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A Grammar of Khwarshi

PROEFSCHRIFT

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For my parents and my two brothers

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I-V gender markers
ABL – ablative
ABS – absolutive
AD – adessive
ANTR – anterior
APPR - apprehensive
APUD – apudessive
BC – biabsolutive construction
C – consonant
CAUS – causative
CAUSAL – causal
COLL – collective
CONC – concessive
COND – conditional
CONT – concessive
DAY – day-converb
DEF – definiteness
DELIB – deliberative mood
DISTR – distributive
DUR – durative (reduplication)
DURAT – durative converb
EC – ergative construction
EMPH - emphatic
ERG – ergative
EQ – equative
G – gender
GEN1 – genitive 1
GEN2 – genitive 2
GNT – general tense

IMM.ANTR – immediate anterior converb
IMP – imperative
IN – inessive
INF – infinitive
INTENT – intentional
INTER – intercessive
INTS – intensifier
IPFV.CVB – imperfective converb
HPL – human plural
LAT – lative
MASD – masdar
NARR – narrative
NEG - negative
NHPL – non-human plural
OBL – oblique
OPT – optative
ORD – ordinal
PART – particle
PFV.CVB – perfective converb
PL – plural
POSTR – posterior converb
POT – potential
PROH – prohibitive
PRS – present
PRS.NEG – present negative
PTCP – participle
PST.PTCP – past participle
PST.W – past witnessed
PST.UW – past unwitnessed
PURP – purposive
QUES – question
QUOT – quotative

RC – relative construction
RED – reduplication
REFL – reflexive
REPET - repetitive
SIMIL - simulative
SUB – subessive
SUPER – superessive
TEMP.CVB-temporal converb
TERM – terminative
TRANS – translative
V - vowel
VERS – versative
VZ – verbalizer
1SG – first person singular
2SG – second person singular
1PL – first person plural
2PL – second person plural

1. Introduction

1.1. General information on Khwarshi

Khwarshi is one of the non-written languages of Daghestan. It belongs to the Tsezic branch of the Nakh-Daghestanian (also known as East Caucasian, Northeast Caucasian) language family. The Tsezic group of languages itself belongs to the Avar-Andi-Tsezic branch (Avar-Andi languages include Avar, Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Akhvakh, Bagwalal, Tindi, and Chamalal).

The Tsezic group of languages is divided between the West Tsezic group (including Khwarshi, Hinuq, and Tsez) and the East Tsezic group (including Bezhta and Hunzib).

1.2. Khwarshi ethnic groups and geographical location

The Khwarshi ethnic group lives in the southeastern part of a high mountainous area in the Tsumada district of the Daghestan Republic. This area runs along the gorge formed by the river Khwarshinka, which flows into the river Andi Koysu (other Tsezic languages are spoken in the Tsunta district). In the Tsumada district there are seven Khwarshi settlements: Upper and Lower Inkhokwari (Avar *inxoqwari*, Khwarshi *iqqo*), Kwantlada (Avar *kwanλ'ada*, Khwarshi *k'oloqo*), Santlada (Avar *sanλ'ada*, Khwarshi *zoλuho*), Khwarshi (Avar *xwarši*, Khwarshi *aλ'iqo*), Khonokh (Avar *xonox*, Khwarshi *honoho*), and Khwayni (Avar *xwayni*, Khwarshi *ečeł*), located at a height of more than 2000 meters above sea level. The names of five settlements correspond to the dialects of Khwarshi, i.e. the following dialects: Inkhokwari (spoken in Upper and Lower Inkhokwari), Kwantlada, Santlada, Khwayni, and Khwarshi Proper (spoken in the villages of Khwarshi and Khonokh). These settlements are situated about 25-35 km from the district center, Agvali, and about 180 km from the capital of Daghestan, Makhachkala.

Geographically, the Khwarshi area adjoins a zone where Andic languages are distributed; in particular, some Khwarshi speaking villages like Inkhokwari border

Tindi areas, and the Khwarshi area is separated from other Tsezic languages by a natural border, a mountain range.

In August 1944 Khwarshi people together with other Andi-Tsezic ethnic groups were deported to Vedeno and areas of Ritlyab in the Chechen-Ingush Republic, which was a part of the Daghestan Republic in those times. In 1957 many Khwarshi people returned to their former villages in the highlands, and nowadays they are territorially part of the Tsumada district bordering Avar and Andic speaking areas.

But the majority of Khwarshi people, about 70%, emigrated to lowland villages. These are as follows: Oktyabrskoe, which consists mostly of Inkhokwari and Kwantlada speakers; Pervomayskoe, where mostly speakers of Santlada are settled; and Mutsalaul, with mostly Khwarshi Proper speakers. All these villages administratively belong to the Khasavyurt districts. Khwarshi people also live in Komsomolskoe and Kizilyurt, which belong to the Kizilyurt district, where mostly Khwarshi Proper, Kwantlada and Inkhokwari speakers are settled. In the villages Mutsalaul, Komsomolskoe, and Kizilyurt, Khwarshi people live together with other ethnic groups, like Avar, Andi, and other Daghestanian ethnicities. There are also Inkhokwari and Kwantlada speakers in the Kizlyar district.

The basic mode of subsistence among the Khwarshi is stock breeding. They make a living from agriculture, mostly on the plains, but also from dry plough farming on mountain slopes.

The Khwarshi people are traditionally Sunni Muslims.

1.3. The ethnic term ‘Khwarshi’

The ethnic name ‘Khwarshi’ is derived from the name of the largest settlement, which is Khwarshi settlement. There is no general name for all Khwarshi people; inhabitants of Khwarshi villages call themselves by the names of the settlements they live in: Inkhokwari (village) – Inkhokwari person – Inkhokwari people (*iqqo - ixizēs - ixizo*), Kwantlada (village) – Kwantlada person – Kwantlada people (*k’oloqo - κ’ολοžes - κ’ολozo*), Santlada (village) – Santlada person - Santlada people (*zoluho - zoližes- zolozo*), Khwarshi (village) - Khwarshi person - Khwarshi people (*aλ’iqo - aλ’izēs - aλ’izo*), Khonokh (village) - Khonokh person – Khonokh people (*honoho -*

honožes - honozo), Khwayni (village) – Khwayni person – Khwayni people (*ečet - ečezas - ečezo*).

In Avar speaking areas the following ethnic names are found: *xwaršal* ‘Khwarshi people’, *xwarši k’k’alisel* ‘inhabitants of Khwarshi gorges’, and *inxoqwarisel* ‘Inkhokwari people’ (Musaeva 1995: 6).

1.4. Numerical facts concerning the Khwarshi people

The first concrete number of Khwarshi speakers was mentioned in *Posemejnyj Spisok Tindal’skogo Naibstva Andijskogo okruga*, in 1886 with the number at 1365 (Musaeva 1995: 8). The 1926 census puts the number at 1498 Khwarshi speakers (*Materialy vsesojuznoj perepisi naselenija 1926, Daghestan. Makhachkala, 1927*). In all censuses carried out up to 1926, Khwarshi people were considered as one ethnic group. However, in the censuses of 1939, 1959, 1970, and 1989, Khwarshi people like other Andi-Tsezic speakers were included in the Avar group; consequently the quantitative data of Khwarshi speakers was not specified in these censuses, apart from some data collected by researchers. According to estimates of the Tsumada district in 1991, the number of Khwarshi speakers was more than 860. According to the last population census from 2002, there are 128 Khwarshi speakers. Such small numbers are due to the fact that most Khwarshi speakers have registered themselves as Avar speakers.

However, according to our estimated data and according to the rural administrations for 2009, the number of Khwarshi speakers is more than 8500. The following estimates have been made: 1500 Khwarshi speakers live in mountainous areas in the Tsumada district, with 140 in Upper Inkhokwari, 330 in Lower Inkhokwari, 100 in Kwantlada, 270 in Santlada, 360 in Khonokh, 110 in Khwayni, and 220 in Khwarshi.

In the lowland part of Daghestan there are more than 7000 Khwarshi speakers in the following settlements: in Oktyabrskoe there are 1590 Inkhokwari speakers and 730 Kwantlada speakers; in Pervomayskoe there are 1200 Santlada speakers; in Mutsalaul there are more than 2000 speakers of Khwarshi Proper; in Komsomolskoe there are 500 Khwarshi Proper, and 300 Khwayni speakers; in Kizilyurt there are 100

Khwarshi Proper, and 500 Inkhokwari speakers; in Kizlyar and the Kizlyar districts there are 100 Inkhokwari and 70 Kwantlada speakers.

1.5. Dialectal division and their differences

Khwarshi comprises five dialects: Khwarshi Proper, Inkhokwari, Kwantlada, Santlada, and Khwayni. The Khwarshi Proper and Inkhokwari dialects are the most dissimilar dialects. The Kwantlada, Santlada, and Khwayni dialects show little dialectal variation from each other and can be grouped with the Inkhokwari dialect. Thus, the Inkhokwari, Kwantlada, Santlada and Khwayni dialects stand in opposition to the Khwarshi Proper dialect. Despite some phonetic and lexical differences, the dialects show a rather high degree of mutual intelligibility. The grammar is based on the Kwantlada dialect, and the name Khwarshi is used as a cover name, while the reference to a particular dialect is made only where it is needed.

1.5.1. Sound correspondences within Khwarshi dialects

Salient dialectal differences between the Khwarshi Proper and Kwantlada dialects will be considered below. In addition, the main dialectal differences between Khwarshi Proper, Inkhokwari, and Kwantlada will also be illustrated. Most of the vocabulary is common for all dialects. However, there are some frequent sound correspondences between Khwarshi Proper, Kwantlada, and other dialects.

