħa^ʔʔatle ca-b* ‘be needed, necessary’

24.1.7 Evaluation

Evaluation is expressed by adverbs together with a copula or the verb *ag-* (PFV) ‘go’:

- (10) a. *ʔa^ʔħle ca-b*, *ʔa^ʔħle ag-* (PFV)/*ʔa^ʔħle arg-* (IPFV) ‘be good’
 b. *wahil ca-b*, *wahil ag-* (PFV)/*wahil arg-* (IPFV) ‘be bad’

24.2 Complementation strategies and their semantics

The following complementation strategies are available in Sanzhi and will be treated in this section.

1. major complementation strategies:
 - zero strategy (§24.2.1)
 - quotative particles *bik’ul*, *haʔible* (§24.2.2)
 - cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (§24.2.3)
 - masdar *-ni* (§24.2.4)
 - perfective converb *-le* (§24.2.5)
 - infinitive *-ij*/subjunctive (§24.2.6)
 - embedded question marker *=el* (§24.2.7)
2. minor complementation strategies:
 - imperfective converb *-ul/-unne* (§24.2.8)
 - the *pretend*-construction (§24.2.9)

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A number of the grammatical markers listed above also occur in other types of subordinate clauses: the perfective and the imperfective converb head adverbial clauses (§25.1). The cross-categorical suffix *-ce* occurs in relative clauses (Chapter 23). Therefore, it is not always easy to tell apart complement constructions from adverbial or relative clauses.

Based on their semantics, we can distinguish four types of complement clauses (Hengeveld 1989: 130; Dik 1997: 93; Dixon 2006):

potential type: refers to the potentiality of the subject of the complement clause becoming involved in an activity

activity type: refers to some ongoing activity, relating to its extension in time

fact type: refers to the fact that something took place

speech act type or direct speech type: refers to a particular speech act

For the linguistic encoding of each semantic type one or more complementation strategies are used (Table 24.1). The strategies will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Table 24.1: Complementation strategies and the semantic types of complements

	potential	activity	fact	speech act
zero				y
quotative particle	(y)		y	y
cross-categorical suffix		y	y	y
masdar			y	
perfective converb		y	y	
infinitive/subjunctive	y			
embedded question marker	y	y		y
imperfective converb	y	y	?	

24.2.1 The zero strategy

No formal marking of the complement clause is a major strategy in reported speech constructions (§24.3). It is also found, though less commonly, with those emotion and cognition verbs that denote activities that presuppose or imply speech and that have therefore a linguistic component that makes them similar in their behavior to verbs of speech (11–14). The zero strategy can be viewed as an alternative to the use of the quotative particles since the employment of quotative particles is possible with every verb that allows for the absence of formal encoding of its complement.

- (11) na dam=ra han b-ič-ib [w-ax-an=da q'wila arc
now 1SG.DAT=ADD remember N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET M-go-PTCP=1 a.little money
d-irq'-an=da]
NPL-do.IPFV-PTCP=1
'I also thought, I should go to make a little money.'
- (12) pikri Ø-ik'-ul ca-w [[hej paltar as:-ij] ?a'xuni-l ca-d]
thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M this clothes take.PFV-INF needed-ADVZ COP-NPL
'He thinks, I need to take these clothes.'
- (13) urk' uq-un il miskin [kurt:a-j xalq'-la xaj
fright go.M.PFV-PRET that poor fox-DAT people-GEN word
d-alx-ul=ew ce=ja?]
NPL-know.IPFV-ICVB=Q what=Q
'The poor boy got frightened: Does the fox know the human language or what?'
- (14) [ʔu'rus xaj-la ce=jal b-ik'-ul ca-b it-i-j]
Russian language-GEN what=INDEF HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL that-OBL-DAT
dam qum.urt-ul ca-b
1SG.DAT forget.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
'It (i.e. the plant) is called something in Russian, I forgot.'

Due to the absence of any formal marking, it is alternatively possible to analyze the above examples as juxtaposition of two main clauses without a syntactic link between them, but with a clear semantic relationship, which follows from the meaning of the emotion and cognition verbs and the interpretation of the clauses in brackets as expressing thoughts. In example (14) still another approach suggests itself, namely the analysis of the cognitive predicate as parenthetical, which means that this is not a complement construction, but simply an independent sentence followed by another independent sentence that makes a comment on the previous one and functions as a kind of stance marker to inform the hearer that the speaker is unsure about the validity of some of her utterances about plant names. See §24.6.1 for more information about parentheticals.

24.2.2 The quotative particles

Sanzhi has two quotative particles, *bik'ul* and *ha?ible*. They are discussed in more detail in §24.3 in reference to reported speech, because they constitute a major encoding strategy for complements of utterance verbs. Although *bik'ul* and *ha?ible* have preserved their verbal properties (e.g. inflectional morphology, gender agreement, position) I will refer to them as “particles” when they occur in addition to matrix verbs of speech in order to differentiate them from the matrix verbs that take complement clauses. They can therefore be called “parentheticals” that do not realize syntactic subordination but pragmatically mark a clause as a speech report.

The particle *ha?ible* is far less common than *bik'ul*, and occurs only with verbs of speech (including cases in which they are used as verbs of cognition) and occasionally in purposive clauses (21). The particle *bik'ul*, in contrast, occurs also in complements

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of emotion ('be afraid' (15), 'dream' (16)) and cognition verbs that denote activities that heavily rely on the (implicit) use of language, most notably verbs meaning 'think' (17), (18). Verbs of knowledge normally do not mark complement clauses with the quotative particle.

(15) [c'il ca-r it-an=da r-ik'-ul] urux-le ca-r ik'
 then REFL-F beat.up-PTCP=1 F-say.IPFV-ICVB fear-ADVZ COP-F DEM.UP
 'She is afraid that he will then beat her up.'

(16) du xul Ø-ik'-ul=da [dam mašin b-irk-an-ne
 1SG wish M-say.IPFV-ICVB=1 1SG.DAT car N-OCCUR.ICVB-PTCP-FUT.3
 Ø-ik'-ul latereja-le-b]
 M-say.IPFV-ICVB lottery-LOC-N
 'I dream of winning a car in the lottery.' (E)

The particle agrees in gender with the subject or subject-like argument of the matrix clause even in those cases in which the matrix predicate takes other cases than the absolutive. For instance, in (17) the experiencer in the matrix clause is marked by the dative, and the predicate that governs this argument shows local agreement with the complement clause (see §24.4 below on the difference between local and long-distance agreement in complement clauses). By contrast, the quotative shows feminine singular agreement because the experiencer has a female referent. Example (18) shows that even a possessor functioning as experiencer can control gender agreement on the quotative particle. The obvious reason for this behavior is the valency pattern of the verb *b-ik'*'w- 'say', from which the particle originates. It requires an absolutive argument controlling its gender agreement prefix (in addition to the complement clause).

(17) dam han b-ič-ib [a-b-elk'-un-ne r-ik'-ul]
 1SG.DAT seem N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET NEG-N-write.PFV-PRET-CVB F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'I (fem.) thought that he did not write.'

(18) at:a-la pikri k'e-b [hex-t:i paltar ic-an-te=jal
 father-GEN thought exist.UP-N DEM.UP-PL clothes wash.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=INDQ
 Ø-ik'-ul]
 M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'The father thinks about whether these clothes are to be washed.'

(19) il=ra šak Ø-ič-ib ca-w [it:i χalq' b-ik'^w-an mar
 that=ADD feel M-OCCUR.PFV-PRET COP-M those people HPL-say.IPFV-PTCP truth
 b-urk:-ar Ø-ik'-ul]
 N-find.IPFV-PRS.3 M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'He also guessed that the people had probably said the truth.'

It might be combined with the modal interrogative suffix (see §17.4 for more information) in the complement clause if the complement represents a question which has deontic modality and in which the subject is co-referential with the author of the quote (20).

- (20) [d-iʔ-ij uq'-ide=l a-w-q'-idel Ø-ik'-ul]
 NPL-steal.PFV-INF go.M.PFV-MODQ=INDQ NEG-M-go.PFV-MODQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 pikri Ø-ik'-ul=el
 thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ
 '(He) is probably thinking, Should I go stealing or should I not go?'

In (21) the particle *haʔible* is followed by the verb *b-ik'*^w- used with the meaning 'think'.

- (21) [cul-b-a-la tuχtur arg-an=da] haʔ-ib-le ik'-ul
 tooth-PL-OBL-GEN doctor go.IPFV-PTCP=1 say.PFV-PRET-CVB NEG-find.IPFV-PRS.3
 a-urk:-ar aχ:u
 not.know
 'I will become a dentist, he is probably thinking, I do not know.'

24.2.3 The cross-categorical suffix *-ce*

In complement clauses, the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* is added to the preterite participle (22–24) or to the modal participle (131). This suffix is used for the formation of definite descriptions (see §9.6.1 for detailed accounts of its complex array of functions). When it is suffixed to verbs the verbs take over the function of attributes (i.e. as participles in relative clauses) or as nominalized referentially independent clauses. The latter function is relevant for the occurrence of *-ce* in complement clauses of the fact type. More specifically, the proposition in the complement clause, which is marked by *-ce*, is considered to be true and treated as a fact by the speaker. Therefore, only certain verbs denoting emotions, cognition verbs, as well as evaluative predicates express their complement clauses with the attributive marker.

- (22) iž-i-l b-aχ-ur ca-b [d-erk-un-ce]
 this-OBL-ERG N-know.PFV-PRET COP-N NPL-eat.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 'He got to know that (they) ate (them).'
- (23) il šak r-ič-ib ca-r [bec'-li b-erk:-un-ce]
 that feel F-occur.PFV-PRET COP-F wolf-ERG HPL-eat.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 'She suspected that the wolf had eaten (the sisters).'
- (24) du razi-l=da [u sa-r-eβ-ib-le /
 1SG happy-ADVZ=1 2SG HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-CVB /
 sa-r-eβ-ib-ce]
 HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 'I am happy that you came.' (E)

The meaning of these complement clauses is very close to complement clauses formed with the masdar (25) (§24.2.4) and with the perfective converb (24) (§24.2.5) and the strategies can usually be replaced by each other.

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- (25) wahi-l=de [Rašid-li ust'ul ʔaʰh
bad-ADV=PST Rashid-ERG chair good
a-b-arq'-ib-le/a-b-arq'-ib-ce/a-b-arq'-ni]
NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB/NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET-DD.SG/NEG-N-do.PFV-MSD
'It was bad that Rashid did not repair the chair.' (E)

Note that the suffix *-ce* also occurs in nominalized relative clauses that semantically resemble complement clauses of the activity type. These constructions are discussed in §24.6.2.

24.2.4 The masdar

The masdar is a deverbal noun that is used not only in complement clauses, but also in other argument and adjunct positions (§18.1.5). Complements expressed by the absolutive (i.e. not further case-marked) masdar denote facts. Therefore, basically the same matrix predicates that make use of the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* also allow for the masdar, i.e., cognition predicates, evaluation predicates and emotion predicates if they refer to factual complements that have propositional meaning:

- (26) [bunah b-irχ^w-ni] b-alχ-ul=da
sin N-become.IPFV-MSD N-know.IPFV-ICVB=1
'I know that this will be a sin.'
- (27) heba č'an-ni arɁ-ib [[il admi-la walžak
then wind-ERG understand.PFV-PRET that person-GEN coat
či-r-sa-b-ert:-ij] a-b-irχ^w-ni]
SPR-ABL-HITHER-N-take.PFV-INF NEG-N-be.able.IPFV-MSD
'Then the wind understood that he would not be able to take off the coat of this person.'
- (28) [it Maʰhaʰmmad-la x:unul r-iχ^w-ni] dam han b-ak:u
that Mahammad-GEN woman F-be.PFV-MSD 1SG.DAT remember N-COP.NEG
'I don't remember that she was Mahammad's wife.'

As mentioned above and shown in the elicited example (25) shown in the previous section, the masdar is often semantically equivalent to the preterite participle and the cross-categorical suffix.

24.2.5 The perfective converb

The perfective converb is used to form the same types of complement clauses as the cross-categorical suffix *-ce*, that is, fact complements. Thus, in elicitation it is given as an alternative to *-ce* (§24.2.3), and the types of matrix predicates with which it occurs are the same as for that suffix, namely cognition verbs (29) and emotion verbs (30), and evaluation predicates (32), (25). The complement clauses refer to situations in the past.

- (29) [ca-w urči-j murt:a-l ha-jβ-ib-le] han le-w
REFL-M horse-DAT rider-ADVZ UP-come.M.PFV-PRET-CVB remember exist-M
'(I) remember that he came riding on a horse.'
- (30) du razi-l=da [u sa-r-eβ-ib-le /
1SG happy-ADVZ=1 2SG HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-CVB /
sa-r-eβ-ib-ce]
HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
'I am happy that you (fem.) came.' (E)
- (31) du pašman r-iχ-ub-le=da [bajram-t-a-j a-keļg-un-ne]
1SG sad F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=1 holiday-PL-OBL-DAT NEG-remain.PFV-PRET-CVB
'I (fem.) regretted that I did not stay for the holidays.' (E)
- (32) "[salam-le a-s-ač'-ib-le] ?a^h-le
greeting-LOC NEG-HITHER-come.PFV-PRET-CVB good-ADVZ
a-arg-u=q'al," Ø-ik'-ul ca-w
NEG-go.IPFV-PRS.3=MOD M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
'He said, "It is not good that I did not go to the meeting."' (lit. having come to the greetings)

Clauses with the perfective converb also express activity complements when they are used, e.g., with certain emotional predicates (33). Similarly, (31) could also be translated as 'I regretted when I did not stay for the holidays.'

- (33) it-i-j [x^wit' ha?-ib-le] a-b-ič:-aq-i
that-OBL-DAT whistle say.PFV-PRET-CVB NEG-N-want.IPFV-CAUS-HAB.PST
'He did not like when one whistled.'

This makes clear that some constructions, which at the first glance look like complement clauses formed with the perfective converb, could also be analyzed as adverbial clauses occurring together with a main clause, which contains one of the complement-taking predicates given in §24.1. The preterite converb is a regular means of forming adverbial clauses that refer to events and situation occurring prior to or at the same time as the situation referred to in the main clause i.e. 'while, when, after, and' (§18.1.1.2). In contrast to complement clauses, adverbial clauses do not fulfill argument positions but serve as clausal adjuncts. For some of the examples in this section further research is needed in order to decide if the subordinate clause is a true complement or if it is an adjunct, as in (30),¹ (31), (32). In example (29) an adverbial-clause interpretation seems rather unlikely.

Finally, the perfective converb occurs in complements of 'finish' as an alternative to the infinite or subjunctive, as in (35) and (34). Such complements are of the activity or the potential type. Example (34) shows the verb 'finish', which contains an intransitive

¹This example could probably be translated as 'You came and I am happy'.

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lexical verb *b-iχ^w-ij* of which the nominal part *taman* ‘time’ functions as the subject-like argument of this verb. The clause preceding this verb contains a verb bearing the perfective converb suffix just as the complement clause in example (35) and the two verbs ‘finish’ form a pair of which the two members differ with respect to the lexical verbs (intransitive *b-iχ^w-ij* ‘be, become’ vs. transitive *b-arq’-ij* ‘do, make’) (see §12.2 for many more pairs of verbs of this kind). Thus, it seems reasonable to treat both constructions in (34) and (35) analogously as complement constructions with complements expressed by perfective converbs. However, in (34) an analysis as adverbial clause construction seems again to be possible. In that case the translation would rather be ‘Having built (the mill) and the time finished, ...’. Such an analysis cannot be applied to (35). Further testing of the syntactic properties and whether the interpretation as adverbial clause construction in (34) is in fact possible or necessary or perhaps incorrect must be clarified by future research.

- (34) na [b-arq’-ib-le] taman b-iχ-ub-le, ca ʔa^ʔχ:u^l dak’u
 now N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB end N-be.PFV-PRET-CVB one guest appear
 uq-un ca-w
 go.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘When they finished building, a man appeared.’
- (35) Amina-l taman d-irq’-ul ca-d [d-irc-ij /
 Amina-ERG end NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL NPL-wash.PFV-INF /
 d-irc-ib-le paltar]
 NPL-wash.PFV-PRET-CVB clothes
 ‘Aminat is finishing to wash/washing the clothes.’ (E)

24.2.6 Infinitive and subjunctive

The infinitive and the subjunctive are very widely used in complement clauses of the potential type that occur with complement control. Complement control means that the subject in the complement clause is obligatorily omitted because it is identical to the subject or another argument (typically the object) of the matrix clause (§24.5), and when the matrix clause is an impersonal construction, as it is the case with evaluative predicates. Note, however, that it is possible to express an overt subject in an infinitival complement clause containing a trivalent verb when the matrix clause has a different subject (113).

The infinitive can be used with all persons, whereas the subjunctive has the suffix *-taj* for the second person and *-araj/-anaj* for the third person (see §18.1.3 for a more detailed account of the infinitive and §18.1.4 for the subjunctive). There is no subjunctive suffix for the first person. The subjunctive can always be replaced by the infinitive without any change in the meaning of the sentence.

Emotion and cognition predicates take complement clauses headed by the infinitive or the subjunctive:

- (36) a-b-ik:-ul [gu-r-uq'-a`naj], bah hila-r gu-r-ag-ur
 NEG-N-want.IPFV-ICVB SUB-ABL-go.M-SUBJ.3 most last-ABL SUB-ABL-go.PFV-PRET
 Sanži-r
 Sanzhi-ABL
 'Not wanting to leave, he left Sanzhi as the very last.'
- (37) "[š:i-l-c:ce u`q'-ij=ra] c'aχ-le ca-b," Ø-ik'w-ar at:a
 village-OBL-IN go.M-INF=ADD shame-ADVZ COP-N M-say.IPFV-PRS father
 "(I am ashamed to go to the village," said the father.'
- (38) [ču-la hunar ha`sib b-arq'-ij] q'as b-arq'-ib
 REFL.PL-GEN ability test N-do.PFV-INF decision N-do.PFV-PRET
 'They decided to test their ability.'
- (39) qum.ert-ur-re [cin-na b-elk'-anaj], heχ-it:e
 forget.PFV-PRET-CVB REFL.SG-GEN N-write.PFV-SUBJ.3 DEM.DOWN-ADVZ
 kelg-un=da
 remain.PFV-PRET=1
 'He forgot to write and I remained like this.'

Due to the nature of manipulative predicates and modal predicates their complements belong to the potential type and they exhibit complement control. Therefore, the use of the infinitive or the subjunctive is the only possible strategy for complementation (40–44). Other complementizers such as the attributive suffix or the masdar are ungrammatical. As example (42) demonstrates, modal predicates with infinitival complements allow for backward control: the matrix predicate shows feminine singular agreement because the ergative agent *Paitu* in the complement clause has a feminine singular referent. See §24.5 below for more details.

- (40) [hej kax^w-ij] a-at-ur
 this kill.PFV-INF NEG-let.PFV-PRET
 'He did not allow (them) to kill him.'
- (41) hel kelg-un hel-t:u-w, a-w-alt-ul [k-aq:-araj]
 that remain.PFV-PRET that-LOC-M NEG-M-let.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-carry-SUBJ.3
 'He (the dead body) remained there, not being allowed to bring him (to Sanzhi).'
- (42) [Pajt'u-l ʔa`jar b-arq'-ij] r-irχ-u=w?
 Paitu-ERG dance N-do.PFV-INF F-be.able.IPFV-PRS.3=Q
 'Is Paitu able to dance?'
- (43) ca-b=ra a-b-iχ-ub [kax^w-araj]
 REFL-HPL=ADD NEG-HPL-be.able.PFV-PRET kill.PFV-SUBJ.3
 'They themselves were not able to kill them.'
- (44) "ce ha`zat-le," Ø-ik'w-ar, "at [betsat w-ič-it:aj], durhu"
 what need-ADVZ M-say.IPFV-PRS.3 2SG.DAT here.there M-lead.IPFV-SUBJ.2 boy
 "What need is there for you," (he) said, "to move here and there, boy?"

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Phase predicates have complement clauses of the potential or of the activity type. In the first case, they make use of the infinitive and subjunctive. Thus, in elicitation, when translating narratives from Russian or Standard Dargwa, or when telling prepared stories, the complements of ‘begin’ contain the infinitive or subjunctive, as in (45) and (46). Otherwise, the imperfective converb is employed (§24.2.8). Similarly, with ‘finish’ we find either the perfective converb (§24.2.5) or the infinitive/subjunctive, as in (47).

- (45) dur^hu^ˀ=ra kac^ˀi=ra č̣i-ka-b-i^h-ib [umc^ˀ-anaj
 boy=ADD puppy=ADD SPR-DOWN-HPL-begin.PFV-PRET search.IPFV-SUBJ.3
 ʒa^ˀt^ˀa-j]
 frog-DAT
 ‘The boy and the puppy began to search for the frog.’
- (46) [wa^ˀw Ø-ik^ˀw-ij] w-aʔ Ø-iš:-ib ca-w
 shout M-say.IPFV-INF M-begin M-become.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘He began to shout.’
- (47) ʒa^ˀħmed taman Ø-irχ-ul=de [w-is:-ij]
 Ahmed end M-be.IPFV-ICVB=PST M-cry-INF
 ‘Ahmed stopped crying.’ (E)

Evaluative predicates also employ the infinitive/subjunctive if the complement clause has potential semantics:

- (48) hana hešṭi k^ˀunt^ˀ-be d-emt:-un-ne, [ʁaj r-ik^ˀw-ij] wahi-l
 now these lip-PL NPL-swell.PFV-PRET-CVB word F-say.IPFV-INF bad-ADVZ
 ca-b
 COP-N
 ‘Now my lips are swollen, it is difficult to talk.’
- (49) c^ˀil=ra ʒa^ˀħ-le ca-b [w-aš-ij] č̣em hex̣ṭ:u-le-rka
 then=ADD good-ADVZ COP-N M-go-INF than there.UP-LOC-ABL
 ‘It is good (better) to go (on the ice-covered ground) than from there.’

24.2.7 The embedded question marker

The embedded question enclitic has three allomorphs: =jal after vowels, =el after consonants, and =l after some suffixes ending in /e/. It is used in all types of embedded questions and occurs in complementary distribution with the interrogative enclitics used in independent questions (§28.4). It belongs to the class of predicative particles (together with the other two interrogative enclitics and a few other particles, see §9.1). The particle encliticizes to the head of the complement, i.e., the verb, or occasionally to interrogative pronouns.

Complement clauses with the embedded question marker are of the potential type, as in (53) and (62) as well as of the activity type (58), but not of the direct speech type,

because for direct speech the other two interrogative enclitics have to be used. Matrix predicates that employ the embedded question markers are utterance predicates (see §24.1.1 for examples) and cognition predicates (§24.1.3). It co-occurs with the quotative marker (20).

Examples (50–52) show embedded polar questions. The matrix predicates are negated or they imply the use of an embedded question such as ‘know’ (§28.4). With affirmative matrix predicates we could alternatively have fact complements (‘know that’) and consequently other complementation strategies. The matrix clause can be a statement or a question.

- (50) [han d-irč-aq-ul=e] aχ:u
remember NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB=INDQ not.know
‘I don’t know if (he) is remembering.’
- (51) dam b-alχ-ad sa-b-irβ-u=jal it:i (ja=ra
1SG.DAT N-know.IPFV-1.PRS HITHER-HPL-come.IPFV-PRS.3=INDQ they or=ADD
a-sa-b-irβ-u=jal) amma a-c:e a-b-urs-an=da
NEG-HITHER-HPL-come.IPFV-PRS=INDQ but 2SG-IN NEG-N-tell-PTCP=1
‘I know whether they will come (or not), but I am not going to tell you.’
- (52) at b-alχ-at:e=w ʔa^hli panedelnik-le-w
2SG.DAT N-know.IPFV-PRS.2SG=Q Ali Monday-LOC-M
s-erβ-u=jal
HITHER-come.M.IPFV-PRS.3=INDQ
‘Do you know whether Ali will come on Monday?’ (E)

The following two corpus examples illustrate embedded disjunct polar questions. They have the same structure as the embedded polar questions with the only difference that there is only one embedded clause and not two.

- (53) [k^wi ibil b-erč:-ib-le=l a-b-erč:-ib-le=l]
two ORD N-drink.PFV-PRET-CVB=INDQ NEG-N-drink.PFV-PRET-CVB=INDQ
a-b-alχ-ad
NEG-N-know.IPFV-1.PRS
‘I don’t know whether (they) drank the second (bottle) or not.’
- (54) [ca bac=de=l, k^wel bac=de=l] aχ:u dam
one moon=PST=INDQ two moon=PST=INDQ not.know 1SG.DAT
‘I don’t know if it was one month or two months.’

With embedded content questions the enclitic mostly appears on the verb (55–58), as it is also common for the interrogative enclitics in independent questions. The matrix clause can be affirmative or negative.

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- (55) “hel šak b-irk-ul=da,” b-ik’-ul ca-b, “[hi-l
that feel N-occur.IPFV-ICVB=1 N-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-N who.OBL-ERG
b-arq’-ib=el hel ʔa˘ci]”
N-do.PFV-PRET=INDQ that work
“‘I suspect,’ says the fox, “whose work this was.””
- (56) urk:-ar [hek’ cet’-le it-ul=el] han
find.IPFV-PRS DEM.UP how-ADVZ beat.up-ICVB=INDQ remember
d-irk-ul
NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-ICVB
‘(He) probably remembers how he beat her up.’
- (57) aχ:u dam [ce-lla qari=či-w pikri Ø-ik’-ul=el]
not.know 1SG.DAT what-GEN on.top=on-M thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ
‘I don’t know about what he is thinking.’
- (58) “du-l a-b-alχ-ad,” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w “[ceq:el
1SG-ERG NEG-N-know.IPFV-PRS.1 M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M when
hak’-ub=da=jal]”
appear.PFV-PRET=1=INDQ
‘(The horse) said, “I do not know when I was born.”’

If the complement does not contain a verb the enclitic appears on the question word (59). In utterances with verbs and questions words it is possible to attach the enclitic to the latter (60), but the variant with the verbal host is judged as preferable (61).

- (59) ce b-alχ-ul=de [ča-qal=el]?
what HPL-know.IPFV-ICVB=2SG who-ASSOC=INDQ
‘How do you know them?’ (i.e. who they are)
- (60) [ceq:el=el hak’-ub-ce žamilat azi] dam
when=INDQ appear.PFV-PRET-DD.SG Zhamilat aunt 1SG.DAT
a-b-alχ-ad
NEG-N-know.IPFV-1.PRS
‘I don’t know when aunt Zhamilat was born.’ (E)
- (61) [ceq:el hak’-ub-ce=jal žamilat azi] dam
when appear.PFV-PRET-DD.SG=INDQ Zhamilat aunt 1SG.DAT
a-b-alχ-ad
NEG-N-know.IPFV-1.PRS
‘I don’t know when aunt Zhamilat was born.’ (E)

If the subject of an embedded question is first person, the verb in the complement clause takes the modal interrogative suffix *-ide(l)*, which most probably goes back to a person marker *-id* plus the petrified marker for embedded questions =*el* (§17.4), as in (62). The suffix can occur in combination with the quotative marker (§24.2.2).

- (62) [ce b-arq'-ide=l] a-b-alχ-ul=da
 what N-do.PFV-MODQ=INDQ NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'I do not know what to do.'

24.2.8 The imperfective converb

The imperfective converb belongs to the minor complementation strategies. It expresses potential or activity complements with the verb 'begin', for which it represents the most common way of marking complements (63) (alternatively, the infinitive/subjunctive is used, see §24.2.6).

- (63) k:urt:a b-a? b-iš:-ib [šajt'an ruc:i r-ir?-u`l]
 fox N-begin N-put.PFV-PRET devil sister F-betray-ICVB
 'The fox began betraying/to betray the devil sister.'

Another possible matrix predicate for complements heading the imperfective converb is the perception verb 'see' whose complement clauses are either of the fact type as the translation in (64) suggests or of the activity type (65).

- (64) it-i-j či-d-až-ib [aba-l q'u`l-e ic:-ul]
 that-OBL-DAT SPR-NPL-see.PFV-PRET mother-ERG cow-PL milk.IPFV-ICVB
 'S/he saw that mother was milking the cows.' (E)
- (65) [Nursijat ʔa`h r-iχ-ub-le, r-ax-ul] či-r-až-ib-le, razi
 Nursijat good F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB F-go-ICVB SPR-F-see.PFV-PRET-CVB happy
 r-iχ-ub=da=q'al
 F-be.PFV-PRET=1=MOD
 'I (fem.) got happy when I saw that Nursijat recovered and is (already) walking around.'

24.2.9 The *pretend*-construction

The cross-categorical suffix *-il*, which forms referential attributes that can modify nouns (e.g. relative clauses) or occur referentially independent in argument or adjunct positions, can also take the genitive case to express activity complements in the pretending-construction (66–68) (see §9.6.2 for a summary of all functions of *-il*). Depending on whether *-il* is suffixed to the modal participle (67) or to the preterite participle (69) the complement clauses have past time reference or non-past time reference. Syntactically, the dependent clause does not represent the object argument of the matrix verb 'do, make' because of the genitive case. Nevertheless, we can analyze this construction as a complement construction because there are a number of similar examples with nouns instead of clauses that semantically, but not syntactically, are arguments of the verb 'do, make' despite bearing the genitive case (§3.4.1.3).

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- (66) it-i-l [us:-un-il-la] čī-b-irq'-ul ca-b
 that-OBL-ERG lay.M.PFV-PRET-REF-GEN SPR-N-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 'He pretends to sleep.' (lit. to have laid down) (E)
- (67) rurs:i-l [durs-re luk'-an-il-la] čī-b-irq'-ul ca-b
 girl-ERG homework-PL write.IPFV-PTCP-REF-GEN SPR-N-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 'The girl pretends to do the homework.' (E)
- (68) [ʔa'h-le k-alt-an-il-la] čī-b-arq'-ib-le, kisna-d
 good-ADVZ DOWN-let.IPFV-PTCP-REF-GEN SPR-N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB in.pocket-NPL
 arc t:ura h-as:-ib-le, b-ax-ul b-už-ib ca-b
 money outside UP-take.PFV-PRET-CVB HPL-go-ICVB HPL-be-PRET COP-HPL
 'Apparently they pretended to put him (to bed) well, took the money that was in his pocket and left.'

The agreement prefix on the matrix verb can be *b-* or *d-* with no difference in semantics (69). The prefix does not seem to be governed by an agreement controller, because of the two available options one is not attested (namely long distance agreement with the absolutive argument of the complement clause), whereas the other (local agreement with the entire complement clause) is implausible since it allows only for the *b-* prefix, but not for the *d-* prefix. Furthermore, in constructions without a complement only *d-* is possible (70).

- (69) Ruslan-ni [kiniga b-elk'-un-il-la]
 Ruslan-ERG book N-write.PFV-PRET-REF-GEN
 čī-b-arq'-ib/čī-d-arq'-ib
 SPR-N-do.PFV-PRET/SPR-NPL-do.PFV-PRET
 'Ruslan pretended to write a book.' (E)
- (70) čī-ma-d-irq'-it:a!
 SPR-PROH-NPL-do.IPFV-PROH.SG
 'Do not pretend!' (E)

24.3 Reported speech constructions

24.3.1 General characteristics of reported speech

Reported speech constructions usually contain an utterance verb and a quote. The relationship between the clause containing the verb of speech and the quote can be marked or unmarked. The utterance verb precedes the quote (80), interrupts it (71), or follows it (72). Sometimes it is repeated and occurs in more than one position (74). The quote itself does not bear any specific grammatical marking apart from the optional use of quotative particles to pragmatically mark quotes.

The verb *b-ik'*^w is the most frequently occurring verb of speech that is also used as a quotative particle in reported speech constructions and other complement clauses

(see also §24.2.2). The basic meaning of this verb seems to be ‘say’, but it is often used with the meaning ‘think’, i.e., expressing mental activities such as thinking, considering, or reflecting. The verb has only the imperfective stem. Its subject argument takes the absolutive case and controls the gender agreement prefix. It is very widely used as a light verb in compounding, as shown by some examples above. The compounds can denote activities related to speech and language such as *pikri b-ik’w-* ‘think’, *xul b-ik’w-* ‘wish, dream’, *Ɓaj b-ik’w-* ‘scold’, *Ɓumku b-ik’w-* ‘swear’, *iχtilat b-ik’w-* ‘chat’, etc., but they can also have totally different meanings such as *qus b-ik’w-* ‘slide’ or *duc’ b-ik’w-* ‘run’ (see §12.2 for more examples). The verb is used as a matrix verb in reported speech constructions, either in the form of the compound present (71) or with the suffix *-ar* for past time reference (72).

- (71) “dam ʔaʰʁuni-l ak:u” Ø-ik’-ul Ø-ik’-ul ca-w “hel-ti
1SG.DAT needed-ADVZ COP.NEG M-say.IPFV-ICVB M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M that-PL
cik’al”
something
‘He says, “I do not need these things.”’
- (72) “du-l urč’em-c’anu urč’em-ra eč:a as:ib=da” Ø-ik’w-ar ʔaʰli
1SG-ERG nine-TEN nine-NUM she.goat buy.PFV-PRET=1 M-say.IPFV-PRS.3 Ali
“I bought 99 goats,” said Ali.’
- (73) “ca mus:a-d k’e-d” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w, “k:alk-me. warilla.wari u
one place-NPL exist.UP-NPL M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M tree-PL no.way 2SG
iχ-t-a-j er či-ma-hark’-ut:a!”
DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-DAT look SPR-PROH-look.IPFV-PROH.SG
“In once place, there are,” he says, “trees. Whatever may happen, do not look at
these trees!”
- (74) hel x:unul r-ik’-ul ca-r “d-irɁ-an-ne=n,
that woman F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F NPL-be.enough.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3=PRT
ha-jc:-e” r-ik’-ul ca-r “gu-r!”
UP-get.up.M.PFV-IMP F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F down-ABL
‘The wife says, “This is enough, get up!”’

This verb is also used when mentioning the name of something or somebody or the word for something in another language or dialect, e.g. *Saliħa’t b-ik’-ul* ‘(a person) called Salihat’, or as in (75).

- (75) niš:a-la “daʰqaʰ-lla q’ar” b-ik’w-ar. [ʔuʰrus Ɓaj-la ce=jal
1PL-GEN wound-GEN plant HPL-say.IPFV-PRS Russian word-GEN what=INDQ
b-ik’-ul ca-b it-i-j] dam qum.urt-ul ca-b
HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL that-OBL-DAT 1SG.DAT forget.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
‘In our (language) it is called “plant of the wound.” I forgot what it is called in
Russian.’

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The verb *b-ik*^w- has grammaticalized into a quotative particle (see below). Moreover, it can express hearsay evidentiality.

Another very frequent utterance verb is *-ʔ-* (PFV)/*-erʔ-* (IPFV) ‘say’, which is almost always used with the spatial preverb *ha-* ‘upwards’, that is *haʔ-/herʔ-*. This is a transitive verb that marks the subject, i.e. the speaker, with the ergative. It is mainly used in reported speech constructions with past time reference. Besides that it functions as a quotative particle (see below).

- (76) “er b-erč’-e!” haʔ-ib č’an-ni
 look N-look.PFV-IMP say.PFV-PRET wind-ERG
 “‘Look!’ said the wind.’

The imperfective stem is used, among other things, for meta-comments on how you express what you want to say, which words you use:

- (77) “sabrat d-arq’-ib” herʔ-an ak:u=q’al dark:w’an ʁaj-la
 gather NPL-do.PFV-PRET say.IPFV-PTCP .COP.NEG=MOD Dargwa language-GEN
 “‘Gather did,’ you should not say in Dargwa.’

Other common simple utterance verbs are the transitive verbs *b-urs-* and *b-ux-*, which both can be translated with ‘tell’, and the transitive verb *xar b-eb-* (PFV)/*xar b-irb-* (IPFV) ‘ask’, which occur, like all verbs of speech, with or without a quotative particle.

- (78) “du-l b-a°q-ib-le” Ø-ik’-ul ca-w “x:unul-li-j, ce
 1SG-ERG N-hit.PFV-PRET-CVB M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M woman-OBL-DAT what
 b-arq’-ide=l” Ø-ik’-ul ʁabur-t-a-l ux-ul ca-w
 N-do.PFV-MODQ=INDQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB story-PL-OBL-ERG tell.M.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 heχ
 DEM.DOWN

“‘I hit my wife, what should I do,” he says; he is telling the stories.’

- (79) it:i=ra “čina-r sa-d-eb-ib-te=da=j?”
 those=ADD where-ABL HITHER-1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=2PL=Q
 b-ik’-ul xar.b.eb-ib niš:a-la
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB ask.N.PFV-PRET 1PL-GEN
 “‘They also asked us “Where did you come from?””
- (80) x:unul-li tiladi b-arq’-ib ca-b hel-i-c:e “ma-ax-ut:a!”
 woman-ERG request N-do.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-IN PROH-go-PROH.SG
 r-ik’-ul
 F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘His wife begged him “Do not go!”’
- (81) c’il bec’-li-c:e xar.b.eb-ib ca-b “u ceq:el hak’-ub=de?”
 then wolf-OBL-IN ask.N.PFV-PRET COP-N 2SG when appear.PFV-PRET=2SG
 ‘Then they asked the wolf “When were you born?”’

A minor strategy for expressing reported speech is the use of the verb ‘begin’ (82) and other non-utterance predicates (83).

- (82) w-aʔ ač’-ib, qili sa-jɣ-ib=er [...] “du-l
 M-begin come.PFV-PRET home HITHER-come.M.PFV-PRET=when 1SG-ERG
 hel=ɣuna cik’al imc’a a-b-irq’-an=da” Ø-ik’-ul
 this=EQ something anymore NEG-N-do.IPFV-PTCP=1 M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘He began when he came home, [...] “I will not do things like this anymore.”’
- (83) “čina-r sa-k-ul=de?” r-ik’-ul r-irχ^w-an=de
 where-ABL HITHER-lead.PFV-ICVB=2SG F-say.IPFV-ICVB F-become.IPFV-PTCP=PST
 het durɦu[˘]-la x:unul
 that boy-GEN woman
 ‘The daughter-in-law must have asked “From where do you bring the body?”’

Finally, the topic of a conversation or a thought can be expressed by using the postposition *qari=či-b* ‘on.top=on-N’ together with a complement clause bearing the genitive case suffix (see (142) and §8.1.6 for another example).

24.3.2 Formal marking in reported speech constructions

The distinction between direct and indirect speech as we know it from European languages cannot be applied to Sanzhi because it relies on deictic shift, but in Sanzhi the original speaker’s deictic frame is usually retained. Sanzhi does not have any special verb forms or sequences of tense. The only formal marking that is available for reported speech are quotative particles occurring at the end of the quote, and very occasionally simple reflexive pronouns. These quotative particles are also used with other matrix verbs that are not utterance verbs (§24.2.2), and their use is mostly optional. In fact, unmarked quotes are as common as quotes marked by quotative particles.

Sanzhi has two quotative particles for reported speech that transparently derive from the two most frequently used verbs of speech. The first is *b-ik’-ul*, the imperfective converb of *b-ik’^w*. The second is *haʔ-ib-le*, the perfective converb of *haʔ-*. Both are, in fact, formally indistinguishable from the respective converbs. They have not undergone any phonological reduction so far, and the gender prefix of *b-ik’-ul* follows the same agreement rules as the matrix verb of speech from which it is derived. Therefore, it is often impossible to say whether a certain occurrence of them represents the use as a matrix verb or a quotative particle. If the quotative particles co-occur with framing verbs in a matrix clause we can be sure that we are dealing with the quotative-particle use, as in (71), (85) and (86). Sometimes it looks as if the quotative particles alone can mark an utterance as a quote (84). Such an analysis naturally suggests itself if we remember that the marker of embedded questions can also be used without a matrix clause in epistemic modal constructions (§28.4) (Forker 2019a). However, despite the relative frequency of examples such as (84) used in what looks like an independent utterance, these clauses are dependent clauses that cannot occur on their own (see §25.1.8 for a discussion of the apparent use of converbs in what seem to be main clauses).

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- (84) “x:unul-li-sa-r uruχ ∅-ik’-ul=de=w?” b-ik’-ul, ...
 woman-OBL-ANTE-ABL fear M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 “Are you afraid of your wife?” they say and ...’

In elicitation, *b-ik’-ul* cannot apparently be used when the matrix verb of speech occurs in the preterite and instead the particle *ha?ible* is employed. Thus, if we replace *ha?ible* with *ik’-ul* in (87), the sentence is rejected by Sanzhi speakers. However, in the Sanzhi corpus one can find examples of matrix verbs of speech in the preterite used together with *b-ik’-ul*, as in (79) and (80).

The quotative particle *ha?ible* is only rarely used and herefore ambiguous examples, such as (85) and (86), are harder to find. In (86) it could either be analyzed as a quotative particle that follows the first part of the quote or as matrix verb that heads the preceding complement clause.

- (85) k:urt:a:c:e xar.b.εβ-ib ca-b “ceq:el hak’-ub=de?” ha?-ib-le
 fox-IN ask.N.PFV-PRET COP-N when appear.PFV-PRET=2SG say.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘They asked the fox “When were you born?” ...’

- (86) “s:aʔaʔt k:aʔal-le-w hex:t:u či-ha-jβ-ij ʔaʔkuni-l ca-b”
 hour eight-LOC-M there.UP SPR-UP-COME.M.PFV-INF needed-ADVZ COP-N
 ha?-ib-le “b-urs-a” ha?-ib=da “u-l!”
 say.PFV-PRET-CVB N-tell-IMP say.PFV-PRET=1 2SG-ERG
 “‘It is necessary that he must come, at 8 he must be there. Tell him this!’ I said.”

In elicitation, the quotative particle *ha?ible* occurs when the matrix clause has past time reference because it developed from the perfective converb construction that is derived from the preterite participle (87). The quote together with *ha?ible* looks exactly like an adverbial clause that follows the main clause and into which a complement is embedded.

- (87) Ramazan kaj b-ič:-ib “dam kumek b-irq’-an=da”
 Ramazan word N-give.PFV-PRET 1SG.DAT help N-do.IPFV-PTCP=1
 ha?-ib-le
 say.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘Ramazan gave me his word “I’ll help.” (E)

The same converb is used with the meaning ‘because, in order to’ to express reasons or purpose clauses. The expression of reason or cause is shown in (88). It might have developed from an adverbial construction in which *ha?ible* functions as a verb of speech and the converb clause, which precedes *ha?ible*, represents a quote that explains or provides reasons for the situation referred to in the main clause. In other words, (88) could alternatively be translated as ‘After (they) said that he beat up his family and (they) said that the boy was in the arms (of the mother), they led him away.’

- (88) kulpat b-it-ib-le haʔ-ib-le, nik'a-ce k^wi-lle
 family HPL-beat.up-PRET-CVB say.PFV-PRET-CVB small-DD in.the.hands-ADV
 na[˘]q-li-c:e-w haʔ-ib-le, w-erč-ib-le
 arm-OBL-IN-M say.PFV-PRET-CVB M-lead.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'Because he beat up his family, because the boy was in the arms (of the mother),
 they led him away.'

In elicitation, the quotative particle *bik'ul* is not used when *b-ik'^w*- is the matrix verb. But this restriction has purely stylistic reasons and is only apparent. In the corpus, counter-examples can readily be found.

The use of quotative markers together with the infinitive in purpose clauses with the meaning 'in order to' has been noted in a number of other East Caucasian languages such as Ingush, Godoberi, Hinuq, Tsez, and probably also Tsakhr (Forker 2016a). For this construction, it is plausible to assume that it goes back to a reported speech construction with *haʔible* originally functioning as the framing verb to a quote which might have contained another verb with volitional semantics. In other words, (89) might have developed from a construction like 'They said, we want to drink.'

- (89) deč-li b-uč:-ij haʔ-ib-le
 drinking-ERG HPL-drink.IPFV-INF say.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ka-b-iž-ib-te b-iχ^w-ij hešt:u, aχ:u dam
 DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-DD.PL HPL-be.PFV-INF here not.know 1SG.DAT
 'They probably sit down in order to drink here, I do not know.'

If the quote is an utterance with non-declarative mood, be it a command or a question, then the mood markers such as the imperative suffix (86) or the enclitics for content questions (79) and polar questions (84) are normally kept and can co-occur with the quotative markers. Otherwise, it is possible to use the special enclitic for embedded questions that does not co-occur with the interrogative enclitics for independently used questions, but can co-occur with the quotative markers (see §24.2.7 above and §28.4). This enclitic is added to the head of the interrogative clause or to the item in focus. In embedded disjunctive polar questions such as (90) it encliticizes to each member of the disjunction. The embedded question marker does not normally occur in independent clauses (except for when it is used to express epistemic modality). Therefore, the complement clauses containing it are marked as dependent, although they have at their disposal the full range of TAM forms as well as person agreement.

- (90) xar b-irɁ-an=da [bek' le-b=de=l b-ak:^w-i=jal]
 ask N-ask.IPFV-PTCP=1 head exist-N=PST=INDQ N-COP.NEG-HAB.PST=INDQ
 'We will ask whether he had a head or not.'

The only further peculiarity that reported speech construction show, and which they share with other subordinate clauses, most notably other complement clauses, is the use of reflexive pronouns as logophors (see Forker 2019c for a detailed account of logophoric

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reflexives and other properties of non-direct speech constructions in Sanzhi). When the author of the quote, which must be third person, is identical to an argument or adjunct in the quote, the reflexive pronoun can be used instead of the first person pronoun (91). The use of demonstrative pronouns is impossible since they would express disjoint reference with the author of the quote.

- (91) wallah Ø-ik^w-ar wec'al ʔa^hra^hqⁱ-la šuša Ø-ik^w-ar cin-ni
 by.God M-say.IPFV-PRS.3 ten vodka-GEN bottle M-say.IPFV-PRS.3 REFL.SG-ERG
 as-ib-le, d-alli h-aq-ib-te d-už-ib ca-d
 buy.PFV-RET-CVB NPL-together UP-carry-RET-DD.PL NPL-be-RET COP-NPL
 'By God, he said that he himself had bought ten bottles of vodka; and apparently
 he had brought them with him.'

The use of personal pronouns is also possible. The first person pronoun is employed when the referent in the quote is identical to the author (78) and the second person pronoun is used when the referent is identical to the addressee (81). Furthermore, the agreement on the verb in clauses with subject-like arguments expressed by reflexive pronouns is not third person, as would be expected when a reflexive pronoun occurs, but first person instead, as in (92).

- (92) "cin-ni d-arqⁱ-ib-te cik'al, ʔa^h d-irqⁱ-an=da,
 REFL.SG-ERG NPL-do.PFV-RET-DD.PL something good NPL-do.IPFV-PTCP=1
 b-arx x:un-ne k-erc:-an=da" haʔ-ib-le
 N-direct road-LOC DOWN-stand.IPFV-PTCP=1 say.PFV-RET-CVB
 '(He said,) "The things that I have done, I will repair (make better), I will be on
 the right road."'

The use of reflexive pronouns in quotes referring to overtly expressed speakers that are first person or second person pronouns is ungrammatical:

- (93) du-l haʔ-ib=da "du / * ca-w ʔa^hrk:a-l=da"
 1SG-ERG say.PFV-RET=1 1SG / REFL.SG-M ill-ADVZ=1
 'I said "I am sick." (E)
- (94) u-l haʔ-ib=de [u / * ca-w dawla-či-w-ce
 2SG-ERG say.PFV-RET=2SG 2SG / REFL.SG-M wealth-ADJVZ-M-DD.SG
 Ø-iχ^w-ni]
 M-be.PFV-MSD
 'You said that you were rich.' (E)

With respect to the position of the quote in relation to the utterance predicate we can state that there are four options available:

1. predicate - quote (93)
2. quote - predicate (76)

3. quote - predicate - quote (95)
4. matrix clause constituent(s) - quote - predicate (79)

The first and the second option prevail among the examples from the Sanzhi corpus that have been presented in this section. Instances of a matrix utterance verb followed by the quote can be found in (74), (81), (80), and (93), and the reverse order is illustrated in (71), (72), and (76). The third option means that the quote is interrupted by the verb of speech. The constituent that follows is typically a focused item that is newly introduced, as in (73), or, more frequently, a contrastive topic that is stressed and emphasized, as in (86) and (95). This type of constituent order is unattested for all other kinds of complement clauses that have been discussed in the previous sections and only found with reported speech.

- (95) “hext:u uq’-ij zamana b-ak:u” ha?-ib=da “hex-i-la”
 there.UP go.M.PFV-INF time N-COP.NEG say.PFV-PRET=1 DEM.DOWN-OBL-GEN
 ‘I said “He does not have the time to go there.”’

The position of the quotative particles is mostly at the right edge of the quote, which can easily be explained by their origin. Since they are transparently derived from converbs, they occupy the most common position of converbs in adverbial clauses, that is, the final position (see §25.1 for the constituent order in adverbial clauses). However, occasionally one finds examples in which the quotative particle occurs within the quote, as in the following sentence (96). Example (96) can be analyzed in analogy to (95) with the only difference being that in (95) the matrix predicate separates the contrastive topic from the rest of the quote, whereas in (96) it is the quotative particle that is followed by the contrastive topic.

- (96) hek’-i-l b-urs-ul ca-b “ce=jal te-d”
 DEM.UP-OBL-ERG N-tell.PFV-ICVB COP-N what=INDEF exist.AWAY-NPL
 Ø-ik’-ul “het:u-d”
 M-say.IPFV-ICVB there-NPL
 ‘He is telling that there is something there (i.e. to steal).’

24.4 The syntactic properties of complement clauses

All complement taking predicates in Sanzhi that have been analyzed so far occur in the position of objects, i.e., patients or stimuli. So far I did not find complement-taking predicates for which the complement clause is required to function as a subject-like argument.

Complement clauses show many overlaps in their structure with the other types of subordinate clauses (relative clauses, adverbial clauses), as the following paragraphs will

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make clear. The argument structure of complement clauses is like that of main clauses: all arguments are retained and adjuncts can be freely expressed. Verbs in complement clauses retain the distinction between imperfective and perfective aspect because this is expressed through the stem and there are no restrictions on negation or on word formation, i.e., all types of derived or compound verbs can be used (27).

The number of verbal categories expressed depends on the complementation strategy. Zero-marked complements and those bearing the embedded interrogative enclitic or containing quotative particles express the same number of categories as main clauses, i.e., person marking, TAM marking, and illocutionary force marking are fully retained. For all other strategies (converbs, cross-categorical suffixes *-ce* and *-il*, infinitive, subjunctive, and masdar) the number of categories expressed in the complement clause is smaller than in the main clause. For instance, the marking for illocutionary force and for person is excluded (except for the subjunctive with its rudimentary person paradigm). Tense marking is largely impossible except for the opposition preterite participle vs. modal participle, which functions as a basic distinction between past time reference and everything else as the following elicited minimal pair illustrates:

- (97) dam b-alχ-a-d [it s-erχ-an-ce /
 1SG.DAT N-KNOW.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 that HITHER-COME.M.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG /
 sa-jχ-ib-ce]
 HITHER-COME.M.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 'I know that he will come/came.' (E)

The constituent order in complement clauses is more frequently verb final than in main clauses, but this is not a strict requirement, e.g. (45). In order to make some preliminary generalizations with respect to the position of the complement clause, I counted all non-elicited complement constructions in this section whose structure is unambiguous and which do not represent reported speech (see §24.3.2 above for the position of the quote in reported speech constructions). The total number is 54, among which one half has the order *matrix verb-complement*, and the other half has the reverse order. Within this data, there is a very small tendency to have the order *matrix verb-complement* the longer the complement is, but this needs further research. It is rare for the complement clauses to be center-embedded into the matrix clause, but two sentences in this section belong to this category, e.g. (33).

What concerns co-reference across the complement and the main clause, Sanzhi has complement control constructions with obligatory subject omission in the complement clause if the latter is headed by the infinitive (or subjunctive). For the details see §24.5 below. In case of co-referential arguments, the overt argument normally occurs in the matrix clause (e.g. (37) among many others). Occasionally, one can find examples that might look like they are contradicting this claim (98). The matrix clause in (98) contains an adverbial *ʒaʹbunil* 'necessarily, needed', and if we assume that there is an absent argument in this clause that shares the reference with the subject in the complement, then this argument bears the semantic role of a beneficiary or some other role similar to an ethical dative. In other words, it is not a subject or subject-like argument.

- (98) ca zamana, durh-ne, [nuš:a cellij ʔa^hlha^hm-li-j d-u^hq^h-ij]
 one time boy-PL 1PL why condolence-OBL-DAT 1/2PL-go.PFV-INF
 ʔa^hʔuni-l=de
 needed-ADVZ=PST
 ‘One time, guys, we had for some reason to go to offer condolences.’

In a contrastive context, in which arguments are compared to each other, it is possible to add a subject to an infinitival clause in a control construction:

- (99) dam b-ik:-ul=da [du-l tort b-arq^h-ij cara-lli-ja-r]
 1SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB=1 1SG-ERG tart N-do.PFV-INF other-OBL-LOC-ABL
 ‘I want to make the tart (rather) than another person (making the tart).’ (E)

Co-reference between third person arguments, most notably between the subject in the matrix clause and any argument or adjunct in the complement clause, is expressed by the use of reflexive pronouns. For example, the omitted subject in (100) shares the referent with the goal argument in the complement, which is encoded by the reflexive pronoun in the dative case. Other instances can be found in (132), in which the agent in the complement is co-referential, and in (133), in which the possessor is co-referential.

- (100) [cini-j d-a^hq-ib-te=ra] han d-irk-ul,
 REFL.SG.OBL-DAT NPL-hit.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=ADD remember NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-w=ra ka-jž-ib ca-w
 REFL-M=ADD DOWN-be.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘He is sitting and remembering how (they) beat him up.’

Multiple embeddings are possible though rare in natural texts. Relevant examples are (27), which is a translation from Russian, and (102). Both examples have ‘be able’ in the complement in the middle and therefore an infinitive in the most deeply embedded clause. Other examples in this section illustrate reported speech which is itself complex containing a complement clause (37). The elicited example (101) shows that multiple embedding is allowed with complementation strategies other than the infinitive.

- (101) dam a-b-alχ-ul=de [at b-alχ-an-ce [niš:a-la
 1SG.DAT NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=PST 2SG.DAT N-know.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG 1PL-GEN
 qili-w ʔa^hbdul le-w-ce]]
 home-M Abdul exist-M-DD.SG
 ‘I did not know that you know that Abdul was at our place.’ (E)

Matrix predicates that have agreement prefixes and non-absolute arguments usually exhibit local agreement in which the matrix verb agrees with the complement clause as a whole and therefore has the prefix *b-* (neuter singular) (102). This prefix can also be considered to be the default prefix when there is no agreement controller (see §20.2).

- (102) dam han b-ič-ib [[r-aš-ij] r-irχ-ul ak:u
 1SG.DAT seem N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET F-go-INF F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG
 r-ik^h-ul]
 F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘I thought that she cannot walk.’

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Sanzhi has, in principle, long-distance agreement in gender and number between the matrix predicate and the absolutive argument in the complement clause, as in (103), as well as in (35) and (65) (see also §20.2.1). But in contrast to other East Caucasian languages in which this is a relative common construction (e.g. Tsezic languages, see Polinsky & Potsdam 2001 and Polinsky & Comrie 2003 for Tsezic, and Forker 2013a: 628–639 for Hinuq and further references to the literature), long-distance agreement is almost unattested in the Sanzhi Dargwa corpus.

- (103) aš:ij b-ik:-ul=de [d-is:u-t:aj / d-is:-ij]
 2PL.DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB=PST 1/2PL-cry-SUBJ.2 / 1/2PL-cry-INF
 ‘You wanted to cry.’ (E)

As in other varieties of Dargwa (Serdobolskaya 2010), only a few complement-taking predicates allow for long-distance agreement, most notably ‘want’ (103), ‘know’ (104), ‘finish’ (35), and ‘see’ (65), (64). The complement clauses must be of the potential type or of the activity type and can only contain the infinitive/subjunctive (103), the imperfective converb (64), or the perfective converb (35).

- (104) [ceḡuna χurejg d-arq’-ij] b-alχ-at:e / d-alχ-at:e
 which food NPL-do.PFV-INF N-know.IPFV-PRS.2 / NPL-know.IPFV-PRS.2
 at?
 2SG.DAT
 ‘Which food do you know how to cook?’ (E)

Serdobolskaya (2009; 2010) argues that in Xuduc and Qunqi Dargwa long-distance agreement can be analyzed as clause reduction (clause union) that shares many properties with raising constructions in other languages. She shows that complement constructions with embedded subjunctives/infinitives or converbal clauses have some monoclausal properties. This seems to be true for Sanzhi as well. For instance, arguments of embedded infinitival clauses can easily occur in a clause-final position that can hardly belong to the embedded clause (105).

- (105) at:a-j=ra aba-j=ra [darman b-arq’-ij] b-ik:-ul
 father-DAT=ADD mother-DAT=ADD medicine N-do.PFV-INF N-want.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-b durḡu[˘]-la, durḡu[˘]-li-j
 COP-N boy-GEN boy-OBL-DAT
 ‘The father and the mother want to give medicine of the son, to the son.’ (the speaker corrected herself)

The pragmatic effect of long-distance agreement is sometimes described as highlighting the argument that serves as agreement controller, but before being able to make more specific claims about its impact on information structure in Sanzhi Dargwa more research is needed.

24.5 Argument control in complement constructions

Complement constructions in Sanzhi show heterogeneous behavior with respect to control of the obligatorily omitted argument. Complements of the verb *b-aʔaš:-* ‘begin’ can be headed by the imperfective converb (§24.2.8) or by the infinitive/subjunctive (§24.2.6). The controller, i.e., the one who begins something, must be in the absolutive. The controllee can be the single argument of an intransitive verb or the most prominent argument of a two-place verb as the following examples show:

- (106) a. Madina r-aʔ.aš:-ib [_ ħa°ħa° r-ik'-ul]
 Madina F-begin-PRET ABS laughter F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘Madina began to laugh.’ (controllee = S) (E)
- b. Murad w-aʔ.aš:-ib [_ ma°lʔu°n-te kerx-ul]
 Murad M-begin-PRET ERG snake-PL kill-ICVB
 ‘Murad began to kill snakes.’ (controllee = A) (E)
- c. Murad w-aʔ.aš:-ib [_ ma°ʔa°lim čirɁ-ij]
 Murad M-begin-PRET DAT teacher understand-INF
 ‘Murad began to understand the teacher.’ (controllee = EXP) (E)

The controllee can never be the second argument of a two-place verb, such as the patient (107a) or the stimulus (107b).

- (107) a. * ma°lʔu°n-te_i d-aʔ.aš:-ib [Murad-li _i kerx-ul]
 snake-PL NPL-begin-PRET Murad-ERG ABS kill-ICVB
 (Intended meaning: ‘The snakes began to be killed by Murad’.) (E)
- b. * ma°ʔa°lim_i w-aʔ.aš:-ib [Murad-li-j _i čirɁ-ij]
 teacher M-begin-PRET Murad-OBL-DAT ABS understand-INF
 (Intended meaning: ‘The teacher began to be understood by Murad’.) (E)

But if we look at bivalent complement-taking predicates, the situation is slightly different. With the matrix verb *b-ik:-* ‘want’ the complement clause contains either an infinitive or a subjunctive. The controllee can be the subject of an intransitive verb (36). But it can also be any of the arguments of a two-place verb (e.g. agent or patient), depending on the verb form in the complement clause. With subject-like controllees the embedded verb takes the infinitive suffix (108), (138).

- (108) Murad-li-j_i a-b-ik:-ul=de [_i ʔa°li q:urt w-arq'-ij]
 Murad-OBL-DAT NEG-N-want-ICVB=PST ERG Ali push M-do.PFV-INF
 ‘Murad did not want to push Ali.’ (controllee = A) (E)

However, if the controllee is the second argument of a two-place predicate, then the verb form in the complement clause cannot be the infinitive, but must be the perfective converb (109). The infinitive can only occur when the experiencer of ‘want’ is controlling a subject-like argument in the complement clause. In (109b) both verbs have different arguments, and the embedded verb cannot bear the infinitive suffix.

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- (109) a. Murad-li-j_i b-ik:-ul ca-b [Madina-j _i
 Murad-OBL-DAT N-want-CVB COP-N Madina-DAT ABS
 č-i-w-až-ib-le]
 SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘Murad_i wants Madina to see him_i.’ (controllee = P) (E)
- b. it-i-j b-ik:-ul ca-b [du-l kağar b-elk’-un-ne
 that-OBL-DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N 1SG-ERG letter N-write.PFV-PRET-CVB
 / * b-elk’-ij]
 / N-write.PFV-INF
 ‘He wants that I write the letter.’ (E)

The same phenomenon is observed with another complement-taking predicate *uruχle cab-* ‘fear’. If the controllee is a subject-like argument, the complement clause is headed by an infinitive (110a). Otherwise the attributive suffix *-ce* is employed, as in (110b) and (110c).

- (110) a. χamis_i uruχ-le ca-r [_i s:ika č-i-b-až-ij]
 Khamis fear-ADVZ COP-F DAT bear SPR-N-see.PFV-INF
 ‘Khamis fears to see the bear.’ (controllee = A) (E)
- b. χamis_i uruχ-le ca-r [Madina-l _i q:urt r-irq’-an-ce]
 Khamis fear-ADVZ COP-F Madina-ERG ABS push F-do.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG
 ‘Khamis fears that Madina pushes her.’ (controllee = P) (E)
- c. ʔa^oli_i uruχ-le=de [Madina-j _i a-w-aχ-ur-ce]
 Ali fear-ADVZ=PST Madina-DAT ABS NEG-M-know.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 ‘Ali feared that Madina would not recognize/know him.’ (controllee = P) (E)

It seems that with trivalent matrix verbs there is no such difference between the treatment of subject controllees on the one hand and object controllees on the other hand. Both types are allowed and the embedded verb forms are identical (111–113).

- (111) at-a-l rurs:i_i uniwersitet-le [_i r-uč’-ij] r-atağ-ib
 father-ERG girl university-LOC ABS F-learn-INF F-let.PFV-PRET
 ‘Father sent the daughter to the university to study.’ (controllee = S) (E)
- (112) aba-l durfu^o_i w-atağ-ib [_i urcul d-alğ-ij]
 mother-ERG boy M-let.PFV-PRET ERG wood NPL-cut.PFV-INF
 ‘Mother sent the son to cut firewood.’ (controllee = A) (E)
- (113) at-a-l mac:a_i b-atağ-ib [aci-l _i b-elχ^w-ij /
 father-ERG sheep N-let.PFV-PRET uncle-ERG ABS N-slaughter.PFV-INF /
 b-elχ^w-anaj]
 N-slaughter.PFV-SUBJ.3
 ‘Father sent the sheep in order to be slaughtered by the uncle.’ (controllee = P)
 (E)

However, this again can be interpreted as a difference in the treatment of subject-like vs. object-like arguments, but now regarding the controller, not the controllee. If the controller is the subject, then the verb form in the complement clause depends on whether the controllee is the object or also the subject. If the controller is the object, then, in contrast, no such difference in the verb form is noticed. To sum up, in complement control we have some indication of an S/A pivot. There are no clause level conditions and at least for the tested complement-taking predicates no difference in the treatment of embedded predicates could be observed. The predicate class of the embedded verb is possibly a decisive feature that needs to be studied in more detail in the future since for other East Caucasian languages it has been observed that intransitive, canonical transitive, and affective verbs are treated differently in some complement constructions (Kibrik 2003).

Finally, I will briefly discuss backward control. This term refers to complement constructions in which 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 these constructions look as if the verb is agreeing with a non-absolutive argument. But instead it is argued that the matrix verb contains a covert controllee in the absolutive case that is co-referential with the overt nominal in the non-absolutive case. Backward control is found in other East Caucasian languages, see, e.g. Polinsky & Potsdam (2002; 2006) on Tsez, and Serdobolskaya (2010) on Qunqi Dargwa, and is typically restricted to a few modal and phasal predicates.

In Sanzhi Dargwa, there are two verbs that allow for backward control, *-b-iχ^w-* (PFV)/*b-irχ^w-* (IPFV) ‘can, be able’ and *b-a? ax:-* (PFV), *b-a? b-iš:-* (PFV)/*b-a? b-irx:-* ‘begin, start’. The verb ‘can, be able’ is far more readily available. In the Sanzhi corpus, backward control is only attested with the verb ‘can, be able’, but can be obtained with ‘begin, start’ in elicitation. In standard forward control constructions, the two verbs require subject-like arguments in the absolutive case that control gender (and person) agreement just like intransitive verbs:

- (114) rurs:i [k:urt:i b-arχ-ij] r-irχ^w-an-ne
 girl dress N-sew.PFV-INF F-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 ‘The girl will be able to sew the dress.’ (E)
- (115) rurs:i [palaw b-uk-unne] r-a? r-iš:-ib / r-a?.aš:-ib
 girl pilaw N-eat.IPFV-ICVB F-begin F-become.PFV-PRET / F-begin.PFV-PRET
 ‘The girl began to eat the pilaw.’ (E)

In backward control constructions the clauses contain subject-like arguments in the ergative case that has been assigned by the embedded verb. This means that in both (116) and (117) the subject argument bears the ergative case because the embedded verbs are transitive.

- (116) [rurs:i-l k:urt:i b-arχ-ij] r-irχ^w-an-ne
 girl-ERG dress N-sew.PFV-INF F-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3
 ‘The girl will be able to sew the dress.’ (E)

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- (117) [rurs:i-l palaw b-uk-unne] r-a? r-iš:-ib / r-a? aš:-ib
 girl-ERG pilau N-eat.IPFV-ICVB F-begin F-become.PFV-PRET / F-begin.PFV-PRET
 ‘The girl began to eat the pilau.’ (E)

Backward control is only available with embedded transitive verbs. Affective verbs do not allow for this construction. There are two cases that look like apparent exceptions. In example (118), the experiencer argument occurs in the dative, assigned by the affective verb *b-ik:-* ‘want, like, love’ appearing as the imperfective converb, whereas the finite verb is *haq-*, which usually translates as ‘manage, be enough’. Thus, one might suspect that *haq-* functions as a matrix complement-taking verb into which a complement clause headed by *b-ik:-* has been embedded together with both the experiencer and the stimulus argument. However, *b-ik:-ul haq-* rather functions as a lexicalized periphrastic predicate and the construction is monoclausal. The verb *b-ik:-ul* cannot be replaced by any other verb and the semantics of the periphrastic predicate is not transparently composed of the semantics of the individual predicates.

- (118) ca q:uša žahil durhu°-li-j r-ik:-ul haq-ib ca-r
 one beautiful young boy-OBL-DAT F-want.IPFV-ICVB manage.PFV-PRET COP-F
 žahil rurs:i
 young girl
 ‘One beautiful young man fell in love with a young girl.’

The second apparent exception is the use of affective predicates that are usually bivalent as monovalent predicates. This is possible with ‘see’, which then has the meaning ‘be/become visible’ and ‘hear’, which then means ‘be/become audible’. Thus, the dative nominals in the following two examples can be left out, such that we end up with intransitive constructions. The agreement on the verb ‘begin’ is controlled by the absolutive arguments, not by the dative experiencers, which is an unambiguous indication that we do not deal with backward control with an embedded bivalent affective verb, but with an intransitive complement clause in a construction to which a dative adjunct has been added.

- (119) dalaj [t’am b-iq’-ul] b-a? b-iš:-ib
 song sound N-hear.IPFV-ICVB N-begin N-become.PFV-PRET
 ‘The song began to be audible.’ (E)
- (120) rurs:i-j dalaj t’am b-iq’-ul b-a? b-iš:-ib
 girl-DAT song sound N-hear.IPFV-ICVB N-begin N-become.PFV-PRET
 ‘The girl began to hear the song.’ OR ‘The song began to be audible to the girl.’
 (E)
- (121) dubur-te [či-d-ig-ul] d-a? aš:-ib
 mountain-PL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB NPL-begin.PFV-PRET
 ‘The mountains started to be visible.’ (E)

- (122) dam dubur-te čič-d-ig-ul d-a?.aš:-ib
 1SG.DAT mountain-PL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB NPL-begin.PFV-PRET
 ‘I began to see the mountains.’ OR ‘The mountains started to be visible to me.’
 (E)

If the constructions were truly biclausal, we would expect restrictions on the constituent order, since items of one clause should normally not be allowed to appear within the other clause. This is precisely what we find with ‘begin, start’. In a backward control construction, the ergative argument must occur within the complement clause; it cannot be positioned clause-initially if it is followed by the matrix predicate. This is only possible in forward control since then the argument is governed by the matrix predicate:

- (123) du r-a? r-iš:-ib=da [kiniga b-elč’-ij]
 1SG F-begin F-become.PFV-PRET=1 book N-read.PFV-INF
 ‘I began to read the book.’ (E)
- (124) * du-l r-a? r-iš:-ib=da [kiniga b-elč’-ij]
 1SG-ERG F-begin F-become.PFV-PRET=1 book N-read.PFV-INF
 (Intended meaning: ‘I began to read the book.’) (E)

For the verb *b-ix^w*- (PFV)/*b-irχ^w*- (IPFV) ‘be, become, happen, can, be able’ the data are not so clear. Some examples show a very flexible word order, which points towards a monoclausal analysis with a periphrastic predicate:

- (125) rurs:i-l r-irχ^w-an-ne k:urti b-arχ-ij
 girl-ERG F-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 dress N-sew.PFV-INF
 ‘The girl will be able to sew the dress.’ (E)
- (126) k:urti b-arχ-ij r-irχ^w-an-ne rurs:i-l
 dress N-sew.PFV-INF F-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 girl-ERG
 ‘The girl will be able to sew the dress.’ (E)

Other examples have been rejected by speakers. Further research is needed to provide a more detailed account of the properties of backward control in Sanzhi.

24.6 Constructions that semantically resemble complement clauses

24.6.1 Parentheticals

There are three particles and phrases that refer to cognitive activities and are used in a way that resembles complement clauses with cognition predicates. The first is the frequently used phrase (*possessor*) *pikri ha^ssible* ‘according to the thoughts of (somebody)’, which consists of a possessor followed by the two borrowed items *pikri* ‘thought’ and

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the postposition *ħa°sib-le* (test-ADVZ) ‘according to’. The entire construction is a kind of calque that partially consist of loans and partially of Sanzhi morphemes. Zero marking is the only possible usage option for the clauses with which the phrase occurs, as in (127), (128); the use of quotative particles or other complementation markers together with the phrase is ungrammatical. In contrast to the common positions of complement clauses as either following, preceding or occasionally being center-embedded into the matrix clause (see §24.4 below), the phrase frequently occurs in the middle of the complement. Taking all these peculiarities together, the phrase has to be characterized as a parenthetical.

- (127) *hej, di-la pikri ħa°sible, tusnaq-le-r t:ura uq-un ca-w*
 this 1SG-GEN thought following prison-LOC-ABL outside go.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
hež
 this

‘In my mind, he left prison.’

- (128) *hež-i-la x:unul, di-la pikri ħa°sible, χ^we=ħuna wahi-ce ca-r*
 this-OBL-GEN woman 1SG-GEN thought following dog=EQ bad-DD.SG COP-F
 ‘His wife is, in my mind, bad like a dog.’

Note that other complement-taking predicates can also occur in the middle of the complement clause, in which case additional overt marking of the complement by means of particles is forbidden. For instance, in (128) we can replace *dila pikri ħa°sible* by *dam han birkul cab* ‘seems to me’. This complement-taking predicate normally requires the use of the quotative particle when it occurs before the complement clause.

The phrase ... *pikri ħa°sible* is sometimes replaced by its Russian equivalent *po-moemu*, which is used in the same manner (129).

- (129) *pomoemu, at:a-l aba r-it-ib ca-r*
 my.opinion father-ERG mother F-beat.up-PRET COP-F
 ‘In my mind, the father beat up the mother.’

Moreover, the particle *aχ:u* ‘I don’t know, dunno’ also occasionally occurs as a parenthetical. In (130) there is not only no formal sign of subordination, but not even a clear semantic relationship between *aχ:u* and the surrounding clauses, so this is an example of its parenthetical use. However, in the majority of examples the clause accompanying the particle is marked by the embedded question marker =*el* (§24.2.7).

- (130) *amma ʋa°ʋ Ø-ik’-ul ca-w ik’, aχ:u, nu°q-be aq*
 but scream M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M DEM.UP not.know arm-PL high
d-arq’-ib ca-d ik’-i-l=ra
 NPL-do.PFV-PRET COP-NPL DEM.UP-OBL-ERG=ADD
 ‘But he is screaming, I don’t know, he also rose up his arms.’

24.6.2 Nominalized relative clauses resembling complement constructions

There are a variety of constructions with the predicates listed in §24.1 above as “complement-taking predicates”, which are syntactically not complement clauses. They function as a core argument of a higher clause and have the internal constituent structure of a clause. But they are usually shorter than real complement clauses and contain only one core argument in addition to the verb. Most importantly, they do not refer to propositions, but to entities such as persons, events, etc. They are, therefore, not complement clauses but headless relative clauses, which have been nominalized. Headless relative clauses can be formed with (i) the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (plural *-te*), the cross-categorical suffix *-il*, and the modal participle *-an*. In this section, I will only discuss headless relative clauses that occur together with complement-taking predicates and show how they differ from true complementation. For general information about headless relative clauses see §23.4.

As has been described in §24.2.3 above, the suffix *-ce* marks complements of the factive type (131). In this function, *-ce* can never be replaced by *-te*, which otherwise functions as the plural equivalent of *-ce*. Thus, replacing *-ce* by *-te* in (131) would result in an ungrammatical sentence.

- (131) du-l razi-l=da [c'il dus [nuš:a-l bas:ejn b-arq'-ib-le]
 1SG-ERG happy-ADVZ=1 then year 1PL-ERG pool N-DO.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ha-b-urχ:-an-ce]
 UP-N-finish.IPFV-PTCP-DD.SG
 'I am happy that during the next year we will finish building the pool.' (E)

By contrast, when the suffix occurs in headless relative clauses, the use of the plural suffix *te* is possible when the referent of the nominalized clause is plural (132), (133). In (133) the two nominalized relative clauses are conjoined by means of the additive enclitic *=ra*, which is regularly used to conjoin noun phrases (§26.1). Examples (132) and (133) share with genuine complement clauses their occurrence in the argument position of verbs of cognition and their ability to preserve their internal argument structure. For instance, in (132) the agent of the embedded verb is expressed by means of a reflexive pronoun in the ergative case, which is in accordance with the usual case frame required by transitive verbs. However, the embedded clauses are propositions (e.g. they cannot be expressed through a *that*-clause in English). This is particularly clear in (133) because in this example the nominalized clauses are, first of all, conjoined like ordinary noun phrases, and second, modified by a possessor, which refers to the agent, and by a quantifier. In a complement clause the agent of the embedded verb is not expressed by a possessor in the genitive, but by a nominal in the ergative case.