1.5.1.1. Vowel alternation

(i) The Kwantlada vowel *e* corresponds to *a* in the Khwarshi Proper:

Kwantlada	Khwarshi Proper
muše	muša ‘air’
mu ⁿ že	muža ‘bed’
nuše	nuša ‘shame’
uže	uža ‘boy’
λile	λila ‘lamb’

(ii) The Kwantlada vowel *o* corresponds to *a* in the Khwarshi Proper, and such correspondences are found in personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns, nouns, numerals, adjectives, and some verbs:

do	da '1SG
ilo	ila '2SG'
koko	kaka 'breast'
λ'olo	λ'alo 'over'
lola	lala 'to boil'
losa	lasa 'to take'
lolo	lala 'leg'
ezol	ezal 'eye'
ħono	ħona 'three'
o ⁿ c'o	uc'a 'ten'
ło	ła 'water'
λozol	λazal 'bone'
hibo	hiba 'what'
ito	ita 'when'
logu	lagu 'good'

(iii) The Kwantlada vowel *e* corresponds to *i* in the Khwarshi Proper:

γ ^s e	γi 'milk'
emi	ime 'spring'
kem	kim 'raspberries'
γine	γini 'woman'
hu ⁿ ne	huni 'road'
e ⁿ q' ^s o	iq'wa 'blood'
neža	niža 'to sow'
neka	niča 'to swallow'
neša	niša 'to weave'
xeλ'	xiλ' 'snivel'

(iv) The Kwantlada vowel *u* corresponds to *i* in the Khwarshi Proper (Bokarev 1959:148), mostly found in nouns and verbs:

buha	biha 'to die'
gut'a	git'a 'to pour'
pu λ a	pi λ a 'to blow'
kula	kila 'to throw'
hu ⁿ ho	hiha 'chicken'
he λ u	hi λ a 'calm'
žubu	žiba 'liver'
u λ nu	i λ nu 'winter'

(v) The Kwantlada vowel *o* corresponds to *u* in the Khwarshi Proper:

boq ^o ono	boqonu 'deaf'
moxo	muxo 'thread'
hoc'ula	huc'ula 'grasshopper'
yo ⁿ λ u	yu λ u 'ashes'
koka	kuka 'to eat'
mok'o	muk'o 'place'
mo λ a	mu λ a 'to teach'
mo λ u	mu λ u 'dream'
q'o λ u	q'u λ u 'fork'
noco	nuca 'flea'
o ⁿ c'o	uc'an 'ten'

(vi) Other frequent sound correspondences are found between the Khwarshi Proper, Inkhokwari, and Kwantlada dialects; these correspondences are the following: *e - i - u/-i*.

Khwarshi Proper	Inkhokwari	Kwantlada
germa	girma	gurma/girma 'round'
es	is	us / is 'sibling'
kel	kil	kul / kīl 'iron'
q'ec	q'ic	q'uc / q'ic 'dirt'
k'eca	k'ica	k'uca / k'ica 'bird'
mec	mic	muc / mic 'language'
sel	sil	sul / sīl 'tooth'
t'ero	t'iro	t'uro / t'iro 'bridge'
t'eka	t'ika	t'uka / t'ika 'he-goat'
xerdaya	x ^h irdaya	x ^h urdaya / x ^h irdaya 'snore'
esana	isana	usana / isana 'to bathe'

1.5.1.2. Some correspondences within consonants

	Kwantlada	Khwarshi Proper
/b/-/p/	tubi	tupi 'gun'
/l/-/ɾ/	šeɫu	šeru 'horn'
/l/-/n/	zamana	zamala 'time'
/s/-/ʃ/	nasa	nažo 'where'
/ʃ/-/ʒ/	žiša	žiža 'to braid'
/ʃ/-/č/	nišu	niču 'sickle'
/k/-/č/	bekol	bečola 'snake'
	neka	niča 'to swallow'
	lakaya	lača 'to lick'
	kode	čoda 'hair'

Frequent correspondences between the consonants /ʒ/ and /y/ are found in the Khwarshi Proper and Kwantlada vs. Inkhokwari; /ʒ/ and /h/ in the Khwarshi Proper and Kwantlada vs. Inkhokwari:

	Khwarshi Proper/Kwantlada	Inkhokwari
/ž/-/y/	žequł lože žu	yequł ‘today’ loye ‘word’ yu ‘that’
/ž/-/h/	žik’o	hik’o ‘man’

1.5.1.3. Secondary articulation

The Khwarshi Proper does not have nasalization, so the Kwantlada nasalized vowels correspond to non-nasalized Khwarshi Proper vowels (Bokarev 1959:148):

Kwantlada	Khwarshi Proper
a ⁿ ki	aki ‘spindle’
a ⁿ ɛ	aɛ ‘armful’

There is no pharyngealization in the Khwarshi Proper; thus, Kwantlada pharyngealized consonants stand in opposition to the non-pharyngealized Khwarshi Proper consonants:

Kwantlada	Khwarshi Proper
k ^ʕ aba	kaba ‘black’
ɣ ^ʕ eɭ	ɣel ‘sieve’
q ^ʕ uɭe	q’ule ‘chair’

1.6. The history of studying the Khwarshi language

Khwarshi was first mentioned by Erckert (1895), and was mentioned later by Dirr (1928) and Megrelidze (1955). Bokarev (1959) contains a detailed description of the phonology and morphology of Tsezic languages. Šarafutdinova and Levina (1961) present a grammatical sketch of Khwarshi. Imnajšvili (1956, 1963) are comparative works on Tsez, Hinuq and Khwarshi.

Individual aspects of Khwarshi have been studied by different linguists such as Alekseev (1994, 1999, 2002), Bokarev (1967), Kibrik (1990), Lomtadze (1960, 1987, 1988), Testelec (1990), and others.

1.7. The status of the Khwarshi language

Khwarshi is a non-written language. Within the community Khwarshi is used on a day-to-day basis and in almost every domain of communication. In addition, most Khwarshi people (except for children of pre-school age) are proficient in Avar and Russian, used mainly for external communication.

Khwarshi is not studied at school, nor is it the language of teaching. Instead, Russian is taught as the first language in school and is also the language of instruction. Avar is usually taught as a second language. The languages of mass media are Avar and Russian.

In the Tsumada district, Khwarshi people live in settlements where Khwarshi dialects are spoken exclusively. At the same time, Khwarshi people are surrounded by Avar and some non-written Andic languages – Bagvalal, Chamalal, and Tindi; people of the Inkhokwari dialect have the closest contacts with Tindi. Thus communication with neighbors in the mountainous region is through Avar.

In the lowland settlements, Khwarshi people are mostly surrounded by various ethnic groups; thus, Russian, which functions as a lingua franca, is used to an extreme degree. Nowadays, there are only a few elderly speakers who do not speak Russian.

As a result, Avar and Russian have influenced Khwarshi greatly. Besides Avar and Russian influence, there have been indirect influences through Avar from Persian, Arabic, Turkic, and Georgian, while Russian influence has been direct and indirect, i.e. via Avar.

1.8. Language contacts

The most important language contacts are Avar, Russian, and Andic, and the other language contacts are Turkic, Arabic, and Persian, which influenced Khwarshi indirectly, i.e. via Avar. Russian and Avar language contacts are still strong. Russian language influence spread at the beginning of the 20th century when the territory of Daghestan was integrated into the Soviet Union. The most recent loans in Khwarshi are from Avar, Andic, and Russian.

Avar is a lingua franca between all people of the Avar-Andi-Tsezic group. As mentioned, Avar is used at the political, cultural, and educational levels. Thus, there are

many Avar borrowings from different semantic domains, most borrowed words having undergone phonetic adaptation: (i) designations of fauna: *yalbac* 'lion', *c'irq* 'lynx', *k'ara* 'mosquito', etc; (ii) names of household goods: *q'ay* 'things', *k'az* 'scarf', *t'amsa* 'carpet', *muhu* 'grain', etc.; (iii) names of food: *q'anc'a* 'vinegar', *nat'uñ* 'halvah from nuts', *raži* 'garlic', *č'aša* 'bouza', etc.; (iv) terms connected with people: *wacahaw* 'male cousin', *yacahay* 'female cousin', *bañaray* 'bride', 'young', *q'ebed* 'smith', *hudul* 'friend', *zurmaqan* 'zurna player', etc.; (v) many adjectives: *šadalaw* 'fool', *bercinaw* 'beautiful', *toxaw* 'lazy', *siñiraw* 'sly', *c'odoraw* 'clever', etc.; (vi) other words: *bertin* 'wedding', *worč'ami* 'good day', *añi-hur* 'shout, noise', *g'andu* 'hole', *kici* 'proverb', *žawab* 'answer', *bicank'o* 'riddle', *rašad* 'sea', *t'ek* 'book', etc.

Being in close contact with Tindi, the Inkhokwari and Kwantlada dialects have borrowed numerals and other words: *sebahay* 'second cousin', *abik* 'spoon', *ase* 'doctor', *hiⁿhe* 'pear', *reša* 'night', *čankar* 'corn', *išt'ac'a* 'fifty', *inšac'a* 'sixty', *haš'ac'a* 'seventy', *biš'ac'a* 'eighty', *hač'ac'a* 'ninety', etc.

There are also a small number of Chechen borrowings which entered Khwarshi as the result of direct language contact, e.g. *sanq'irisi* 'party', *ešk'eŋ* 'shovel'.

Khwarshi people, unlike other Tsezic ethnic groups, did not have direct contact with Georgians, due to the natural geographical border. Unlike Bezhta, for example, which has more than 400 words, there are only a few borrowings from Georgian: *žok'o* 'mushroom', *kode* 'hair', *tubi* 'gun', *xerex* 'saw', *č'ač'a* 'moonshine', and these Georgian loanwords entered Khwarshi via other Tsezic languages.

There are borrowings from Iranian (Persian) languages that entered Khwarshi via Avar: (i) some names of fabrics, and other trade products: *čiraq* 'lamp', *čaydar* 'teapot', *šiša* 'bottle', *daray* 'silk', *bamba* 'cotton wool', *parča* 'brocade'; (ii) terms connected with people and their characteristics: *hunar* 'skill, feat', *bazargan* 'dealer', *tušman* 'enemy'; (iii) some names of animals: *aždah* 'dragon', 'crocodile', *gamuš* 'buffalo', *piš-piš* 'elephant'; (iv) separate designations of trees, plants, and their fruits: *tuta* 'mulberry tree', *xurma* 'persimmon', *qarpuz* 'water-melon', *piq* 'vegetables, fruit', *čakar* 'sugar (also: maize)'; (v) other words: *hažatxan* 'toilet', *tax* 'bed'; (vi) Iranian personal names: *Zuhra*, *Mirza*, *Šaxmurad*.