- (132) [cin-ni d-arq'-ib-te] han d-irč-aq-ul
 REFL.SG-ERG NPL-DO.PFV-PRET-DD.PL remember NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB
 ca-w uže
 COP-M already
 'He remembered what he had done.'

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- (133) pikri uq-un-ne [cin-na li<d>il [d-urs-an-te=ra]
 thought go.M.PFV-PRET-CVB REFL.SG-GEN all<NPL> NPL-tell-PTCP-DD.PL=ADD
 [d-irq'-an-te=ra]] ...
 NPL-do.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=ADD
 'and thought of what he had said and done ...'

The same kind of reasoning applies to nominalized clauses with the cross-categorical suffix *-il*. The following two sentences show a minimal pair. The first example illustrates the headless relative clause, which refers to an animal (134a). The second clause is a complement construction with a clausal complement (134b).

- (134) a. iž-i-j b-aχ-ur ca-b [d-erk-un-il]
 this-OBL-DAT N-know.PFV-PRET COP-N NPL-eat.PFV-PRET-REF
 'He got to know the one (animal) who ate (them).' (E)
 b. iž-i-j b-aχ-ur ca-b [d-erk-ni]
 this-OBL-DAT N-know.PFV-PRET COP-N NPL-eat.PFV-MSD
 'He got to know that (they) ate (them).' (E)

The use of nominalized clauses with the *-il* suffix is ungrammatical in constructions that require clausal complements:

- (135) * du-l razi-l=da [c'il dus [nuš:a-l bas:ejn b-arq'-ib-le]
 1SG-ERG happy-ADVZ=1 then year 1PL-ERG pool N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ha-b-urχ:-an-il]
 UP-N-finish.IPFV-PTCP-REF
 (Intended meaning: 'I am happy that during the next year we will finish building the pool.') (E)

As has been shown in (133) for nominalized clauses with *-ce*, nominalized clauses can also be conjoined:

- (136) na [[b-urs-ib-il=ra] [b-arq'-ib-il=ra]] qum.urt-u dam
 now N-tell-PRET-REF=ADD N-do.PFV-PRET-REF=ADD forget.IPFV-PRS.3 1SG.DAT
 'I forget what I say and what I do.'

The modal participle regularly occurs in headless relative clauses §23.4. When the main clause contains a complement-taking predicate as in (137), the structure seems to be ambiguous between an interpretation as a complement clause of the activity type ('studying') and a nominalized verb that functions as action noun ('the studies'). This type of construction requires future research in order to be able to decide whether the construction is, in fact, ambiguous, or whether we can exclude one of the two potential analyses.

- (137) uc:i-l taman b-arq'-ib [b-uč'-an]
 brother-ERG end N-do.PFV-PRET N-learn.IPFV-PTCP
 'Brother finished studying/the studies.' (E)

In elicitation, I also obtained example (138). This looks like a complement clause of the potential type with the modal participle. At the same time this sentence instantiates a constituent focus construction with a floating predicative particle (the past enclitic =*de*, see §27.3.2 for more information).

- (138) dam b-ik:-an [χadižat-li-j=de kiniga luk:-an]
 1SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-PTCP Khadizhat-OBL-DAT=PST book give.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘I wanted to give the book to KHADIZHAT.’ or ‘It was Khadizhat to whom I wanted to give the book.’ (E)

Interestingly, it is impossible to place the predicative particle =*de* on its usual host, which would be the verb in the main clause (139). This is only allowed if we simultaneously replace the modal participle with the infinitive, which is the default marker for complement clauses with potential meaning (140). At the same time the use of the infinitive instead of the modal participle in (138) is ungrammatical because the constituent focus construction requires the use of participles.

- (139) * dam b-ik:-an=de [χadižat-li-j kiniga luk:-an]
 1SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-PTCP=PST Khadizhat-OBL-DAT book give.IPFV-PTCP
 (Intended meaning: ‘I wanted to give the book to Khadizhat.’) (E)
- (140) dam b-ik:-an=de [χadižat-li-j kiniga luk:-ij]
 1SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-PTCP=PST Khadizhat-OBL-DAT book give.IPFV-INF
 ‘I wanted to give the book to Khadizhat.’ (E)

The cross-categorical suffixes *-il* and *-ce* (as well as the masdar) can take case suffixes. Occasionally these nominalized verbs can occur in the argument position of complement-taking predicates. For examples, the verb ‘believe’ regularly requires the dative case on its goal argument. In sentence (141) the goal argument is a nominalized clause with its own arguments and adjuncts.

- (141) ča-k'al w-iχčit ag-ur-il ak:^w-i [du ce
 who-INDEF M-believe go.PFV-PRET-REF COP.NEG-HAB.PST 1SG what
 ∅-iχ^w-ni-li-j hek' kuzaw-le-w=či-w]
 M-be.PFV-MSD-OBL-DAT DEM.UP coachwork-LOC-M=ON-M
 ‘Nobody believed in what had happened to me there up on the coachwork (on the car).’

For the utterance verbs and cognition verbs whose complement clauses denote speech acts or similar types of activities that require the use of language it is possible to use the postposition *qari-či-b* followed by a participial clause with the appropriate case marking to denote the topic of the speech act (§8.1.6) or the topic of the cognitive act (142). Syntactically this construction is not a relative clause but a nominalized case-marked verb, which is governed by a postposition.

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- (142) pikri Ø-ik'-ul ca-w [cin-ni d-arq'-ib-t-a-lla
thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M REFL.SG-ERG NPL-do.PFV-PRET-PL-OBL-GEN
qari=či-b]
on.top=on-N
'He thinks about what he had done.'

24.6.3 Adverbial clauses used with emotion and cognition predicates

The possibility of an analysis adverbial clauses instead of a complement constructions has been amply discussed in §24.2.5 for the perfective converb. Sentence (143) shows another example of a construction for which, however, only the adverbial-clause interpretation is available because the modal participle is followed by temporal/causal enclitic =*q:el* 'when, while, because', which regularly occurs in adverbial clauses (§18.2.1). Precisely to what extent these constructions are used, as well as their semantic and morphosyntactic properties, needs to be clarified by future research.

- (143) han d-irk-ul d-urk:-ar [heχ cin-ni
remember NPL-occur.IPFV-ICVB NPL-find.IPFV-PRS.3 DEM.DOWN REFL.SG-ERG
it-an=q:el]
beat.up-PTCP=when
'He is probably remembering when he was beaten.'

25 Syntactic properties of adverbial and conditional clauses

This chapter analyzes the syntax of adverbial and conditional clauses in Sanzhi and compares them to the syntactic properties of similar clauses in other East Caucasian languages.

25.1 The syntax of adverbial clauses

Sanzhi has different types of adverbial clauses that can be distinguished by the morphological make-up of the verb forms in the subordinate clause and by their semantics. Semantically, we can distinguish between simple converbs with a fairly general meaning and specialized converbs with a rather specific temporal or non-temporal meaning. The first group consists of the imperfective (§18.1.1.1) and perfective converb (§18.1.1.2). The second group contains temporal, causal, and other converbs (§18.2). A similar distinction is found in many East Caucasian languages (e.g. in Tsezic, see Comrie et al. 2012, and in Dargwa varieties, see Belyaev 2010). The syntactic characteristics of constructions with general converbs have repeatedly been discussed in the literature because they exhibit a mixed behavior, showing features of subordination as well as of coordination (see, among others, Kazenin & Testeleets 2004; Haspelmath 1995; Belyaev 2010; Comrie et al. 2012; Creissels 2010; 2012; Forker 2013c). Sentences in Sanzhi can be fairly complex, containing a number of adverbial clauses that are combined with one main clause. Semantically, these clauses either resemble coordination, as in (1), or subordination, when the meaning of the adverbial clause is causal (2).

- (1) amχa [b-arc:-ur-re] [ka-b-ič-ib-le] b-ebč'-ib
 donkey N-get.tired.PFV-PRET-CVB DOWN-N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-CVB N-die.PFV-PRET
 ca-b
 COP-N
 'The donkey got tired, fell down, and died.'
- (2) bahsar [heχ cin-na at:a-la jurt-la q:arq:a ʔa`bal qal-la
 first DEM.DOWN REFL.SG-GEN father-GEN house-GEN stone three house-GEN
 x:ari k-ag-ur-re] [q:aq-li-j či-ka-d-irx:-ul]
 down DOWN-go.PFV-PRET-CVB back-OBL-DAT SPR-DOWN-NPL-put.IPFV-ICVB
 [ha-d-iq:-ul] q:arq:a=ra gu-r-h-aq:-ib=da
 UP-NPL-carry.IPFV-ICVB stone=ADD SUB-ABL-UP-carry-PRET=1
 'First, (because) the stones of father's house had fallen down three floors, we put them on the back and carried them, carried the stones.'

The perfective converb is widely used in procedural texts, such as the description of how to prepare dishes. These texts consist of a list of actions that are expressed by verbs bearing perfective converb suffixes with a main clause at the end. The actions are supposed to occur in the order in which the clauses follow each other, i.e., there is iconicity, and the order of the clauses cannot be changed without changing the meaning of the whole sentence. This is generally interpreted as a semantic feature of coordination, as opposed to subordination, where the order of the clauses does not reflect the temporal order of the events and can therefore be changed without a concomitant change in the meaning. Linear order will be discussed in more detail in §25.1.4 below.

Converbs are non-finite in the sense that they head only subordinate clauses. The two general converbs (imperfective, perfective) also occur in analytic tenses in main clauses (Chapter 14), but only when combined with a copula or a predicative particle (§9.1). Therefore, they are unable to express illocutionary force or absolute temporal reference but share those properties with the verb form in the main clause (see §25.1.1 below). They are also not marked for person by person suffixes or enclitics, in contrast to the verb forms in the superordinate clause. However, they express aspect, because aspect is mainly conveyed through the verbal stem and there are no restrictions concerning the use of perfective or imperfective stems in adverbial clauses. Moreover, they can have their own arguments that fulfill the same grammatical roles as arguments in main clauses, i.e., case marking patterns in adverbial clauses and main clauses do not differ. Furthermore, gender agreement is present in adverbial clauses. In contrast to main clauses, it is strictly controlled by the absolutive argument. By contrast, in main clauses copulas can exhibit gender agreement with ergative or dative arguments. However, these copulas cannot occur in subordinate clauses.

The constituent order in adverbial clauses shows a far greater tendency for verb-final order than is observed for main clauses (2), but adverbial clauses in which the verb is followed by other constituents can be found as well (3), (20).

- (3) [hel=ʒuna musna-w ink w-aq-ib=q:el du=ra]
 that=EQ place.LOC-M meet M-go.through.PFV-PRET=when 1SG=ADD
 dam=ra ʔa^h-le=k:wɪ
 1SG.DAT=ADD good-ADVZ=NEG.PST
 ‘[When I was in that situation], when I also was in a place like this, I also did not feel well.’

In the following discussion, I will adopt the typology of Bickel (2010) for the investigation of clause-linkage patterns. Bickel’s typology consists of eleven variables, which are reproduced in the first column of Table 25.1. A short description is given in the second column of the same table.

I will additionally use a number of other criteria that have been proposed in order to differentiate between coordination and subordination, namely co-reference and expression of shared arguments, morphosyntactic locus, and relativization of constituents of adverbial clauses.

Table 25.1: Syntactic variables for the analysis of adverbial clauses

Variable	Description
Illocutionary scope	Which clauses fall within the scope of illocutionary force operators?
Illocutionary marking	Can the dependent clause contain illocutionary force operators?
Tense scope	Which clauses fall within the scope of tense operators?
Tense marking	Can the dependent clause contain tense markers?
Finiteness	Does the dependent clause express fewer (non-finite) or the same number (finite) of categories?
Symmetry	Can the range of expressed categories in the dependent and in the main clause be different or not?
WH	Are question words and focus enclitics inside dependent clauses allowed or not?
Focus	Can focus marking appear on the dependent clause?
Extraction	Is extraction of elements of dependent clauses allowed?
Position	Can the dependent clause appear before and after the main clause? Can it be separated by other clauses?
Layer	Can the dependent clause be center-embedded?

I will mainly analyze the two general converbs as well as the temporal converb =*q:el(la)* ‘when, while, because’, which expresses temporal simultaneity and anteriority as well as causality, because these converbs show the largest semantic overlaps and are semantically close to coordination.

25.1.1 Scope properties

Adverbial clauses do not contain markers for illocutionary force, such as the imperative, optative suffixes, or the interrogative particles (“banned”). Those markers can only occur in the main clause. Their scope can be restricted to the main clause (“local”), but, in the appropriate context, it can also extent across the adverbial clause (“extensible”). However, the latter possibility is noticeably less common in texts. Examples (4–6) illustrate local scope restricted to the main clause.

- (4) [hej š:al-li-c:e c:iχ:in ka-b-alt-an=q:el] het š:al-la ʔa^hnč:i
 this side-OBL-IN roof.beam DOWN-N-put.IPFV-PTCP=when that side-GEN earth
 a-ka-d-ax-u=w?
 NEG-DOWN-NPL-go-PRS.3=Q
 ‘When you put the roof beam at this (at one) side, does the clay of that (the other side) not fall down?’

- (5) [heχ x:unul-la ɤaj-li-gu aq-ib-le] qili
 DEM.DOWN woman-GEN word-OBL-SUB go.through.PFV-PRET-CVB home
 arg-ul=de=w?
 go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q
 ‘Do you go home because your wife told you to?’
- (6) [tʰu^o-me rurč:-ul] ta^h d-uj-ene!
 leg-PL tremble-ICVB jump 1/2PL-go.PFV-IMP.PL
 ‘The legs are trembling, jump!’¹

Some converbs seem to fully ban joint scope of illocutionary operators. For instance, interrogative markers (4) or imperative markers (7) cannot scope over the temporal converb =*q:el*, although tense suffixes can.

- (7) [tʰultʰ as:-ib=q:el] nis:e:c:ella b-erk^w-en!
 bread buy.PFV-PRET=when cheese-COMIT N-eat.PFV-IMP
 ‘When you buy bread, eat it with cheese!’ (NOT: ‘Buy bread and eat it with cheese!’) (E)

But at least with the perfective and the imperfective converbs it is also possible that the two clauses have joint scope:

- (8) [ag-ur-re] h-aq:-a!
 go.PFV-PRET-CVB UP-carry-IMP
 ‘Go and bring it!’
- (9) [dalaj Ø-ik’-ul] qu b-urq:-a!
 song M-say.IPFV-ICVB field N-dig.PFV-IMP
 ‘Sing a song and dig the field!’ (E)

Similarly, adverbial clauses can only express aspectual distinctions because this is a property of the verbal stem. Other semantic categories of verbs such as tense and evidentiality are only available to verb forms in main clauses. The converbs have relative temporal reference. This means that they refer to situations that take place before, after or during the situation that is expressed by the matrix clause. For instance, in (10) the verb form in the main clause has future/modal meaning, which is extended to the adverbial clause with the preterite converb. Sentence (11) conveys past time reference due to the preterite in the main clause, and (12) conveys present time reference because of the compound present tense. Both sentences contain adverbial clauses with the imperfective converb that only expresses that the situation in the adverbial clause took place during the situation described in the main clause.

¹Within the contexts from which this example originates the subjects of the adverbial clause and the main clause differ. The speaker who was guiding a truck full of people urged them to jump off the car because he had problems controlling it. This means that the full translation is ‘While/because my legs are trembling, jump!’ Out of context, however, the most natural reading is rather: ‘While your legs are trembling, jump!’ with a same-subject interpretation.

- (10) du-l [ag-ur-re wac'a-c:e] ka-d-iq:-an=da qix-be
 1SG-ERG go.PFV-PRET-CVB forest-IN DOWN-NPL-carry.IPFV-PTCP=1 nut-PL
 'I will go to the forest and bring nuts.'
- (11) [bahla-l bahla-l nik'a k:anc ka-b-irc:-ul] bahla-l
 slow-ADVZ slow-ADVZ small step DOWN-N-stand.IPFV-ICVB slow-ADVZ
 či-r-ag-ur=da
 SPR-ABL-go.PFV-PRET=1
 'Very slowly making small steps we went across (the river).'
- (12) [qili-r du=gina r-irχ-ul] [a-r-is:-ul] r-ug-ul=da
 home-F 1SG=only F-be.IPFV-ICVB NEG-F-cry-ICVB F-stay.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'Being alone at home, I (fem.) stay not crying.'

Similarly, the past perfect used in the main clause of (13) expresses not only past time reference but also indirect evidentiality, which extends to the meaning of the full sentence including the adverbial clause with the preterite converb.

- (13) [it-i-sa-r s-as:-ib-le wec'-nu urek-ra azir]
 that-OBL-ANTE-ABL HITHER-take.PFV-PRET-CVB ten-TEN six-NUM thousand
 it-i-l=ra d-ataχ-ib-le=de
 that-OBL-ERG=ADD NPL-send.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 'From her (he) took 16 000, and he sent (that money to us).'

In short, fewer categories are expressed in adverbial clauses than in main clauses, because person agreement, tense, evidentiality, and illocutionary force are absent. This means that Sanzhi adverbial clauses are, in Bickel's terms, "asymmetrical" and non-finite (Bickel 2010).

25.1.2 Focus and question words

Most but not all focus-sensitive particles can appear in adverbial clauses attached to the converbs. The following examples show the enclitic =*cun* 'only' and the emphatic modal particle =*q'ar* in clauses together with the perfective converb and the =*q:el* converb. The modal particle =*q'al* can also be employed in certain types of adverbial clauses, but in general its use in subordinate clauses is subject to many restrictions (16), (17). The restrictions are specific to this particle and therefore not relevant for a discussion of the morphosyntactic properties of adverbial clauses.

- (14) [b-alk'-un-ne=cun] irχ-ul=de
 N-bend-PRET-CVB=only understand.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'I understood (everything) only wrongly (i.e. I had only bad thoughts).'
- (15) ka-d-ič-ib-le=q'ar χe-d hext:u-d šuš-ne
 DOWN-NPL-OCCUR.PFV-PRET-CVB=MOD exist.DOWN-NPL there.DOWN-NPL bottle-PL
 'Fallen down there are bottles there.'

- (16) [a učitelj čí-w-až-ib=q:el=q'al] c'il di-la da'ʔ d-ars
 but teacher SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET=when=MOD then 1SG-GEN face NPL-change
 d-iχ-ub
 NPL-be.PFV-PRET
 'But when I saw the teacher, my face changed (i.e. turned red).'
- (17) * du Derbent-le-r sa-jɛ-ib=q:el=q'al it qili-w=de?
 1SG Derbent-LOC-ABL HITHER-come.PFV-PRET=when=MOD that home-M=PST
 (Intended meaning: 'Was he at home when I came back from Derbent?') (E)

As mentioned in §25.1.1 above, interrogative particles (which also belong to the focus-sensitive particles) cannot be used in adverbial clauses. However, adverbial clauses with various converbs can contain interrogative pronouns as the following examples with the perfective converb (18) and the converb =*q:el* (19) show.

- (18) [ħa'žimurad-li-j ce b-ič:-ib-le] uš:a razi
 Hazhimurad-OBL-DAT what N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB 2PL happy
 d-iχ-ub=da=ja?
 1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET=1=Q
 'When Hazhimurad was given what were we happy?' (E)
- (19) [hi-l mašin b-ik-an=q:el] rurs-be uruχ b-ik'-ul=e?
 who.OBL-ERG car N-lead.IPFV-PTCP=when girl-PL fear HPL-AUX.IPFV-ICVB=Q
 'When who is guiding the car do the girls get afraid?' (E)

25.1.3 Co-reference and expression of shared arguments

Converb clauses can almost always have their own subjects that do not need to be co-referential with the subject in the main clause. Examples of adverbial clauses with differing subjects can be found in (20) for the perfective converb, in (21) for the imperfective converb, and in (4) and (16) for constructions with =*q:el*. However, for the sentence in (21) there is no alternative possibility of using a same-subject construction because the two weather verbs grammatically require different subjects. Thus, syntactically (21) is a complex clause with two different subjects, but semantically there is a clear relationship between the two clauses.

- (20) [w-ebč'-ib-le I Stalin] [mašin-te pojezd-e t'aš aχ-ib-le]
 M-die.PFV-PRET-CVB Stalin, car-PL train-PL stop do-PRET-CVB
 t:u:t-d-ik'-ul, ...
 toot-NPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'Stalin died, and the cars, the trains were stopped making toot, ...'
- (21) k'w'el bar [wiz b-ik'-ul] b-us-ib
 two day freeze N-AUX.IPFV-ICVB N-rain-PRET
 'Two days it was freezing and raining.'

If the subjects differ, it is possible that other arguments are co-referential instead. In (6) the subject of the first clause with the imperfective converb is not identical to that of the following, but can be identical to the omitted possessor (see the comment in the footnote). In (16), the omitted dative subject of the adverbial clause shares the referent with the possessive pronoun in the main clause. Similarly, in (22) the omitted subject of the adverbial clause is identical to the referent of the possessive pronoun in the main clause. It can also be the case that a string of adverbial clauses shares the subject with an adjunct in the main clause.

- (22) [can ka-b-iž-ib=q:el] ču-la jašaw-li-c:e-b zamana ca-b
 meet DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET=when REFL.PL-GEN being-OBL-IN-N time COP-N
 ‘When they got married, they had a good life.’ (lit. When they met it is the time of their well-being.)

The sharing of the subject argument is clearly preferred for the perfective converb and can be seen in most examples in this section. Even in example (20) there is at least a causal relationship between the described events: because of the death of Stalin the trains tooted and honked. If no such causal relationship can be found, a complex clause with different subjects is impossible (23).

- (23) ?? [ʔa`li qili w-i-ha-w-q-un-ne] Indira-l k:urti
 Ali home M-IN-UP-M-go.PFV-PRET-CVB Indira-ERG dress
 b-urχ-ul=de
 N-sew.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 (Intended meaning: ‘When Ali came home, Indira was sewing a dress.’)

The requirement for shared subjects is even stronger for the imperfective converb, for which it is almost the only attested possibility in natural texts. By contrast, for =q:el it is easy to find examples with differing subjects (25), but still around half to two third of the examples share the subject (24), (7)

- (24) [t:ura sa-w-q-un=q:el] heχ Allah-li-c:e ulk:-un-ne
 outside HITHER-M-go.PFV-PRET=when DEM.DOWN Allah-OBL-IN pray-ICVB-CVB
 ‘When he left, he prayed to Allah.’

In clauses with disjoint subjects, normally at least one of the subjects (20), (22), if not both are overt. However, even in those cases it is possible that both subjects are absent, as in example (25), in which it is clear from the context that the referent of the subject of the first clause is the children, and that the referent of the subject in the main clause as well as in the following adverbial clause is the main character of the story.

- (25) [a-b-ug-an=q:el] b-i-ka-b-at-ur ca-b
 NEG-HPL-be.calm.IPFV-PTCP=when HPL-IN-DOWN-HPL-leave.PFV-PRET COP-HPL
 [q`wani-l-c:e urux b-arq`-ib-le]
 box-OBL-IN fear HPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘When they did not calm down, (he) put (the children) into the box, frightening them.’

Co-referential arguments are omitted, so zeroes commonly occur in the subordinate clause. Therefore, cataphora is very frequent. In example (26) the omitted argument in the first clause corresponds to the agent in the second clause.

- (26) [bari-la g^wana-dex-li-j šak ič-ib-le] il-i-l
 sun-GEN warm-NMLZ-OBL-DAT feel occur.M.PFV-PRET-CVB that-OBL-ERG
 bari-li-j barkalla b-aχ-aq-ur
 sun-OBL-DAT thanks N-know.PFV-CAUS-PRET
 ‘When he felt the warmth of the sun, he thanked the sun.’

But anaphora is also attested (27). In this example, we find G=S=S=A, with only the first G argument being a full noun phrase and all other occurrences of the same argument left implicit, so that no grammatical relations are involved.

- (27) [hiti b-uq-un-ne č’aka χ^we-j=ra hel-i-j=ra]
 after N-go.PFV-PRET-CVB eagle dog-DAT=ADD that-OBL-DAT=ADD
 [sa-r-b-uq-un-ne, sa-r-b-uq-un-ne] [wa^ˆw
 ANTE-ABL-HPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB ANTE-ABL-HPL-go.PFV-PRET-CVB call
 b-ik’-ul] b-arč-ib-le=k:u ʔa^ˆt’a
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB N-find.PFV-PRET-CVB=NEG frog
 ‘The bird runs (i.e. flies) after him and his dog, and they run and run, and shout, but they did not find the frog.’

Another strategy commonly employed is to have the co-referential NP in clause-initial position, syntactically belonging to the main clause, but separated from the rest of the main clause in terms of linear order. The contolee is in the embedded clause, resulting in center embedding. In (10), the adverbial clause contains an intransitive predicate; therefore, the pronoun *dul* ‘1SG.ERG’ must be part of the main clause. If both clauses have the same valency frame, it is in principle impossible to decide to which of the two clauses the overt argument belongs. In general, arguments whose referents the speaker assumes to be known to the hearer are left implicit such that often none of the clauses contains an occurrence of the shared arguments.

Though shared arguments are very common, this is not a necessity. In (20) the first adverbial clause contains an overt S, *Istalin*, which is not shared in the subsequent adverbial and main clause.

The adverbial clause mostly precedes the main clause, but the reverse order is also attested (§25.1.4). Shared S and A arguments in either order are frequently found in texts (26), (10), and are easily provided in elicitation (28a), (28b). The situation gets more complicated if P arguments are also involved. An overt S argument in the first clause can correspond to a covert P in the second clause but not if the verb in the subordinate clause bears the converb suffix *-le*. Instead, the more specific construction with *=q:ella* must be used such that the first clause is not only syntactically but also semantically an adverbial clause (28c). According to my Sanzhi consultants, the more general converb *-le* can only be used if the S in the converbal clause corresponds to an S or A in the main clause.

- (31) [cin-ni / it-i-l t'ult' as:-ib=q:el] Zajnab-li
 REFL.SG-ERG / that-OBL-ERG bread buy.PFV-PRET=when Zainab-ERG
 nis:e-li-c:ella b-erk-un
 cheese-OBL-COMIT N-eat.PFV-PRET
 'When s/he (i.e. not Zainab) bought bread, Zainab ate (it) with cheese.' (E)

If we reverse the order of pronoun and noun we also have disjoint reference for the demonstrative pronoun (32). However, with the reflexive pronoun the situation is more complicated because this pronoun can be interpreted as fulfilling a purely emphatic function, which means that the main clause actually lacks an overt subject. This makes it possible, in turn, to arrive at a co-referential reading (33), (34). If we exclude the emphatic interpretation of the reflexive, then in clauses with the =*q:el* converb, disjoint reference is the only possible interpretation, but perfective converbs still seem to allow co-reference.

- (32) [hu^orija sa-r-ek-ib=q:el] cin-ni q^owal b-irc:-ib
 Hurija HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET=when REFL.SG-ERG COW N-milk.PFV-PRET
 'When Hurija came, s/he (i.e. not Hurijat) milked the cow.' (E)
- (33) [hu^orija sa-r-ek-ib-le] cin-ni q^owal b-irc:-ib
 Hirija HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET-CVB REFL.SG-ERG COW N-milk.PFV-PRET
 'When Hurija came, s/he (Hurijat herself or another person) milked the cow.' (E)
- (34) [Zapir dalaj Ø-ik'-ul] cin-ni qu b-urq:-ib
 Zapir song M-say.IPFV-ICVB REFL.SG-ERG garden N-dig.PFV-PRET
 'While Zapir was singing a song he (another person or Zapir himself) dug the field.' (E)

We can also swap around the order of the clauses. In sentences in which the main clause precedes the adverbial clause, no cataphora whatsoever is allowed (35), (36). This means that neither zeroes nor pronouns can express co-reference with subject arguments in the following subordinate clauses. A pronoun (or a zero anaphora) may not both precede and c-command its antecedent (Langacker 1969: 185; Reinhart 1976: 8). Note that if we use demonstrative pronouns or zero, the person reference in the first clause remains unspecified. By contrast, the reflexive pronoun would be used if we continue to talk about a person who already was the topic of the conversation.

- (35) (cin-ni / it-i-l) t'ult' b-erk-un, [Zajnab-li
 REFL.SG-ERG / that-OBL-ERG bread N-eat.PFV-PRET Zajnab-ERG
 as:-ib=q:el]
 buy.PFV-PRET=when
 'S/he (i.e. not Zajnab) ate the bread when Zajnab bought it.' (E)
- (36) (cin-ni / it-i-l) qu b-urq:-ib, [Marko dalaj Ø-ik'-ul]
 REFL.SG-ERG / that-OBL-ERG garden N-dig.PFV-PRET Marko song M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'While Marko was singing a song, s/he (i.e. not Marko) dug the field.' (E)

25.1.4 Linear order and iconicity

This criterion concerns the linear order of adverbial clause and main clause (“position” and “layer” in the terminology of Bickel 2010). Although the adverbial clauses most frequently precede the main clause, they may also follow it (37–39), (25), and they may be separated by other subordinate clauses from the main clause, e.g. by other adverbial clauses.

In (37), the imperfective converb clause follows the main clause and shares with the main clause the subject referent and the past time reference. In (38) the converbal clause with =*q:el* also follows the main clause and most probably shares the subject-like argument. In (39) we again have a converbal clause with =*q:el* that follows the main clause and has a causal interpretation.

- (37) k^wi dus kelg-un=da [ʔa[˘]ʒlač[˘]i-la χurejg b-erk^w-ij
two year remain.PFV-PRET=1 corn-GEN food N-eat.PFV-INF
a-r-irχ-ul]
NEG-F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB
‘I remained there for two years, unable to eat food made of corn.’
- (38) c’il roddom-le hešt:u-d luk:-unne=k:u=w ce=ja arc
then maternity.hospital-LOC here-NPL give.IPFV-ICVB=COP.NEG=Q what=Q money
[tura h-as:ij r-ax-an=q:el]?
outside UP-take.PFV-INF F-go-PTCP=when
‘Then, in the maternity hospital, here you do not give money when you go to take (the child) out (of the hospital and home)?’
- (39) wallah, haʔ-ib=da, [a-c:e hel b-arx-dex b-aχ-ij bahanne]
by.God say.PFV-PRET=1 2SG-IN that N-right-NMLZ N-know.PFV-INF because.of
sa-r-ač[˘]-ib-il=da [ik[˘]-i-l a-b-urs-ib=q:el]
HITHER-F-COME.PFV-PRET-REF=1 DEM.UP-OBL-ERG NEG-N-tell-PRET=when
‘I came to know the truth from you, I said, because he (the other doctor) did not tell me (the truth).’

Examples (40–42) show center-embedding, i.e. adverbial clauses that occur within the main clause. That it is in fact center-embedding and not adverbial clauses preceding the main clauses is indicated by the case-marking on the shared argument. The verb in the adverbial clauses differs from the verb in the main clause in transitivity, and the case of the shared argument is assigned by the predicate in the main clause. Note that in all examples the only interpretation available is the shared subject interpretation.

- (40) Murad-li [ʔa[˘]rka: ∅-iχ-ub-le] lac a-b-arq[˘]-ib
Murad-ERG ill M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB fence NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET
‘When/Because Murad got ill he did not build the fence.’ (E)
- (41) Musa-l [dalaj ∅-ik[˘]-ul] lac b-irq[˘]-ul ca-b
Musa-ERG song M-say.IPFV-ICVB fence N-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
‘Musa is singing a song and building the fence.’ (E)

- (42) Madina-l [qili sa-r-eḡ-ib=q:el] t'alah-ne d-irc-ib
 Madina-ERG home HITHER-F-go.PFV-PRET=when dishes-PL NPL-wash.PFV-PRET
 'Madina, having come home, washed the dishes.' (E)

It has been observed for the perfective converb in other Dargwa varieties and other East Caucasian languages that when the subjects are not identical, the order of main clause and adverbial clause can be changed, but then only the causal interpretation is possible (Belyaev 2010; Kustova 2015; Kazenin & Testelefs 2004). In other words, when the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, we can have both a same-subject and a different-subject reading (43). However, the different-subject reading is rather marginal and only available in the right context (see the discussion in §25.1.3 about example (23)).

- (43) [Murad ʔaʔrk:a Ø-iχ-ub-le] lac a-b-arq'-ib
 Murad ill M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB fence NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET
 'When/Because Murad got ill he (= Murad or some other person) did not build the fence.' (E)

If we reverse the order, interpretations with shared subjects are more frequently disapproved, e.g. (44) means that an unspecified person is digging the field while Murad is singing. For the perfective converb, a reversal of the order means that a causal interpretation between the two described situations is required (45), whereas in the default order, in which the adverbial clause precedes the main clause, a causal interpretation is possible, but not necessary. Sentences such as (43) can also simply express the temporal order of the events as occurring simultaneously or sequentially without implying a causal relationship.

- (44) qu uq:-ul ca-w [Musa dalaj Ø-ik'-ul]
 garden dig.IPFV-ICVB COP-M Musa song M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 '(He) is digging the field while Musa is singing.' (E)
- (45) lac a-b-arq'-ib [Murad ʔaʔrk:a Ø-iχ-ub-le]
 fence NEG-N-do.PFV-PRET Murad ill M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'Because Murad got ill, he (= Murad or another person) did not build the fence.'
 (E)

This means that the order of the clauses in constructions with perfective and imperfective converbs cannot be changed without a concomitant change in the interpretations. This property makes the respective converb constructions slightly similar to clause coordination, which also depicts the order of the events if they do not occur simultaneously: the first clause refers to the first event, the second clause to the second event. By contrast, for other converbs such as the temporal converb =q:el, it is possible to reverse the order of the clauses without changing the interpretation, which makes them more similar to subordination (38), (39).

25.1.5 Morphosyntactic locus

In addition to the properties discussed, I also tested for morphosyntactic locus (Kazenin & Testelets 2004), i.e. the locus of marking a complement clause as dependent on the main clause. For coordination embedded into a complement clause, the formal marking of embedding is expected to occur on each member of the coordination. By contrast, in case of subordination we can expect the formal marking to occur only on the head or within the head constituent of the complement, but not within another adverbial clause that is part of the complement. This is the case for Sanzhi adverbial clauses that can occur in complement constructions. For instance, in (46) and (47) the masdar suffix that marks the complement clause as dependent occurs only on one verb, whereas the other verb in the complement retains its converbal suffix. In (48) complementation is achieved by means of the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* added to the preterite.

- (46) du pašman-ne=da [[Murad ʔa^{rk}:a Ø-iχ-ub-le] lac a-b-arq'-ni]
 1SG sad-ADVZ=1 Murad ill M-be.PFV-PRET-CVB fence NEG-N-do.PFV-MSD
 'I am sad because Murad got ill and did not build the fence.' (E)
- (47) du razi-l=da [[Murad ʔa^h Ø-iχ-ub=q:el] lac taman
 1SG happy-ADVZ=1 Murad good M-be.PFV-PRET=when fence end
 b-arq'-ni]
 N-do.PFV-MSD
 'I am happy when Murad got healthy and finished building the fence.' (E)
- (48) du razi-l=da [[Fat'imat dalaj r-ik'-ul] qu b-urq-ib-ce]
 1SG happy-ADVZ=1 Fatimat song F-say.IPFV-ICVB garden N-dig.PFV-PRET-DD.SG
 'I am happy that Fatimat dug the field while singing a song.' (E)

25.1.6 Island constraints: relativization and extraction

The data concerning extraction out of relative clauses varies depending on the converb used and on the interpretations available. The converb *=q:el* blocks extraction, as example (49b) shows. By contrast, the perfective converb allows for extraction (50b). Although the data in (49a–50b) generally fits what has been observed for other East Caucasian languages (e.g. Kazenin & Testelets 2004; Creissels 2012; Bickel 2010), two divergent examples are not enough to understand whether Sanzhi adverbial clauses show the behavior of coordination or of subordination and to what extent this depends on the converbs themselves or on the available interpretations.

- (49) a. [šupir-ri mašin b-ik-an=q:el] rurs-be uruχ b-iχ-ub
 driver-ERG car N-lead.IPFV-PTCP=when girl-PL fear HPL-be.PFV-PRET
 'When the driver was guiding the car, the girls became afraid.' (E)

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- b. * [_i mašin b-ik-an=q:el] rurs-be uruχ b-iχ-ub] šupir_i
 ERG car N-lead.IPFV-PTCP=when girl-PL fear HPL-be.PFV-PRET driver
 nuš:a at:a ca-w
 1PL father COP-M
 (Intended meaning: ‘The driver who when driving the car the girls got
 afraid is our father.’) (E)

- (50) a. [hã°žimurad-li-j ajpun b-ič:-ib-le] nuš:a razi
 Hazhimurad-OBL-DAT i-phone N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB 1PL happy
 d-iχ-ub=da
 1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET=1

‘When an i-phone was given to Hazhimurad we got happy.’ (E)

- b. [[hã°žimurad-li-j _i b-ič:-ib-le] nuš:a razi
 Hazhimurad-OBL-DAT ABS N-give.PFV-PRET-CVB 1PL happy
 d-iχ-ub-il] ajpun_i b-iq:-a!
 1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET-REF i-phone N-take.out.IPFV-IMP
 ‘Give me the i-phone that when it was given to Hazhimurad we got happy.’
 (E)

25.1.7 **Summary**

Table 25.2 summarizes some of the morphosyntactic properties of perfective and imperfective converb clauses as well as adverbial clauses with =q:el that have been discussed in the previous sections. The table shows that the three converbs by and large share most of their properties. If we compare the behavior of Sanzhi adverbial clause constructions with adverbial clauses in other East Caucasian languages, we also find that Sanzhi converb constructions strongly resemble their counterparts in other languages of the family (e.g. Forker 2013c on Tsezic; Creissels 2010; 2012 on Akhvakh; Bickel 2010 on Chechen).

25.1.8 **Adverbial clauses as independent utterances?**

When examining natural texts it is striking to notice that adverbial clauses headed by perfective and imperfective converbs occur sometimes without a main clause that is obviously connected to it. Example (51) illustrates a perfective converb clause, followed by an imperfective converb clause, and then the speaker concludes his narrative about his military service with a comment that is not directly related to the two preceding adverbial clauses. The utterance in (52), which consists of three adverbial clauses with preterite converbs, describes what the speaker’s uncle Abdulkhalik did in order to build himself a house. It is followed by a comment that explicitly states the name of the uncle, but not by a main clause referring to the building of the house, which would be expected based on the general rules of use for the perfective converb.

Table 25.2: Morphosyntactic properties of adverbial clauses

Variable	IPFV/PFV converb	=q:el
Illocutionary scope	local/extensible	local
Illocutionary marking		banned
Tense scope		conjunct
Tense marking		banned
Finiteness		non-finite
Symmetry		asymmetrical
WH-words		allowed
Focus-sensitive particles		allowed
Extraction	no data/allowed	disallowed
Position		flexible-relational

- (51) c'il=ra hel-t:i bahla bahla-l kaj=ra d-aχ-ur-re
 then=ADD that-PL slow slow-ADVZ language=ADD NPL-know.PFV-PRET-CVB
 bahla bahla-l islužba=ra b-iq:-ul ...
 slow slow-ADVZ service=ADD N-carry.IPFV-ICVB
 'Then slowly I learned the language and I did my (military) service, (To be honest, I stayed for three years, and I was not one single hour at the guardhouse.)'
- (52) [di-la at:a-la uc:i-l ha-b-ert:-ib-le il b-a?]
 1SG-GEN father-GEN brother-ERG UP-N-take.PFV-PRET-CVB that N-edge
 [ʔa^h-te [cin-na taχna b-arq'-ij] d-erq:-ib-le
 good-DD.PL REFL.SG.OBL-GEN room N-do.PFV-INF NPL-carry.PFV-PRET-CVB
 uš-ib-le] [wahi-te heχt:u lak' d-i-ka-d-arq'-ib-le
 be-PRET-CVB bad-DD.PL there.DOWN throw NPL-IN-DOWN-NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 d-uš-ib-le ʔa^hbdulχaliq'-li]...
 NPL-be-PRET-CVB Abdulkhalik-ERG
 'The brother of my father (= Abdulkhalik) tore down the wall, apparently took the good (materials) in order to build his house (=room), the bad (materials) Abdulkhalik threw away there, (My fathers brother was called Abdulkhalik.)'

Therefore, we might wonder if we perhaps observe an ongoing change in which subordinate verb forms develop into forms that can head independent main clauses. For Mehweb Dargwa, it has been observed in elicitation that some speakers allow perfective and imperfective converbs to head main clauses (Kustova 2019), although the corpus does not contain any examples. In Sanzhi, the situation is reversed: in elicitation, examples such as (51) and (52) are clearly judged as subordinate clauses, but in narrations we find again and again subordinate clauses with a missing main clause. The following excerpt from a discussion between two speakers illustrates the phenomenon. The conversation starts with a question by speaker A (53), which is then answered by speaker B. About half of the utterances by speaker B are formally subordinate clauses.

1. finite clause (speaker A)

- (53) c'il cellij w-ebč'-ib-le=de?
 then why M-die.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST
 'Why did he die?'

2. non-finite clause as answer (speaker B)

- (54) cin-na het:u q:anaw-t-a-c:e-w kiši-l w-ebč'-ib-le, ...
 REFL.SG-GEN there ditch-PL-OBL-IN-M hunger-ADV M-die.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'in the ditches, he died because of hunger, ...'

3. finite clause (speaker B)

- (55) Ø-irχ^w-an=de cellij ubk'-an-ne c'il
 M-be.IPFV-PTCP=PST why die.M.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 then
 'Something must have happened to him, why should he die (i.e. what other reasons were there to die at that time).'

4. non-finite clause (speaker B)

- (56) za^ʔip Ø-ič-ib-le, w-ataḡ-ib-le, ...
 ill M-occur.PFV-PRET-CVB M-let.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'He got ill, and they let him go, ...'

5. non-finite clause (speaker B)

- (57) nuz-b-a-l b-uk:-unne, χalq' nuz-b-a-l t'ut'u
 louse-PL-OBL-ERG HPL-eat.IPFV-ICVB people louse-PL-OBL-ERG spread
 ka-b-ik'-ul, ...
 DOWN-HPL-move.IPFV-ICVB
 'The lice were eating (the people), lice were all over (the people), ...'

6. finite clause (speaker B)

- (58) b-ubč'-i naχadu. Sanži-b b-ebč'-ib
 HPL-die.PFV-HAB.PST.3 without.break Sanzhi-HPL HPL-die.PFV-PRET
 'They died without stopping. In Sanzhi (people) died.'

Mithun (2008), examines the development of subordinate clauses into main clauses in Navajo, Central Alaskan, Yup'ik, and a few other languages, and notes that the respective sentences contain background information, evaluations or comments that do not advance the storyline. However, this does not seem to be the case in Sanzhi. In both examples (51) and (52), it is rather the other way around. The adverbial clauses drive

forward the narrative and the main clauses that follow them provide background information or evaluations. And when we compare the main clauses with the subordinate clauses in (53) to (58), there is no obvious division into story line and background information that correlates with the use of converbs and finite verb forms. Only a more detailed study of the Sanzhi corpus can help to clarify whether we really observe an ongoing change, or whether utterances such as the ones discussed in this Section can simply be explained as natural, unprepared spoken text or perhaps performance errors.

25.2 The syntax of conditional clauses

Conditional clauses behave syntactically like adverbial clauses, but also show some differences; for the morphological structure and their functions see §18.3. Firstly, conditional clauses have person agreement. Secondly, conditional clauses express the difference between present/future time and past time reference, and they can also express irrealis mood. Thirdly, an imperative marker in a main clause does not have scope over the conditional clause (59), such that the illocutionary scope is always “local”. Conditional clauses may share their subject or other arguments with the main clause, but this is not a requirement. They mostly precede the main clause, but can also follow it (60).

- (59) [du haʔzat b-ikʰ-ulle] b-ikʰ-w-a ca ʒez!
 1SG need N-say.IPFV-COND.1 N-burn-IMP one hair
 ‘If you need me, burn one hair!’
- (60) “ala ul-li-j aparacija b-irqʰ-u,” r-ikʰ-w-ar, “[r-ʉqʰ-ut:e]”
 2SG.GEN eye-OBL-DAT operation N-do.IPFV-PRS F-say.IPFV-PRS F-go-COND.2SG
 “(They) will operate your eye,” she said, “if you (fem.) go (to the doctor).”

The past conditional occurs recurrently without an apodosis (61). Such sentences can also express wishes (62).

- (61) bahsar a-b-uč:-an-del iž ce=del, ...
 first NEG-N-drink.IPFV-PTCP-COND.PST this what=INDEF
 ‘if he did not drink first, ...’
- (62) čum-ib dus:-i-c:e-b=de=l w-ik:-an Allah dus-me
 how.many-ORD year-OBL-IN-N=PST=INDQ M-want.IPFV-PTCP Allah year-PL
 han d-ik-ardel, ...
 remember NPL-OCCUR.PFV-COND.PST
 ‘In which year it was, beloved Allah, if I would remember the years, ...’

Interrogative pronouns (63a) and focus-sensitive particles (63b) are allowed to occur in conditional clauses. Extraction out of conditional clauses is blocked (63d):

- (63) a. [Zapir-ri ce as:-ar] Zaj nab xadi r-ax-an-ne?
 Zapir-ERG what buy.PFV-COND.3 Zainab married F-go-PTCP-FUT.3
 ‘If Zapir buys what Zainab will marry him?’ (E)

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- b. [Zapir-ri mašin=cun as:-ar] Zajnab xadi a-r-ax-an-ne
 Zapir-ERG car=only buy.PFV-COND.3 Zainab married NEG-F-go-PTCP-FUT.3
 ‘If Zapir buys only a car, Zainab will not marry him.’ (E)
- c. [Zapir-ri mašin as:-ar] Zajnab xadi r-ax-an-ne
 Zapir-ERG car buy.PFV-COND.3 Zainab married F-go-PTCP-FUT.3
 ‘If Zapir buys a car, Zainab will marry him.’ (E)
- d. * [[Zapir-ri _i as:-ar] Zajnab xadi r-ax-an] mašin_i
 Zapir-ERG ABS buy.PFV-COND.3 Zainab married F-go-PTCP car
 inomarka ca-b
 foreign.car COP-N
 (Intended meaning: ‘The car that if Zapir buys it Zainab will marry him is a
 foreign car.’) (E)

26 Coordination

This chapter describes the coordination of phrases (§26.1) and clauses (§26.2.2), including adversative (§26.2.3) and disjunctive coordination (§26.2.4).

26.1 Coordination of noun phrases and other phrases

For the coordination of noun phrases the additive enclitic *=ra* is used (§9.4.1). It is encliticized to the head of every member of the conjunction, which can consist of more than two noun phrases (1).

- (1) q:ajakent-li-j, hej-ka gu-d-a ag-ur=da ʔaʼbdulχaliqʼ=ra
Kajakent-OBL-DAT this-ABL down-1/2PL-DIR go.PFV-PRET=1 Abdulkhalik=ADD
Isaqʼadi=ra du=ra niš:a-la q:ulluq:-a-j
Isakadi=ADD 1SG=ADD 1PL-GEN matter-OBL-DAT
‘To Kajakent, from here up downwards we traveled, Abdulkhalik, Isakadi and me,
for our matters.’

The enclitic can also coordinate other types of phrases or modifiers within a noun phrase. In (2) two adverbials are conjoined, in (3) two participles and in (4) two extra-posed genitives:

- (2) hel=sat χalqʼ-li-sa-r uruc-le=ra urux-le=ra
that=as.much people-OBL-ANTE-ABL embarrassed-ADVZ=ADD fear-ADVZ=ADD
‘as much as (being) embarrassed and anxious in front of people’
- (3) na b-urs-ib-il=ra b-arqʼ-ib-il=ra qum.urt-u dam
now N-tell-PRET-REF=ADD N-do.PFV-PRET-REF=ADD forget.IPFV-PRS.3 1SG.DAT
‘Now I forget what I say and what I do.’
- (4) hel=χuna tʼamahama ag-ur-te=de Tawlu-la=ra
that=EQ story go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=PST Tawlu-GEN=ADD
heχ-i-la=ra
DEM.DOWN-OBL-GEN=ADD
‘Such a story happened to Tawlu and him.’

The additive enclitic is used in comitative constructions formed with reflexive pronouns (§30.3). Syntactically, they have the structure of coordinated noun phrases (NP=*ra* REFL=*ra*), e.g. (5).

- (5) kulpat=ra ca-w=ra
 family=ADD REFL-M=ADD
 ‘with his family’

Occasionally, noun phrase conjunctions or conjunctions of other phrases occur without overt marking by simple juxtaposition of the phrases (6–7). With respect to nouns there is only a very limited number of kinship terms – such as the ones in the example (6) – that allow for coordination by juxtaposition. Sanzhi also has other coordinators that are loans, namely *wa* ‘and’, and the Russian conjunctions *i* ‘and’, *a* ‘and, but’, but these loan words are only used in clause coordination (§26.2). That the two nouns in (6) are coordinated is not only clear from the meaning of the clause and their juxtaposition, but also from the gender/number agreement on the verb, human plural (HPL), which is used for conjoint noun phrases with human referents.

- (6) aba durhu° b-irχ^w-iri
 mother boy HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST
 ‘There were mother and son.’
- (7) k:uš-le ʁarib-le=de
 hungry-ADVZ poor.fellow-ADVZ=PST
 ‘(They) were hungry and poor.’

It is possible to form disjunctive noun phrases, either by means of the disjunction *ja* (or *ja* bearing the additive enclitic) (8) or by means of the polar question marker =w (9) that is used in disjunctive polar questions (see §28.1 for details on disjunction encoded by the polar interrogative enclitic and more examples).

- (8) q:abuʁ-e ja=ra q:alpuz-e ču-la
 pumpkin-PL or=ADD watermelon-PL REFL.PL-GEN
 ‘their pumpkins or watermelons’
- (9) tralejbus=uw awtobus=uw
 trolleybus=Q bus=Q
 ‘a trolleybus or a bus’

Coordinated noun phrases are semantically and syntactically plural and therefore trigger plural agreement (6). For agreement resolution with coordinated noun phrases, see §20.2.3.

26.2 Coordination of clauses

26.2.1 General remarks on the conjunctive coordination of clauses

Sanzhi Dargwa, like many East Caucasian languages, does not have native words or special syntactic strategies for the coordination of independent main clauses, except for

simple juxtaposition. Instead, the main way of combining clauses such that they are semantically equivalent to coordinated clauses in European languages is the use of simple converbs, predominantly of the preterite converb (10). Those clauses sometimes contain the additive enclitic =*ra*, which is used for the coordination of phrases (§26.1), on a constituent such as the object or in some other position. Nevertheless, with respect to their morphosyntactic properties, these constructions do not represent coordination in the strict sense, since they contain dependent clauses and they show some other properties of subordination.

- (10) [nejg=*ra* dabawit d-arq'-ib-le] [č'irič'an b-arq'-ib-le] č'irič'an,
 milk=ADD add NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB flat.bread N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB flat.bread
 hel-ti d-uk-a-di nuš:a-l
 that-PL NPL-eat.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 1PL-ERG
 'We added milk, prepared flat breads and ate them.'

Juxtaposition of clauses is illustrated in (11–12). Again in the second sentence in (11) we find the additive =*ra* encliticized to the object, which emphasizes the semantic relationship between the two sentences, but does not function as a syntactic means of clause conjunction. The sentence in (12) shows that simple juxtaposition is also possible.

- (11) xanu k:aʔ-ra mas d-alχ:-a-di. k'wɛl buka=*ra*
 twenty eight-NUM animal NPL-feed.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 two bull=ADD
 d-alχ:-a-di, χ:ula-te žins-la.
 NPL-feed.IPFV-HAB.PST-1 big-DD.PL lineage-GEN
 'We fed 28 animals. And we also fed two good (lit. big) breeding bulls (of purebreed ancestry).'
- (12) qili-b as:-ib. b-arq'-ib=da.
 home-N buy.PFV-PRET N-do.PFV-PRET=1
 'They bought (the medicine) at home. I did (the medication).'

Coordinated copula clauses are normally only juxtaposed, and the copula item occurs only once in the first clause. This is possible even in those examples in which the two copula subjects do not share person/number values:

- (13) it tabasaran ca-r, du dark:^wan
 that Tabasaran COP-F 1SG Dargwa
 'She is Tabasaran, I (am) Dargwa.' (E)
- (14) du dark:^wan=da u ža'ndar
 1SG Dargwa=1 2SG Kumyk
 'I am Dargwa, you (are) Kumyk.' (E)

Sanzhi has a set of conjunctions ultimately borrowed from Arabic and Persian of which *wa* 'and', *amma(ki)* 'but', and *ja(ra)* 'or' are used for the coordination of main

clauses (for a full list see §9.2). Moreover, it has borrowed the same conjunctions again from Russian: *i* ‘and’, *a* ‘and, but’, *no* ‘but’, and *ili* ‘or’. The Russian conjunctions are far more frequently used than the older borrowings. In particular *wa* is almost absent from the corpus (see below for the number of occurrences).

26.2.2 Conjunctive coordination of clauses

The Arabic loan *wa*, although commonly used in written Standard Dargwa for clause conjunction (van den Berg 2004), is not widespread in the other varieties such as Icar, Ashti, or Sanzhi. In the Sanzhi corpus it is only attested in one text that is a translation from Russian. It is a monosyndetic medial conjunction normally occurring between two main clauses (15). However, since its use is so rare and it can have been acquired only via formal education in Standard Dargwa, Sanzhi speakers do not fully adapt to the manner in which *wa* is used in the Standard. Thus (16) shows the conjunction used between a preterite converb clause and a main clause.

- (15) [“du čī-b-uq-un-ne hel-i-j, hel-i-la walžak
1SG SPR-N-GO.PFV-PRET-CVB that-OBL-DAT that-OBL-GEN coat
čī-r-sa-js:-an=da,” b-urs-ib č’an-ni] wa [uf
SPR-ABL-HITHER-tear.IPFV-PTCP=1 N-tell-PRET wind-ERG and blow
b-ik’-ul b-a? ax:-ib]
N-say.IPFV-ICVB N-begin put.PFV-PRET
‘‘I will blow at him, I will take his coat off,’’ said the wind and began to blow.’
- (16) [čī-r-ix-ub-le cin-na walžak, quša-l
SPR-ABL-remove.PFV-PRET-CVB REFL.SG-GEN coat beautiful-ADVZ
ka-b-ark:-ur-re] wa [určī-la žilix^wa-la hila hiti
DOWN-N-wrap.PFV-PRET-CVB and horse-GEN saddle-GEN behind behind
b-iχ-un]
N-tie.PFV-PRET
‘He took off his coat, put it together well, and tied it to his horse’s saddle.’

The Russian conjunction *i* is far more frequently used than *wa*, predominantly in translations from Russian (17), but also occasionally in natural discourse (18). In addition, it occurs as clause-initial conjunctive adverb ‘and then’ (26) that connects longer stretches of discourse (see §9.2 for examples). The total number of occurrences of *i* in the Sanzhi corpus is 45, whereas *wa* appears only three times in one and the same text, which had been translated from Russian into Sanzhi and intended to represent a non-colloquial, written text.

- (17) [caj-na durhu[°]-l b-arč:-ib ža[°]t’a] i [sa-q:-ib qili]
one-TIME boy-ERG N-find.PFV-PRET frog and HITHER-carry-PRET home
‘Once a boy found a frog and brought it home.’

- (18) [di-la xazajstweni ʔaʕi d-irq'-ul=da] i [pensija ha-js:-ul=da]
 1SG-GEN household work NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB=1 and pension UP-take-ICVB=1
 'I do my house work and receive retirement pay.'

26.2.3 Adversative coordination of clauses

The Arabic conjunction *amma(ki)* 'but' is very rarely employed as a genuine conjunction for independent clauses (19–20). In the majority of instances, it appears as an adversative adverbial in clause-initial (20) or clause-final position (19) (for both cases see §9.2). Though in this function it also has the adversative semantics, it rather connects larger episodes of texts that are contrasted to each other.

- (19) [il-i-j han b-ič-ib t:ura h-erɁ-an-ne ʒaʕndar]
 that-OBL-DAT seem N-OCCUR.PFV-PRET outside UP-come.M-PTCP-FUT.3 Kumyk
 amma [t:ura ha-b-erɁ-ib k:urt:a]
 but outside UP-N-come.PFV-PRET fox
 'He thought that the Kumyk man would come out (of the pit), but a fox came out.'
- (20) [birik:^wa=ra darman-na d-irχ^w-ar] amma [it:i
 cow-parsnip=ADD medicine-GEN NPL-become.IPFV-PRS.3 but those
 či-d-ig-ar wahi-te ca-d]
 SPR-NPL-be.PFV-COND.3 evil-DD.PL COP-NPL
 'There is this medical cow-parsnip, but if these (plants) get on (the skin), it is bad.'

The same functional range is found with the Russian conjunction *a* 'and, but'. It predominantly occurs as sentence-initial marker of topic switch (§9.2), but there are also examples of adversative coordination of clauses (21). The second adversative coordination from Russian, *no* 'but', differs in its semantics from *a* because its meaning is more specific. In the Sanzhi corpus there is only one instance of *no* occurring between an independent clause and an ellipsis (22).

- (21) [hext:u-b š:at:ir sa-b-ač'-ib-te liil=ra χalq'
 there.UP-HPL visit HITHER-HPL-come.PFV-PRET-DD.PL all<HPL>=ADD people
 b-ik:-ul ca-b gu-r-b-uq'-aʕnaj] a [gu-r-b-uq'-ij
 HPL-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL SUB-ABL-HPL-go-SUBJ.3 but DOWN-ABL-HPL-go-INF
 mašin-te d-ak:u]
 car-PL NPL-COP.NEG
 'There all the people who came want to leave, but there are no cars to leave.'
- (22) [latiši wredni χalq'=de, wahi χalq'=de] no [parjadok, amzu-dex
 Latvian harmful people=PST evil people=PST but order clean-NMLZ
 χ^wal-le heχ-t:a-lla]
 big-ADVZ DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-GEN
 'The Latvian people were harmful, they were bad people, but order, cleanliness (was) great among them.'

26.2.4 Disjunctive coordination of clauses

The particle *ja(ra)* (*jara* is composed of *ja* and the additive *=ra*) is ultimately a loan from Persian. It used as a bisyndetic particle in clause initial position. In affirmative clauses it means ‘either ... or’ and in negative clauses it means ‘neither ... nor’. Although the use in affirmative clauses can be obtained in elicitation, all corpus examples show negative clauses. Sentence (24) illustrates that more than two clauses can be coordinated.

- (23) [ja luχ-unne čī-a-b-až-ib=da] [ja ha[˘]šak
or slaughter.IPFV-ICVB SPR-NEG-N-see.PFV-PRET=1 or pot
čī-ha-b-irx:-ul čī-a-b-až-ib=da]
SPR-UP-N-put.IPFV-ICVB SPR-NEG-N-see.PFV-PRET=1
‘Neither did I see how they slaughtered (the sheep) nor did I see how they put
the pot on the fire (in order to cook it).’
- (24) [ca arrah ja xujal urek:al dus, Ø-ik[˘]-ul ca-w, ca arrah admi ja
one at.least or five six year M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M one at.least person or
qix-le-r čī-r-a-ka-jč-ib] [ja na[˘]q
nut-LOC-ABL SPR-ABL-NEG-DOWN-OCCUR.PFV-PRET or hand
a-b-a[˘]č-un] [ja t[˘]u[˘] a-b-a[˘]č-un]
NEG-N-crush.PFV-PRET or leg NEG-N-crush.PFV-PRET
‘For at least five or six years, he says, no man has fallen down from the nut (tree),
nor broken a hand or broken a leg.’

For the disjunctive coordination of affirmative clauses the Russian disjunction *ili* is used, which occurs between the members of the disjunction or in clause-initial position (27).

- (25) [kax-ub-le=w] ili [b-uč-ib-le=w]?
kill.PFV-PRET-CVB=Q or N-gather.IPFV-PRET-CVB=Q
‘Did they kill them or did they take them?’
- (26) [i heχ-t:-a-l heχ čī-ha-jβ-ul ca-w] ili
and DEM.DOWN-PL-OBL-ERG DEM.DOWN SPR-UP-drive.PFV-ICVB COP-M or
[heχ paɣbat Ø-irq[˘]-ul ca-w]
DEM.DOWN quiet M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
‘And they stir him up or they calm him down.’
- (27) [ili hež b-iχ^w-ij ʔa[˘]βuni-l ca-b] [ili hež w-at t:ura iβ-ul]
or this N-be.PFV-INF needed-ADVZ COP-N or this M-free outside come.IPFV-ICVB
[ili uk-ul]
or gather.M.IPFV-ICVB
‘Or it must probably be this, or when he is set free, or when is taken (into prison).’

27 Constituent order and information structure

This chapter addresses constituent order at the phrase level, in particular within the noun phrase (§27.1); constituent order at the clause level in main clauses and subordinate clauses; as well as the information-structural patterns that are associated with certain orders (§27.2). It also provides a short overview of other ways of manipulating the information structure, most notable term focus constructions and cleft-like constructions and focus-sensitive particles (§27.3–§27.5).

27.1 Constituent order at the phrase level

27.1.1 General remarks on the constituent order at the phrase level

Noun phrases are strictly head-final. A template of the structure of noun phrases and the internal order of modifiers is given in §21.1.3. Noun phrases can be quite complex, but mostly they have between zero and two modifiers. Example (1) illustrates a noun phrase consisting of a demonstrative, a genitive pronoun, a short relative clause, and the head noun. All modifiers occur in the order which is most common in the Sanzhi corpus (i.e. demonstrative before genitive before relative clause).

- (1) het di-la [r-alχ-an] x:unul-li-š:u r-ax-ul=da
that 1SG-GEN F-know.IPFV-PTCP woman-OBL-AD F-go-ICVB=1
'I go to my woman who I know.'

Within postpositional phrases and adjective phrases, the word order is also head-final. Thus, adverbial modifiers always precede and never follow adjectives (2), and postpositions always follow their complements (3). However, since some postpositions also occur as adverbs, one might come across examples that seem to contradict this claim because they contain postpositions used adverbially without a complement, or with what seems to be a postpositional complement, but does not occur in the expected position (see §21.2 for example (54)).

- (2) c'aq'-le ʔa`h darman ca-b hel
very-ADVZ good medicine COP-N that
'That is a very good medicine.'
- (3) ka-jž-ib ca-w qal-la sala
DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M house-GEN front
'He is sitting in front of the house.'

All modifiers except for demonstrative pronouns and numerals occasionally occur in positions detached from the noun phrase and in such cases they syntactically do not belong to the noun phrase anymore, but form a separate constituent (§21.1.3). I will use the term “floating” for these items. In the Sanzhi corpus, floating modifiers sometimes immediately follow the head noun ((7) below), but mostly they occur after the verb (4). There are only few examples of floating modifiers in positions to the left of the noun phrase (see §21.1.4 for one example with a genitive and §27.1.3 below for two examples with adjectives). In general, the position after the verb can have special properties with regard to its contribution to the information structure of the sentence (§27.2), and it seems that when modifiers are extraposed to this position they often receive a contrastive interpretation. This is not unique for floating modifiers, but also regards other constituents that occur after the verb.

Floating modifiers in the East Caucasian languages have been analyzed by a number of researchers. Kazenin (2002) investigates their syntactic structure in Lak and the question of whether they form one constituent with the noun phrase or not (see §21.1.4). Other authors such as Testelets (1998a), Creissels (2013), Komen (2014), and Lander (2014; 2016) treat their impact on the information structure, in particular contrastivity. In the following two sections, I will present the accounts that can be found in the literature and discuss their applicability to Sanzhi.

27.1.2 Floating genitives

The most common modifiers occurring in an extraposed position are genitive modifiers (4–7). In the majority of cases, these postponed genitives are personal pronouns or demonstratives used as personal pronouns. This means that their referents are human and highly topical. As was just mentioned, the floating genitive most frequently follows the verb (4–6). However, genitives occupying the position directly after the noun are also attested. In (7) this can be explained by the fact that the genitive phrase is part of a subordinate clause for which verb-final constituent order is strongly preferred (§25.1).

- (4) wahi-ce x:un b-irχ^w-i niš:a-lla
 bad-DD.SG road N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-GEN
 ‘There was a bad road in our (area).’
- (5) ruc:iq’ar-ra rurs:i ca-r di-la
 first.cousin-GEN girl COP-F 1SG-GEN
 ‘(She) is the daughter of my cousin.’
- (6) ca ʔa^h ixtilat ag-ur niš:a-lla hel zamana
 one good talk go.PFV-PRET 1PL-GEN that time
 ‘We had a good conversation at that time.’
- (7) rurs:i di-la r-irq’-an=q:el ...
 girl 1SG-GEN F-do.IPFV-PTCP=when
 ‘when I gave birth to my daughter ...’

There are various explanations for why genitive modifiers can follow the head noun, but contrastiveness does not seem to be the best one. Creissels (2013) analyzes floating genitives in the East Caucasian language Akhvakh. Like in Sanzhi, the floating genitives predominantly follow the verb, denote human referents, and occur in one of the three functions that are also attested for prenominal genitives:

- person-body parts
- person-relatives (5), (7), (8), or other social relations (9)
- person-objects, including abstract objects (4), (6)

As in Akhvakh, possessive predications in Sanzhi, i.e. copula clauses with nominals in the genitive functioning as predicates, can be treated as a subtype of floating genitives when they have genitive nominals that follow the copula (8).

- (8) *heti weral uc:iq'ar le-b=de di-la aba-la*
 those seven cousin exist-HPL=PST 1SG-GEN mother-GEN
 'My mother had seven cousins.'

In contrast to Akhvakh, however, the floating genitive in Sanzhi can also have a head noun in a case other than the absolutive, though only one such example has been found so far in the Sanzhi corpus. Thus, example (9) contains the postponed genitive *niš:ala* 'our', which functions as possessor of the noun *učitilla* 'teacher.GEN'. Furthermore, the sentence contains a relative clause that follows its head noun *zamana* 'time'.

- (9) *hel zamana [duc' uq-un-il du [heχ-i-la t'u'-me*
 that time run go.M.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG DEM.DOWN-OBL-GEN leg-PL
gu-r-sa-d-ert-:ij]], hek' učitil-la w-arx-le niš:a-la
 SUB-ABL-HITHER-NPL-tear.PFV-INF DEM.UP teacher-GEN M-direct-ADVZ 1PL-GEN
 [...] *dukla w-i-w-a'q-ib=da*
 onto.lap M-IN-M-strike.PFV=PRET=1
 'At the time when I (masc.) ran to pull down his legs, I fell (lit. hit) directly on the lap of our teacher.'

Creissels (2013: 346) describes the semantic properties of floating genitives for Akhvakh by noting that postposed genitives have an "empathy effect" and "consider the situation from the point of view of the possessor." He writes that the floating genitive construction "has a possessive framing function, in the sense that the floating genitive identifies the personal sphere of its referent as the frame within which the predication expressed by the clause holds" (Creissels 2013: 333). He further compares them to other framing adjuncts such as spatial and temporal expressions and external possessors. The account given by Creissels fits the Sanzhi data well. Like the genitives in Akhvakh, floating genitives in Sanzhi denote affected participants similar to beneficiaries or maleficiaries that are not functioning as arguments, but whose referents are either strongly

involved in the situation expressed by the verb and/or are in physical proximity to that situation (see also Shibatani 1994 and Seržant 2016 on external possessor constructions). Thus, the floating genitives can often be interpreted as referring to a location (4), and it is relatively common for adjuncts denoting locations to follow the verb in a locational copula construction (§22.2.2). The following minimal pair illustrates the difference between preposed and postposed genitive modifiers (10).

- (10) a. hešt:i di-la xujal mac:a-l li<d>il mura d-erk:-un
 these 1SG-GEN five sheep-ERG all<NPL> hay NPL-eat.PFV-PRET
 ‘My five sheep ate all the hay.’ (E)
- b. hešt:i xujal mac:a-l di-la li<d>il mura d-erk:-un
 these five sheep-ERG 1SG-GEN all<NPL> hay NPL-eat.PFV-PRET
 ‘The five sheep of mine ate all the hay.’ (E)

In general, preposed genitives are definite (11).

- (11) di-la χat:aj ca-w, ala itwaj χat:aj ca-w
 1SG-GEN grandfather COP-M 2SG.GEN like.that grandfather COP-M
 ‘(He) is my (real) grandfather. For you he is only an old man.’ (lit. He is like a grandfather of yours.)

In the following example (12) with the verb *b-ic’*- (PFV) ‘fill’, the noun denoting with what the house is filled has human reference and bears the genitive case. Although the genitive in (12) cannot be analyzed as a modifier of the preceding noun *qal* ‘house’, the construction expresses the affectedness and the involvement of the referent of the noun *χalq’* ‘people’ similar to the other extraposed genitives discussed so far. By contrast, if the filler is inanimate, the ergative case has to be used instead of the genitive. The ergative also denotes instruments, and instruments are, in general, not affected by an action or a situation (§3.4.1.2).

- (12) ?a^h-le qal b-ic’-ib χalq’-la
 good-ADVZ house N-fill.PFV-PRET people-GEN
 ‘the house filled well with people’

Similarly, sentence (13) shows a personal pronoun in clause-final position following the verb. This pronoun can be considered an floating modifier of the quantified noun phrase *k^wel admi* ‘two persons’ in clause-initial position. Again it has a human referent that is depicted as being affected by the situation.

- (13) k^wel admi itwaj ka-d-at-ur-te ak:^wa-di nuš:a
 two person like.this DOWN-1/2PL-let.PFV-PRET-DD.PL COP.NEG-1 1PL
 ‘(She) did not put the two of us like this (i.e. in vain).’

In a few cases the use of floating genitives may have other pragmatic reasons. One factor is probably to avoid interpretative ambiguities. If the noun phrase contains other nominals as modifiers, then the modifiers of the head noun that precede the genitive could be interpreted as modifiers of the genitive (see §21.1.3 for more examples) instead of belonging to the head noun. In some examples the postponed genitive might be a kind of afterthought, providing more information about the referent. This could be the case in the following example (14).

- (14) hel q:at:i hel-i-la, hel durɦu[˘]-la
 that hat that-OBL-GEN that boy-GEN
 ‘the hat of him, of the boy’

Finally, contrast might occasionally be a reason when the extraposed noun is inanimate and cannot be analyzed as an affected participant of the situation. In the dialogue from which (15) was taken, the speaker is talking about two types of medical treatments that were proposed to her, and she perhaps uses a postponed genitive in order to express contrast.

- (15) “hana awgust-le-r sa-r-eb-e,” r-ik^w-ar, “lečenie
 now August-LOC-F HITHER-F-go.PFV-IMP F-say.IPFV-PRS treatment
 b-elk’-ij ukul-t-a-lla!”
 N-write.PFV-INF injection-PL-OBL-GEN
 ‘She said “Come now in August, to prescribe the treatment with injections!”’

27.1.3 Floating adjectives, postpositional phrases, and relative clauses

Floating adjectives, postpositional phrases, and relative clauses are less frequent than floating genitives, but they are also attested in the corpus. They obligatorily bear the cross-categorical suffix *-ce* (adjectives, postpositional phrases, and occasionally relative clauses, §9.6.1) or the cross-categorical suffix *-il* (relative clauses, §9.6.2), which both are used for nominalizations. As with genitives, the floating modifiers often do not follow the noun immediately, but occur after the verb. In most examples they occur in copula constructions, but other clause types can also be found.

For other East Caucasian languages, particularly Avar-Andic and Tsezic languages, Testelets (1998a) claims that “modifiers [...] may be postponed only under contrast.” This statement and the examples, which follow it, suggest that it is a bi-conditional connection, to the extent that every modifier that is postponed is necessarily contrastive. Similar claims have also been made for Tanti Dargwa (Lander 2014; 2016, Sumbatova & Lander 2014) but with the caveat that in Tanti Dargwa modifiers bearing a cognate of the Sanzhi suffix *-ce* are said to be always restrictive, but not necessarily contrastive, and that contrastive modifiers are less likely to follow the head noun.

The Sanzhi sentences containing floating modifiers seem to support the hypothesis that those modifiers normally receive a restrictive interpretation, which can be contrastive, but does not have to be. Thus, in (16), the speaker adds more information about

the river without contrasting it to other rivers. Similarly, the stories mentioned in (17) are not contrasted to other stories that were not interesting. The man in (18) is also not contrasted to another man that was not on the tree, but the speaker simply mentions a feature of the man that unambiguously identifies him. The fact that the man is standing in the crown of a tree is encoded by means of a postpositional phrase that modifies the noun *admi* ‘man’ and is marked with *-ce*.

- (16) erk^w=ra le-b=de nik’a-ce
 river=ADD exist-N=PST small-DD.SG
 ‘There was also a river there that was small.’
- (17) il-t-a-la d-aqil χabur-te k’e-d=de ca-d,
 that-PL-OBL-GEN NPL-much story-PL exist.UP-NPL=PST COP-NPL
 interesni-te
 interesting-DD.PL
 ‘About them there were, are many stories, interesting.’
- (18) či-w-až-ib-le admi k:alk:i-c:e-w či-w-ce
 SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET-CVB person tree-IN-M on-M-DD.SG
 ‘and then (he) saw the man on the tree’

Sometimes it is unclear if the floating modifier has only a restrictive meaning or if the existence of another, contrasting referent is also implied. For instance, the shampoo in (19) is identified by means of its description as being expensive, but from the context it remains unclear whether it is also contrasted with other shampoos that are not expensive.

- (19) detski šampun le-b durqa-ce
 children’s shampoo exist-N expensive-DD.SG
 ‘There is shampoo for children, expensive.’

Unambiguous examples of contrastive postposed modifiers can be found. In (20) the speaker compares the watermelon that he bought with the other watermelons that were sold but were smaller, and (21) contrasts the thin khinkal to other types of khinkal. In (21) the contrastive interpretation results from the postnominal position, not from the use of the suffix *-ce*.

- (20) ca hel s-as:-ib=da χ:ula-ce
 one that HITHER-buy.PFV-PRET=1 big-DD.SG
 ‘I took one, the big one.’
- (21) c’il χ:ink’-e d-irq’-id d-uk’ul-te
 then khinkal-PL NPL-do.IPFV-1.PRS NPL-thin-DD.PL
 ‘Then we make khinkal, the thin one.’

It can be argued that the examples in (16–18) represent instances of right dislocation in which the dislocated element is a nominalized expression conveying an afterthought that provides more information about the referent of the head noun. A similar case can be made for examples in which the nominalized adjectives precede the nouns to which they refer. In those sentences it is the nominal that is right-dislocated (22–23) (see also (35) in §21.1.4).