There are borrowings from Turkic languages which entered Khwarshi through Avar: (i) some names of utensils: *qazan* 'boiler', *itu* 'iron', *qaba* 'pot'; (ii) some names

of bedding and clothes: *bayraq* ‘banner’, *yuryan* ‘blanket’, *čanta* ‘bag’, *čakma* ‘boot’; (iii) some names of animals: *qaz* ‘goose’; (iv) some terms connected with construction: *azbar* ‘yard’, *qala* ‘fortress’; (v) some lexemes connected with people: *bek* ‘bek’, *baža* ‘brother-in-law’, *q’ačay* ‘robber’; (vi) some military terms: *gama* ‘ship’, *yarayı* ‘weapon’; (vii) other words: *ayran* ‘sour clotted milk’, *bayram* ‘holiday’, *buran* ‘snowstorm’, *γuruš* ‘ruble’; (ix) Turkic personal names: *Alibeg*, *Bayram*, *Aydemir*, *Aslan*, *Bika*, *Malla*, *Timur*.

As is well known, there is great influence from Arabic culture and language on the languages of Daghestan. This is connected with the Islamicization process, which started in the 18th century. As a result, Daghestanian languages have numerous words referring to religious notions and also have many abstract words. Arabic words have entered Khwarshi, as other Tsezic languages, via Avar. Here are some borrowings: (i) some religious terms: *Allah* ‘God’, *šalžan* ‘paradise’, *hazawat* ‘sacred war’, *duša* ‘prayer’, *šayt’an* ‘devil’, *ziyarat* ‘pilgrimage’; (ii) some abstract terms: *šadlu* ‘discipline’, *ħukumat* ‘state’, *ħukmu* ‘decision’, *tarbiya* ‘education’, *axir* ‘end’, *safat* ‘hours’, *šamal* ‘character’, *iman* ‘humanity’, *dunnal* ‘world’, *namus* ‘honor’; (iii) some terms of science and art: *šilmu* ‘science’, *šalim* ‘scientist’, *tarix* ‘history’, *qat* ‘handwriting’; (iv) names of people and their trades: *šadam* ‘person’, *miskin* ‘poor man’, *qaħba* ‘prostitute’; (v) designations of months and the days of the week: *ramazan* ‘the ninth month of year’; (vi) some names of animals and birds: *ħaywan* ‘animal’, *maymalak* ‘monkey’, *t’awus* ‘peacock’; (vii) some other words: *žawhar* ‘pearls’, *q’alam* ‘pencil’, *xabar* ‘story’, *wa* ‘and’, *amma* ‘but, however’, *mayrib* ‘West’, *maršiq* ‘east’, *maxsara* ‘joke’; (viii) some personal names: *šali*, *Muħamad*, *Asiyat*, *Zaynab*, etc.

Russian is now a major source of borrowings. Khwarshi borrows new Russian words directly and via Avar, and there are a great number of Russian words in Khwarshi. Here are some of them: (i) legal terms: *sud* ‘court’, *sudiya* ‘judge’, *zakun* ‘law’, *adwakat* ‘advocate’, *pirkaz* ‘order’; (ii) some military terms: *bomba* ‘bomb’, *kapitan* ‘captain’, *tanka* ‘tank’; (iii) some medical terms: *balnica* ‘hospital’, *ukol* ‘injection’, *toxtur* ‘doctor’; (iv) some names of transport: *awtobus* ‘bus’, *poyez* ‘train’, *wagon* ‘wagon’, *maršrutka* ‘minibus’, *mašina* ‘car’; (v) names of some clothes: *kastum* ‘suit’, *yupka* ‘skirt’, *pidžak* ‘jacket’, *palaš* ‘rain coat’, *paltu* ‘coat’.

So Khwarshi, like other Tsezic languages, has many words of different semantic groups borrowed at different stages from Avar, Andic, Georgian, Arabic, Turkic, Iranian, and Russian. Most of the loans have undergone phonological alternation (cf. 2.3).

1.9. Fieldwork

In order to gather material for the grammar, I conducted several field trips to Daghestan during the period 2005-2009. My first trip in 2005 was to Oktyabrskoe, where I spent two months. The village of Oktyabrskoe is the most populous village comprising speakers of all Khwarshi dialects, and there I chose the Kwantlada dialect as the basic dialect for description for the grammar. In 2006 I conducted two field trips, each for two months, working in the villages of Upper and Lower Inkhokwari and Oktyabrskoe. My other field trips in 2007 were spent in Oktyabrskoe and Pervomayskoe, where I worked for four months. In 2008 I did fieldwork for two months in Lower Inkhokwari, Oktyabrskoe, and also for two weeks in Kwantlada checking the data obtained in the lowland villages. During these field trips I also worked with the Khwarshi speakers living in the capital of Daghestan, Makhachkala. During the field trips I made a total of 40 hours of recordings and built a corpus of about 35 texts and dialogs; I also collected stories that were told mostly by elderly speakers. In the grammar, example sentences are identified with the text names in square brackets; other examples are elicited.

2. Phonology

2.1. Consonants

Table 2.1: Consonant chart

Place of articulation	plosive			affricates		fricative		resonant		
	voiced	aspirated	ejective	aspirated	ejective	voiced	voiceless	nasal	liquids	semivowel
bilabial	b	p	p'					m		w
Pharyngealized	b ^ɣ	p ^ɣ	p' ^ɣ					m ^ɣ		
dental	d	t	t'	c	c'	z	s	n	r	
Labialized	d ^w		t' ^w		c' ^w	z ^w	s ^w			
palatal				č	č'	ž	š			y
Labialized					č' ^w	ž ^w	š ^w			
lateral				λ	λ'		ɬ		l	
Palatalized									ɺ	
Labialized					λ' ^w					
velar	g	k	k'				χ			
Pharyngealized	g ^ɣ	k ^ɣ	k' ^ɣ							
Labialized	g ^w	k ^w	k' ^w							
uvular				q	q'	ɣ	x			
Pharyngealized				q ^ɣ	q' ^ɣ	ɣ ^ɣ	x ^ɣ			
Labialized				q ^w	q' ^w	ɣ ^w	x ^w			
Pharyngealized-labialized					q' ^{ɣw}	ɣ ^{ɣw}	x ^{ɣw}			
pharyngeal						ʕ	ħ			
glottal							h			
Pharyngealized							h ^ɣ			

The Khwarshi consonant system contains the plosives, affricates, fricatives, and resonant consonants represented in Table 2.1. Some consonants have labialized counterparts, but bilabials, pharyngeals, glottals, and resonants do not. Some consonants have pharyngealized counterparts: labial, velar, uvular, and glottal /h/. There is only one palatalized consonant /ʃ/.

The examples given below show the distribution of plain consonants within words, such positions as initial, medial (intervocalic) and medial (RC/CR, where R is a resonant, and where resonant consonants are *m, n, l, y, w, r*), and final positions.

Consonant distribution of plain consonants

<u>Initial</u>	<u>Intervocalic</u>	<u>Medial(RC/CR)</u>	<u>Final</u>
/b/ bataxu 'bread'	dabay 'leather'	sabru 'patience'	λib 'leaf'
/p/ pardahu 'veil'	sapun 'soap'	-	kep 'gaiety'
/pʰ/ p'omp'olik' 'tot'	-	p'omp'olik' 'tot'	-
/d/ dali 'step'	γode 'tomorrow'	čandik' 'bridle'	gid 'dress'
/t/ tegela 'cloak'	kuta 'sore'	gurtu 'knee'	qot 'hand'
/tʰ/ t'at'ara 'bush'	qit'u 'brushwood'	k'ant'a 'stick'	mut' 'drop'
/g/ gemesur 'pumpkin'	logu 'good'	mangal 'sickle'	o ⁿ g 'axe'
/k/ kumak 'help'	aka 'brasset'	inkar 'refusal'	nalbek 'saucer'
/kʰ/ k'urk'ul 'apricot'	čik'e 'kid'	lek'la 'to fall'	čandik' 'bridle'
/q/ qarčiya 'falcon'	čiraqi 'candle'	čaqla 'silly'	ħo ⁿ poliq 'sock'
/qʰ/ q'ala 'child'	haq'u 'family'	xalq'i 'people'	c'aq' 'very'
/c/ co 'name'	kece 'belt'	lucnu 'breaking'	a ⁿ c 'door'
/cʰ/ c'o 'fire'	boc'o 'wolf'	lac'nu 'eating'	ħuroc' 'copper'
/č/ čanta 'pocket'	ō ⁿ ču 'hen'	ečla 'to stop'	xumarač 'web'
/čʰ/ č'aran 'bunch'	čič'a 'soot'	lič'la 'to cut'	qirič' 'scissors'
/λ/ λ'ihon 'far away'	m ^h aλ'u 'mouth'	e ⁿ λ'la 'to go'	biλ' 'herd'
/λ/ λib 'year, leaf'	buλe 'shed'	lalaλ'la 'to shout'	baλ' 'eight'
/ʎ/ ʎluk'a 'witch'	reʎa 'night'	hadamʎi 'humanity'	ʎoʎ' 'oil'
/z/ zor 'fox'	azar 'thousand'	leznu 'taking'	qaz 'goose'
/s/ soyro 'horse'	ise 'that.OBL.ERG'	t'amsa 'carpet'	os 'money'
/ʒ/ žik'o 'man'	uže 'boy'	bužnu 'belief'	ħež 'hajj'

/š/	šud ‘grave’	bišandu ‘beard’	bišnu ‘breaking’	e ⁿ š ‘apple’
/ɣ/	ɣur ‘stone’	kaɣat ‘letter’	luɣla ‘to stick’	moɣ ‘pasture’
/x/	xol ‘husband’	baxar ‘abuse’	tawxan ‘chimney’	xerex ‘saw’
/h/	hu ⁿ ho ⁿ ‘chick’	mihe ⁿ ‘tail’	ahlu ‘family’	oh ‘grapes’
/m/	m ^s ane ‘nose, cliff’	om ^s oq ^s e ‘donkey’	t ^s amsa ‘carpet’	q ^s em ‘head’
/n/	nucu ‘honey’	ono ‘there’	uc ⁿ nu ‘new’	can ‘she-goat’
/l/	lok ^o ‘heart’	erele ‘hem’	bek ^l la ‘to fall’	ezol ‘eye’
/l̪/	l̪oɫ ‘oil’	l̪il̪u ‘wing’	eɫ ^{l̪} u ‘jaw’	diɫ ‘1SG.LAT’
/r/	riɣu ‘flat’	orodu ‘beer’	ornu ‘that’	baxar ‘abuse’
/y/	yo ⁿ cu ‘split’	boyu ⁿ ‘bull’	oynu ‘that’	q ^u ubay ‘dirty’
/w/	waɫza ‘to preach’	awarag ‘prophet’	tawxan ‘chimney’	saɣaw ‘healthy’
/ħ/	ħono ‘three’	žahda ‘envy’	-	taliħ ‘luck’
/ʕ/	ʕumru ‘life’	čuʕa ‘fish’	maʕna ‘sense’	šarʕ ‘law’

The ejective consonant /pʼ/ is very rare across the language, and there are no examples with final occurrences of /pʼ/. The pharyngeal /ʕ/ mostly occurs in loan words of Arabic origin, but there is one instance where pharyngeal /ʕ/ occurs in native words, i.e. in the onomatopoeic verb *bʕaʕaʕa* ‘to bleat’.

The velar consonant /x/ occurs only in Avar loans, e.g. *xul* ‘intention’, *baybiħida* ‘to begin’¹.

The bilabial consonant /w/ is mostly found in loan words from Avar and Arabic (e.g. *waɫza* ‘to preach’). This phoneme /w/ also occurs as a gender/number suffix in loan adjectives (cf. 3.2) and as an infix in demonstrative pronouns (cf. 3.5.2). Note that small C^w with velar and uvular consonants presents labialization (see the labialization section below), though phonologically it might be analyzed as a phoneme sequence Cw. The consonant /w/ is also found within native onomatopoeic verbs:

e.g. cⁱwuɫa ‘cheep’
p^sawɫa ‘meow’

¹ The form *baybikida* ‘to begin’ is also possible.

Glottal stop /ʔ/

/ʔ/ occurs automatically before non-pharyngealized vowels in word-initial position. Due to tradition, /ʔ/ is not written in the initial vowel position, e.g. *ʔata* ‘brain’, *ʔadab* ‘respect’. It can also occur in the medial-position, e.g. *nuʔa* ‘to be enough’, *mōʔōla* ‘to moo’. This glottal stop never occurs in the final position.

Pharyngealization

Khwarshi Proper does not have pharyngealized consonants while all other Khwarshi dialects have preserved them. The pharyngealized consonants can take word-initial, word-medial, and word-final positions. In the syllable with a pharyngealized consonant the following vowel also becomes pharyngealized. With some speakers pharyngealization can extend not only to the vowel but it can also extend throughout the word, e.g. *kʰaba* ‘black’ and *kʰabʰa* ‘black’.

In Khwarshi, pharyngealization is also found with word-initial V sequences: *ʰanna* ‘lap’, *ʰaʰha* ‘ear’, *ʰhday* ‘moan’, *ʰaba* ‘clod’, *ʰōʰōʰla* ‘to bray’, *ʰaʰγʰγʰu* ‘empty’. However, the question of the precise nature of pharyngealization, whether it is a vocalic or consonant or prosodic feature, is still unclear.

/qʰ/ buqʰ ‘sun’, bʰaqʰa ‘to lie’, aʰqʰu ‘urine’, beʎaqʰu ‘fire-fly’, boqʰone ‘deaf’, eʰxunaqʰa ‘forge’, muqʰ ‘line’, qʰoʎu ‘pelt’, qʰoqʰoru ‘rude’, qʰubab ‘dirty’, qʰʰiya ‘consider’, qʰe ‘rabbit’, tʰuqʰ ‘knife’, žoqʰuža ‘behind’, baqʰa ‘lie’;

/qʰʰ/ qʰʰurqʰač ‘lizard’, oqʰru ‘skull’, aʰqʰʰwa ‘mouse’, beqʰʰitʰa ‘dandruff’, buʎʰqʰʰu ‘sheep’, čʰinqʰʰi ‘noise’, eʰqʰʰo ‘blood’, haʰqʰʰi ‘cliff’, ʎʰuqʰʰ ‘food lump behind cheek’, miqʰʰ ‘waste’, neqʰʰu ‘mature’, omʰoqʰʰe ‘donkey’, qʰʰweʎʰ ‘bark’, qʰʰem ‘head’, qʰʰoʎu ‘pitch-fork’, qʰʰopʰira ‘greedy’, qʰʰoqʰʰoru ‘empty’, qʰʰuʎe ‘chair’, qʰʰuqʰʰle ‘nut’, qʰʰuqʰʰni ‘cackle’, qʰʰwine ‘two’, uʰqʰʰe ‘four’, -uqʰʰu ‘big’;

/xʰ/ xʰirdaya ‘to snore’, ʎaxʰwa ‘chewing gum (about animal)’, ʎaxʰa ‘crack’, aʰxʰ ‘stomach’, buʎaxʰe ‘bald’, ʎaxʰ ‘ditch’, ʎixʰa ‘tear’, ʎuxʰa ‘dig’, xʰoʎʎu ‘broad’, xʰutaqa ‘fart’, xʰuxʰ ‘face’, xʰuxʰutʰer ‘thunder’, xʰuxʰa ‘scratch’;

/γʰ/ γʰeʎʰ ‘sieve’, γʰe ‘milk’, γʰiγʰa ‘endure’, hʰamʰaγʰe ‘friend’, γʰʰwade ‘raven’, γʰʰakʰu ‘hook’, γʰuγʰaru ‘muddy’, γʰʰwe ‘dog’. naγʰa ‘open’;

/g ^ʕ /	g ^ʕ ana ‘to pull’, g ^ʕ andu ‘pit’;
/k ^ʕ /	k ^ʕ ab ^ʕ a ‘black’;
/k ^ʕ /	k ^ʕ ak ^ʕ a ‘leg’;
/p ^ʕ /	p ^ʕ aλa ‘smear’;
/p ^ʕ /	p ^ʕ awλa ‘mew’, λ ^ʕ op ^ʕ o ‘liquid manure’, p ^ʕ ap ^ʕ ani ‘chatter’;
/b ^ʕ /	b ^ʕ ul ^ʕ a ‘bald patch’, b ^ʕ aye ⁿ ‘throat’;
/m ^ʕ /	a ^{mʕ} ‘coil’, m ^ʕ āγul ‘outside’, m ^ʕ ane ‘nose, cliff’, m ^ʕ aλu ‘mouth’;
/h ^ʕ /	h ^ʕ op ^ʕ oli ‘a plump baby’, ^ʕ a ⁿ ha ‘ear’, ^ʕ aha ‘kill’ ² .

In some words pharyngealization can be optional, e.g. the Present participle auxiliary can occur as the non-pharyngealized form *gollu* and the pharyngealized form *g^ʕol^ʕu*³; note that in the last example the pharyngealization triggers palatalization.

There are only two minimal pairs:

e.g.	^ʕ aha ‘to kill’	aha ‘to stand’
	aγ ^{ʕw} a ‘to get full’	aγ ^w a ‘to get swollen’

Labialized consonants

As shown in Table 2.1, labialization mostly occurs with uvular and velar consonants, and it can also occur with sibilant consonants in loan words (mostly Tindi loans). Labialization does not occur with bilabial consonants, resonants, pharyngeal /ʕ/ and /ħ/, or glottal /h/. The labialized consonants can be found among dental consonants, but there are no instances of a labialized dental non-ejective /t/. There are also no instances found of labialized consonants among non-ejective affricates such as /c/, /č/, /ʎ/, and affricate /ʎ/. Labialized consonants can be followed by all vowels except /u/.

e.g.	š ^w ardaya ‘jump’ (Tindi loan)	/	z ^w aryi ‘clack’ (Tindi loan)
	s ^w aralaxa ‘twist’ (Tindi loan)	/	haλ ^w ac’a ‘seventy’ (Tindi loan)

² In these two words pharyngealization extends throughout the whole word.

³ The pharyngealized form *g^ʕol^ʕu* is rarely used and only with some elder speakers, whereas the non-pharyngealized *gollu* is used with the majority of speakers.

Minimal and near-minimal pairs

e.g.	q ^ʷ eɪ ^ɪ ‘bark’	q ^ʷ eɪ ^ɪ ‘sting, floor’
	lak ^w a ‘see’	laka ‘lick’
	eɪ ^w a ‘fly’	eta ‘touch’
	ɣ ^ʷ e ‘dog’	ɣ ^ʷ e ‘milk’
	lek ^ʷ a ‘hit’	lek ^ʷ a ‘expose one’s body’

Labialized consonants occur word-initially (e.g. *k^wač̣a* ‘to grow thin’) and word-medially (e.g. *lek^ʷa* ‘to hit’). Labialization is also attested word-finally within certain verbal forms, i.e. in the General tense forms (Bokarev 59: 174). Labialized consonants in the final position are mostly found in the speech of elder speakers, whereas younger speakers almost never use them.

e.g.	leq ^w -a ‘happen-INF’	lēq ^w ‘happen.GNT’
	bak ^w -a ‘see-INF’	bāk ^w ‘see.GNT’
	lok ^ʷ -a ‘burn-INF’	lōk ^ʷ ‘burn.GNT’

Labialized consonants are lost before inflectional morphemes of C(V) and uC structure:

e.g.	a ⁿ q ^ʷ a ‘mouse’	a ⁿ q ^ʷ -za ‘mouse-PL.OBL’
	l-ak ^w -a ‘IV-see-INF’	l-ak-še ‘IV-see-PRS’
	l-eq ^w -a ‘IV-happen-INF’	l-eq-nu ‘IV-happen-MASD’
	l-ok ^ʷ -a ‘IV-burn-INF’	l-ok ^ʷ -un ‘IV-burn-PST.UW’
	l-ek ^ʷ -a ‘IV-hit-INF’	l-ek ^ʷ -an l-ek ^ʷ -un
		IV-hit-RED IV-hit-PFV.CVB’

When the causative suffix *-k^ʷ-* or *-x-* is added to a verbal stem with a labialized consonant, the labialization moves from the final consonant of the verbal stem to the causative suffix:

e.g.	l-ek ^w -a ‘IV-hit-INF’	l-ek ^w -x ^w -a	‘IV-hit-CAUS1-INF’
	l-eɣ ^w -a ‘IV-take-INF’	l-eɣ-k ^w -a	‘IV-take-CAUS-INF’
	l-ak ^w -a ‘IV-see-INF’	l-ak-x ^w -a	‘IV-see-CAUS-INF’

There is one example where labialization occurs after contracting vowels, *žoho* ‘behind’ and *žō^w-ɣul* ‘behind-VERS’.