- (22) miši-ce b-už-ib ca-b urcul
 similar-DD.SG N-stay-PRET COP-N tree
 ‘There turned out to be a similar tree.’
- (23) c’ut:ar k:urt:i ca-b. hešt:u-b=ra c’ut:ar-ce ca-b kurt:i
 black shirt COP-N here-N=ADD black-DD.SG COP-N shirt
 ‘This is a black shirt. And here this is also a black shirt.’

Clear examples of floating relative clauses are even less frequently found. They mostly have the form of identificational copula clauses and thus resemble cleft constructions. Usually relative clauses contain a gap in the position of the head of the relative clause (Chapter 23), but the floating relative clauses can also be free relative clauses with a pronoun that is co-referential to a nominal outside of the relative clause. The relative clauses are restrictive, although two of them have personal names functioning as heads. In examples (25) and (26) the speaker helps the addressee to identify the referents by giving more information about them. Since Patimat is the most common female name in Dagestan and Rasul is also a common name, the hearer cannot be expected to immediately know about whom the speaker is talking.

- (24) iž=ra het=ra, het ʔa^ʕχ:u^l Ø-iχ^w-ij [x:unul-la qajqaj-li-c:e
 this=ADD that=ADD that guest M-be.PFV-INF woman-GEN jaw-OBL-IN
 b-a^ʕq-ib-il]
 N-hit.PFV-PRET-REF
 ‘This also and this also is probably the man who hit the woman on the jaw.’
- (25) hel Pat’imat ca-r, [hel niš:i-š:u ka-r-ek-ib-il]
 that Patimat COP-F that 1PL-AD DOWN-F-go.PFV-PRET-REF
 ‘That is the Patimat who had come to us. (She is the daughter of her, of Aminat.)’
- (26) ca di-la C’ibac-la durħu^ʕ=de, Rasul b-ik^ʔ-ul, [hek’ S:anži-w
 one 1SG-GEN Cibac-GEN boy=PST Rasul HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB DEM.UP Sanzhi-M
 er Ø-iχ-ub-il], w-alχ-at:e=w
 life M-be.PFV-PRET-REF M-know.IPFV-PRS.2SG=Q
 ‘One was the son of my Cibac, his name is Rasul, the one that lived in Sanzhi, do you know him?’

In (27) the head is an indefinite pronoun from Russian that is followed by two relative clauses, restricting the reference of the pronoun. Note that the indefinite pronoun functions as recipient in the clause. It is a borrowing from Russian and unmarked for case

(both in Sanzhi and in Russian), although a Sanzhi nominal in this position would have required dative case. This is remarkable because it is one of the few corpus examples of floating modifiers with a head noun in a position, which normally requires case marking (see also (9) for another examples with a floating genitive). Almost all examples of floating modifiers discussed in this and other sections belong to nouns that are in the absolutive case (e.g. S and P arguments).

- (27) ʔa^h-le χ:ula hu^rrmat b-irq[’]-u lubuj [hej-ka
 good-ADVZ big respect N-do.IPFV-PRS any this-DOWN
 sa-jβ-ib-il] [cin-na w-alχ-an]
 HITHER-COME.PFV-PRET-REF REFL.SG-GEN M-know.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘He gives respect to anybody who comes here, whom he knows.’

Komen (2014) analyzes floating relative clauses in the East Caucasian language Chechen. Like in Sanzhi, floating (also called “extraposed” by him) relative clauses are rare. Furthermore, if they are restrictive then their head always occurs in the preverbal position, which is the focus position in Chechen. In Sanzhi, almost all examples are copula clauses with the head of the relative clause immediately preceding the copula, a position which is normally used for focal items (25). However, in (27) the head follows the verb. Due to the lack of more examples it is impossible to clarify at the moment whether the condition that Komen (2014) established for Chechen also holds for Sanzhi.

27.2 Constituent order at the clause level and information structure

In this section, the constituent order of clauses, including that of interrogative clauses, will be analyzed. I will also discuss how this order reflects the information structure status of the constituents.

I adopt the definition of focus given by Dik et al. (1981) as “what is relatively the most important or salient information in the given setting.” Focus is opposed to topic, which is defined as “the entity ‘about’ which the predication predicates something in the given setting.” Sentences can be fully-focused when the entire sentence conveys the most important information. However, normally only a sub-part of the utterance carries focus, which means that we have constituent focus (or “term focus” in the terminology of Dik et al. 1981). Constituent focus can be divided into (i) completive focus and (ii) contrastive focus. Completive focus fills a gap in the pragmatic information of the addressee, as is the case with answers to content questions (§28.2). Contrastive focus constitutes a reply to the addressee’s contrary belief, for instance by correcting and replacing it. Dik et al. distinguish three subtypes of contrastive focus:

- selective
- corrective (expanding, restricting, or replacing; §27.3.3)
- parallel (in parallel structures)

Predicate-centered focus, in which the verb is in focus, represents a type of constituent focus that can also be either completive (in answers to questions about the kind of action that was carried out) or contrastive (e.g. when the truth value is at issue).

Topical information and topical referents are usually familiar in the given context, and as such they can be used as anchors for providing new information. Therefore, they are usually unmarked and often omitted from the utterance in Sanzhi Dargwa. However, topics can also be new or contrastive when they differ from the topic(s) in the previous utterances.

The third notion relevant for information structure is contrast. It is independent of the notions “topic” and “focus” (e.g. Vallduví & Vilkuña 1998; Neeleman et al. 2009). Contrast is relational because there must be a relation between the contrasted item and at least one other identifiable alternative in the context, and both the contrasted item and the alternative must be explicitly verbally mentioned (Malchukov 2004; Izutsu 2008; Repp 2010). The two items must be comparable to each other with respect to a shared domain. At the same time they are different and can therefore be contrasted with each other.

27.2.1 Declarative clauses

The constituent order in main clauses is basically free, at least in the sense that every logically possible order can be found in texts and it can easily be elicited. The most frequent order is SOV, but SVO is also very common. Verb-initial orders (VSO and VOS) are rare, but not ungrammatical. For intransitive clauses we find SV and occasionally VS. In general, the constituent order is heavily influenced by pragmatics and the information structure of the utterance. Contextually retrievable arguments are frequently omitted. This includes subject-like arguments as well as object-like arguments. Therefore, many monovalent predicates in the corpus occur without a subject and most bivalent predicates have only one overt argument. For clauses with one (monovalent verbs) and two (bivalent verbs) overt arguments, the tendencies for linking certain constituent orders with specific pragmatic values of the constituents listed in Table 27.1 can be observed. With the label “neutral”, I refer to predicate focus, which is commonly assumed to represent a universally unmarked type of focus in which the subject is the topic and the predicate is focused.

The pragmatically neutral order, in which none of the constituents is particularly emphasized, is SV in intransitive clauses and SOV/SVO in transitive clauses, including in elicited sentences without any context. In such clauses, the subject usually represents given information, while the predicate alone or the predicate together with the object carries the new information.

- (28) SV: neutral information structure
 [talking about a woman whose husband is taken away by the police]
 hel r-is:-ul ca-r
 that F-cry-ICVB COP-F
 ‘She is crying.’

27 *Constituent order and information structure*

Table 27.1: The relationship between constituent order and information structure in main clauses

constituent order	common distribution of topic and focus
monovalent predicates	
SV	neutral or subject focus or presentational focus
VS	fully-focused (presentational) or topicalizing of subject
bivalent predicates	
SOV	neutral or object focus
SVO	neutral or subject focus or occasionally presentational structure with object focus
OVS	object focus (+ predicate focus) and/or subject topicalization (= S is a contrastive topic)
OSV	subject focus + predicate focus and/or object topicalization (contrastive topic)
VSO	verb focus and topical subject and topical object
VOS	[too rare in texts]

- (29) SOV: neutral information structure
 [autobiographical narration about personal experiences]
 di-la aba-l du jaħa^ˈra-l ha-r-iq^ˈ-un=da
 1SG-GEN mother-ERG 1SG dear-ADVZ UP-F-bring.up-PRET=1
 ‘My mother protected me (kept me dear).’
- (30) SOV: neutral information structure
 [talking about a doctor in a neighbouring village]
 ik^ˈ-i-l=ra irig ak:u=n sala-b dus ʔa^ˈšibk:a
 DEM.UP-OBL-ERG=ADD last.year COP.NEG=PRT front-HPL year mistake
 b-arq^ˈ-ib
 N-do.PFV-PRET
 ‘But he also, not in the last year but two years ago, made a mistake.’
- (31) SOV: object focus
 [narration about how Sanzhi people built a water mill on a mountain that turned out not to work there]
 q:at:a-b b-arq^ˈ-ib-le, hin-na urχ:ab b-arq^ˈ-ib b-už-ib
 canyon-N N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB water-GEN mill N-do.PFV-PRET N-stay-PRET
 ca-b
 COP-N
 ‘(They) built it in the canyon, (they) apparently built a water mill.’

- (32) SVO: neutral information structure
 [finishing the description of how to prepare *khinkal*]
 dam b-ič:-aq-id burt s:erži ʔa^h-le b-erɤ-ub
 1SG.DAT N-want.IPFV-CAUS-1.PRS sour.cream garlic good-ADVZ N-dry.PFV-PRET
 dig=ra
 meat=ADD
 ‘I like garlic, sour cream, and also well dried-meat.’

For a number of SOV languages such as Urdu, Turkish, Armenian, Georgian (e.g. Butt & King 1996, Comrie 1984, Testeleets 1998b) and also Chechen (Komen 2007), a very strong association between focus and the preverbal position has been observed. In many if not all East Caucasian languages, there is also a clear tendency for putting focused items immediately before the verb (Testeleets 1998a,c; Forker & Belyaev 2016). In general, Sanzhi behaves alike, but focused constituents are not always and exclusively placed directly in front of the verb. The two neutral orders SOV and SVO can be used to focus the subject (33) or the object (31).

- (33) SVO: subject focus
 [(talking about doctors and treatments) I go to the woman who I know.]
 Ešt:a Rasul-li b-irq'-u lečenie ca ca=q:el
 Ashti.LOC Rasul-ERG N-do.IPFV-PRS cure one one=when
 ‘In Ashti, Rasul makes treatments from time to time.’

However, subject or object focus is mostly expressed by other constituent orders that cannot be considered pragmatically neutral. The order OVS has been noticed to be used when the object or the object together with the predicate is in focus (Testeleets 1998a,c; Forker & Belyaev 2016), and this is confirmed by the following Sanzhi examples (34–36). In (35) the speaker uses two clauses to describe basically the same event, the arrest of her husband by the police. The first clause has the constituent order OV and no overt subject, and the second clause has VS without an overt object.

- (34) OVS: object focus
 ce Ø-ik'-ul=de u?
 what M-say.IPFV-ICVB=2SG 2SG
 ‘What do you (masc.) say?’
- (35) OVS: object + predicate focus
 [talking about a woman holding her little son in her hands while her husband is arrested by the police]
 sub uk-ul ca-w, k^wi-r-s-as:-ib-le
 husband gather.M.IPFV-ICVB COP-M IN.HANDS-ABL-HITHER-take.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ix-t:-a-l ...
 DEM.UP-PL-OBL-ERG
 ‘(They) are taking her husband, they took him away from her hands, ...’

- (36) OVS: object + predicate focus
 [Then at this time in order to show his masculinity, while she had the child in her arms, ...]
 x:unul-li-j b-a[˘]q-ib ca-b hel-i-l
 woman-OBL-DAT N-hit.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-ERG
 ‘He hit his wife.’

OVS order can also be used when the subject is a contrastive topic, which, in principle, does not need to exclude the possibility of focusing the object. In (37) the object is an aboutness topic, in addition to the subject being a contrastive topic.

- (37) OVS: contrastive topic (I vs. they)
 [A: They had a five-liter canister of wine.
 B: Are you saying that you had the canister?]
 xujal litru-la kanister ča[˘]vir-la b-alli b-erq:-ib=da du-l
 five liter-GEN canister wine-GEN N-together N-carry.PFV-PRET=1 1SG-ERG
 č:a[˘]ʔa[˘]l-la
 morning-GEN
 ‘C: I had taken the five-liter canister of wine in the morning.’

OSV constituent order is not particularly common in texts, but its pragmatic value seems to be relatively clear. It is mainly used for topicalizing objects, in particular for contrastive topics (38), (39). It is also used to focus the subject together with the predicate (40), (41).

- (38) OSV: topical object + predicate focus
 [One student whom I took with me in the car said at the end of the journey]
 u du-l nikagda qum.a.art-an=de
 2SG 1SG-ERG never forget.IPFV.NEG-PTCP=2SG
 ‘You, I will never forget!’
- (39) OSV: object topicalization (contrastive topic)
 [The boy had a dog and a frog.]
 ʔa[˘]t[˘]a il-i-l b-i-ka-b-at-ur ca-b
 frog that-OBL-ERG N-IN-DOWN-N-leave.PFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘The frog he put (into a can).’
- (40) OSV: subject + predicate focus
 [The water drops in that thing.]
 heχ hin-ni lus b-irq[˘]-u
 DEM.DOWN water-ERG around N-do.IPFV-PRS
 ‘The water spins it around.’

- (41) OSV: object topicalization, subject + predicate focus

na it du-l r-alχ-an=q'al
 now that 1SG-ERG F-know.IPFV-PTCP=MOD

‘Well, I know her [that Salikhat who married into my family.]’

Although in principle two different verb-initial orders can be elicited, in texts only VSO is attested. As stated in Forker & Belyaev (2016), VSO consistently expresses verb focus in combination with topical subjects and topical objects (42–45). The first item in (44), *t'am*, forms a compound verb together with the following verbal lexeme and thus does not function as argument. Example (45) shows an antipassive construction in which the subject appears as pronoun in the absolutive and the object as ergative-marked noun

- (42) VSO: verb focus, topical subject and object

b-urs-ib=da du-l ilt:i χabur-te
 N-tell.PFV-PRET=1 1SG-ERG those story-PL

‘I already TOLD these stories.’

- (43) VSO: verb focus, topical subject and object

[Husband and wife fought and a scandal happened and]

b-a^oq-ib ca-b sub-li x:unul-li-j
 N-hit.PFV-PRET COP-N husband-ERG woman-OBL-DAT

‘The husband HIT the wife.’

- (44) VSO: verb focus, topical subject and object

[The boy began to whistle and to yell at the dogs in the village. The tree fell down,]

t'am d-aq'-ib-le=k:u χu-d-a-j il-i-la
 sound NPL-hear.PFV-PRET-CVB=COP.NEG dog-PL-OBL-DAT that-OBL-GEN
 x^wit'=ra

whistle=ADD

‘and the dogs didn’t hear his sound or whistling.’

- (45) VSO: verb focus, topical subject

[Then they went to drink with the money they made from the theft.]

b-uč:-ul ka-b-iž-ib ca-b het:i ča^ovir-li
 HPL-drink.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET COP-HPL those wine-ERG

‘They sit and drink wine.’ (lit. ‘Drinking they sit down with wine.’)

The answer to the following question illustrates verb focus with an intransitive predicate and a topical subject (46):

- (46) VS: verb focus, topical subject

a. ce b-irq'-ul=e?
 what N-do.IPFV-ICVB=Q

‘Q: What are (they) doing?’

- b. š:at:ir t:ura b-uq-un ca-b hex-ti,
 walk outside HPL-go.PFV-PRET COP-HPL DEM.UP-PL
 či-b-b-ax^w-araj
 SPR-HPL-HPL-relax.PFV-SUBJ.3
 ‘A: They went for a walk, to relax.’

To sum up what has been observed so far, we can state that focal arguments and adjuncts with various semantic functions and grammatical roles most commonly precede the verb, occurring immediately before it. The only regular exceptions are presentational sentences with newly introduced arguments, which follow the verb (§27.3.1). Topical constituents appear to the left of focal constituents, but contrastive topics also normally occur at the right edge of the clause. This is in line with the studies by Testelet (1998a,b) and Forker & Belyaev (2016).

In Sanzhi, there is no clear tendency for the relative placement of direct object (theme = T) vs. indirect object (recipient/goal = G). Both G-T-V and T-G-V are found. Which order is chosen depends on the pragmatic value of the arguments within the information structure of the utterance, and there does not seem to be a pragmatically neutral order. Thus, the G arguments in (48), (49) seem to be contrastive, and together with the verb form part of the new information. Moreover, like other arguments, T and G arguments can also occur after the verb.

- (47) G-T-V
 hi-c:e-k'al cik'al luk:-an-te=de=w, aχ:u,
 who.OBL-IN-INDEF something give.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=PST=Q not.know
 hel-i-l=ra
 that-OBL-ERG=ADD
 ‘(He) also had to give something to somebody, I don’t know.’
- (48) T-G-V
 [Did it die, he asked. No, I said. From there he ran away.]
 sumk'a di-c:e b-ič:ib
 bag 1SG-IN N-give.PFV-PRET
 ‘(He) gave me his bag.’
- (49) T-G-V
 [May your beloved stay alive, dear brother!]
 hana hel cik'al dam či-ma-sa-b-irš:-it:a!
 now that something 1SG.DAT SPR-PROH-HITHER-N-put.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Do not put that thing on me!’ (i.e. that piece of work)

Goal-like arguments (recipients, addressees), just like subjects and objects, most commonly occur before the verb (G-T-V, T-G-V) (47–49). However, they also seem to have a relatively high probability to follow the verb, which does not depend on their status within the information structure of the utterance (50), (51). The tendency includes goal-like adjuncts (directional adverbials, and possibly also beneficiaries, see below). It has

been observed for verb-final languages of other language families, most notably Western Iranian languages, but also Iraqi Turkmen and Azerbaijani spoken in the wider area (Anatolia, south Caucasus; see Haig 2015). Since the postverbal placement does not extend to objects, it cannot be explained by Russian influence, but might be due to contact with Kumyk (Turkic) speakers. However, before we can attribute the use of postverbal goals in Sanzhi to the impact of Kumyk it needs to be clarified if Kumyk belongs to the Turkic languages with postverbal goals and if other East Caucasian languages that are not in contact with Kumyk do not have postverbal goals to the same extent as Sanzhi. An alternative explanation might resort to iconicity. The goal is the spatial endpoint of the situation. Thus, a postverbal goal is iconic in that the destination of the transfer follows the entity to be transferred (the T argument) and it also follows the action expressed by the predicate.

- (50) x:unul-li tiladi b-arq'-ib ca-b hel-i-c:e "ma-ax-ut:a!"
 woman-ERG request N-do.PFV-PRET COP-N that-OBL-IN PROH-go-PROH.SG
 r-ik'-ul
 F-say.IPFV-ICVB
 'His wife begged him "Do not go!"'
- (51) "xalastuj pat'run b-ik:-a," Ø-ik'^w-ar, "hel-i-j!"
 empty cartridge N-give.PFV-IMP M-say.IPFV-PRS that-OBL-DAT
 "Give him an empty cartridge!", he said.'

Adjuncts like comitative noun phrases, instruments, and manner adverbials are most frequently positioned after the subject, if there is one, and before the verb, but sometimes they can be found after the verb (37), (52), (54).

Temporal and locational adjuncts normally occur at the beginning of clauses and precede any arguments and other adjuncts; especially the short temporal adverbs *ha* and *hana* 'now' (15), (49), (52), and locational adverbs such as *hešt:u* 'here' and *het:u* 'there' have a strong tendency to occur clause-initially. However, they can be placed postverbally when representing new information or when they are contrastive. By contrast, directional adjuncts are goal-like and behave similarly to goal-like arguments (54). Though a position left of the verb at the beginning of the clause is common for directional adjuncts, postverbal placement is roughly equally common, not only when they encode new information. This behavior is part of a general tendency for all goal-like arguments and adjuncts, and can be explained by means of iconicity.

Examples of temporal, locational, and directional adverbs are (33), (52), and (53). If adjuncts are focused, they immediately precede the verb (54), (55).

- (52) hel zamana il-i-l hati=ra q:uʒa-l d-al
 that time that-OBL-ERG more=ADD beautiful-ADVZ NPL-together
 d-ič-aq-ib-le, ...
 NPL-occur.PFV-CAUS-PRET-CVB
 'At that time he embellished (his story) even more, ...'

- (53) [A. She came to learn about the Sanzhi customs. B answers:]
 hana hešt:u-d ɣuna ʔaˀdat-urme ak:w-i het:u-d, wa Rasul
 now here-NPL EQ custom-PL COP.NEG-HAB.PST there-NPL hey Rasul
 ‘Now such customs as here were not there, Rasul.’ (i.e. the customs that exist now in Druzhba did not exist in earlier times in Sanzhi, so how can she learn about the Sanzhi customs here?)
- (54) [They did the treatment; they prescribed injections for one month.]
 ukul-te=qˀal wecˀal bari d-arqˀ-ib naˀq-li-c:e
 injection-PL=MOD ten day NPL-do.PFV-PRET hand-OBL-IN
 ‘They made injections into the hand for ten days.’
- (55) heχ Tawlu-la har zamana d-irχ^w-ar tˀamahama
 DEM.DOWN Tawlu-GEN every time NPL-become.IPFV-PRS story
 ‘With Tawlu always such stories happen.’

As discussed in §27.1.2, Sanzhi has floating genitives for which the referents of the genitives are highly topical and affected. In the great majority of cases, those genitives take over the clause-final position and can possibly be regarded as framing adjuncts.

Interjections and addressee particles occur at the edge of clauses (53), either preceding all other items in the clause or following them (see §9.5 for examples).

Clauses fulfilling argument positions in complement constructions can precede or follow the verb. For more information see §24.4. In a complex sentence consisting of a main clause and at least one subordinate adverbial clause, the neutral order is for the adverbial clause to precede the main clause or to be center-embedded within the main clause, though the order in which the main clause precedes the adverbial clause is also attested (§25.1).

Subordinate clauses have a strong tendency to be verb-final (52). This is true especially for complement clauses (§24.4) and relative clauses (§23.3). It is easier to find adverbial clauses, in particular those headed by the general converbs, which show other than verb-final orders. Due to the rather fixed word order and the readiness with which arguments are dropped, which for subordinate clauses is higher than for main clauses, the manipulation of the information structure in subordinate clauses by means of the constituent order is not readily available. However, it is possible to switch the order of subject and object, and occasionally postverbal arguments can be found. In such cases, the same connections between focal or topical elements and certain positions in the clause can be observed that were summarized for main clauses in Table 27.1. For instance, (56) shows an adverbial clause with the copula complement preceding the verb because it represents the focus and the topical subject following the verb. Example (57) illustrates VSO order in an adverbial clause and resembles the finite VSO clauses in (43) because the verb carries the new information and the subject is topical.

- (56) nacijonalist gu-r-sa-jč-ib-le hel, ...
 patriot SUB-ABL-HITHER-OCCUR.M.PFV-PRET-CVB that
 ‘That (journalist) was a patriot, ...’

- (57) [the protagonists ran out of alcohol and sent a boy to the car that was filled with bottles]
 mašina-l-c:e-r k-aq:-ib-le durĥu[˘]-l cara=ra ča[˘]vir, ...
 car-OBL-IN-ABL DOWN-carry-PRET-CVB boy-ERG other=ADD wine
 ‘The boy brought another (bottle of) wine from the car, ...’

27.2.2 Information structure in interrogative clauses and question-answer pairs

Polar questions are obligatorily marked by the enclitic =w. The enclitic is added to the verb or another constituent, e.g. noun, pronoun, adjective. Polar questions seem to have a greater tendency for verb-final constituent order than declarative utterances have (58), (61), but nevertheless postverbal topical constituents can be found (59a). Answers to polar questions consist mostly only of the verb, which can be the affirmative copula *ca-b*, the negative copula *ak:u*, or a full verb form (58–60). Polar questions are analyzed in detail in §28.1.

- (58) čina-k'al ʔa[˘]či-le r-uc-ib-il=de=w
 where-INDEF work-LOC F-keep.PFV-PRET-REF=PST=Q
 ‘Did they take you (fem.) somewhere to work?’
- (59) a. c'il cara mus:a-b b-arq'ib-le=de=w il?
 then other place-N N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB=PST=Q that
 ‘Q: Then did they build it in another place?’
 b. cara mus:a-b, absalut'na cara mus:a-b b-arq'ib-il=de
 other place-N completely other place-N N-do.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
 ‘A: In another place, they built it in a completely other place.’
- (60) a. q'aca-la neq:e ixt:u ag-ur-il=de=w u?
 he.goat-GEN canyon.LOC there.UP go.PFV-PRET-REF=PST=Q 2SG
 ‘Q: Did you go to the goat canyon?’
 b. e, ag-ur=da
 yes go.PFV=PRET=1
 ‘A: Yes, we went.’

Content questions contain interrogative words and are also marked by a special enclitic =e/=ja that is normally attached to the predicate (§28.2). If there is no predicate, then the interrogative pronoun functions as head. The interrogative pronoun mostly appears immediately before the verb, that is, in the same position in which most focus items occur in declarative utterances. Sentence topics regularly precede the interrogative pronoun (61), (62a) or, more rarely follow it (63a). It is also possible to have one clause-initial topic and another clause-final topic.

- (61) c'elt-m-a-c:e-w, q'ar-ri-c:e-w, hi-l urk:-ul=e?
 gravestone-PL-OBL-IN-M herbs-OBL-IN-M who.OBL-ERG find.M.IPFV-ICVB=Q
 'Among the graves, in the grass, who finds (him)?'
- (62) a. Maħa^ˈmmadħa^ˈži ac:i-l ce ʔa^ˈçi b-irq^ˈ-ul
 Mahammadhazhi uncle-ERG what work N-do.IPFV-ICVB
 kelg-un-il=de?
 remain.PFV-PRET-REF=PST
 'Q: Which work was Uncle Mahammadhazhi doing?'
- b. iχ selsawet-le kelg-un birgadir-le
 DEM.DOWN village.head-LOC remain.PFV-PRET brigadier-LOC
 kelg-un c'ili selsawet-le-r ag-ur
 remain.PFV-PRET then village.head-LOC-ABL go.PFV-PRET
 'A: He was the village head, brigadier, then he stopped being village head (lit. left).'
- (63) a. c'il čina-r d-ax-ut:a=ja uš:a?
 then where-ABL 1/2PL-go-PRS.2PL=Q 2PL
 'Q: Then from where did you go?'
- b. aq d-arq^ˈ-ib-le hešti, či-r-d-ax-ud erk^w-le-r
 high NPL-do.PFV-PRET-CVB these SPR-ABL-1/2PL-go-1.PRS river-LOC-ABL
 'A: We put up these (trousers) and go through the river.'

Fronting of interrogative words is also possible, but very rare in natural texts. The only pronoun that is repeatedly fronted is *cellij/cel* 'why' (64) (see §4.5.2.4 for more examples).¹ The pronoun *ceq:el* 'when' also occasionally occurs in clause-initial position (65), but usually it is preceded by spatial adverbs. Thus, sentence (65) was repeated by the speaker and in the second occurrence the order of the interrogative pronoun and the directional adverbial were swapped.

- (64) cellij het qili-w w-at-ur-re, la^ˈk' a-arq^ˈ-ib=da=jal?
 why that home-M M-let.PFV-PRET-CVB away NEG-do.PFV-PRET=1=INDQ
 'Why did I leave it (the photo) in the room and did not take it away (into the other room)?'
- (65) ceq:el Sanži-le ag-ur-il=de χat:aj?
 when Sanzhi-LOC go.PFV-PRET-REF=PST grandfather
 'When did grandfather go to Sanzhi'

¹As one reviewer pointed out, the fronting of a pronoun with the meaning 'why' is common. For instance, in Hungarian it is the only interrogative word that can be found in a position other than the focus position immediately to the left of the verb. In the Austronesian language Pohnpeian 'why' must be initial; other interrogative phrases do not have to be, see Dryer (2005) for examples and references.

For other pronouns corpus examples are non-existent, but available in elicitation. Sentence (66) can be uttered in a situation in which we know that the shop is empty and we wonder what Batichaj can bring if there is nothing to buy. The utterance in (67) represents the pragmatically neutral constituent order for this type of question with a postverbal topical subject, see also (34).

- (66) ce Bat'ičaj-li ha-b-iq:-an-ne hana?
 what Batichaj-ERG UP-N-carry.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 now
 'What will Batichaj bring now?' (E)
- (67) hij xadi r-ax-an=e Ruq'ijat?
 who.DAT married F-go-PTCP=Q Rukijat
 'Whom should Rukijat marry?' (E)

Topic-comment sentences are answers to questions such as *What is X doing?* Example (68) shows this type of question and the respective answer that has a neutral pragmatic structure, that is, the subject is topical and has been omitted in the answer. The predicate together with the object and the goal represents the focal information and occurs in front of the verb (object) and directly after the verb (goal), the typical positions for focal objects and goals. The constituent order in the question is SOV, with the interrogative pronoun occurring *insitu*.

- (68) Isaq'adi-l ce b-irq'-ul=e? qus ha-b-a'q-ib-le, hel
 Isakadi-ERG what N-do.IPFV-ICVB=Q slip UP-N-drag.PFV-PRET-CVB that
 q:alpuz ka-b-iš:-ib het x:un-r-a-j naprotiw
 watermelon DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET that woman-PL-OBL-DAT in.front
 'What is Isakadi doing? He dragged the watermelon and put it in front of the women.'

In sum, the information structure of the vast majority of content questions is (*topic*)-*question word-verb-(topic)* with the interrogative enclitic attached to the verb. Answers to content questions can mirror this structure by placing the item that answers the question in the preverbal position as well, with optional topical elements placed at the edges of the clause (62b). Alternatively, they can also contain the item in focus in another position, as (63b) shows, in which the relevant noun follows the verb. Short answers consisting only of the focus are also common.

It is possible to use the constituent focus construction in interrogative clauses. In this construction the interrogative enclitic is attached to the item in focus and the verb must take the form of a participle. See §27.3.2 below for more details and examples.

27.2.3 Right and left dislocation

Because of its free constituent order, it is not always easy to identify dislocation in Sanzhi. Topicalization by means of placing arguments or adjuncts at the edges of clauses cannot be equated with dislocation. We can be sure we are dealing with dislocation when we find a pronoun in the clause that is co-referential with the dislocated noun phrase and

when the dislocated noun phrase does not correspond to any arguments or adjunct of the clause and is therefore unlinked.

Dislocation is not particularly frequent, but when it occurs it has the same structure and the same functions that have been attested for dislocation in other East Caucasian languages (Forker & Belyaev 2016). Thus, left dislocation is a topicalization strategy. The dislocated noun phrase occurs in the absolutive case. It can be linked or unlinked (69), (70). In the following two examples, the dislocated items are given in square brackets and they are unlinked to the following clauses.

- (69) [nu ix-ti w-ah-la tuχum-te=ra il-ti ak:^w-ar-te=ra]
 well DEM.UP-PL M-owner-GEN relative-PL=ADD that-PL COP.NEG-PTCP-DD.PL=ADD
 q^wila bek^lal er ∅-ik^w-an ca-w, pikri b-ik^w-an ca-b
 a.little at.all look ∅-look.at.IPFV-PTCP COP-M thought N-say.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘Well, also those own relatives, and those who do not have (relatives), one has to
 look after them a bit, think of them.’
- (70) [t^up:-e=ra nu^q-be=ra=q^{al}] het-it:e haraq-le či-b-ig-ul
 finger-PL=ADD arm-PL=ADD=MOD that-ADVZ far-ADVZ SPR-N-see.IPFV-ICVB
 ak:^wa-di
 COP.NEG-1
 ‘The fingers, the hands, I do not see that far.’

Right dislocation expresses afterthoughts that either extend the reference of the doubled item, make it more explicit, or re-phrase it in order to help the addressee to arrive at a correct understanding. The dislocated item bears the same case marking as its doubled counterpart in the clause. In (71) the recipient, which is encoded as reflexive pronoun in the clause, is also expressed as a full noun phrase after the clause. In (72) the temporal adjunct has been repeated (though it is not an exact repetition).

- (71) it-i-l ču-j qu^r-be=ra d-ič:-ib, hel-ti
 that-OBL-ERG REFL.PL-DAT pear-PL=ADD NPL-give.PFV-PRET that-PL
 du^rh-n-a^j
 boy-PL-OBL-DAT
 ‘He gave them pears, to the boys.’
- (72) ca bac darman-t-a-lla=cun lečenie b-arq^l-ib=da, ʔa^b-c^{al} bari
 one month medicine-PL-OBL-GEN=only cure N-do.PFV-PRET=1 three-TEN day
 ‘For one month I was treated only with pills, for 30 days.’

27.3 Other types of focus constructions

27.3.1 Thetic sentences and presentational constructions

Thetic sentences are fully-focused sentences that can be uttered out of the blue or as answers to the question *What happened?* In Sanzhi, they have the same structure with

respect to the division of the utterance into topic and focus as utterances with the default information structure (73) (§27.2).

- (73) [the beginning of a story]
 ca š:i-l-c:e-b ca kulpat, χ:ula kulpat b-už-ib ca-b
 one village-OBL-IN-HPL one family big family HPL-stay-RET COP-HPL
 ‘In one village there lived a family, a big family.’

Moreover, there is a specialized construction for presentational and existential sentences that introduce new and mostly animate referents into discourse. This construction can be either athetic sentence if it occurs, e.g., at the very beginning of a story (74), but it can also contain some topical material. In all cases the newly introduced referent is an argument that follows the verb and occurs as the subject if the verb is intransitive and as the object if the verb is transitive. Thus, the constituent order is VS (74), (75) or VO (76).² The optional topical items precede or follow the verb with its argument.

- (74) darš:i ka-b-iž-ib ca-b s:ika=ra bec'=ra k:urt:a=ra
 friendship DOWN-N-be.PFV-RET COP-N bear=ADD wolf=ADD fox=ADD
 wa^lur=ra
 camel=ADD
 ‘The bear, the wolf, the fox, and the camel were friends.’
- (75) niš:a-la b-irχ^w-i ħa^z
 1PL-GEN N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST game
 ‘(When we were little) we had a game.’
- (76) Allah-li ma hana duč:i-la pa^q č-i-ka-b-arq'-ib du^hi
 Allah-ERG take now night-GEN strike SPR-DOWN-N-do.PFV-RET snow
 ‘Allah sent snow during the night.’

27.3.2 Contrastive focus and floating predicative particles

Selective and corrective focus, which belongs to the category of contrastive focus, is expressed by placing the predicative particles (§9.1) or the copula (§16.1) immediately after the focused constituent. This construction exists in many East Caucasian languages, but its frequency in texts seems to greatly differ from language to language. In this section, I will analyze the Sanzhi construction by first presenting data about the floating predicative particles and then about the floating copula. All predicative particles have the (verbal) predicate as their default host. In contrastive focus constructions, the particles float off from their normal host and appear on arguments and adjuncts, on phrasal heads and on modifiers of heads. The lexical verb must take the form of a participle (77–80). It can be either a complex participle with the suffixes *-il* or *-ce*, or it can simply be the modal

²This sentence contains the particle *ma*, which is used when giving things to other people and inviting them to take the things (§9.5). In this example, it is Allah who gave snow to the people who had to ‘take’ it, i.e., live with it.

participle. In contrast to sentences without contrastive focus, it cannot be a converb or the simple preterite participle.

- (77) du-l hana t'ala^h-ne ic-ul=da
 1SG-ERG now dishes-PL wash.IPFV-ICVB=1
 'Now I am cleaning the dishes.' (E)
- (78) du-l hana t'ala^h-ne=da ic-an, c'il ...
 1SG-ERG now dishes-PL=1 wash.IPFV-PTCP then
 'Now I am cleaning THE DISHES, ... (e.g. I will clean the windows later)' (E)
- (79) du-l hana=da t'ala^h-ne ic-an
 1SG-ERG now=1 dishes-PL wash.IPFV-PTCP
 'NOW I am washing the dishes.' (E)
- (80) du-l=da hana t'ala^h-ne ic-an
 1SG-ERG=1 now dishes-PL wash.IPFV-PTCP
 'It is ME who is washing the dishes now.' (E)

As examples (81) and (82) show, floating predicative particles can even occur in certain types of subordinate clauses such as infinitival complements.

- (81) du-l b-uč'-an [Zamir-ri=de s:a as:-ib-il]
 1SG-ERG N-read.IPFV-PTCP Zamir-ERG=PST yesterday buy.PFV-PRET-REF
 k:azat
 newspaper
 'I had to read the newspaper that ZAMIR bought yesterday.' (E)
- (82) hana du r-aʔ-r-irx'-an [χ:ink'-e=da d-arq'-ij]
 now 1SG F-begin-F-begin.IPFV-PTCP khinkal-PL=1 NPL-do.PFV-INF
 'Now I will/have to start to make KHINKAL.' (E)

Most notably, with transitive and affective verbs it is possible to drop the ergative or dative marking of the subject if the predicative particle is attached to it.

- (83) du=da Sanijat-li-j χabar b-urs-an
 1SG=1 Sanijat-OBL-DAT story N-tell.PFV-PTCP
 'It is me who will/have to tell Sanijat the story.' (E)
- (84) du=da it dars qum.ert-an
 1SG=1 DEM lesson forget.IPFV.NEG-PTCP
 'It is me who will not forget that lesson.' (E)

When Sanzhi speakers are asked to formulate questions to which sentences with floating predicative particles are suitable answers, they produce content questions in which the relevant item that is focused in the answer is replaced by a question word serving as the host for the particles (85).