Pharyngealized labialized consonants

There are a few pharyngealized labialized consonants: /ɣ^{sw}/, /q^{sw}/, /x^{sw}/, e.g. *ɣ^{sw}e* ‘dog’, *q^{sw}ine* ‘two’, *lax^{sw}a* ‘chewing gum’, *q^{sw}iya* ‘to count’, *q^{sw}ina* ‘to push’.

The palatalized consonant /lʲ/

Palatalization is another characteristic feature in Khwarshi. Palatalization does not occur in the other Tsezic languages, only in Khwarshi. There is only one consonant that can be palatalized — that is lateral /lʲ/. This phenomenon is dialectally conditioned, i.e. palatalization occurs only in the Inkhokwari, Kwantlada, Santlada, and Khwayni dialects, but it does not occur in Khwarshi Proper.

	(Khw.)	(Kwan./Inkh./Sant./Khway.)
e.g.	lilu	lʲilʲu ‘wing’
	žeyla	želʲlʲa ‘light’
	bulaxi	b ^ɕ ulʲax ^ɕ e ‘bold’
	xollu	x ^ɕ olʲlʲu ‘broad’
	xilillu	x ^ɕ ilʲilʲlʲu ‘drunk’
	l-uxada ⁴	lʲ-ux ^ɕ ada ‘to stab’
	l-uq ^ɕ u	lʲ-uq ^ɕ u ‘big’

Palatalization is phonetic. As first noted by Kibrik (1990: 327) the palatalized lateral /lʲ/ is used immediately after /i/, /e/, and also after and before pharyngealized syllables:

⁴ The first element is a gender/number marking prefix.

e.g. after /e/: č'eɫ 'lace', eɫλu 'jaw', heɫ 'beans, peas', eⁿɫɫa 'to place (intr)', leheɫ 'hip', rekkeɫti 'cattle', š'eɫu 'horn', eškeɫ 'shovel'

after /i/: ɫiɫu 'wing', kidilɫa 'doll', miɫɫo '2PL.GEN2', λiɫe 'lamb', xiɫɫa 'get drunk', k'iɫik'a 'ear-ring', ilɫa 'pigeon'

after or before pharyngealization: b^sulɫa 'bald patch', ɫ-uq^su 'big', ɫax^s 'ditch'

In addition, the palatalized lateral /ɫʲ/ is also used in some other environments, e.g. the palatalized lateral /ɫʲ/ occurs before /a/, or before and after /o/, though such examples are found very seldomly:

e.g. before /a/: ɫʲaλ'a 'sweep'
before /o/: ɫʲoɫ 'oil', ɫʲoλa 'plough (tr)', ɫʲ-oλo 'IV-apart'

There is one word where palatalization is optional, namely *ɫoɫo* and *lolo* 'leg'. Palatalization does not occur in environments other than listed above. In the following minimal pairs the palatalized lateral /ɫʲ/ occurs with pharyngealized consonants:

e.g. gollu 'be.PRS.PTCP' g^soɫɫu 'be.PRS.PTCP'
l-uxxu 'IV-warm' ɫux^sx^su 'dig up'

In loan words /l/ also undergo palatalization if after /i/, /e/, and after or before pharyngealized consonant, e.g. *q'ɫu* 'wicket', *piɫu* 'flute', *naɫhi* 'dept', *paɫ-ħasiɫ* 'at the end', *piɫ-ɫiɫ* 'elephant', 'pepper', *kabaheɫ* 'bean', *ħiɫɫa* 'craftiness', etc.

Geminates

Gemination is quite common in Khwarshi. Geminate consonants occur due to phonological processes and they also mark expressiveness. Geminates occur only in the intervocalic position.

Geminated consonants occur when the suffix of the Past participle, *-u*, is added to a verbal stem ending in a consonant, e.g. *-oⁿk'*- 'go' and *-oⁿk^k'u* 'gone', *goq-* 'like' and *goqqu* 'liked', *-ec'*- 'fill' and *-ec'c'u* 'filled', *-us-* 'find' and *-ussu* 'found', *šul'*- 'forget' and *šul'λ'u* 'forgotten', etc. The verbal stems can end in the following consonants: *d, t, t', t'^w, g, k, k^w, k', k'^w, c, c', č, č', z, ž, s, š, λ, λ', ł, q, q^f, q', q'^f, γ, γ^f, γ^w, x, x^f, x^w, h, n, l, l'*; as a result, only these consonants occur as geminated consonants.

Geminated consonants can also be formed at the boundary of two morphemes. When attaching the Present tense suffix *-še*, some consonants (mostly spirants) undergo assimilation and form geminated consonants (cf. 2.3.1), e.g. *ečče* 'be.PRS', *cucce* 'hide.PRS', etc.

Note that when geminated consonants are formed in the Past participle forms, the ejective consonants are preserved (e.g. *oⁿk'a* 'to go' - *oⁿk^k'-u* 'go-PST.PTCP'), while the ejectivization of the geminated consonants in Present tense forms is not preserved (e.g. *lac'a* 'to eat' - *lac-ce* 'eat-PRS') (cf. 2.3.1).

The masdar suffix *-nu*, when attached to vowel final monosyllabic (C)V stems, triggers gemination of the suffixal consonant:

e.g.	<i>b-i-ya</i> 'III-do-INF'	<i>b-i-nnu</i> 'III-do-MASD'
	<i>zo-ya</i> 'skate-INF'	<i>zo-nnu</i> 'skate-MASD'
	<i>t'a-ya</i> 'drop-INF'	<i>t'a-nnu</i> 'drop-MASD'
	<i>zo-ya</i> 'skate-INF'	<i>zo-ll-a</i> 'skate-POT-INF'
but not	<i>moko-ya</i> 'be.hungry-INF'	<i>moko-nu</i> 'be.hungry-MASD'

The potential suffix *-l-* also triggers gemination when attached to vowel final verbal stems regardless of whether the verbal stem is mono or polysyllabic:

e.g.	<i>q^wa-ya</i> 'write-INF'	<i>q^wa-ll-a</i> 'write-POT-INF'
	<i>exe-ya</i> 'go-INF'	<i>exe-ll-a</i> 'go-POT-INF'

Geminated consonants can also have secondary articulation such as pharyngealization in *ʔuxʔxʔu* ‘dig up’.

Additionally, gemination in consonants can express emphasis. Geminated consonants usually appear in the intervocalic position as an alternative form in adjectives, adverbs, personal pronouns but less commonly with other word classes:

e.g.	iton ‘always’	itton / ittoso-iton
	ʔezeʔan ‘much’	ʔezzeʔan
	izu ‘that.PL.(P)ABS’	izzu
	ize ‘that.PL.(P)ERG’	izze
	ise ‘that.OBL.ERG’	isse
	diʔo ‘1SG.GEN2’	diʔʔo
	y-uqʔʔu ‘II/V-big’	y-uqʔʔqʔʔu

Loan geminated consonants from Avar are realized as non-geminated consonants in Khwarshi:

e.g.	kʔkʔara ‘mosquito’ (Avar)	kʔara ‘mosquito’ (Inkh./Kw.)
	ssimi ‘fury’ (Avar)	simi ‘fury’ (Inkh./Kw.)

Loan geminated consonants from Andic languages, presumably from Tindi, are realized as ejective consonants in Khwarshi:

e.g.	ccikkwa ‘small intestine (Tindi)’	cʔikʔwa (Inkh./Kw.)
	račči ‘rope (Tindi)’	račʔi (Inkh./Kw.)
	cee ‘colostrums’ (Tindi)	cʔe ‘colostrums’ (Kw.)
	ccuy ‘rush’ (Tindi)	cʔuy (Kw.)
	kʔkʔanu- ‘small’ (Tindi)	kʔanu- (Kw.)

Lexically, in indigenous words, geminates occur only in the following adjectives and in one adverb: *kʔottu* ‘low’, *želʔu* ‘light’, *xʔoʔʔu* ‘broad’, *sassu* ‘dark’, *hečʔčʔe* ‘most’, but this could have originated from the lexicalized emphatic forms.

2.2. Vowel system

There are five basic vowels in Khwarshi and an additional one which is relatively rare /i/. This high central vowel /i/ occurs in the Kwantlada dialect but not in the Khwarshi Proper and Inkhokwari dialects. There is a tendency towards losing this vowel as the younger generation assimilates this vowel to the plain vowel /u/. The high central vowel /i/ is restricted in distribution: it does not occur in CVC syllables in indigenous words.

All plain vowels have their long counterparts. Long vowels are always in the stressed positions. There are also distinguished nasalized vowels, with the exception of /i/. Moreover not all long vowels have nasalized counterparts, so there are only four long nasalized vowels, excluding /i/ and /i/.

	front	central	back
high	i / i ⁿ / ī	ɨ / ɨ̄	u / u ⁿ / ū / ū ⁿ
mid	e / e ⁿ / ē / ē ⁿ		o / o ⁿ / ō / ō ⁿ
low		a / a ⁿ / ā / ā ⁿ	

All five plain vowels can occur in open and closed syllables. The phoneme /i/ occurs only in closed syllables, i.e. in (C)VC structure:

	anlaut		inlaut	
	closed	open	closed	open
/i/	iɫba 'pigeon'	bišandu 'beard'	čit 'cotton'	naɫhi 'dept'
/e/	ezɣo 'avalanche'	oredu 'that'	hed 'then'	uže 'boy'
/a/	azka 'reap'	bataxu 'bread'	nartaw 'giant'	reɫa 'night'
/u/	ustur 'chair'	buso 'fist'	c'uc' 'eyelash'	bulu 'beads'
/o/	os 'money'	oge 'near'	ɣon 'tree'	qodo 'witch'
/i/	ihdoya 'moan'	-	kil 'iron'	-

Nasalized vowels

The following are some examples of nasalized vowels (also cf. 2.3.3):

e.g.	e ⁿ λ'u 'lid'	a ⁿ c 'door'	e ⁿ xu 'river'
	hu ⁿ ho 'chick'	he ⁿ še 'book'	e ⁿ ga 'to fall'
	o ⁿ g 'axe'	e ⁿ š 'apple'	e ⁿ du 'inside'
	hi ⁿ he ⁿ 'pear'	hu ⁿ ne 'road'	o ⁿ c'o 'ten'

Long vowels

Long vowels are restricted in distribution as they almost always occur in closed syllables. Long vowels are always in stressed position. Long vowels occur as a result of morphophonological processes, i.e. when the General tense and questions are formed, and they also occur under vowel contraction. Apart from these processes, long vowels do not occur in lexical words except for one word *ōⁿču* 'hen' with a long nasalized vowel. The General tense is formed by the lengthening of the root vowel or insertion of a suffix with long vowels (cf. 3.7.1):

e.g.	l-ez-a 'IV-buy-INF'	l-ēz 'IV-buy.GNT'
	k'oλ-a 'jump-INF'	k'ōλ 'jump.GNT'
	ha ⁿ n-a 'bite-INF'	hā ⁿ n 'bite.GNT'

In question-sentences the last word of an utterance usually has a long vowel *l-i-yī* 'IV-do-PST.W.QUES' (cf. 4.13). Long vowels occur in the prohibitive form of the verb, e.g. *tuwōλbo* 'Don't give!' (cf. 3.7.4.2). Long vowels are also found within onomatopoeic verbs, e.g. *mōōλa* 'to moo', *ʰōⁿʰōⁿλa* 'to bray'.

Vowel lengthening can also occur as a result of contraction of vowels:

e.g.	mada-γul ‘outside-VERS’	m ^ʕ ā-γul ⁵ ‘outside-VERS’
	žoho ‘behind’	žō ^w -γul ‘behind-VERS’ ⁶
	žohoq ^ʕ emul ‘backwards’	žōq ^ʕ ul

Long vowels can also be nasalized except for /i/ and /i/. The following are examples of plain, nasalized and long nasalized vowels:

	<u>Plain</u>	<u>Nasalized</u>	<u>Long Nasalized</u>
/a/ /a ⁿ / /ā ⁿ /	bada ‘bag’	ya ⁿ λ’a ‘to deceive’	yā ⁿ λ’ ‘deceive.GNT’
/o/ /o ⁿ / /ō ⁿ /	boc’o ‘wolf’	λ’iho ⁿ xa ‘to move.aside’	λ’ihō ⁿ x ‘move.aside.GNT’
/e/ /e ⁿ / /ē ⁿ /	hed ‘then’	e ⁿ xa ‘to manage’	ē ⁿ x ‘manage.GNT’
/u/ /u ⁿ / /ū ⁿ /	muq ^ʕ ‘line’	hu ⁿ na ‘to smell’	ū ⁿ č ‘jug.QUES’
/i/ /i ⁿ / /-/	bizo ‘mattock’	i ⁿ yaya ‘to cry’	-
/i/ /- /-/	q ^ʕ ic ‘dirt’	-	-

2.3. Phonological processes

2.3.1. Assimilation

In Khwarshi consonant assimilation occurs at the boundary of two morphemes. The most common assimilation is when the inflectional suffix assimilates to the preceding consonant.

Assimilation is found when the Present tense suffix *-še* is added after the final consonant of the verbal stem. The consonants of the verbal stem that trigger assimilation with the Present tense suffix are *d, s, c, c’, č, č’*. The ejective consonants of the verbal stem lose their ejectivization under assimilation (e.g. *bič’-a* ‘cut-INF’ - *bič-če* ‘cut-PRS’); such loss of ejectivization occurs only in Present tense formation.⁷ The following examples illustrate this assimilation:

⁵ These are free variants.

⁶ The contracted form is obligatorily used when the Versative suffix *-γul* is added.

⁷ Note that in the Inkhokwari dialect the final lateral of the verbal stem is assimilated *tiλ-a* ‘give-INF’ - *tiλ-λe* ‘give-PRS’, *šil’-a* ‘dress-INF’ - *šil-λe* ‘dress-PRS’, but not in

	Infinitive	Present Tense
dš > šš	durid-a ‘run-INF’	durišše
sš > ss	is-a ‘tell-INF’	isse
zš > ss	l-ez-a ‘IV-buy-INF’	l-esse
cš > cc	cuc-a ‘hide-INF’	cucce
c’š > cc	l-ac’-a ‘IV-eat-INF’	l-acce
čš > čč	l-eč-a ‘IV-be-INF’	l-ečče
č’š > čč	l-ič’-a ‘IV-cut-INF’	l-ičče
hše > šše	b-uh-a ‘HPL-die-INF’	b-ušše

Assimilation is also found in personal pronouns. When the Genitive 2 suffix *-lo* is added to the oblique stem of plural pronouns, the last vowel is truncated and the consonant of the oblique stem is assimilated to the Genitive 2 suffix *-lo*:

e.g.	mížo ‘2PL.ABS’	mižu ‘2PL.OBL’	mił ^h o ‘2PL.GEN2’
	žido ‘that.PL.(D)ABS’	židu ‘that.PL.(D)OBL’	žił ^h o ‘that.PL.(D)GEN2’

Assimilation to verbal stems is also found in the causative formation. When the causative suffix *-k’-* or *-x-* is added to a verbal stem ending in a velar or uvular consonant, the consonant of the causative suffix is assimilated to the preceding consonant of the verbal stem, which loses its ejectives. Both assimilated and non-assimilated forms are common:

the Kwantlada dialect, e.g. *tíl-a* ‘give-INF’ – *tíl-še* ‘give-PRS’, *šíl’-a* ‘dress-INF’ – *šíl’-še* ‘dress-PRS’.

	Infinitive	Causative form
$\gamma k' < \gamma \gamma$	n-a γ^s -a 'IV-open-INF'	n-a γ^s -k'-a/n-a γ^s γ^s -a 'IV-open-CAUS-INF'
qx < qq	quq-a 'dry-INF'	quq-x-a/quq-q-a 'dry-CAUS-INF'
	ħuq-a 'finish-INF'	ħuq-x-a/ħuq-q-a 'finish-CAUS-INF'
	n-uq-a 'IV-close-INF'	n-uq-x-a/n-uq-q-a 'IV-close-CAUS-INF'
q'x < qq	l-iq'-a 'IV-know-INF'	l-iq'-x-a/l-iq-q-a 'know-CAUS-INF'

2.3.2. Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony is a form of progressive assimilation where the final root vowel of a word influences the inflectional suffix vowel. The general rule is when the preceding (final root) vowel is /a/ then the suffix vowel always has /a/; when the final root vowel is represented by any other vowel except for the /a/ the suffix vowel always has /o/. So the basic vowel in such suffixes is /o/. Note that suffix vowels that undergo vowel harmony should have /a/ or /o/; suffixes with other vowels usually do not undergo vowel assimilation.

e.g.	can 'she.goat'	can-ba 'she.goat-PL.ABS'
	k'užu 'tail'	k'užu-bo 'tail-PL.ABS'

The morphemes with the basic vowel /o/ that are influenced by vowel harmony are the following: within the nominal paradigm – the Absolutive plural suffix *-bo/-ba*; the plural suffix *-no/-na*; the plural oblique stem suffix *-zo/-za*; the Genitive 2 suffix *-lo/-la*; the Superessive suffix *-λ'o/-λ'a*; the Adessive suffix *-ho/-ha*; the Apudessive suffix *-γo/-γa*; the Contessive suffix *-qo/-qa*, and also some oblique stem suffixes *-mo/-ma*, *-o/-a*; within the verbal paradigm – the imperative suffix *-o/-a/-e⁸*; within others – the definiteness marker *-so/-sa*;

⁸ It is still not clear what the nature of the distribution of the suffix *-e* is when forming imperatives.

e.g.	k'ot'e 'plate'	k'ot'e-λ'o 'plate-SUP'
	laga 'body'	laga-λ'a 'body-SUP'
	λus-a 'sleep-INF'	λus-o 'sleep-IMP'
	ʃaλ'á 'sweep-INF'	ʃáλ'-a 'sweep-IMP'
	ʃandir-zo 'Andi-PL.OBL'	
	ʃaraʃ-za 'Kymik-PL.OBL'	

However, not all inflectional suffixes undergo assimilation under vowel harmony. The inflectional suffixes with the basic vowel /a/ are not influenced by vowel harmony: within the nominal paradigm – the plural oblique stem suffix *-za*; within the adjective paradigm – the plural suffix *-t'a*:

e.g.	k'ab'a 'black'	k'ab'a-t'a 'black-PL'
	uc'nu 'new'	uc'nu-t'a 'new-PL'
	žulik 'cheater'	žulik-za 'cheater-PL.OBL'
	ustar 'craftsman'	ustar-za 'craftsman-PL.OBL'

There is one irregular form of apparent regressive vowel harmony where the root vowel is changed:

e.g.	ezol 'eye'	ezal-a-ba 'eye-OBL-PL.ABS'
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There is also a front-back vowel harmony which occurs only in one inflectional suffix, i.e. the Past unwitnessed tense suffix *-in/-in/-un*. When the final vowel of the verbal stem is high front /i/, the suffix for Past unwitnessed is *-in*. When the final vowel of the verbal stem is high central /ɨ/, the Past unwitnessed suffix is *-in*. When the final vowel of the verbal stem is high back /u/ or mid back /o/, the Past unwitnessed suffix is *-un*. When the final vowel of the verbal stem is front mid /e/ or low central /a/,

the Past unwitnessed suffix can be either *-in* or *-un*: the suffix *-in* is used by older speakers, and the suffix *-un* is used by younger speakers.

e.g.	tiλ-in ‘give-PST.UW’		*tiλ-un/*tiλ-in		
	is-in ‘say-PST.UW’		*is-un/*is-in		
	kul-un ‘throw-PST.UW’		*kul-in/*kul-in		
	k’oλ-un ‘bark-PST.UW’		*k’oλ-in/*k’oλ-in		
	akal-un ‘get.tired-PST.UW’	or	akal-in		*akal-in
	lac’-un ‘eat-PST.UW’	or	lac’-in		*lac’-in
	lez-un ‘buy-PST.UW’	also	lez-in		*lez-in

2.3.3. Nasalization

Nasalization is phonemic and it can occur with all vowels except for /i/. Here are some minimal pairs:

e.g.	e ⁿ λ’u ‘lid, cover’	eλ’u ‘rosehip’
	o ⁿ g ‘axe’	ø-og ‘I-well’
	ho ⁿ s ‘wool’	hos ‘one’

There are two words where the nasal vowel is in free variation with Vn:

e.g.	e ⁿ l ^h a	enla ⁹ ‘to place’
	ho ⁿ qosa	honqosa ‘once’

⁹ Note that the non-nasalized variant *enla* also loses its palatalization due to the fact that *-l-* is no longer immediately adjacent to *e* (cf. 2.1).