- (85) a. uš:a ceq:el=da=ja Družba-le d-ax-an?
 2PL when=2PL=Q Družba-LOC 1/2PL-go.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘WHEN will you/do you have to go to Družba?’ (E)
- b. nuš:a ižal=da d-ax-an
 1PL today=1 1/2PL-go.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘We will/have to go TODAY.’ (E)

In an interrogative clause with a floating person enclitic the interrogative enclitic – which is also a focus-sensitive particle – must be added to the same item that serves as the host for the person enclitic. Encliticizing the two markers to two different items (86) is ungrammatical.

- (86) * uš:a ceq:el=da Družba-le d-ax-an=e?
 2PL when=2PL Družba-LOC 1/2PL-go.IPFV-PTCP=Q
 (Intended meaning: ‘WHEN will you/do you have to go to Družba?’)

Person enclitics or the past enclitic used as contrastive focus markers are not very frequent in the corpus although the constructions are readily available in elicitation as many examples in this section prove. In example (90) the past enclitic occurs in combination with another focus-sensitive predicative particle, the modal particle =*q’al*.

- (87) [discussing the viewpoint that a speaker has to take for a narration]
 du=da hana heχ, ak:u=w? e, u=de hana ...
 1SG=1 now DEM.DOWN COP.NEG=Q yes 2SG=2SG now
 ‘I am now her, right? Yes, YOU are now ...’
- (88) [talking about the places where the speaker had been]
 bah q:uža-ce dunja ka-b-ic:-ur-il dam dejstvitelna
 most beautiful-DD.SG world DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET-REF 1SG.DAT really
 Latwija=de
 Latvia=PST
 ‘It was Latvia that seemed to me to be really the most beautiful country.’
- (89) [Before I came my mother died. At home there was nobody.]
 apjat ca du=gina=de kelg-un-il ca
 again one 1SG=only=PST remain.PFV-PRET-REF one
 ‘Again it was me who remained alone.’
- (90) c’il u=de=q’al q:anaw-t-a-j ca Źa’libatir ak:w-ar
 then 2SG=PST=MOD ditch-PL-OBL-DAT one Alibatir COP.NEG-PRS.3
 a-w-erč-ib Ø-ik’w-an
 NEG-M-lead.PFV-PRET M-say.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘But you were the one who said that they had taken only Alibatir to the ditch.’

It is slightly easier to find examples with interrogative enclitics (91–93) or the modal particle =*q'al* (94–96); see also the example (90) above. All corpus examples discussed so far can be classified as selective focus, because the focus selects one item from among a presupposed set of possible alternative values (Dik et al. 1981: 62).

- (91) “ča=ja,” haʔ-ib=da, “il it:u-w k'ap k-arq'-ib-il?”
 who=Q say.PFV-PRET=1 that there-M wrap DOWN-do.PFV-PRET-REF
 Baħa[˘]mma-c:e
 Bahamma-IN
 ‘I asked Bahama “Who is it that is wrapped there?”’
- (92) ča=ja hel Ø-ik'^w-an?
 who=Q that M-say.IPFV-PTCP
 ‘Who is it who said that?’
- (93) ja=ra hej r-ilʔ-aⁿ hež=uw?
 or=ADD this F-steal.IPFV-PTCP this=Q
 ‘Or is this her who is stealing?’
- (94) “di-la durħu[˘]=q'al?!” “ca<w>i,” Ø-ik'^w-ar
 1SG-GEN boy=MOD COP<M> M-say.IPFV-PRS
 ‘“Is he my son?!” “(Yes) he is,” he says.’
- (95) il-t:u-w=q'al durħu[˘] w-alli le-w
 that-LOC-M=MOD boy M-together exist-M
 ‘It is here (i.e. on this picture) that the boy is together with them.’
- (96) [We are thinking where to meet Abdulkhalik.]
 ik'=q'al wa[˘]ʔda b-arq'-ib-il ca-w Q:ala-j
 DEM.UP=MOD agreement N-do.PFV-PRET-REF REFL.SG-M Mamedkala-DAT
 čī-r-ka-w-q-an-aj
 SPR-ABL-DOWN-M-go-PTCP-SUBJ.3
 ‘It was he himself who had agreed to get off (the car) in Mamedkala.’

Constituent focus constructions with the copula have the same pragmatics as constructions with predicative particles, that is, they express contrastive focus, most commonly selective focus. Constituent focus constructions with the copula are a bit more flexible in the sense that the lexical verb can not only occur as a participle, but appears occasionally in the form of the general converbs, which are normally used to form analytic tenses (101). In most of the examples, there is a weak pitch accent on the item preceding the auxiliary. In (97) the existential copula serves as host for the modal particle =*q'al*, which also belongs to the class of predicative particles.

- (97) a-rurg-an le-b=q'al it, birik:alla.buʔ le-b=q'al het
 NEG-burn-PTCP exist-N=MOD that cow.parsnip exist-N=MOD that
 ‘There is the one that does not burn, the cow-parsnip.’

- (98) [A: They are sitting, enjoying themselves, passing the time. B replies:]
 e, ču-la dard-ane šiš:im-te istikan-na hila-c:e-d ca-d
 yes REFL.PL-GEN sorrow-PL suffering-PL glass-GEN behind-IN-NPL COP-NPL
 d-irq'-an-te
 NPL-DO.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL
 'It is behind the glass that resolve their sorrows.' (i.e. by drinking alcohol)
- (99) "ala gawhar ca-b," r-ik'^w-ar, "zaja b-iχ-ub-il"
 2SG.GEN pupil COP-N F-say.IPFV-PRS spoil N-be.PFV-PRET-REF
 "It is your pupil that is spoiled," she said.'

It is not only the standard copula *ca-b* that can be used in focus constructions, but also the existential/locational copulas (§16.2):

- (100) χ:u^rb'e k'e-d heχt:u-d či-d-ig-ul niš:-ala
 graveyard exist.UP-NPL there.DOWN-NPL SPR-NPL-see.IPFV-ICVB 1PL-GEN
 'Up there the graveyard of ours is visible.'

In the next two examples, the constituents followed by the copula are already mentioned and thus given in the context. These examples can count as confirmative or approving focus. The speakers do not correct some previous statements, but they acknowledge the selected alternative and reassure the selection. For instance, (101) is part of a description of a picture. The speaker is at first unsure about one of the depicted objects. With the utterance of (101) he affirms that those objects must be bunches or bundles of something unidentified. With the sentence in (102) the speaker sums up his argumentation about a possible sequence of events. The demonstrative pronoun and the verb bearing the participle suffix were uttered with a rising tone, and there was no noticeable accent on the pronoun preceding the copula.

- (101) [What are these, not bundles? Bundles.]
 cel-la=jal χ:ala ca-b b-iχ-un-il. hež=ra χ:ala ca-b
 what.OBL-GEN=INDEF bundle COP-N N-be.PFV-PRET-REF this=ADD bundle COP-N
 ka-b-iš:-ib-le
 DOWN-N-put.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'This is a BUNDLE of something. This BUNDLE also has been put down (there).'
- (102) [Discussing which events pictures might show]
 hel ca-b hel-i-j ag-ur-il
 that COP-N that-OBL-DAT go.PFV-PRET-REF
 '[This exactly, this has happened]. This is it what has happened to him.'

Contrastive focus constructions that make use of the copula or of other particles such as person enclitics are found in a number of other East Caucasian languages. In particular, floating person enclitics have been investigated for Udi (Harris 2001; 2002), Lak (Kazenin 2009), Standard Dargwa (Xajdakov 1986) and Tanti Dargwa (Sumbatova 2013).

The impact of the modal particle on the information structure and its use in focus constructions has been analyzed by Forker (Accepted). Kazenin (2009) proposes an analysis of such constructions as synchronic cleft constructions because they have the pragmatic value of cleft construction: the predicative particle or copula identifies or specifies the argument in a presupposed open proposition. The structure can be simplified as follows:

(103) (topic) [FOCUS]=particle/copula (topic)

Clefts functionally and formally resemble copula clauses (§22.2) when the focal part is followed by a clause headed by a participle that has the properties of a relative clause (83), (102) §23.3. The constructions express term focus. They can be formed not only with the help of the modal particle, but also with all other predicative particles or auxiliary verbs that function as copulas.

If we adopt the definition of cleft proposed by Lambrecht (2001), we also notice the morphosyntactic similarities between the constructions in Sanzhi and other Dagestania languages and clefts in European languages. Lambrecht defines a cleft as a syntactically biclausal structure consisting of two simple clauses, that is, a main clause headed by an auxiliary, and a subordinate clause that is a (free) relative clause or relative-like clause. Thus, the auxiliary is the predicative particle or copula, i.e. items that are also used in copula clauses, and the lexical verb appears as participle. In most corpus examples, the focused constituent occurs at the left or right edge of the clause, so that the construction looks like a biclausal construction with a copula clause and a preceding or following relative clause that provides the information needed to identify the copula subject (101), (102) (for more details see Kazenin 2009; Forker 2016b). However, the topical part is also frequently simply a demonstrative pronoun (97).

Since it is possible to place the focused item in the middle of the clause, between what is supposed to represent a free relative clause, a synchronic cleft analysis as proposed by Kazenin (2009) becomes questionable. For a detailed discussion of the cleft approach and its problems see Forker (2016b).

27.3.3 Corrections

Corrective focus is found in utterances that correct a previous statement, e.g. by replacing the relevant information. This is frequently done by means of the negative copula *ak:u* that indicates constituent focus on the preceding item (104–106). The adversative particle *=n(u)* is optionally encliticized to the copula.

(104) di-la murgul sunglan ak:u, č:u^hrugan ca-w
 1SG-GEN man Sanzhi COP.NEG Chakhri.person COP-M
 ‘My husband is not Sanzhi, he is Chakhri.’

(105) [A: He carries him home. B replies:]
 qili ak:u=n, witrezwitel-le uq:-ul ca-w
 home COP.NEG=PRT sobering-up.station-LOC carry.M.PFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘No, not home, they are carrying him to the sobering-up station.’

- (106) *iž hin-na ak:u=n, iż č'an-na urχ:ab ca-b*
 this water-GEN COP.NEG=PRT this wind-GEN mill COP-N
 'This is not a water, this is a wind mill.'

In (107) the order of rejecting clause and correcting clause is reversed in comparison with the above examples. The first clause, which represents a cleft-like constructions as discussed in §27.3.2, expresses the correction and the second clause the rejection.

- (107) *ala mašin ca-b zaja b-iχ-ub-il, ʒa°li-la ak:u*
 2SG.GEN car COP-N spoil N-be.PFV-PRET-REF Ali-GEN COP.NEG
 'It is your car that is spoiled, not Ali's.' (E)

27.4 Verb doubling

Another construction that is found in Sanzhi and in other East Caucasian languages is verb doubling. This construction consists of a verb that is repeated. The first part occurs either in the infinitive or in the form of the stem without any inflectional suffix, but preserving derivational morphology, spatial preverbs, or morphemes used in compounding. To this part the additive =*ra* is encliticized. The second part consists of a finite verb form of the same lexical verb (108–110). All corpus examples from Sanzhi make use of the verbal stem, but examples with the infinitive that have the same pragmatics can be elicited (see below).

- (108) [Be sick for three days and then die, she said.]
hel ca-r r-ik'w-an purma-lla, r-ebč'=ra r-ebč'-ib
 that REFL-F F-say.IPFV-PTCP uniform-GEN F-die.PFV=ADD F-die.PFV-PRET
 'She herself said it in that manner (=uniform), and as for dying she died [after three days as she had wanted].'
- (109) [He is thinking a lot. And there he is also thinking.]
w-is=ra w-is:-ul ca-w ik' hešt:u-w ca-w
 M-cry=ADD M-cry-ICVB COP-M DEM.UP here-M COP-M
 'And as for crying, he is crying a lot here.'
- (110) [But the Estonians, I think, are very similar to the Icarian people, no difference, how often I went there]
b-uč=ra b-uč:-u a-c:ella ka-b-iž-ib-le,
 N-drink.IPFV=ADD N-drink.IPFV-PRS 2SG-COMIT DOWN-HPL-be.PFV-PRET-CVB
q:uβa-ce iχtilat=ra b-irq'-i
 beautiful-DD.SG talk=ADD N-do.IPFV-HAB.PST
 'As for drinking, they sit and drink with you, and (we) had nice conversations.'

It is also possible to employ the particle =*q'ar* instead of the additive. This particle is frequently used to topicalize the items to which it is added (§9.4.3). In (112) only the preverb in a slightly modified form is repeated, not the verbal stem.

- (111) d-erč:-ij=q'ar it-i-l ča'j d-uč:-an=de, amma
 NPL-drink.PFV-INF=MOD that-OBL-ERG tea NPL-drink.IPFV-PTCP=PST but
 it:a-l a-alt-ur ca-w
 those.OBL-ERG NEG-let.IPFV-PRET COP-M

‘As for drinking, he would have drunk the tea, but they did not let him.’ (E)

- (112) wallah Ø-ik'w'-ar ka-r-is:-en! kat=q'ar
 by.God M-say.IPFV-PRS DOWN-F-sleep.PFV-IMP PVB=PRT
 ka-r-ils:-a-di
 DOWN-F-sleep.IPFV-HAB-1

“By God,” he says, “lay down (in the hospital)!” As for laying, I lie, (but there are stairs from here and there.)’

Maisak (2010) discusses verb doubling constructions in a number of Dagestania languages including Xuduc Dargwa and Icaric Dargwa under the heading of “predicate topicalization”. He concludes that the constructions cannot be used inthetic utterances, but only in reference to previously mentioned or otherwise already known situations, and that they mostly involve polarity focus, because there is an associated adversative or concessive clause that is following the verb doubling construction or implicitly present in the context. Maisak’s interpretation seems to fit the Sanzhi data well, since in all examples at least part of the information conveyed in the verb doubling construction has been provided in the previous context. As for the adversative or concessive clause following the verb doubling construction, there is one corpus example in which the following clause has an adversative (112) marking, but the other examples (108–110) lack adversative clauses, and there is no example with a following concessive clause. Again, such examples can be elicited, but due to the general absence of associated adversative or concessive clauses in the corpus, the expression polarity focus cannot be regarded as the main function of verb doubling in Sanzhi. Instead, the main function is predicate topicalization.

27.5 Focus-sensitive particles

Sanzhi Dargwa has a number of focus-sensitive particles. The most common particles are:

- the additive =*ra* ‘also, too, as well as’ (§9.4.1)
- the modal particles =*q'al* and =*q'ar* (§9.4.2, §9.4.3)
- the adversative =*n(u)* ‘but’ (§9.4.4)

Further particles are =*cun* ‘only’, =*gina* ‘alone, only’, *malle* ‘even’, *arrah* ‘at least’, and *ak:w'ar* ‘except, without, only’. In addition, all predicative particles, not only =*q'al*, can be used in focus construction and thus also belong to the class of focus-sensitive particles.

The general functions of these particles are analyzed in more details in §9.1 and §9.4 including examples for every particle.

The focus-sensitive particles can be encliticized to focal items in term focus-constructions as was described in §27.3.2 above. Focal items are frequently nominals or adverbials, but verbs can also be focused. If the focal item is a verb, the enclitics are either added to the finite inflected verb or to some other part of the predicate such as the preverb (113), or the verb appears in a non-finite form such as the infinitive (114).

- (113) [Thanks to Allah for the life he gave]
 ʔaʰh̄ r-al r-iχ:-ib=da, q:uʁa r-al=ra r-iχ:-ib=da, uci ruci
 good F-fit F-guard-PRET=1 beautiful F-fit=ADD F-guard-PRET=1 brother sister
 ak:w-ar=x:ar
 COP.NEG-PRS.3=CONC
 ‘He guarded me (fem.) well, he also guarded me safely, although (I was) without brothers and sisters.’
- (114) qili w-iteχ-ij=q’ar wahi-l ak:u
 home M-reach.PFV-INF=MOD bad-ADVZ COP.NEG
 ‘Coming home is not bad.’

For example, when =*q’al* is attached to the finite verb, it is the verb phrase or the whole clause that is in its scope. It is possible that the verb alone is in the scope of the particle and represents the focus (115), but it can also be the verb with its overtly expressed arguments (97), which sometimes amounts to the entire clause. If the entire clause is in its scope, we can have verum focus: e.g. in (116) the polarity of the verb is at stake, not the lexical meaning conveyed by the verb.

- (115) [A said: You do not have musical instruments in your village?]
 c’il wallah χe-b=q’al χe-b, Ø-ik’w-ar
 then by.God exist.DOWN-N=MOD exist.DOWN-N M-say.IPFV-PRS
 ‘Well, by God, we do have them, he said.’
- (116) baliq:-e ak:u=q’al, ca-d=uw?
 fish-PL COP.NEG=MOD COP-NPL=Q
 ‘These are NOT fish, right?’

Particles can be combined and are either encliticized to the same host (89), (90) or two different hosts. Example (117) contains the additive and both modal particles occurring in one and the same utterance.

- (117) nik’a-ce=x:are, du-l=q’ar, it=ra ʔaʰči=q’alle, unc-e
 small-DD.SG=CONC 1SG-ERG=MOD that=ADD work=MOD OX-PL
 sa-r-d-uc-ij u’q’-ni-lla
 HITHER-ABL-NPL-keep.PFV-INF go-MSD-GEN
 ‘Although I (masc.) was little, I myself went behind the oxen, this is also work.’

The particle *ak:w-ar* ‘except, without, only’ differs from the other particles because it is morphosyntactically the negative copula inflected for the third person of the habitual present. It follows the item in focus and occurs in a clause with negative polarity. Its literal meaning is ‘(X) not being’ and the negative clause refers to a situation that only takes place when X is present. For instance, (118) can literary be translated as ‘There were no cars not being trucks.’

- (118) gurzawuj-te ak:w-ar mašin-te a-d-irχ^w-i=q'al
 truck-PL COP.NEG-PRS.3 car-PL NEG-NPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST=MOD
 it=q:ella
 that=when
 ‘At that time there no cars except for trucks.’

- (119) hil-k'al-li-j b-alχ-ul ak:w-i il
 who.OBL-INDEF-OBL-DAT N-know.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG-HAB.PST that
 Maħa^ˆmmad-li=ra du-l=ra ak:w-ar
 Mahammad-ERG=ADD 1SG-ERG=ADD COP.NEG-PRS
 ‘Nobody knew it, except for Mahammad and me.’

Modal particles such as =*q'al* or =*q'ar*, but also additives, scalar additives, or exclusive particles are often compared to or sometimes even equated with focus particles. For instance, the Standard Dargwa particle *q'alli* is cognate with Sanzhi =*q'al*. It has been called a “sentence focus particle” by van den Berg (2001: 74–75).

However, all particles discussed in this section participate in the pragmatic structuring of the utterance, but they are not plain markers of focus. They all have a lexical meaning, although the semantics of modal particles is comparatively hard to access. Whenever they are used, this meaning is expressed, but their use is not restricted to focus constructions. There are a number of corpus examples in which the referent of the item bearing the particle is not only not new, but has been mentioned in the immediately preceding utterance (54), (70), (120). It is taken up again in the utterance containing a focus-sensitive particle. In such examples the host is frequently not a verb, but a nominal, and occurs in clause-initial position. The host is not focal, but topical, and the construction is used to topicalize patients (54), (120) or other semantic roles that are typically non-topical (70). For a more thorough discussion of the functions of =*q'al*, see Forker (Accepted).

- (120) [Talking about Sanzhi dishes, the daughter of the speaker reminds her mother that there is also milk soup. Then the mother continues to talk about this topic.]
 nejg-la nerʁ-be=q'al, cara-la=ra d-irχ-u
 milk-GEN soup-PL=MOD other-GEN=ADD NPL-be.IPFV-PRS
 ‘There is milk soup and soup from other things, (we are also preparing milk soup...)’

28 Interrogative clauses

Interrogative clauses are marked by interrogative enclitics and by rising intonation, but the latter is not always particularly salient. The interrogative enclitics belong to the class of predicative particles (§9.1). This means that interrogative enclitics can co-occur with certain non-finite verb forms in analytic tenses, and they turn the verb plus enclitic complex into a finite verb form used in main clauses. Thus, in many questions there is no copula, auxiliary or other predicative particle (person enclitic, past enclitic), but only a non-finite lexical verb and an interrogative enclitic, but the clause is nevertheless a full grammatical question. This chapter covers

- polar questions and disjunctive polar questions (§28.1)
- content questions (§28.2)
- tag questions (§28.3)
- embedded questions (§28.4)

28.1 Simple polar questions and disjunctive polar questions

Polar questions are marked by means of an enclitic that has four allomorphs: =w after vowels, and =uw after consonants, with additional restrictions. The allomorph =ew occurs after the imperfective converb suffix *-ul* and the allomorph =aw after the first person suffix *-id* and after certain words ending in /aw/, e.g. *q:anaw* ‘ditch’. Its use is obligatory. It is encliticized to the predicate, i.e., to the verb if there is a verb (1), (2), otherwise to the nominal predicate which bears a person or past enclitic (3). Elliptic polar questions can consist of nominals or other items without an accompanying verb or other auxiliary (4).

- (1) miši-l ca-w=uw iχ iχ-i-j?
similar-ADVZ COP-M=Q DEM.DOWN DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT
‘Is this similar to him?’
- (2) hel mus:a-j χa^hnhara b-ik’-u=w?
that place-DAT kxanhara HPL-say.IPFV-PRS=Q
‘Is this place called kxanhara? Yes.’
- (3) hel-t-a-lla=de=w il=ra?
that-PL-OBL-GEN=PST=Q that=ADD
‘He also belonged to them?’ (i.e. was their relative)

- (4) [Why did they not kill Osman?]
 q:ačux-e=w?
 bandit-PL=Q
 ‘The bandits?’

It cannot be added to another constituent if the clause contains a verb:

- (5) a. t’ult’ le-b=uw ala?
 bread exist-N=Q 2SG.GEN
 ‘Do you have bread?’ (E)
 b. * t’ult’uw leb ala?

Very frequently polar questions are followed by the interrogative pronoun *ce=ja* (6), which functions as a kind of hesitation marker or expresses doubts on the part of the speaker similar to a phrase such as ‘I wonder’.

- (6) kinu b-a? ač’-ib-le=w ce=ja?
 film N-begin come.PFV.PRET-CVB=Q what=Q
 ‘Did the movie start or what?’

Examples (6–8), (10) illustrate that the interrogative enclitics are sufficient to guarantee the finiteness of the clause even when no copula, person enclitic or past enclitic is present. In (6) the lexical verb appears as perfective converb, and in (7) and (10) as imperfective converb. In (9) the interrogative enclitic follows the past enclitic, which cannot be left out.

There are three basic ways of answering polar questions: (i) the full verb with or without arguments and adjuncts can be used (7); (ii) only the appropriate copula or auxiliary occurs (8), or (iii) only the particles *e* ‘yes’ or *a, a?a* ‘no’ are used. However, the use of only these particles is not very common as Sanzhi speakers told me and as the data from my own corpus show. It is also possible to combine the strategies.

- (7) r-aš-ij r-irχ-ul=ew? e, e, r-irχ-ul ca-r
 F-go-INF F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB=Q yes yes F-be.able.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘Is she able to walk? Yes, yes, she is able.’
- (8) “b-ebč’-ib-le=w?” ∅-ik’^w-ar. “ak:u,” ha?-ib=da
 N-die.PFV-PRET-CVB=Q M-say.IPFV-PRS COP.NEG say.PFV-PRET=1
 “Did (the cow) die?” he asked. “No,” I said.’
- (9) ca-w q:umuqlan=de=w? a?a, dark:^wan=de
 REFL-M Kumyk=PST=Q no Dargwa=PST
 ‘Was he himself Kumyk? No, Dargi.’

If the question is headed by a non-finite verb form without a copula, only the negative copula can stand alone in an answer. If the answer is affirmative either the particle *e* ‘yes’ or the whole predicate including the lexical verb must be used. The copula alone cannot serve as a grammatical answer (11).

28.1 Simple polar questions and disjunctive polar questions

- (10) it w-ax-ul=ew Derbent-le?
 that M-go.IPFV-ICVB=Q Derbent-LOC
 ‘Is he going to Derbent?’ (E)
- (11) w-ax-ul ca-w / (w-ax-ul) ak:u / * ca-w
 M-go.IPFV-ICVB COP-M / M-go.IPFV-ICVB COP.NEG / COP-M
 ‘He is going/not going.’ (E)

If the question already contains the affirmative copula, then the copula alone is enough for making up a complete answer (12). However, in an interrogative clause such as the one in (12) normally no copula is used because the interrogative particle is sufficient (compare examples (7), (12) above).

- (12) it w-ax-ul ca-w=uw Derbent-le? ca-w
 that M-go.IPFV-ICVB COP-M=Q Derbent-LOC COP-M
 ‘Is he going to Derbent? Yes, he is.’ (E)

Answers to negative polar questions normally contain a predicate because the particles alone could lead to misunderstanding (13), (14). However, negative polar questions are rare and most of them are rather rhetorical questions to which no real answer is expected, but they express surprise or disbelief on part of the speaker (15).

- (13) a. da^ˈrχa^ˈ=ra heχt:u-d a-d-už-ib=da=w?
 evening=ADD there.DOWN-1/2PL NEG-1/2PL-be-PRET=2PL=Q
 ‘Did you not also spend the night there?’
- b. ca duč:i d-už-ib=da
 one night 1/2.PL-be-PRET=1
 ‘We stayed one night.’
- (14) erk^w χ^wal-le=k:^wi=w? hana χ^wal-le=de
 river big-ADVZ=NEG.PST=Q now big-ADVZ=PST
 ‘Was the river not big? Now it was big.’
- (15) hel arrah a-b-alχ-ul=ew c’il hešt:i sunglan-t-a-l
 that at.least NEG-N-know.IPFV-ICVB=Q then these Sanzhi-PL-OBL-ERG
 b-urs-araj?
 N-tell-SUBJ.3
 ‘Don’t the Sanzhi people know at least that (story) to tell?’

Polar interrogative clauses are mostly verb-final (2), (13a), but it is also possible to find examples with verbs occurring in other positions (5a), (12), (16).

- (16) hel-i-la kaj-li-j qili arg-ul=de=w u?
 that-OBL-GEN word-OBL-DAT home go.IPFV-ICVB=2SG=Q 2SG
 ‘Are you going home because of what she said?’

Polar interrogatives are frequently combined with a following phrase that bears the marker for embedded questions (17) since that marker is also used for expressing epistemic uncertainty (§28.4).

- (17) ač'i=de=w ce ca-d=de=l?
wheat=PST=Q what COP-NPL=PST=INDQ
'Was it wheat or something else.'

In disjunctive polar questions the interrogative enclitic appears on the predicate in each member of the disjunction:

- (18) tusnaq-le-w=uw iž ža^hrmija-le-w=uw?
prison-LOC-M=Q this army-LOC-M=Q
'Is he in a prison or in the army?'
- (19) "iž ala sub-la bek' le-b-il=de=w", b-ik'-ul cai,
this 2SG.GEN husband-GEN head exist-N-REF=PST=Q HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB COP<HPL>
'ak:^w-ar-il=de=w?"
COP.NEG-PRS-REF=PST=Q
'They say to the wife, "Did your husband have a head or not?"'

The same construction can also be used as an assertive disjunction without any interrogative illocutionary force (20). A similar multifunctionality of interrogative particles covering polar and content questions as well as in declarative disjunctions and some other contexts is attested in a number of other East Caucasian languages (e.g. Hinuq, see Forker 2013b) as well as unrelated languages such as Japanese and Malayalam (Slade 2011: 2, Uegaki 2018).

- (20) hek' bari-li-j=uw bac-li-j=uw miši-l ca-b
DEM.UP sun-OBL-DAT=Q moon-OBL-DAT=Q similar-ADVZ COP-N
'This is similar to the sun or the moon.'

28.2 Content questions

Content questions contain interrogative pronouns (see §4.5 for a list of the pronouns) and an enclitic that has two allomorphs. It is =*e* after consonants and =*ja* after vowels. The use of the interrogative enclitic is obligatory. The only two contexts where its use is prohibited are questions containing the second person enclitic =*de* or the past enclitic =*de*, which both end with /e/.¹ It is usually added to the predicate (verbal or nominal), unless there is no verb or other predicates, then it is added to the question word.

¹One can argue that the enclitic =*e* is used in such cases, but because its phonological form is identical to the vowel in the past enclitic and the second person enclitic, its presence is not noticeable. However, in many instances a sequence of identical vowels leads to long vowels (§2.6.5), which is not the case for the respective interrogative clauses. The long vowel [e:] does not occur very often, but it is attested. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that in interrogative clauses an underlying long vowel [e:] has been shorted, but for a conclusive argumentation more research is needed.

The constituent order in questions is such that topical items mostly precede the interrogative pronoun and the verb appears in clause-final position.

- (21) bek' ak:^w-ar admi celij w-i-ha-w-q-aq-un=da=ja nuš:a-li?
 head COP.NEG-PRS.3 person why M-IN-UP-M-go.PFV-CAUS-PRET=1=Q 1PL-ERG
 'Why did we send a man without a head there into (the cave)?'
- (22) il-t:i cet'-le b-aχ-ij b-irχ-u=ja, aba?
 that-PL how-ADVZ HPL-know.PFV-INF HPL-be.able.IPFV-PRS=Q mother
 'How can you get to know them, mother?'
- (23) Jusup-la durhu°-l ce b-irq'-u=ja?
 Jusup-GEN boy-ERG what N-do.IPFV-PRS=Q
 'What does Jusup's son do?'

Often genitive phrases are split up if the head is part of the interrogative phrase and the genitive then follows the host of the interrogative enclitic (24). Such extraposed genitives are not restricted to questions but also frequently found in assertions (§27.1.2).

- (24) cara ce χurejg d-irχ-u=ja niš:a-la?
 other what food NPL-be.IPFV-PRS=Q 1PL-GEN
 'What other dishes do we have?'

If there is no verb then the respective predicate or even the interrogative pronoun can end up in clause-final position bearing the interrogative enclitic.

- (25) hej čina-b b-iχ^w-ij ʔa° ʔuni-ce=ja, hež?
 this where-N N-be.PFV-INF needed-DD.SG=Q this
 'This where should it be, this?'
- (26) d-ac' šuš-n-a-la cek'u čina-b=e?
 NPL-empty bottle-PL-OBL-GEN whatchamacallit where-N=Q
 'Where is this (picture) of the empty bottles?'

It is also possible to put the interrogative pronoun in clause-initial position, but this is far less common (27–30). Equally possible and slightly more common is the occurrence of material following the verb.

- (27) ce b-arq'-ida=ja it-i-j du-l?
 what N-do.PFV-MODQ=Q that-OBL-DAT 1SG-ERG
 '[He does not leave me alone], what should I do with him?'
- (28) c'il čina-r d-ax-ut:a=ja uš:a erk'^w-la itille?
 then where-ABL 1/2PL-go-PRS.2PL=Q 2PL river-GEN further
 'Then from where do you cross the river?' (lit. 'go to the other side of the river')

28 Interrogative clauses

- (29) čina-b=e hana hešti:
 where-HPL=Q now these
 ‘Where are these now? (these = people)’
- (30) cellij it-i-l salam a-luk:-an=e niši-i-c:e?
 why that-OBL-ERG greeting NEG-give.IPFV-PTCP=Q 1PL-IN
 ‘Why will he not greet us?’

The only constituent order that is strictly forbidden is for the interrogative pronoun to follow the verb (31) or to follow the constituent that bears the person enclitic or past enclitic (32). In the latter examples possible orders are *u ča=de?* and *ča u=de?*:

- (31) *Madina-l as:-ib=e ce?
 Madina-ERG buy.PFV-PRET=Q what
 (Intended meaning: ‘What did Madina buy?’) (E)
- (32) *u=de ča?
 2SG=2SG who
 (Intended meaning: ‘Who are you’) (E)

As in polar questions the lexical verb can appear in non-finite forms (30) and the interrogative particle can take the place of the copula (29). Except for verbs, any constituent can be questioned, be it an argument or an adjunct, e.g. absolutive (24), ergative, spatial adjunct (29), manner adjunct (22), causal adjunct (30). Genitive modifiers or other modifiers of nouns can also be questioned (see §4.5 for examples). It is also possible to question constituents of subordinate clauses (33), (34) or of postpositional phrases (35).

- (33) a [presedatel ča ca-w=de] Ø-ik’w-a-t:e?
 and head who COP-M=PST M-say.IPFV-HAB.PST-2SG
 ‘Who did you (masc.) say was the head (of the kolkhoz)?’
- (34) [t’ut’u b-arq’-ib-te, ča-qal] Ø-ik’w-a-t:e?
 throw.out HPL-do.PFV-PRET-DD.PL who-ASSOC M-say.IPFV-HAB.PST-2SG
 ‘The ones who were thrown out, who did you (masc.) say was this?’
- (35) hila qari=či-b it:i vaj ka-b-ik’-ul=de?
 who.GEN up=on-N those word DOWN-HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘About whom were they talking?’ (E)

Interrogative clauses can contain more than one interrogative pronoun (36). The order of the interrogative pronouns in (37) can also be switched around.

- (36) hi-l ce padarit b-arq’-ib=e?
 who.OBL-ERG what make.present N-do.PFV-PRET=Q
 ‘Who made which present?’ (E)

- (37) a it ce darman=e cellij?
and that what medicine=Q what.DAT
'And this is what medicine for what?'

Answers to content questions can either consist of only the focus part (41) or they can be whole sentences. In the answers that are full sentences the nominal part of the constituent that constitutes the focus can be absent (i.e. in (39) the inflection on the verb is enough to convey the meaning of the first person pronoun that represents the answer to the question). In (40) the item in focus follows the verb which is rather unexpected if one embraces the position that the focus position in East Caucasian is immediately before the verb.

- (38) čina-w=eI hi-j b-alχ-ul=e il?
where-M=INDQ who.OBL-DAT N-know.IPFV-ICVB=Q that
'Who knows where he is?'
- (39) "a-b-alχ-ad" b-ik'-ul
NEG-N-know.IPFV-PRS.1 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB
'"We do not know," they say, ...'
- (40) hek'-ti arc hi-l luk:-an-te=ja? arc
DEM.UP-PL money who.OBL-ERG give.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=Q money
luk:-an-te=q'al du-l
give.IPFV-PTCP-DD.PL=MOD 1SG-ERG
'Who should give this money (back)? I have to give the money back.'
- (41) a q:aq hu'sen hana heχ ?a'bdulχaliq' aci-lla ča=ja? at:a
and back Husen now DEM.DOWN Abdulkhalik uncle-GEN who=Q father
'And Kak Husen, who is he with respect to uncle Abdulkhalik? The Father.'

28.3 Tag questions

Tag questions are very common in Sanzhi and occur after assertions. The form of the tag depends on the polarity of the assertion because it reverses the polarity. In the vast majority of corpus examples tag questions follow clauses with affirmative clauses and the tags are formed by means of the negative present tense copula to which the polar question marker =w is attached, i.e. *ak:u=w?* (lit. 'Is it not?') (42), (43). This copula can even be used when the assertion contains a verb with past time reference (44). However, in such a case the negative past tense copula can also be used (45). Note that the copula in (42) that functions as short answer to the tag question has the default neuter agreement although the copula in the assertion before the tag question is inflected for masculine singular.

- (42) ag-ur d-iχ-ub-t-a-lla qari=či-b kaj Ø-ik'-ul
 go.PFV-PRET NPL-be.PFV-PRET-PL-OBL-GEN at.top=on-N word M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ca-w heχ, ak:u=w? ca-b
 COP-M DEM.DOWN COP.NEG=Q COP-N
 'About what had happened he is talking, right? Yes.'
- (43) ij kompanija ca-b, ak:u=w?
 this company COP-HPL COP.NEG=Q
 'This is the company (group of friends), right?'
- (44) di-la pikri ha°sible ka-jž-ib-le het-ka čar
 1SG-GEN thought following DOWN-be.M.PFV-PRET-CVB that-DOWN back
 Ø-iχ-ub ca-w, ak:u=w?
 M-be.PFV-PRET COP-M COP.NEG=Q
 'In my opinion, he was imprisoned and then came back from there, right?'
- (45) žaq'-ne a-d-uk-i nuš:a-l, ak:w-i=w?
 boar-PL NEG-NPL-eat.IPFV-HAB.PST 1PL-ERG COP.NEG-HAB.PST=Q
 'We did not eat boars, right?'

The tense of the copula in the tag question reflects the tense of the verb (copula or other) or the tense of the copula if it is an analytic inflection form in the assertion preceding the tag. For instance, in (45) the verb in the assertion appears in the habitual past and the copula in the tag also appears in the habitual past.

When the assertion is negative the tag marker normally has positive polarity as, e.g., the copula *ca-b* (46) or the verb in (47), which is simply the negation of the predicate in the assertion.²

- (46) baliq:-e ak:u=q'al, ca-d=uw? aχ:u wallah
 fish-PL COP.NEG=MOD COP-NPL=Q not.know by.God
 '(These) are not fish, are they? By God, I don't know.'
- (47) [a iš-t:i juldaš:-e ce b-ik'-ul=e] tolko hel s:urrat ha°sible
 but that-PL friend-PL what N-say.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ only that picture following
 b-aχ-ij a-w-irχ^w-ar, w-irχ^w-an-ne=w?
 N-know.PFV-INF NEG-M-be.able.IPFV-PRS M-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3=Q
 e-rχ^w-an-ne, e
 NEG-be.able.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3 yes
 'And these friends, what they are saying, only by means of the picture, (one) cannot know, can one? One cannot know, yes.'