The gender-number prefixes *b-* and *l-* have the allomorphs *m-* and *n-* before a verb stem beginning lexically with a nasalized vowel; after these nasal allomorphs, the nasalization of the stem-initial vowel is lost (Imnajšvili (1963: 35)):

a) *b-* changes to *m-*

-o ⁿ k’- ‘go’	m-ok’-a ‘HPL/III-go-INF’	but	y-o ⁿ k’-a ‘II/V-go-INF’
-e ⁿ λ’- ‘go’	m-eλ’-še ‘HPL/III-go-PRS’	but	y-e ⁿ λ’-a ‘II/V-go-INF’

b) *l-* changes to *n-*

-e ⁿ g- ‘fall’	n-eg-a ‘NHPL/IV-fall-INF’	but	y-e ⁿ g-a ‘II/V-fall-INF’
-a ⁿ γ ^s - ‘open’	n-aγ ^s -a ‘NHPL/IV-open-INF’	but	y-a ⁿ γ ^s -a ‘II/V-open-INF’

2.3.4. Merger

The process of merger involves two words which result in a single new word. There is only one such word in Khwarshi:

e.g.	hibo	l-i-ya	vs.	hibl ^l a ‘why’ ¹⁰
	what	IV-do-INF		

2.3.5. Adaptation of loan words

When new words enter the language they undergo some phonetic changes. Most new words come from the Avar and Russian languages. The most frequent processes of phonetic change are increment, substitution, metathesis, and ejectiveization. The process of increment is a regular process in the language, whereas other processes are sporadic.

(i) Increment

The common syllabic structure is (C)V(C). The process of increment adapts the syllabic structure of a foreign word to that of the language by inserting a vowel, as in the following examples:

¹⁰ The assimilated form *hi^ll^la* ‘why’ is also possible.

e.g.	Russian		Inkhokwari / Kwantlada
	stakan	>	istakan ‘glass’
	škola	>	uškul ‘school’
	kilometr	>	kilometra ‘kilometer’
(ii)	Ejectivization		
	Chechen		Inkhokwari/Kwantlada
	aškal	>	ešk’el ¹¹ /eške ¹¹ ‘shovel’
	Avar		Inkhokwari / Kwantlada
	muštuk	>	mušt’uk ‘mouth-piece’
(iii)	Substitution		
	mesed	>	misedi ‘gold’
	ħaywan	>	ħayman ‘animal’
(iv)	Metathesis		
	ačqanu	>	aqčenu ‘thirst’
	oxcer	>	ocxer ‘cucumber’
	mašriq	>	maršiq’ ‘east’

2.4. Phonotactics

The Khwarshi syllabic structure is (C)V(C), and V(C) occurs only word initially. The inflectional suffixes are usually of C, V, and CV structure.

Monomorphemic words have the syllable structure of a CV and CVC pattern. The CV monomorphemic syllable type permits short, nasalized vowels, as well as Vy, but not long vowels:

e.g.	ɣ ^s e ‘milk’	he ⁿ he ⁿ ‘pear’
	č’u ‘(weaving) shuttle’	ho ⁿ λ’o ‘cheek’
	ɣ ^s uy ‘well’	kici ‘riddle’

¹¹ These forms are in free variation.

Non-monomorphemic CV syllables allow all types of vowels, including long vowels. Long vowels in a CV structure occur only in a restricted context (i.e. in questions).

e.g. **ɫuqī** ‘finish.PST.W.QUES’
 coɫī ‘shoot.PST.W.QUES’

The monomorphemic CVC syllables allow almost all vowels except for the vowel /i/, which does not occur in closed syllables in indigenous lexical words; it does though occur in loan words, e.g. *dibir* ‘mullah’. Long vowels are also absent in indigenous lexical words in closed syllables, but there is one exception *ōⁿčū* ‘hen’.

e.g. **t’ut** ‘fly’ **q’em** ‘head’ **gid** ‘dress’¹²
 qot ‘palm’ **kad** ‘girl’ **is** ‘sibling’

In the non-monomorphemic CVC syllables all vowels are possible:

e.g. **b-ez-in** ‘III-buy-PST.UW’
 c’alid-in ‘read-PST.UW’
 uža-qa-l ‘boy.OBL-CONT-LAT’
 daru-n ‘medicine-AND’
 b-ux-še-č ‘HPL-come-IPFV.CVB-EMPH’

Khwarshi does not have consonant clusters which occur at the end of the word, and neither are there intervocalic consonant clusters of CCC structure. The occurring consonant clusters are of CC structure which appear in the intervocalic position. The consonant clusters can be of RC or CR structure where R is a resonant and the other consonant is a fricative, affricate, plosive, or even a resonant: e.g. *c’indak* ‘national socks’, *čorpa* ‘soup’, *mangal* ‘sickle’, *bicank’o* ‘riddle’, *nalbek* ‘saucer’, *girdaya* ‘roll’, *xirdaya* ‘snore’, *bišandu* ‘beard’, *ahlu* ‘family’, *bušne* ‘bread’, *k’onč’i* ‘baby donkey’, *čaqma* ‘stupid’, *armic* ‘soldier’.

¹² Note that indigenous words with the vowel /i/ have an alternative form with /u/.

Consonant clusters comprising fricatives and plosives are very common, e.g. *askar* ‘troops’, *buydi* ‘grumbler’, *mašt’a* ‘mosque’, *lešt’a* ‘to let’, *eškeɫʃ* ‘spade’, *λ’ebxa* ‘dust’, *azbar* ‘yard’, *tuskel* ‘basket’. There are a few instances of plosive and plosive consonant clusters, e.g. *bubdaya* ‘to mumble’; or affricate and affricate consonant clusters, e.g. *ačqaya* ‘to be thirsty’, *biλ’q’u* ‘sheep’.

The consonant cluster with the semivowel *w* and another consonant is only found in loan words, i.e. *awlaq* ‘plain’, *dawla* ‘bag’. There is a non-monomorphemic cluster, *wC*, in native words, i.e. *a-w-de* ‘<I>here’, *a-w-t’un* ‘<I>like this’, *a-w-se* ‘<I>that’. In onomatopoeic verbs the consonant cluster with the semivowel *w* and the lateral *λ* is possible, e.g. *p’^ʃawλa* ‘to meow’, ‘to quack’.

Non-monomorphemic clusters

The potential suffix *-l-* attaches directly to the consonant final verbal stem without any phonological change. The potential suffix *-l-* is geminated when it attaches to a verbal stem with final vowel:

- e.g. *y-aⁿγ^s-l-a* ‘V-open-POT-INF’
tiλ-l-a ‘give-POT-INF’
q^wa-ll-a ‘write-POT-INF’
zo-ll-a ‘skate-POT-INF’
λus-l-a ‘sleep-POT-INF’

The causative suffix *-k²/-x-* is normally attached directly to the verbal stem with a final consonant. The use of the allomorph *-ok²/-ak²-* depends on the final consonant of the verbal stem: the suffix *-ok²/-ak²-* is used before /d/, /t/, and before /λ/ in polysyllabic verbal stems. The causative suffix can have the allomorph *-xk²-* when it attaches to verbal stems with final vowels:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|--|
| e.g. | <i>xiž-k’-a</i> ‘change-CAUS-INF’ | <i>c’odorɫ-ok’-a</i> ‘get.clever-CAUS-INF’ |
| | <i>lol-x-a</i> ‘boil-CAUS-INF’ | <i>dandiɫ-ok’-a</i> ‘meet-CAUS-INF’ |
| | <i>durid-ok’-a</i> ‘run-CAUS-INF’ | <i>b-odo-xk’-a</i> ‘HPL-work-CAUS-INF’ |
| | <i>urɣid-ok’-a</i> ‘think-CAUS-INF’ | <i>q^wa-xk’-a</i> ‘write-CAUS-INF’ |

Consonant clusters can be based on vowel deletion of the word stem. The verbalizer *-l-* which is used to derive verbs from adjectives attaches to the adjective stem deleting the final vowel:

e.g. ħayrana-l ‘surprised-IV’ ħayran-l-a ‘surprised-VZ-INF’
 ruhuna-l ‘trained-IV’ ruhun-l-a ‘trained-VZ-INF’

The verbal suffix *-dax-*, which derives inchoative verbs, is added to the indigenous adjectives deleting the final vowel of the adjective stem:

e.g. ut’ana ‘red’ ut’an-dax-a ‘red-VZ-INF’
 k^ʰaba ‘black’ k^ʰab-dax-a ‘black-VZ-INF’

2.5. Word stress

Word stress can be based on the syllabic structure of words and on the morphological principle.