²Note that this is not the case in example (45), and I do not have an explanation for this example.

28.4 Subordinate questions

Subordinate questions are marked with an enclitic that has three allomorphs: (i) *=jal* after vowels, (ii) *=el* after consonants, and (iii) *=l* after some suffixes ending in /e/, in particular the perfective converb suffix. The enclitic occurs in all types of embedded interrogatives, i.e. content questions, polar and disjunctive polar questions. It is also used as a complementizer with verbs of speech and cognition (§24.2.7), and for the formation of specific indefinite pronouns (§4.6.1). The rules for the placement of the enclitic are the same as for normal questions. This means that in embedded polar questions the marker occurs on the verb if there is any (48), and otherwise on the non-verbal predicate (49).

- (48) ag-ur=da [ač:-ib=el] čī-d-až-ij
 go.PFV-PRET=1 get.PFV-PRET=INDQ SPR-1/2PL-see.PFV-INF
 ‘We went to see if (the cartridge) had struck.’

- (49) a [iš-t:i q:alpuz-e=jal] aχ:u hešt:i
 and this-PL watermelon-PL=INDQ not.know these
 ‘I don’t know whether these are watermelons.’

In embedded disjunctive polar questions it occurs on all members of the disjunction:

- (50) duc' ∅-ik'-ul, duc' ∅-ik'-ul, er=it:i sark'-ul,
 run M-AUX.IPFV-ICVB run M-AUX.IPFV-ICVB look=after inspect.IPFV-ICVB
 [le-r=el ruci r-ak:u=jal] ∅-ik'-ul hel
 exist-F=INDQ sister F-COP.NEG=INDQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB that
 ‘He ran and ran, looked around, wondering whether his sister is there or not.’
- (51) [hin ca-d=el iχ:t:i ča'vir=el] b-alχ-an w-ak:u
 water COP-NPL=INDQ DEM.DOWN-PL wine=INDQ N-know.IPFV-PTCP M-COP.NEG
 ‘Is this water or wine, (I) do not know.’

In embedded content questions the enclitic appears on the verbal or non-verbal predicate:

- (52) pikri ∅-ik'-ul ka-jž-ib ca-w heχ [ce
 thought M-say.IPFV-ICVB DOWN-remain.M.PFV-PRET COP-M DEM.DOWN what
 b-arq'-ij ha'žat-le=jal] ∅-ik'-ul
 N-do.PFV-INF need-ADVZ=INDQ M-say.IPFV-ICVB
 ‘He is thinking, sitting, about what must be done.’
- (53) na [ʔa'bdulχaliq' čina-w suk sa-w-irk-u=jal] pikri
 now Abdulkhalik where-M meet HITHER-M-occur.IPFV-PRS=INDQ thought
 d-ik'-ul=da nuš:a
 1/2PL-say.IPFV-ICVB=1 1PL
 ‘We are thinking where to meet Abdulkhalik.’

- (54) nu [ceᵛuna q:ihin-dex:-e č̣i-d-až-ib=da=jal] niš:i-j
 well which difficult-NMLZ-PL SPR-NPL-see.PFV-PRET=1=INDQ 1PL-DAT
 b-alχ-ul=de
 N-know.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 ‘Well, we knew which difficulties we had seen.’

The Sanzhi enclitic is not only used in embedded questions, but also in the protasis of realis and irrealis conditional clauses (55) (§18.3). The apodosis of irrealis conditionals can be omitted, in which case the construction expresses wishes similar to an optative (56).

- (55) r-ilʔ-u`nne r-iχ^w-ar=de=l, x:unul
 F-steal.IPFV-ICVB F-be.PFV-COND.3=PST=INDQ woman
 r-i-ka-jk-an=de=q`al
 F-IN-DOWN-drive.PFV=PTCP=PST=MOD
 ‘If the woman would have stolen, they would/should have imprisoned her.’
- (56) b-u`q`-a`n-de=l! č̣i-b-b-et`-ib ca-b
 HPL-go-PTCP=PST=INDQ SPR-HPL-HPL-bore.PFV-PRET COP-HPL
 ‘If they would go! They bore (me).’ (E)

The marker for embedded questions has also evolved into a general marker of epistemic uncertainty occurring in rhetorical questions for which the speaker does not expect an answer (57).

- (57) cet`le her?-an-ne=l, aj Allah!
 how say.IPFV-PTCP-FUT.3=INDQ oh Allah
 ‘How should this be said, oh, Allah!’ (i.e. ‘How should I say this?’)

And more importantly, it is used when speakers are expressing thoughts whose truth they do not vouch for and when they advance hypotheses, i.e. for the expression of epistemic modality, more specifically, epistemic uncertainty. In such cases there is no matrix complement-taking predicate (58), (59), but optionally the borrowed adverb *belki* may occur (60). Since the marker for embedded questions belongs, just like the other interrogative enclitics, to the class of predicative particles, it can be used with a converb, but the resulting clause is finite (§9.1). Such examples might be interpreted as “insubordination” (Evans 2007; Evans & Watanabe 2016, see also Mithun 2008) because a clause with a dependency marker is used as an independent sentence.

- (58) heš-t-a-l sud b-irq`-ul=eł
 this-PL-OBL-ERG trial N-do.IPFV-ICVB=INDQ
 ‘They are probably making a trial.’
- (59) c`il abuxar tusnaq-le w-ič-ib=eł
 then then prison-LOC M-occur.PFV-PRET=INDQ
 ‘Then he probably went to prison.’

- (60) belki ij tusnaq-le-r sa-jk-ib-il ca-w=el
 it.is.possible this prison-SPR-ABL HITHER-come.M.PFV-PRET-REF COP-M=INDQ
 ‘Maybe this is when he came from prison.’

This use has been conventionalized in the frequently occurring phrase *ce ca-b=el* (*ce ca-d=el*) ‘what it might be, whatever’ lit. ‘what COP-N-INDQ’ (61).

- (61) masli?a`t b-arq`-ij sa`-q`-un-ne=jal cara ce
 reconciliation N-do.PFV-INF HITHER-go.PFV-PRET-CVB=INDQ other what
 ca-b=el
 COP-N=INDQ
 ‘He came out to reconcile them or so or there is something else.’

Evans (2007: 367), who introduces the term “insubordination”, defines it as “the conventionalized main clause use of what, on prima facie grounds, appear to be formally subordinate clauses.” He explains the diachronic development of insubordination by means of four steps:

1. subordinate construction with subordinate morphosyntax
2. ellipsis of main clause
3. restriction of interpretation of ellipsed material
4. reanalysis (conventionalized main clause use of formally subordinate clause)

Evans’ four-step model provides a very plausible path of the diachronic change: the Sanzhi particle underwent all four stages, but at the same time preserved its function as complementizer. Thus, the syntactic development can be summarized as (62), accompanied by the semantic extension schematized in (63).

- (62) syntax: complementizer > to predicative particle with a functional range similar to copula-auxiliaries
- (63) semantics: marker of embedded questions > epistemic modality (more specifically, uncertainty)

Examples for the first step are (48–54). Embedded interrogatives occur with matrix verbs that denote cognitive activities (which can include perception verbs such as ‘see’). Embedded interrogatives are often of irrealis modality and therefore not asserted as factual or actual events or situations (49). During the third step the interpretation was restricted from various possible main clauses to an omitted main clause as general as ‘It is probable that X’. Language-internally, the reanalysis (step 4) might have been supported by the presence of the other predicative particles. This means that by analogy with the person markers, the past enclitic or the modal particle the embedded question marker received its syntactic ability to express finiteness of clauses.

However, there is one general problem with the insubordination analysis of the enclitic *=(e)l/=(j)al*. In principle, it is possible that the diachronic development occurred in

the reverse order, i.e. that the particle was originally a marker of epistemic modality that subsequently came to be used in embedded interrogatives due to its epistemic modal meaning. Because we lack data of older stages of Sanzhi Dargwa, this question cannot be resolved with certainty.

Insubordination of the type just described is also found in other East Caucasian languages. Examples in case are irrealis markers in the Tsezic languages Bezhta, Hunzib, and Hinuq, the potential infinitive in Bagvalal, and the potentialis (i.e. the infinitive) in Tsakhur (see Comrie et al. (2016) for examples and references). The study by Kalinina (2011) provides many examples of insubordinated exclamative utterances in Agul, Archi, Avar, Bagvalal, and Bezhta (East Caucasian) as well as Adyghe (West Caucasian). Of the surveyed languages only Agul employs an irrealis conditional form in embedded questions and exclamatives in a similar fashion as the Sanzhi example (56).

28.5 Other uses of questions

Some questions are normally used as greetings. Thus female addressees are not greeted with the Arabic phrase *As-salam ʔaʔlaykum*, but with the sentences below; the first variant is for single addressees (64a), the second for situations when the addressee is more than one person (64b). The answer is again a clause (64c).

- (64) a. ka-r-iž-ib-le=de=w!
 DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=2SG=Q
 ‘Hello!’ (lit. ‘Are you sitting?’) (singular addressee)
- b. ka-d-iž-ib-le=da=w!
 DOWN-1/2PL-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=2PL=Q
 ‘Hello!’ (lit. ‘Are you sitting?’) (plural addressee)
- c. ka-r-iž-ib-le=da
 DOWN-F-be.PFV-PRET-CVB=1
 ‘Hello!’ (lit. ‘I am sitting.’)

For greeting people who have just got up in the morning, the sentences in (65) are used. The addressee can be female or male.

- (65) r-alh-un=de=w! / w-alh-un=de=w!
 F-wake.up.PFV-PRET=2SG=Q / M-wake.up.PFV-PRET=2SG=Q
 ‘Good morning!’ (female/male addressee)

When Sanzhi speakers meet during the day they might ask when greeting each other:

- (66) ce ʔaʔci b-arqʔ-ib=de?
 what work N-do.PFV-PRET=2SG
 ‘What (work) have you done?’

This question can be taken literally, but it is also a general question of the type “How do you do?”

29 Reflexive and reciprocal constructions

This chapter discusses the syntax of reflexive and reciprocal constructions. The morphological paradigms of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns are given in §4.3 and §4.4.

29.1 Reflexive constructions

Sanzhi has morphologically simple and complex reflexive pronouns. The pronouns are *ca-w/ca-r/ca-b* in the singular (oblique stem *cin-*) and *ca-b/ca-d* (oblique stem *čū-*) in the plural. The relevant case paradigms are given in §4.3. Their functions are summarized in Table 29.1. There are two types of complex reflexive pronouns, which always consist of reduplication of the simple reflexive pronoun. Both types contain one reflexive that bears case marking according to the function of the reflexive pronoun in its clause and often appears as the second part of the complex reflexive pronoun. The first part either copies the case marking of the controlling noun phrase (“case copying”) or it invariably bears the genitive case (“complex genitive reflexive”). The functional range of both types is roughly identical, but there are three restrictions that all concern reflexives marked by the genitive case. First of all, complex genitive reflexives do not have a genitive case form, because this would lead to two identical pronouns used together, which is ungrammatical (see Table 4.8 in §4.3). Therefore, in the respective constructions only case-copying complex reflexives can be used (e.g. local reflexivization and reciprocal constructions). Second, in emphatic reflexivization the complex reflexives are morphologically rather a mixture of genitive reflexive and case-copying reflexive, because they consist of a first part in the genitive and a second part that has the same case as the nominal to which the emphatic belongs (§29.1.2). Third, only genitive forms of simple reflexives occur as pause fillers; all other case forms cannot be used.

In this chapter, local, non-local, and emphatic reflexivization are treated, as well as co-reference across clausal boundaries, and reciprocalization. For the other functions see the respective sections (references to them are given in Table 29.1).

In all types of local reflexive constructions, the pronouns are only used with third person referents. For reflexivization of first and second person, the personal pronouns are used. In long-distance reflexivization with logophoric function, simple reflexive pronouns are occasionally used to refer to speech act participants (i.e. first or second person referents).

Table 29.1: Functions of simple and complex reflexive pronouns

	simple	complex
local reflexivization (§29.1.1)	y	y
reciprocalization (§29.2)	n	y
emphatic reflexivization (§29.1.2)	y	y
long-distance reflexivization (including logophoric contexts) (§29.1.3)	y	n
pause fillers (§9.5)	y	n
comitative constructions (§30.3)	y	n

29.1.1 Local reflexivization

In local reflexive constructions, pronouns are bound by an antecedent within the same clause. With first and second person, the normal personal pronouns occur:

- (1) u-l u ma-kerx-ut:a!
 2SG-ERG 2SG PROH-kill.IPFV-PROH.SG
 ‘Do not kill yourself!’ (E)
- (2) niš:i-j nuš:a d-ič:-aq-ud
 1PL-DAT 1PL 1/2PL-want.IPFV-CAUS-1.PRS
 ‘We love ourselves.’ (E)

Only for third person reflexivization the reflexive pronouns are used. Almost all corpus examples contain simple reflexive pronouns, but (4) shows a complex reflexive in the function of beneficiary.

- (3) ca ca il-t:a-j d-ič:-ib, ca cin-i-j b-at-ur
 one one that-PL.OBL-DAT NPL-give.PFV-PRET one REFL.SG-OBL-DAT N-let.PFV-PRET
 ‘(The boy) gave them one (pear) each, one he kept for himself.’
- (4) [talking about the sister of one of the speakers]
 u-l daʔle čaʔj-la istikan a-b-irqʔ-u cin-ni cin-i-j
 2SG-ERG as tea-GEN glass NEG-N-do.IPFV-PRS REFL.SG-ERG REFL.SG-OBL-DAT
 ‘She does not make herself a glass of tea like you.’

Reflexive pronouns are in complementary distribution with personal or demonstrative pronouns (5), (6). The c-command requirement holds, i.e., a possessor cannot control a reflexive pronoun (7).

- (5) it-i-l cin-i-j cikʔal is:-ul ca-b
 that-OBL-ERG REFL.SG-OBL-DAT something buy.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 ‘S/he buys herself/himself something.’ (E)

- (6) it-i-l it-i-j cik'al is:-ul ca-b
 that-OBL-ERG DEM-OBL-DAT something buy.IPFV-ICVB COP-N
 'S/he buys him/her something.' (no co-reference) (E)
- (7) Madina-la aba cinij ca-r či-r-ig-ul ca-r
 Madina-GEN mother REFL.DAT REFL-F SPR-F-see.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'Madina's_i mother_j sees herself_{*i/j}.' (E)

The complex reflexive pronouns must be locally bound (8) and therefore cannot have an antecedent in another clause. The example in (8) is fully grammatical if the pronoun is bound by the noun *aba* 'mother', which occurs in the same clause.

- (8) Madina-j b-ik-ul ca-b [aba cinij ca-r
 Madina-DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N mother REFL.DAT REFL-F
 či-r-až-ib-le]
 SPR-F-see.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'Madina_i wants that the mother_j sees herself_{*i/j}.' (E)

The simple pronouns can occur as arguments and adjuncts of various types, e.g. patients, experiencers (7), stimuli (23), beneficiaries (5), goals (9), possessors (10), and complements of postpositions (11).

- (9) Rašid (ca-w) cin-i-j er=či w-ik'-ul ca-w
 Rashid (REFL-M) REFL.SG-OBL-DAT look=on M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'Rashid is looking at himself.' (E)
- (10) bec'-li=ra d-ič:-ib hel-i-j cin-na viz-be
 wolf-ERG=ADD NPL-give.PFV-PRET that-OBL-DAT REFL.SG-GEN hair-PL
 'The wolf gave him also his hair.'
- (11) Madina (ca-r) cin-na qari=či-r kaj r-ik'-ul ca-r
 Madina REFL-F REFL.SG-GEN at.top=on-F word F-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 'Madina is talking about herself.' (E)

The same is true for the complex reflexive pronoun except for the possessor function and the use in postpositional phrases. The complex genitive can never be used as possessor, and the case-copy pronoun is judged as marginal or interpreted as an emphatic reflexive and thus not as part of a complex reflexive pronoun. Thus, the preferred and entirely acceptable reading of (12) is 'Rashid himself loves his mother'. In the possessor function normally the simple reflexive pronouns are used (10). The same point is illustrated in example (13): the reflexive bearing the ergative case functions as emphatic particle whereas the genitive reflexive occupies the possessor position.

- (12) ?? Rašid-li-j cin-i-j cin-na aba r-ič:-aq-u
 Rashid-OBL-DAT REFL.SG-OBL-DAT REFL.SG-GEN mother F-love-CAUS-PRS.3
 'Rashid loves his mother.' (E)

- (13) Rašid-li cin-ni cin-na qal b-arq'-ib
 Rashid-ERG REFL.SG-ERG REFL.SG-GEN house N-do.PFV-PRET
 'Rashid himself/alone built his house.' (E)

Similarly, a complex reflexive within a postpositional phrase is judged as possible but less felicitous than a simple pronoun unless the first part can function as emphatic reflexive (11).

The simple and the reflexive pronouns are interpreted as bound variables that can be bound by indefinite noun phrases (14), (15).

- (14) har durħu[°]-j cin-na aba r-ič:-aq-u
 every boy-DAT REFL-GEN mother F-love-CAUS-3.PRS
 'Every boy loves his mother.' (E)
- (15) har durħu[°]-j [cin-na ca-w] či-w-až-ib
 every boy-DAT REFL-GEN REFL-M SPR-M-see.PFV-PRET
 'Every boy saw himself.' (E)

The internal order of the two parts of the complex reflexive pronoun that exhibits case copying is free to some degree. Thus, in example (16) the two pronouns can be switched around and they can also be positioned before the controller.

- (16) a. Rašid [ca-w cin-i-j] er=či w-ik'-ul ca-w
 Rashid REFL-M REFL.SG-OBL-DAT look=on M-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 'Rashid is looking at himself.' (E)
- b. *Rašid [cinij caw] erči wik'ul caw*
- c. *[caw cinij] Rašid erči wik'ul caw*

This is not possible in the ergative construction. In contrast to the extended intransitive construction in (16), the complex reflexive cannot precede the controlling noun (17). Due to time constraints, I did not systematically test verbs from different valency classes and their use with complex reflexives in local reflexivization. This topic must be left to future research.

- (17) * [cin-ni ca-w] Rasul-li gap w-irq'-ul ca-w
 REFL.SG-ERG REFL-M Rasul-ERG praise M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 (Intended meaning: 'Rasul is praising himself.') (E)

We can speculate a bit about the origin of complex reflexives. It is possible to elicit examples in which it seems that the pronoun can be split up (18a), (18b). In these examples, the two parts of the case-copying reflexive pronoun are independent of each other and do not form one constituent. The part that copies the case functions as emphatic reflexive, which is co-referent with the controlling noun phrase, and enforces the reflexive interpretation. The second part is a simple reflexive pronoun. It is likely that such sentences represent the diachronic source of the case-copying complex reflexive

constructions.¹ In the following examples (18) the emphatic reflexive is given in bold. The other reflexive pronoun functions as goal argument of the predicate ‘look at’ in a standard local reflexive construction.

- (18) a. *cinij Rašid **caw** erči wik’ul caw*
 b. ***caw** Rašid cinij erči wik’ul caw*

As (19) shows, the emphatic reflexive cannot be separated from the noun it accompanies by an intervening verb, which is a general rule that applies to all emphatic reflexives.

- (19) * *Rašid cinij erči wik’ul caw caw*

The situation is different in case of the complex genitive reflexive which consists of a genitive reflexive pronoun and a second reflexive pronoun that takes the appropriate case-marking, because they do not allow for varying orders of the two pronouns. The reason for the restriction is probably a grammaticalization path, which differs from that of the case-copying complex reflexives. Genitive reflexives are not used in the emphatic reflexive function, but only as pause fillers, and I do not want to suggest that their function as pause fillers forms the basis of the complex genitive, although I lack an alternative hypothesis. In the complex genitive reflexive construction, the internal order of the genitive reflexive pronoun cannot be changed (20). If we switch the order around to *cinna caw*, (20) becomes grammatical.

- (20) * *Rasul-li [ca-w cin-na] gap w-irq’-ul ca-w*
 Rasul-ERG REFL-M REFL.SG-GEN praise M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 (Intended meaning: ‘Rasul is praising himself.’) (E)

Within a ditransitive construction, the direct (21) or the indirect object (22) can function as binder, although simple reflexive pronouns would be preferred in such examples.

- (21) *Pat’imat-li Rašid_i surratic:e-w cin-na cinij_i*
 Patimat-ERG Rashid picture.IN-M REFL-GEN REFL.DAT
či-w-iž-aq-ul=de
 SPR-M-see.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB=PST
 ‘Patimat was showing Rashid_i to himself_i on the picture.’ (E)
- (22) *Pat’imat-li či-w-iž-aq-ul=de Arsen-ni-jj_i surrat-le-w či-w_i*
 Patimat-ERG SPR-M-see.IPFV-CAUS-ICVB=PST Arsen-OBL-DAT picture-LOC-M on-M
cinij ca-w
 REFL.DAT REFL-M
 ‘Patimat was showing to Arsen_i himself_i on the picture.’ (E)

¹I am grateful to an anonymous reviewer for this suggestion. Note that the root of the absolutive reflexive pronouns, *ca-*, is very likely a cognate of the standard copula *ca-b*.

Most notably, the case marking of the antecedent and the reflexive pronoun can swap. This phenomenon, which is cross-linguistically rare, has been observed in a number of East Caucasian languages, among them Sanzhi Dargwa and other Dargwa varieties (see Forker 2014 for a typological study). It is constrained by three interacting factors: morphological complexity of the pronouns, constituent order, and valency class of the predicate.

For morphologically simple reflexive pronouns, case swapping is generally unavailable. For instance, if in clauses with transitive or affective verbs the cases are distributed such that the controlling noun bears the case marking of the agent or experiencer (ergative or dative) and the reflexive appears in the absolutive, then a local reflexive (14), (15) and a non-reflexive reading are possible (23). In the non-reflexive reading, the pronoun refers to a contextually salient referent that, for instance, had been mentioned in the preceding discourse:

- (23) Madina-j ca-r r-ik:-ul ca-r
 Madina-DAT REFL-F F-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘Madina likes/wants/loves herself.’ OR ‘Madina likes/wants/loves her.’ (E)

If we swap the case marking, only the non-reflexive reading remains. With swapped case marking, it is more natural to position the pronoun in the dative case before the noun in the absolutive (24), although the reversed order is also possible.

- (24) cin-i-j Madina r-ik:-ul ca-r
 REFL.SG-OBL-DAT Madina F-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘She likes/wants/loves Madina.’ (E)

With complex reflexive pronouns, affective as well as transitive predicates exhibit a reversal of case marking (25–26), but all other positions including co-arguments of extended intransitive verbs are excluded (27). With transitive and affective predicates the distribution of the case marking in reflexive constructions is free, i.e. either the controller or the pronoun take the ergative or the dative case suffix (25–26).

- (25) a. Rasul-li cin-ni ca-w / cin-na ca-w gap w-irq’-ul ca-w
 Rasul-ERG REFL-ERG REFL-M / REFL-GEN REFL-M praise M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘Rasul is praising himself.’ (E)
 b. Rasul ca-w cin-ni / cin-na cin-ni gap w-irq’-ul ca-w
 Rasul REFL-M REFL-ERG / REFL-GEN REFL-ERG praise M-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-M
 ‘Rasul is praising himself.’ (E)
- (26) a. Rasul-li-j cinij ca-w / cin-na ca-w či:g-ul ca-w
 Rasul-OBL-DAT REFL.DAT REFL-M / REFL-GEN REFL-M see.M-CVB COP-M
 ‘Rasul sees himself.’ (E)
 b. Rasul cinij ca-w / cin-na cinij či:g-ul ca-w
 Rasul REFL.DAT REFL-M / REFL-GEN REFL.DAT praise.M-CVB COP-M
 ‘Rasul sees himself.’ (E)

only function as emphatic reflexives with third person co-constituents. As is the case with local reflexivization, emphatic reflexivization of first and second persons is done with first and second person pronouns. These pronouns occur in the genitive case and are usually used without the pronominal co-constituents (see the examples below).

König & Gast (2006) list the following four functions of emphatic reflexives:

1. adnominal (*X, not Y or X, in contrast to Y*)
2. adverbial-exclusive (*alone, without help*)
3. adverbial-inclusive (*also, too*)
4. attributive (*own*)

Reflexive pronouns in Sanzhi predominantly occur in the first function, in which two situations or two referents are contrasted with each other. This can be done by means of parallel structures in which the items follow each other and are explicitly contrasted. In (28) the speaker contrasts herself with a friend called Huriija. In example (29) the contrast is expressed in a parallel structure that is marked by means of the additive enclitic =*ra* on both members, the speaker herself and the friends.

(28) ħuriija ja ca-r ha-r-ax-ul ak:u ja du r-ax-ul ak:^wa-di
 Huriija or REFL-F UP-F-go-ICVB COP.NEG or 1SG F-go-ICVB COP.NEG-1
 ‘Neither Huriija herself comes (to me) nor do I go (to her).’

(29) tuχum-te ruc-be ak:u=x:ar, w-alχ-an uci urš-b-a-l,
 relative-PL sister-PL COP.NEG=CONC M-know.IPFV-PTCP brother guy-PL-OBL-ERG
 du-l=ra usal-dex a-b-irq’-id mas-la arc-la,
 1SG-ERG=ADD weak-NMLZ NEG-N-do.IPFV-1.PRS wealth-GEN silver-GEN
 ču-l=ra a-b-irq’-ul er r-arq’-ib=da
 REFL.PL-ERG=ADD NEG-N-do.IPFV-ICVB life F-do.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘Although there were no brothers (relatives) and sisters, my friends (known brothers), the guys, I also did not show a lack of money, things (i.e. supported them), and (they) themselves also did not, so I have lived (my life).’

In most cases the contrast is rather indirect and resembles topic switch constructions in which the sentence topic switches from one sentence to the next (30), (31). As examples (32), (33) show, among the complex reflexives only genitive reflexives occur in the emphatic reflexive function.

(30) [He says, “Hello, Asja Iwanowna.”]
 ca-r ka-r-ic:-ur ca-r er či-ka-r-ik’-ul
 REFL-F DOWN-F-stand.PFV-PRET be-F look SPR-DOWN-F-look.IPFV-ICVB
 heχ-i-j
 DEM.DOWN-OBL-DAT
 ‘(She) herself is standing and looking at him.’

- (31) [The fox brought a lot of animals to the poor farmer. The farmer came home and was wondering, looked at them.]
 ca-b ka-b-iž-ib-le daʔ amzu d-irq'-ul ca-d
 REFL-N DOWN-N-be.PFV-PRET-CVB face clean NPL-do.IPFV-ICVB COP-NPL
 'The fox) itself is sitting and cleaning its face.'
- (32) hel-t-a-li ču-la ču-l d-iq:-ul, het:i q:up-re
 that-PL-OBL-ERG REFL.PL-GEN REFL.PL-ERG NPL-carry.IPFV-ICVB those sack-PL
 d-ic'-ib-le ...
 NPL-fill.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'They themselves were carrying the sacks and when they were filled ...'
- (33) tem.bolee niš:a-la priezd-li-j=ra ču-la ca-b=ra
 moreover 1PL-GEN arrival-OBL-DAT=ADD REFL.PL-GEN REFL-HPL=ADD
 padgatuwleni=de
 prepared=PST
 'Moreover, (the Icari people) themselves were prepared for our coming.'

The second function of emphatic reflexives, the adverbial-exclusive function 'alone, without help', is also attested for Sanzhi. Example (34) illustrates this function with a complex genitive reflexive. Example (35) originates from a fairy tale and here the reflexive can be interpreted as adverbial-exclusive and/or as adnominal-contrastive.

- (34) absalut'na cin-na ca-w w-aš-i
 absolutely REFL.SG-GEN REFL-M M-go-HAB.PST
 '(He) went completely on his own (alone).'
- (35) [When she was sweeping, she found a walnut.]
 cin-ni a-b-erk-un-ne, turba-le-r lak'
 REFL.SG-ERG NEG-N-eat.PFV-PRET-CVB chimney-LOC-ABL throw
 b-i-ka-b-arq'-ib ca-b qili hel qix
 N-IN-DOWN-N-do.PFV-PRET COP-N home that nut
 '(She) did not eat the nut herself, but threw it through the chimney into the house.'

The third function (adverbial-inclusive 'also, too') is not common in East Caucasian languages, including Sanzhi, because the languages have additive enclitics that already serve this function (§9.4.1). The fourth function (attributive 'own') is covered by pronouns in the genitive case, i.e., by personal pronouns for first and second person and by simple reflexive pronouns for the third person.

The first and second person genitive pronouns, when used as intensifiers, slightly differ in their morphosyntactic properties from the reflexive pronouns. First of all, they normally do not occur together with the pronominal co-constituent (36a). It would not be natural to add the pronoun in the absolute to this sentence in order to overtly fill the position of the copula subject (36b), and there are no examples of this kind in the corpus.

- (36) a. [He was a relative) of those people up there. I don't know of whose family he was.]
 nik'a durħu[˘]=de di-la
 small boy=PST 1SG-GEN
 '(I) myself was a little boy.'
- b. ?? du nik'a durħu[˘]=de di-la
 1SG small boy=PST 1SG-GEN
 '(I) myself was a little boy.' (E)

Second, in all corpus examples, which are only a small handful, the genitive pronoun appears at the right boundary of the clause after the verb (36a), (37), (38). This position is typical for contrastive topics (§27.2.1). But as the example in (39) proves, this position is not obligatory. As to the function, the first and second person genitive pronouns used as intensifiers fulfill the first function as adnominal intensifiers (36a), (39) and the second as adverbial-exclusive particles (37), (38).

- (37) [At our place, nobody steals, she said.]
 "u[˘]q'-en," r-ik'^w-ar, "bahla-l ala!"
 GO.M-IMP F-say.IPFV-PRS.3 slow-ADVZ 2SG-GEN
 "You (can) leave," she says, "without worries!" (lit. "Go slowly yourself!" she says.)
- (38) [We left the Sanzhi. We went to Shari.]
 it:i=ra "čina-r sa-d-eκ-ib-te=da=j?"
 those=ADD where-ABL HITHER-1/2PL-go.PFV-PRET-DD.PL=2PL=Q
 b-ik'-ul xar b-eκ-ib, "niš:a-la"
 HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB ask N-AUX.PFV-PRET 1PL-GEN
 'They also asked us, "Where did you come from?"'
- (39) ala r-u[˘]q'-aⁿ!
 2SG-GEN F-go-IMP
 '(You) yourself go away!' (I do not go.) (E)

29.1.3 Long-distance reflexivization

The simple reflexive pronouns are also bound across clausal boundaries. This means that they can occur in various types of subordinate clauses with the antecedent belonging to the main clause. Such a usage is impossible for complex reflexives. Sentence (40) illustrates long-distance reflexivization with a relative clause. In (42) we find the reflexive pronoun in a complement clause.

- (40) il=q:el juldaš-li [juldaš:-a-l cin-i-j
 that=when friend-ERG friend.PL-OBL-ERG REFL.SG-OBL-DAT
 sa-q:-ib-te] xunul-be ža[˘]li-j d-ič:-ib
 HITHER-carry.PFV-PRET-DD.PL gift-PL Ali-DAT NPL-give.PFV-PRET
 'At that, the friend gave to Ali the gifts that his friend had brought to him (= to the friend).'

The vast majority of instances of long-distance reflexivization are logophoric contexts. This includes longer stretches of discourse that are framed by verbs of speech and cognition. Normally it is the author of the quote, who serves as the antecedent of the reflexive:

- (41) x:unul-li-c:e=ra durhu^c-c:e=ra xabar b-urs-ul ca-b
 woman-OBL-IN=ADD boy-IN=ADD story N-tell.PFV-ICVB COP-N
 [cin-ni-j ag-ur-il-la]
 REFL.SG-OBL-DAT go.PFV-PRET-REF-GEN
 ‘He is telling his wife and his son what had happened to him.’
- (42) tusnaq-le-w=q:ella hek’-i-j d-aqil cik’al han
 prison-LOC-M=when DEM.UP-OBL-DAT NPL-much something remember
 či-sa-d-irk-ul=de hel admi-li-j [cet’le
 SPR-HITHER-NPL-OCCUR.IPFV-ICVB=PST that person-OBL-DAT how
 milic’a-b-a-l ca-w w-it-ib-ce=de=l, cet’le cin-ni
 police-PL-OBL-ERG REFL-M M-beat.up-PRET-DD.SG=PST=INDQ how REFL.SG-ERG
 x:unul it-ul kelg-un-ce=de=l]
 woman beat.up-ICVB remain-PRET-DD.SG=PST=INDQ
 ‘When the man was in prison he remembered a lot, how the police beat him up,
 how he beat up his wife.’
- (43) ca zamana bari=ra wahi-ce č’an=ra č:al d-uq-un [kut:i
 one time sun=ADD evil-DD.SG wind=ADD argument NPL-go.PFV-PRET which
 ču-c:e-rka c’aq’-ce=de=l]
 REFL.PL-IN-ABL mighty-DD.SG=PST=INDIR.Q
 ‘Once the sun and the evil wind argued about who is stronger.’

It is also possible that the speaker of the quote is included in the group of referents of the reflexive pronoun, i.e., pronoun and antecedent are not identical in their denotation, but the domain of reference of the reflexive is larger (44).

- (44) hel-i-l b-urs-ib ca-b [ču-j ag-ur-il]
 that-OBL-ERG N-tell-PRET COP-N REFL.PL-DAT go.PFV-PRET-REF
 ‘He told what had happened to them.’

Reflexive pronouns are also used in non-logophoric contexts of co-reference across clauses and across sentences. They can occur when the speaker wants to refer to a topical referent in the discourse that is not necessarily used as an argument in the preceding clause, but simply a salient discourse topic at the moment of utterance. This is the case with optative phrases used to commemorate dead relatives and friends or acquaintances (45).

- (45) hel žu^rrus x:unul er r-ik’-ul r-už-ib-le; alžana
 that Russian woman look F-look.at.IPFV-ICVB F-be-PRET-CVB heaven
 b-ik:-ab cin-i-j
 N-give.PFV-OPT.3 REFL.SG-OBL-DAT
 ‘It turned out that the Russian woman had looked (at the events), may heaven be
 given to her.’

Discourse topics expressed with reflexive pronouns are also found outside of optative phrases (46). In (47), it seems that the speaker used first the reflexive because he assumed that the referent of the pronoun would be topical enough to be interpretable, but then he changed his mind and added the full noun phrase as an afterthought in order to reassure the reference of the pronoun.

- (46) [talking about the sister of one of the speakers]
 itwaj cin-i-j kam-le χurejg-e χe-d ha[˘]dur-re
 like.this REFL.SG-OBL-DAT little-ADVZ food-PL exist.DOWN-NPL ready-ADVZ
 ka-d-iš:-ib-te
 DOWN-NPL-put.PFV-PRET-DD.PL
 ‘Like there is little food for her prepared and served (lit. put down).’ (i.e. as if she wasn’t getting enough food)
- (47) [Talking about a group of three boys and another boy. One boy from the group brought the other boy back his hat, which he had lost.]
 il bahanne it-i-l ču-j qu[˘]r-be=ra d-ič:-ib hel-t:i
 that therefore that-OBL-ERG REFL.PL-DAT pear-PL=ADD NPL-give.PFV-PRET that-PL
 du[˘]rĥ-n-a[˘]-j
 boy-PL-OBL-DAT
 ‘Therefore he (= the other boy) gave them pears, to those boys.’

In cases of discourse topics the referent of a reflexive pronoun can even be inanimate (48).

- (48) [There is a tall summit.]
 muza arilla muza b-ik^w-ar cin-i-j=ra
 summit during.day summit HPL-say.IPFV-PRS REFL.SG-OBL-DAT=ADD
 ‘It is called the midday summit.’

29.2 Reciprocal constructions

Reciprocal constructions are built either with plural reflexive pronouns (54) or with specialized pronouns that make use of the numeral *ca* ‘one’. There are three types of reciprocal pronouns whose paradigms are given in §4.4. All pronouns occurring in reciprocal constructions are morphologically complex with the same patterns that the morphologically complex reflexive pronouns exhibit.

Reciprocal pronouns are always clause-bound. They occur in various argument and adjunct positions and are controlled by a suitable plural antecedent that can be omitted. In the following examples, they function as patient (60a), as experiencer or stimulus (49), as beneficiary, as addressee (50), as goal (63a), and as genitive possessor fulfilling the semantic role of an experiencer (51), (52).

- (49) *ca-lla ca ħu^hrmat b-irq'-ul=de, calli-j ca*
 one-GEN one respect N-do.IPFV-ICVB=PST one.OBL-DAT one
b-ik:-ul=de
 HPL-want.IPFV-ICVB=PST
 'They respected each other, loved each other.'
- (50) [*b-arq'-ib=el*] *cal-li calli-c:e b-urs-ul ca-b*
 N-do.PFV-PRET=INDQ one.OBL-ERG one.OBL-IN N-tell-ICVB COP-N
 'They are talking to each other what they would do.'
- (51) *glawni cal-li ca-lla urk'i arɁ-ib ca-d heɁ-ti*
 main one.OBL-ERG one-GEN heart understand.PFV-PRET COP-NPL DEM.DOWN-PL
sub-x:unul-li
 husband-woman-ERG
 'The main point is that they understand each other, the couple.'
- (52) *ca-lla ca-lla urk'i hit:i-dex b-ak:u*
 one-GEN one-GEN heart behind-NMLZ N-COP.NEG
 'There are no bad feelings between each other.'

In all the above corpus examples, the first part of the reciprocal pronoun copies the case of the antecedent, which is absent from the clause, and the second part takes the case marking appropriate to its role in the clause. It is also possible, just like with complex reflexive pronouns, to mark the first part invariably with the genitive (52), (53).

- (53) *Murad=ra Rašid=ra ca-lla calli-j q:urt b-ik'-ul ca-b*
 Murad=ADD Rashid=ADD one-GEN one.OBL-DAT push HPL-AUX-ICVB COP-HPL
 'Murad and Rashid are pushing each other.' (E)

Other variants of reciprocal constructions involve the plural reflexive pronouns (54) and the group numeral form of *ca* 'one', which is *ca-b-a* (55) (§6.4). The latter item means 'the ones, some' and therefore (55) has, in addition to the reciprocal interpretation, another reading in which one person loves another one, who in turn, loves a third person, and so on, such that there are no reciprocal feelings of love between any of the involved persons.

- (54) *Madina-j=ra Pat'imat-li-j=ra čula ca-b*
 Madina-DAT=ADD Patimat-OBL-DAT=ADD REFL.PL.GEN REFL-HPL
či-b-ig-ul ca-b
 SPR-HPL-see.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 'Madina and Patimat see each other.' (E)
- (55) *ca-b-a-li-j ca-b-a b-ič:-aq-u*
 one-HPL-GROUP-OBL-DAT one-HPL-GROUP HPL-like.IPFV-CAUS-PRS.3
 '(They/Some) love each other.' (E)

Reciprocal pronouns can also be marked with spatial cases (50) or be governed by postpositions (56), (57).

- (56) i pa.parjadku ka-d-irx:-ul hel-ti calli-hara ca hit:ille
 and in.order DOWN-NPL-put.IPFV-ICVB that-PL one.OBL-POST one on.back
 ‘and putting them in order one after the other’
- (57) Madina=ra ʔaʕšura=ra ca ca-lla qari=či-b kaj
 Madina=ADD Ashura=ADD one one-GEN on.top=on-HPL word
 ka-b-ik'-ul ca-b
 DOWN-HPL-say.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 ‘Madina and Ashura talk about each other.’ (E)

Syntactically, reciprocal constructions show the same properties as local reflexivization. The c-command requirement holds. Therefore, possessors cannot bind reciprocal pronouns. For instance, in (58) the conjoined possessor noun phrase cannot serve as an antecedent for the reciprocal pronoun, but only the head of the genitive phrase can. The pronouns are interpreted as bound variables and can thus be controlled by non-specific noun phrases (59).

- (58) Murad-la=ra Pat'imat-la=ra bahinte calli-j ca
 Murad-GEN=ADD Patimat-GEN=ADD parents one.OBL-DAT one
 b-ič:-aq-u
 HPL-love.IPFV-CAUS-PRS.3
 ‘Murad and Patimat’s parents love each other.’ (E)
- (59) liil durh-n-a^o-j calli-j ca b-alχ-u
 all<HPL> boy-PL-OBL-DAT one.OBL-DAT one HPL-know.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘All boys know each other.’ (E)

As has been shown for complex reflexive pronouns above, the reciprocal pronouns can also occur in the position of the ergative agent controlled by an antecedent that fulfills the role of the absolutive patient.

- (60) a. Murad-li=ra Rašid-li=ra cal-li ca b-a^oq-ib
 Murad-ERG=ADD Rashid-ERG=ADD one.OBL-ERG one N-hit.PFV-PRET
 ‘Murad and Rashid hit each other.’ (E)
- b. Murad=ra Rašid=ra cal-li ca b-a^oq-ib
 Murad=ADD Rashid=ADD one.OBL-ERG one N-hit.PFV-PRET
 ‘Murad and Rashid hit each other.’ (E)

Similarly, experiencers can be expressed by reciprocal pronouns that are bound by absolutive stimuli. In other words, case marking can swap from the standard distribution to the reverse non-standard distribution. Note that in (61) this does not lead to any change in the form of the reciprocal pronoun because this is the case-copying variant and the two cases involved are the same independently of which case appears on the antecedent.

- (61) a. Musa-j=ra Murad-li-j=ra calli-j ca b-alχ-u
 Musa-DAT=ADD Murad-OBL-DAT=ADD one.OBL-DAT one HPL-know.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘Musa and Murad know each other.’ (E)
- b. Musa=ra Murad=ra calli-j ca b-alχ-u
 Musa=ADD Murad=ADD one.OBL-DAT one HPL-know.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘Musa and Murad know each other.’ (E)

In fact, it seems that the reversed case marking pattern is sometimes preferred with affective constructions. Thus, the standard case marking has been rejected or judged as very marginal for a similar clause with the same type of reciprocal pronoun (62).

- (62) ?? Madina-j=ra Pat’imat-li-j=ra calli-j ca
 Madina-DAT=ADD Patimat-OBL-DAT=ADD one.OBL-DAT one
 či-b-ig-ul ca-b
 SPR-HPL-see.IPFV-ICVB COP-HPL
 (Intended meaning: ‘Madina and Patimat see each other.’) (E)

Transitive verbs and affective verbs are the only valency types that permit the cases to be switched around. As we have noticed for complex reflexive pronouns, swapping of case marking is ungrammatical for extended intransitive verbs (63b).

- (63) a. iti calli-j ca er či-b-ik’-u
 those one.OBL-DAT one look SPR-HPL-say.IPFV-PRS.3
 ‘They look at each other.’ (E)
- b. * it:-a-j calli-j ca er či-b-ik’-u
 those-OBL-DAT one.OBL-DAT one look SPR-HPL-say.IPFV-PRS.3
 (Intended meaning: ‘They look at each other.’) (E)

Again, there is some freedom concerning the word order both with the standard case marking pattern and when the cases have been switched around. Nevertheless, there are word orders that are forbidden, most notably when the pronoun is split apart and the part that copies the case precedes its antecedent from which the case has been copied. More generally, complex reciprocal pronouns, just like complex reflexive pronouns, cannot be split into two parts, and none of the individual parts could be interpreted as fulfilling another function (e.g. as emphatic particle, intensifier or as pause filler). Thus, they must occur next to each other as one constituent.

- (64) standard case marking
- a. Madina-l=ra Dinara-l=ra [cal-li ca] gap
 Madina-ERG=ADD Dinara-ERG=ADD one.OBL-ERG one praise
 b-irq’-i
 HPL-do.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 ‘Madina and Dinara (regularly) praised each other.’ (E)

- b. [calli ca] Madinalra Dinaralra gap birq'i
- c. * calli Madinalra Dinaralra gap birq'i ca

Note that again the case marking of the reciprocal pronouns is identical for the standard patterns as well as for the reversed patterns as is obvious when comparing examples above with the following sentences (65).

(65) reversed case marking

- a. Madina=ra Dinarara=ra cal-li ca gap b-irq'-i
 Madina=ADD Dinarara=ADD one.OBL-ERG one praise HPL-do.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 'Madina and Dinara (regularly) praised each other.' (E)
- b. Madinara Dinarara [ca calli] gap birq'i
- c. [ca calli] Madinara Dinarara gap birq'i

Finally, reciprocal pronouns can only have antecedents within the same clause. For instance, in (66) the pronoun is bound by the conjoined noun phrase 'Patimat and Murad' and cannot be controlled by the compound noun *at:a-aba* 'parents' in the higher clause. The pronoun consists of a part in the dative in accordance with its function in the clause, and a first part that either copies the case of the controller (66a) or occurs in the absolutive (66b).

- (66) a. at:a aba-j b-ik:-ul ca-b [Pat'imat-li=ra
 father mother-DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N Patimat-ERG=ADD
 Murad-li=ra cal-li calli-j kumek b-arq'-ib-le]
 Murad-ERG=ADD one.OBL-ERG one.OBL-DAT help N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'The parents want that Patimat and Murad help each other.' (E)
- b. at:a aba-j b-ik:-ul ca-b [Pat'imat-li=ra
 father mother-DAT N-want.IPFV-ICVB COP-N Patimat-ERG=ADD
 Murad-li=ra ca calli-j kumek b-arq'-ib-le]
 Murad-ERG=ADD one one.OBL-DAT help N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB
 'The parents want that Patimat and Murad help each other.' (E)

30 Minor constructions

30.1 Comparative constructions

In comparative constructions two or more items are examined in order to note similarities and differences in degree between them (Dixon 2008: 787). Inequality between two items is expressed by means of one of the spatial cases (§3.4.2.2). In superlative constructions, degree adverbs occur. Equative constructions and the expression of similarity are realized by means of several particles (§30.2).

In Sanzhi comparative constructions we find a comparee, the standard of comparison, and the parameter of comparison. The standard of comparison is marked with the LOC-ablative case that has the suffixes *-ler(ka)*, *-ar(ka)* or *-jar(ka)* (§3.4.2.2). It is cross-linguistically common to mark the standard of comparison with an ablative (or locative) case (Dixon 2008: 791), and East Caucasian languages including Dargwa varieties nicely confirm this tendency. Neither the comparee nor the parameter of comparison bears any special marking. Consequently, if the standard of comparison were to be omitted, the construction would be a simple clause and not a comparative construction. Most commonly the standard precedes the comparee. The parameter is a gradable adjective or adverb that occurs in its plain form without any additional index (as, e.g., English *more*).

- (1) Baħa^ˆmma-ja-rka Ba^ˆħmud š:u^ˆstri=de
Bahamma-LOC-ABL Bahmud smart=PST
'Bahmud was smarter than Bahamma.'
- (2) at:a-ja-r χ:ula-te=ra b-irχ^w-i
father-LOC-ABL big-DD.PL=ADD HPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
'There were those older than father.'
- (3) ij ač'i-lla-ja-rka [...] muqi-lla=ra ʔa^ˆħ-ce b-irχ-u
this wheat-GEN-LOC-ABL barley-GEN=ADD good-DD.SG N-become.IPFV-PRS.3
'It (bread) is better (when made) of barley than of wheat.'
- (4) u-le-rka sala-r du-l maχ χ:ula-ce b-arq'^ˆ-ij
2SG-LOC-ABL front-ABL 1SG-ERG barrow big-DD.SG N-do.PFV-INF
'I (will) make a big barrow (*maχ*) earlier than you.'
- (5) žaniwar-t-a-lla χ^wal-le ja^ˆħ=ra namus=ra b-už-ib
animal-PL-OBL-GEN big-ADVZ conscience=ADD conscience=ADD N-stay-PRET
ca-b niš:a-la dawla-či-b-t-a-lla-ja-r
COP-N 1PL-GEN wealth-ADJVZ-HPL-PL-OBL-GEN-LOC-ABL
'The animals had apparently more conscience than our rich (people).' (lit. 'their conscience was bigger')

Superlative constructions contain a comparee, a standard of comparison, and a parameter. They basically have the same structure as the constructions described so far in this section. The only differences are the case marking of the standard, which is now the IN-lative, and the additional degree adverb modifying the parameter. The standard of comparison can be omitted if it is inferable from the context

- (6) liil-li-c:e-rka bah q:uʁa-ce dune ka-b-ic:-ur-il
all<N>-OBL-IN-ABL most beautiful-DD.SG world DOWN-N-stand.PFV-PRET-REF
dam dejstwitelno Latwija=de
1SG.DAT really Latvia=PST
'Among all as the most beautiful (country) seemed to me Latvia.'
- (7) il kulpat-li-c:e-r bah χ:ula-ce r-už-ib ca-r
that family-OBL-IN-ABL most big-DD.SG F-be-PRET COP-F
'She was the oldest within her family.'
- (8) bah wahi-ce ʔaʰzirbažan=de
most bad-DD.SG Azerbaijan=PST
'The worst (place) was Azerbaijan.'

30.2 Equative constructions and the expression of similarity

For equative constructions and the expression of similarity Sanzhi has two particles, *ʁuna* and *daʰle* 'as, like', and the adjective *miši* 'similar'.

The particle *ʁuna* 'as, like' immediately follows the parameter of comparison that it has scope over like, e.g., focus-sensitive particles. The parameter can be a pronoun, an adjective (9), an adverbial (10), or a noun (12). Very often it is simply a demonstrative pronoun, and the combination of demonstrative and equative particle means 'like this, such' (11). Depending on the parameter, the particle thus appears, e.g., within noun phrases (9) or in the position of adverbial modifiers.

- (9) žahil ʁuna admi ca-w heχ
young EQ person COP-M DEM.DOWN
'He is like a young man.'
- (10) hešt:u-d ʁuna ʔaʰdat-urme ak:^w-i
here-NPL EQ custom-PL COP.NEG-HAB.PST.3
'There were not such customs as here.'
- (11) hel ʁuna ʔaʰh χalq' b-irχ^w-iri
that EQ good people HPL-become.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
'They were good people like that.'

It can also occur as a predicate in a copula clause without a head noun and it can be nominalized by suffixing *-b* (unclear origin) and the cross-categorical suffix in the plural form *-te* (*ʋunabte*).

- (12) heχ kurušk:a ʋuna b-irχ^w-i
 DEM.DOWN mug EQ N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
 ‘This was like a mug.’

The particle *daʔle* ‘as, like’, which diachronically seems to be an adverbial derived with the adverbializing suffix *-le*, has a meaning very similar but not identical to *ʋuna*. It indicates only that some situation or some item resembles another situation or item. Both particles slightly differ in their distribution. The particle *daʔle* follows the parameter of comparison over which it has scope. As with *ʋuna*, the parameter can be expressed by nouns (13), adverbials (14), or adjectives (15). But in contrast to *ʋuna*, *daʔle* is most frequently used in non-finite clauses headed by participles (16) or the infinitive (17).

- (13) kiwi daʔle χe-d heχ-t:i, kiwi ʋuna cikʔal
 kiwi as exist.DOWN-NPL DEM.DOWN-PL kiwi EQ something
 ‘This looks like kiwi, something similar to kiwi.’
- (14) it=q:ella hana daʔle maršrutka-be a-d-irχ^w-i=qʔal
 that=when now as minibus-PL NEG-NPL-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3=MOD
 ‘At that (time) there were no minibuses like now.’
- (15) heχ x:unul bulan r-uqna-ce daʔle či-r-ig-ul ca-r
 DEM.DOWN woman even F-old-DD as SPR-F-see.IPFV-ICVB COP-F
 ‘This woman even looks like she is old.’
- (16) du-l haʔ-ib daʔle
 1SG-ERG say.PFV-PRET as
 ‘as I said’
- (17) qaʔqaʔj b-uc-ib ca-b a-ka-b-ič-ij daʔle
 jaw N-catch.PFV-PRET COP-N NEG-DOWN-N-OCCUR.PFV-INF as
 ‘He is keeping his jar as if it fell down.’ (lit. ‘like not to fall down’)

Finally, the adjective *miši* ‘similar’ assigns the dative case to its complement that represents the standard of comparison (18). In copula clauses, in which it is used in the copula complement, the adverbializing suffix *-le* is added, as it regularly happens with adjectival stems in copula construction.

- (18) tusnaq-li-j miši-l ak:u
 prison-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP.NEG
 ‘This is not similar to a prison.’

The differences between the three comparative constructions lie mostly in their morphosyntactic behavior, with an additional semantic distinction between *buna* and *daʔle* on the one side, and *mišil* on the other (19), (20). The particles *buna* and *daʔle* have the distribution of focus-sensitive particles and can therefore occur within certain types of phrases as, e.g., noun phrases, but do not assign case to the items they scope over, in contrast to the case-assigning adjective *miši*.

- (19) žahil admi buna / daʔle ca-w
 young person EQ / as COP-M
 ‘(He) is like a young man. (i.e. He seems to be young, he looks young or behaves as if he were young)’
- (20) žahil admi-li-j miši-l ca-w
 young person-OBL-DAT similar-ADVZ COP-M
 ‘(He) is similar to a young man.’

30.3 Comitative constructions

Sanzhi has two ways of expressing comitative meaning: case marking (in combination with optional postpositions) and a construction involving the use of reflexive pronouns.

The cases used are the comitative case (*-c:ella*, §3.4.2.1) or, more rarely, the IN-ablative case (§3.4.2.4). They can occur together with the postposition *b-alli* (§8.2.1) or the postposition/adverb *canille* (§8.2.2). These constructions can be used with animate and inanimate nouns. In the latter case they can express instruments (21).

- (21) čʼala-c:ella ʔaʼmi ka-b-at-ur-re
 fork-COMIT hole DOWN-N-let.PFV-PRET-CVB
 ‘having made a hole with a fork’
- (22) nu, iž-i-c:ella canille=q:el il hel zamana, ak:-u=w?
 well this-OBL-COMIT together=when that that time COP.NEG-PRS.3=Q
 ‘Well, he was together with him at that time, right?’

There does not seem to be a clear semantic difference between *b-alli* and *canille* (23). The two items can only be distinguished by means of their morphosyntactic behavior, because *b-alli* agrees in gender with the argument in the absolutive (23) and it always implies a complement even when the complement is not overtly expressed. For instance, (24) entails that there were other people with whom we came, whereas in (25) there is no such implication and *canille* only functions as an adverb that expresses the fact that Madina and the speaker came together:

- (23) burta haʼšak-li-c:ella b-alli / canille b-irχʷ-an ca-b
 lid pot-OBL-COMIT N-together / together N-be.IPFV-PTCP COP-N
 ‘The lid should be together with the pot.’ (E)

- (24) *Madina=ra du=ra d-alli ag-ur=da*
 Madina=ADD 1SG=ADD 1/2PL-together go.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘Madina and I came together (with somebody else/with other people).’ (E)
- (25) *Madina=ra du=ra canille ag-ur=da*
 Madina=ADD 1SG=ADD together go.PFV-PRET=1
 ‘Madina and I came together.’ (E)

The second construction is the use of a reflexive pronoun in what looks like a coordination of noun phrases. This construction has been described for Standard Dargwa by van den Berg (2004). The structure is [*Y=ra X=ra*] ‘X with Y’. X refers to an animate (usually human) entity and is formally expressed through the reflexive pronoun. Y is a nominal that can be animate or inanimate and takes case suffixes. It can be a common noun, a pronoun, a personal name or any other type of noun phrase. Both X and Y are marked with the additive *=ra* and are often adjacent to each other, which makes them look like a coordinated noun phrase. However, the argument referred to by the reflexive can be expressed independently. Furthermore, the coordinated noun phrase usually does not take an argument position in the clause. It is rather one of the individual members that functions as argument. For instance, in (26) the pronoun *heχ* that is following the comitative phrase represents the subject of the following verb as the agreement on the verb shows (masculine singular).

- (26) [*hin-na badra=ra ca-w=ra*] *heχ ka-jc:ur ca-w*
 water-GEN bucket=ADD REFL-M=ADD DEM.DOWN DOWN-stand.M.PFV-PRET COP-M
 ‘With a bucket of water he is standing.’
- (27) *sa-r-uq-un ca-w χ:^we=ra ca-w=ra*
 HITHER-ABL-go.PFV-PRET COP-M dog=ADD REFL-M=ADD
 ‘He ran away with his dog.’

Example (28) shows that the two items bearing the additive enclitic *=ra* can be separated by other material. The agreement on the existential copula is controlled by the first noun phrase *ca ca šuša*, which is semantically plural and functions as the copula subject of the existential/locational copula *χe-d*, and the reflexive pronoun appears in a kind of right-dislocated position, such that it is syntactically not part of the subject constituent.

- (28) *harkil-li-c:e-d ca ca šuša=ra χe-d ca-b=ra*
 every-OBL-IN-NPL one one bottle=ADD exist.DOWN-NPL REFL-HPL=ADD
 ‘Everybody is with a bottle in their hands.’ (lit. ‘There is one bottle each in everybody’s (hand), and they also.’)

It is also possible to elicit examples in which the semantically coordinated items function as a coordinated noun phrase. The coordinated noun phrase controls plural agreement on intransitive verbs if it functions as subject (29). However, masculine singular would also be possible in this type of construction as (27) shows. In example (30) the two coordinated items are marked for the ergative case. Again the coordinated noun phrase rather looks like an adjunct in the clause in which *Musal* is the agentive argument.

30 Minor constructions

- (29) ruc:i=ra ca-w=ra ka-b-ic:-ur ca-b
 sister=ADD REFL-M=ADD DOWN-HPL-stand.PFV-PRET COP-HPL
 ‘He and (his) sister were standing there.’ (E)
- (30) ruc:i-li=ra cin-ni=ra Musa-l dalaj b-uč’-un ca-b
 sister-ERG=ADD REFL.SG-ERG=ADD Musa-ERG song N-sing.IPFV-PRET COP-N
 ‘Musa sang a song together with his sister.’

The construction has probably evolved from the emphatic use of reflexive pronouns (§29.1.2) in combination with the additive meaning of the enclitic =*ra*. Thus, in (31) the two parts occur in independent clauses that follow each other as arguments of their respective verbs. The reflexive pronoun in the second clause doubles an omitted subject argument and conveys the emphatic meaning ‘she herself’. The whole construction can be rephrased as ‘both the backpack and she herself’ and has a comitative reading (‘she went away with the backpack’) that has to be inferred from the structure.

- (31) ca x:unul-li χ:ap b-arq’-ib-le hil-i-la wešimišuk’=ra
 one woman-ERG grab N-do.PFV-PRET-CVB that-OBL-GEN backpack=ADD
 b-erq:-ib ca-b, ca-r=ra ag-ur ca-r
 N-carry.PFV-PRET COP-N REFL-F=ADD go.PFV-PRET COP-F
 ‘There one woman grabbed his backpack, took it, and went away with it.’ (lit.
 ‘She also took [the backpack], and [she herself also] went away.’)

30.4 Possession

Possession is either expressed by cases or by means of the *b-ah* construction. In the first case the possessor is marked with the genitive case and most commonly preceding the possessed item (32), but other positions are available, too (33) (see §21.1 on noun phrases and §27.1 on the constituent order of phrases). There is no grammaticalized distinction between alienable and inalienable possession. Clauses expressing possession are copula clauses (§22.2) containing locational copulas (§16.2).

- (32) di-la at:a aba le-b=de
 1SG-GEN father mother exist-HPL=PST
 ‘I had mother and father.’
- (33) q:ap χe-b=uw, wa Ašura, ala?
 sack exist.DOWN-N=Q hey Ashura 2SG.GEN
 ‘Is your sack there, Ashura?’

If the respective item is not permanently possessed but only temporarily in the custody of the possessor, the IN-essive case is used (34) (§3.4.2.4).

- (34) hež-i-c:e-b šuša ca-b deč-la
 this-OBL-IN-N bottle COP-N drinking-GEN
 ‘He has a bottle with a drink.’

The second way of expressing possession is the *b-ah* construction. The noun *b-ah* means ‘owner’ (plural *b-ahin-te*, also translates as ‘parents’). It is one of the few nouns that have a gender prefix expressing the gender of the owner. The possessed item appears in the genitive with *b-ah* as the head noun of the genitive phrase. If the possessor is overt it occurs after *b-ah*. Both noun phrases together form an appositive phrase (§21.1). The possessed items in this construction are normally inanimate objects (35–38). Often they refer to clothes (37) or body parts (35), (36) that are used to characterize and identify the owner. From this noun the adjective-like item *wahwalla* ‘own, everybody’s own’ with frozen gender agreement has been derived.

- (35) č’imi-la b-ah b-irχ^w-i
tail-GEN N-OWNER N-be.IPFV-HAB.PST.3
‘There was one with a tail.’
- (36) ca ul-la b-ah šajt’an
one eye-GEN N-owner devil
‘the devil with one eye’
- (37) šlja^ˈp’a-la b-ahin-te=de ʔa^ˈbal-ra
hat-GEN HPL-owner-PL=PST three-NUM
‘All three had hats.’
- (38) qar=či-b sa-b-ik-u [...] hin-ni, duqu-l, le-b-il ɣuna
up=on-N HITHER-N-smear.IPFV-PRS water-ERG egg-ERG exist-N-REF EQ
w-ah-la cik’al-li
M-owner-GEN thing-ERG
‘On the upper side you smear [...] water, egg, whatever you have.’

Appendix A: List of affixes and enclitics

This section gives a list of all prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and enclitics, including those suffixes that do not have glosses. The list includes the name of the item, their glosses (if any), and the number of the chapter or section where the item is treated. Predictable allomorphs are separated by comma or given in brackets, and occasionally within separate entries. Allomorphs that occur in free variation and cannot be predicted are separated by forward slashes.

-a	directional case	DIR
-a	spatial case 'in, on'	LOC
-a	oblique plural stem marker	OBL.PL, OBL
-a	derivation of action and event nouns	NMLZ
-a	derivation of group numerals; occurs only together with a gender marker, e.g. <i>-b-a</i> , <i>-d-a</i>	GROUP
-a	imperative singular	IMP
-a	habitual past	HAB.PST
a-	negation	NEG
-ab	optative	OPT (OPT.3, OPT.2PL)
-ad	habitual present first person	1.PRS
-adi	habitual past first person	HAB.PST.1
-aj(a)	imperative plural	IMP.PL
-aj(a)	second person plural of certain verb forms (e.g. optative)	2PL
=al	marker for embedded questions	INDQ
-al, -jal	derivation of numerals	NUM
-ala	derivation of action and event nouns	NMLZ
-alle	realis conditional first person	COND.1
-an	realis conditional third person	COND.3
-an	locative participle	PTCP.LOC
-an	obligative/modal/future participle	PTCP
-(a)n	derivation of adjectives	ADJVZ
-an/-anne	realis conditional third person	COND.3
-anaj	subjunctive third person	SUBJ.3
-a ^h ne	imperative plural	IMP.PL
-aq	causative	CAUS
-ar	habitual present third person	3.PRS
-ar	participle of copula	PTPC
-ar	derivation of adjectives	ADJVZ
-ar/-ar(re)	realis conditional third person	COND.3

A List of affixes and enclitics

-araj	subjunctive third person	SUBJ.3
-ardel	past conditional third person	COND.PST
-arte	optative second and third person plural	OPT.PL
-at/-at:a	prohibitive singular	PROH.SG
-at/-at:al	realis conditional second person plural	COND.2PL
-at/-at:e	realis conditional second person singular	COND.2SG
-at:a	habitual present second person plural	2PL.PRS
-at:e	habitual present second person singular	2SG.PRS
=aw (< =w)	marker for polar questions	Q
-azi-	derivation of adjectives; occurs only together with gender markers, e.g. -b-azi-b	ADJVZ
-aχ:	conditional	COND
b-, -b-, -b	neuter singular (gender marker)	N
b-, -b-, -b	human plural (gender marker)	HPL
-be, -b-	plural (of nouns)	PL
-c'a(l)	derivation of numerals multiples of ten	TEN
-ce	definite description singular (cross-categorical suffix)	DD.SG
-c:e	spatial case 'in, among'	IN
-c:el(la)	comitative	COMIT
-če- (< či-ha-)	preverb 'on' + preverb 'up, upwards'	SPR.UP
či-	preverb 'on'	SPR
-či	derivation of agent nouns	NMLZ
-či	derivation of adjectives	ADJVZ
=č'u	derivation of negative indefinites and free-choice indefinites	INDEF
=cun	focus-sensitive particle 'only'	ONLY
d-, -d-, -d	neuter plural (gender marker)	NPL
d-, -d-, -d	first and second person plural (gender marker)	1/2PL
=da	first person; second person plural	1, 2PL
-darš	derivation of numerals (hundreds)	100
=de	second person singular	2SG
=de	past	PST
-de, -d-	plural (of nouns)	PL
=del	derivation of nonspecific indefinite pronouns	INDEF
-del	past conditional	COND.PST
-dex	derivation of abstract nouns	NMLZ
-di	first person of habitual past	1
-e	plural (of nouns)	PL
-e	imperative singular	IMP
=e	marker for content questions	Q
=el	1. marker for embedded questions; 2. derivation of specific indefinite pronouns	INDQ; INDEF
-en	imperative singular	IMP
-ene(ja)	imperative plural	IMP.PL
=er	temporal enclitic 'when, as'	WHEN
-ere	imperative plural	IMP.PL
=ew (< =w)	marker for polar questions	Q
=gina	focus-sensitive particle 'alone, only'	ONLY

	-gu	spatial case ‘under’	SUB
	gu-	preverb ‘under, down’	DOWN
g ^w a- (< gu-ha-)		preverb ‘down’ + preverb ‘up, upwards’	DOWN.UP
	ha-	preverb ‘up, upwards’	UP
	-hara	spatial case ‘behind’	POST
	hit-i-	preverb ‘behind, after’	BEHIND
	-i	oblique stem marker	OBL
	i-	preverb ‘in, inside’; occurs only together with a prefixed gender marker, i.e. <i>w-i-</i> , <i>r-i-</i> , <i>b-i-</i> , <i>d-i-</i>	IN
	-i(ri), -ini	habitual past third person	HAB.PST
	-ib	preterite	PRET
-ib(il), -ubil		derivation of ordinal numerals	ORD
	-id	habitual present first person (transitive verbs)	1.PRS
	-ida	first person modal	1.MOD
	-ide(l)	modal interrogative	MODQ
	-ij	infinitive	INF
	-il	referential attribute (cross-categorical suffix)	REF
	-ille	realis conditional first person (transitive verbs)	COND.1
	-it-	preverb ‘away from the speaker, thither’; occurs only together with a prefixed gender marker, i.e. <i>w-it-</i> , <i>r-it-</i> , <i>b-it-</i> , <i>d-it-</i>	THITHER
	-it/-it:a	prohibitive singular (transitive verbs)	PROH.SG
	-it:a	habitual present second person plural (transitive verbs)	2PL.PRS
	-it:aj	subjunctive second person (transitive verbs)	SUBJ.2
-it:aj(a)		prohibitive plural (transitive verbs)	PROH.PL
	-it:al	1. realis conditional second person plural; 2. past conditional second person plural (transitive verbs)	COND.2PL; COND.2PL
	-it:e	derivation of manner adverbs	ADVZ
	-it:e	habitual present second person singular (transitive verbs)	2SG.PRS
	-it:e(l)	realis conditional second person singular (transitive verbs)	COND.2SG
	-it:el	past conditional first and second person singular (transitive verbs)	COND.1; COND.2SG
	-j	dative	DAT
	=ja	marker for content questions	Q
	-ja	spatial case ‘in, on’	LOC
	=jal	1. marker for embedded questions; 2. derivation of specific indefinite pronouns	INDEF; INDEF
	=k: ^w a	politeness particle	PRT
	ka-	preverb ‘down, downwards’	DOWN
	-k’a	derivation of free-choice indefinite pronouns	INDEF
	-k’al	derivation of negative indefinite, specific indefinite, free-choice indefinite pronouns	INDEF
	-kar	derivation of agent nouns	NMLZ
	-k’u	1. derivation of specific indefinite pronouns; 2. emphatic/modal particle	INDEF; EMPH

A List of affixes and enclitics

<i>k^wi-</i>	preverb 'in(to)/to, in(to) the hands'	IN.THE.HANDS
<i>=l</i>	marker for embedded questions	INDQ
<i>-l, -li</i>	1. ergative; 2. oblique stem marker	ERG; OBL
<i>-la, -lla</i>	1. genitive; 2. temporal suffix 'since, after'	GEN; POST
<i>=le</i>	emphatic particle	EMPH
<i>-le</i>	spatial case 'in, on'	LOC
<i>-le, -lle</i>	derivation of adverbials (cross-categorical suffix)	ADVZ
<i>-lim</i>	derivation of numerals	NUM
<i>ma-</i>	prohibitive	PROH
<i>-me, -m-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-na (< -la)</i>	genitive	GEN
<i>-na, -jna</i>	derivation of multiplicative numerals	TIME
<i>-ne (< -le)</i>	spatial case 'in, on'	LOC
<i>-ne (< -le)</i>	derivation of adverbials	ADVZ
<i>-ne (< -le)</i>	perfective converb	CVB
<i>-ne</i>	future, third person	FUT.3
<i>-ne, -n-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-ni</i>	masdar	MSD
<i>-ni (< -li)</i>	ergative	ERG
<i>-nu</i>	derivation of numerals (multiples of ten)	TEN
<i>=n(u)</i>	pragmatic particle	PRT
<i>-p:e, -p:-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>=q:el(la)</i>	temporal enclitic 'when, while, because'	WHEN
<i>-q'a'</i>	derivation of agent nouns	NMLZ
<i>-qal</i>	associative plural	ASSOC
<i>=q'al</i>	modal particle	MOD
<i>=q'ar</i>	modal particle	MOD
<i>r-, -r-, -r</i>	feminine singular (gender marker)	F
<i>-r</i>	ablative	ABL
<i>=ra</i>	1. additive particle; 2. derivation of negative indefinite, universal indefinite, free-choice indefinite pronouns	ADD
<i>-ra</i>	derivation of numerals	NUM
<i>-ra (< -la)</i>	genitive	GEN
<i>-rbe, -rb-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-re</i>	conditional	COND
<i>-re (< -le)</i>	perfective converb	CVB
<i>-re (< -le)</i>	spatial case 'in, on'	LOC
<i>-re (< -le)</i>	derivation of adverbials	ADVZ
<i>-re, -r-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>=ri</i>	politeness particle	PRT
<i>-ri (< -li)</i>	ergative	ERG
<i>-rka (< -r-ka)</i>	ablative	ABL
<i>-rme, -rm-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>=#una</i>	equative particle	EQ
<i>-š:u</i>	'ad'-series (spatial case 'to')	AD
<i>-sa</i>	spatial case 'in front'	ANTE
<i>sa-</i>	preverb 'to the speaker, hither'	HITHER

<i>sa-</i>	preverb 'in front of'	ANTE
<i>=sat/=sat:in/</i>	temporal enclitic 'until, before, as much as, as long	UNTIL; AS.MUCH
<i>=sat:inna</i>	as'	
<i>-t:a</i>	second person plural of habitual past	2PL
<i>-t:e</i>	second person singular of habitual past	2SG
<i>-t:i, -t:-</i>	plural (of demonstrative pronouns)	PL
<i>-t:u</i>	derivation of spatial adverbs	LOC
<i>t:ura-</i>	preverb 'outside'	OUTSIDE
<i>-te, -t-</i>	plural (of nouns); definite description plural	PL; DD.PL
<i>-u</i>	habitual present third person	3.PRS
<i>-ub</i>	preterite	PRET
<i>-ube, -ub-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-ubne, -ubn-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-ud</i>	habitual present first person (interrogative clauses)	1.PRS
<i>-ul(e)</i>	imperfective converb	ICVB
<i>-ulle</i>	realis conditional first person (interrogative clauses)	COND.1
<i>-un</i>	preterite	PRET
<i>-une, -un-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-unne</i>	imperfective converb	ICVB
<i>-u[˘]q</i>	derivation of agent nouns	NMLZ
<i>-ur</i>	preterite	PRET
<i>-urme, -urm-</i>	plural (of nouns)	PL
<i>-ut/-ut:a</i>	prohibitive singular (interrogative clauses)	PROH.SG
<i>-ut:a</i>	habitual present second person plural (interrogative clauses)	2PL.PRS
<i>-ut:aj</i>	subjunctive second person (interrogative clauses)	SUBJ.2
<i>-ut:aj(a)</i>	prohibitive plural (interrogative clauses)	PROH.PL
<i>-ut:al</i>	1. realis conditional second person plural; 2. past conditional second person plural (interrogative clauses)	COND.2PL
<i>-ut:e</i>	habitual present second person singular (interrogative clauses)	2SG.PRS
<i>-ut:e(l)</i>	realis conditional second person singular (interrogative clauses)	COND.2SG
<i>-ut:el</i>	past conditional first and second person singular (interrogative clauses)	COND.1; COND.2SG
<i>-ut:i</i>	derivation of action and event nouns	NMLZ
<i>=uw (< =w)</i>	marker for polar questions	Q
<i>=w</i>	marker for polar questions	Q
<i>w-, -w-, -w</i>	masculine singular (gender marker)	M
<i>=x:ar</i>	concessive enclitic 'although, even if'	CONC

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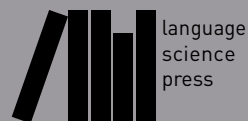
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A grammar of Sanzhi Dargwa

Sanzhi Dargwa belongs to the Dargwa (Dargi) languages (ISO dar; Glottocode sanz1248) which form a subgroup of the East Caucasian (Nakh-Dagestanian) language family. Sanzhi Dargwa is spoken by approximately 250 speakers and is severely endangered. This book is the first comprehensive descriptive grammar of Sanzhi, written from a typological perspective. It treats all major levels of grammar (phonology, morphology, syntax) and also information structure. Sanzhi Dargwa is structurally similar to other East Caucasian languages, in particular Dargwa languages. It has a relatively large consonant inventory including pharyngeal and ejective consonants. Sanzhi morphology is concatenative and mainly suffixing. The language exhibits a mixture of dependent-marking in the form of a rich case inventory and head-marking in the form of verbal agreement. Nouns are divided into three genders. Verbal inflection conflates tense/aspect/mood/evidentiality in a rich array of synthetic and analytic verb forms as well as participles, converbs, a masdar (verbal noun), and infinitive and some other forms used in analytic tenses and subordinate clauses. Salient traits of the grammar are two independently operating agreement systems: gender/number agreement and person agreement. Within the nominal domain, modifiers agree with the head nominal in gender/number. Agreement within the clausal domain is mainly controlled by the argument in the absolutive case. Person agreement operates only at the clausal level and according to the person hierarchy 1, 2 > 3. Sanzhi has ergative alignment in the form of gender/number agreement and ergative case marking. The most frequent word order at the clause level is SOV, though all other logically possible word orders are also attested. In subordinate clauses, word order is almost exclusively head-final.

ISBN 978-3-96110-196-2



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