2.5.1. Syllabic structure

The stress is penultimate in the disyllabic and polysyllabic words of CV/VCV structure, i.e. the stress is pretonic.

e.g. čído ‘earth’
 háq’u ‘family’
 kóde ‘hair’
 íšu ‘mother’
 óbu ‘father’
 múxa ‘fairy-tale’

e.g. rekéne ‘cradle’
 raxási ‘lock’
 oⁿcóλu ‘woman belt’

om^ˈóq^ˈe ‘donkey’

- e.g. xuxut^ˈári ‘thunder’
 liλ^ˈaqása ‘glove’
 t^ˈalaqása ‘ring’

The stress is on the final syllable of CVC structure in disyllabic or polysyllabic words:

- e.g. k^ˈimác^ˈ ‘egg’
 ezól ‘eye’
 λozól ‘bone’
 č^ˈeč^ˈén ‘chin’
 raład ‘sea’
 muzóm ‘marsh’

So the basic pattern for word stress is that stress falls on the pre-final syllable when the final syllable is open and on the final syllable when it is closed, i.e. heavy syllables attract the stress.

2.5.2. Morphological principle

Word stress can be morphological, i.e. the stress is conditioned by the inflectional categories of the word.

The stress pattern within citation (Absolute) forms of nouns follows the same rules as for the syllabic stress (discussed above). When the oblique cases are formed the stress pattern is triggered by the syllabic structure of the word. The stress is penultimate in open syllables, whereas in closed syllables the stress is ultimate. This rule applies to two and three syllable words, but polysyllabic words which can distinguish a primary and secondary stress pattern need further investigation.

It is worth noting that the stress in nouns forming Genitive 2, which all have a final open syllable, can also be ultimate.

ABS	lído ‘firewood’	himón ‘thing’
ERG	lídó	himon-í
GEN1	lídó-s	himon-í-s
GEN2	lídó-lo /lídoló	himón-lo / himon-ló
LAT	lídó-l	himon-í-l
INSTR	lídó-z	himon-í-z
CMPR	lídó-λ’ozí	himón-λ’ozí ¹³
SUPER	lídó-λ’o	himón-λ’o
CONT	lídó-qo	himón-qo
APUD	lídó-γo	himón-γo
AD	lídó-ho	himón-ho
SUB	lídó-λ	himon-í-λ
INTER	lídó-ł	himon-í-ł
IN	lídó-ma	himón-ma

The open-syllable suffixes that attract stress are the following: the Ergative suffix *-i*, e.g. *obu-t’-í* ‘father-OBL-ERG’; the infinitive suffix *-a*, e.g. *λus-á* ‘sleep-INF’; the suffix of the Past witnessed *-i*, e.g. *luq-í* ‘finish-PST.W’; the Negative suffix *-bi*, e.g. *λus-bí* ‘sleep-NEG’.

The open-syllable suffixes that do not attract stress are the following: the suffix of the Present tense *-še*, e.g. *λús-še* ‘sleep-PRS’; the suffix of the Absolute plural *-bo/-ba*, e.g. *muxá-ba* ‘tale-PL.ABS’; the suffix of the imperative *-o/-a/-e*, e.g. *λús-o* ‘sleep-IMP’; adjective forming suffixes *-xu*, *-tu*, e.g. *q’aláxu* ‘pregnant’; the suffix forming abstract nouns *-li*, e.g. *q’ém-li* ‘head-NMLZ’; the plural adjective suffix *-t’a*, e.g. *žuká-t’a* ‘bad-PL’; the Past participle suffix *-u/-gu*, *λúss-u* ‘sleep-PST.PTCP’.

Pronominal forms have stress on the final open syllable when the Genitive is formed:

¹³ These polysyllabic words have a primary and secondary stress pattern: primary stress is on the second syllable, and the secondary stress is on the final syllable.

e.g. diyó ‘1SG.GEN1’
 isu-ló ‘that.OBL-GEN2’

The stress is phonemic, i.e. it distinguishes words:

e.g.	ís-o ‘say-IMP’	isó ‘that.GEN1’
	mížo ‘2PL.ABS’	mižó ‘2PL.GEN1’
	ílo ‘1PL.ABS’	iló ‘1PL.GEN1’

The stressed infinitival suffix *-a* stands in opposition to the non-stressed imperative suffix *-o/-a*. Note that the stress in the imperative forms is always on the first syllable no matter what the syllabic structure of the verb is:

e.g.	ha ⁿ -á ’bite-INF’	há ⁿ -a ’bite-IMP’
	susan-á ’move-INF’	súsan-a ’move-IMP’
	λus-á ’sleep-INF’	λús-o ’sleep-IMP’
	γanq’idok’-á ’stifle-INF’	γánq’idok’-o ’stifle-IMP’
	x ^ʕ irday-á ’snore-INF’	x ^ʕ irday-a ’snore-IMP’

Imnajšvili (1963: 22) claims that the stress can trigger phonological changes within the word such as reduction, though this question has not been fully studied.

2.6. Morphophonology

2.6.1. Use of the epenthetic semivowel *-y-*

Vocalic clustering is not allowed, and the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* is used at a morpheme boundary to avoid hiatus. There is thus the following epenthetic rule: $V_1 + V_2 = V_1 y V_2$.

e.g.	ze ‘bear.ABS’	ze-y-i ‘bear-EP-ERG’
	zo- ‘skate’	zo-y-a ‘skate-EP-INF’
	odo- ‘work’	odo-y-a ‘work-EP-INF’

t'a- 'drop' t'a-y-i 'drop-EP-PST.W'

2.6.2. Use of the epenthetic vowels -i/-i/-u-

Final consonant clustering is not possible and epenthetic vowels are used with the following structure $C_1 + C_2 = C_1 \text{ EP } C_2$.

The epenthetic vowel $-i/-u$ ¹⁴ is used when the preceding vowel is /a/, /e/, or /o/:

e.g.	λ'eλ'el 'saddle'	λ'eλ'el-i-s /λ'eλ'el-u-s 'saddle-EP-GEN1'
	q'ebed 'smith'	q'ebed-i-s/q'ebed-u-s 'smith-EP-GEN1'
	can 'she.goat'	can-i-λ/can-u-λ 'she.goat-EP-SUB'
	hunar 'feat'	hunar-i-s/hunar-u-s 'feat-EP-GEN1'
	xol 'husband'	xol-i-s/xol-u-s 'husband-EP-GEN1'
	box 'grass'	box-i-s/box-u-s 'grass-EP-GEN1'

The epenthetic vowel $-u$ is used when the preceding vowel is /u/:

e.g.	hu ⁿ 'n 'mountain'	hu ⁿ 'n-u-s 'mountain-EP-GEN1'
	muq ^f 'mint'	muq ^f -u-s 'mint-EP-GEN1'

The epenthetic vowel $-i$ is used when the preceding vowel is /i/:

e.g.	žulik 'cheater'	žulik-i-s 'cheater-EP-GEN1'
	dibir 'mullah'	dibir-i-s 'mullah-EP-GEN1'

When the word has the semivowel $-y$ in its final position, the epenthetic vowel can only be $-i$:

e.g.	čay 'weed'	čay-i-ł 'weed-EP-INTER'
	čay 'tea'	čay-i-λ 'tea-EP-SUB'

¹⁴ The epenthetic vowel $-i$ is mostly used by the older generation, while the epenthetic vowel $-u$ is preferred by younger people.

A small number of monosyllabic CV nouns require an epenthetic semivowel *-y-* and an epenthetic vowel *-i-*:

e.g.	ze	‘bear’	ze-y-i-s	‘bear-EP-EP-GEN1
	q ^ʕ e	‘rabbit’	q ^ʕ e-y-i-s	‘rabbit-EP-EP-GEN1

The epenthetic vowels are also used with verbal stems that have final consonant clusters when adding an inflectional suffix of CV structure.

The epenthetic vowel *-i/-u-* is inserted between two consonants of the verbal stem when the preceding vowel is /a/, /e/, or /o/:

e.g.	gan-x-a	‘pull-CAUS-INF’	ganix-še/ganux-še	‘pull.CAUS-PRS’
	xan-k’-a	‘mow-CAUS-INF’	xanik’-še/xanuk’-še	‘mow-CAUS-PRS’
	l-ešt’-a	‘IV-let-INF’	l-ešit’-še/l-ešut’-še	‘IV-let-PRS’
	l-ez-x-a	‘IV-buy-CAUS-INF’	l-ezix-še/l-ezux-še	‘IV-buy.CAUS-PRS’
	xosλ’-a	‘scratch-INF’	xosiλ’-še/xosuλ’-še	‘scratch-PRS’
	ogl-a	‘get.better-INF’	ogil-še/ogul-še	‘get.better-PRS’

The epenthetic vowel *-u-* is inserted between two consonants of the verbal stem when the preceding vowel is /u/:

e.g.	cuc-x-a	hide-CAUS-INF’	cucux-še	‘hide.CAUS-PRS’
	bulh-a	‘understand-INF’	buluh-še	‘understand-PRS’

The epenthetic vowel *-i-* is inserted between two consonants of the verbal stem when the preceding vowel is /i/:

e.g.	ičk’ ^w -a	‘prevent-INF’	ičik’ ^w -še	‘prevent-PRS’
	is-x-a	‘say-CAUS-INF’	isix-še	‘say.CAUS-PRS’

Note that in the rest of the grammar epenthetic semivowels and vowels are not separated in the glosses and are automatically assigned to the inflectional morpheme.

3. Morphology

3.1. Noun

Khwarshi nouns bear the categories of gender, case, and number.

3.1.1. Gender

The category of gender is a covert category, i.e. the gender is not shown on nouns. The category of gender is one of the main categories that condition the organization of the grammatical system in the language. Khwarshi has seven concordant noun gender numbers that are identified by the gender/number agreement patterns on verbs, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and demonstrative pronouns.

Five genders are distinguished in the singular and two genders in the plural, where masculine and feminine are neutralized to human plural vs. nonhuman plural.

The following Table 3.1 shows the distribution of gender/number affixes. The agreement marker for Gender 1 is a zero ending (\emptyset) when it is a prefixal slot and the suffix *-w* when there is an infixal or suffixal slot. The agreement marker for Gender 2 is *y*, which can take prefixal, infixal, or suffixal slots. Gender 3 has an affixal marker *b* and a prefixal marker *m-*, the latter marker occurring before nasalized vowels. Gender 4 has a prefixal and suffixal marker *l*, an infixal marker *-r-*, and a prefixal marker *n-*, which occurs before nasalized vowels. The marker for Gender 5 is an affixal marker *y*.

The gender/number agreement marker for human plural is an affixal *b* and prefixal *m-* before nasalized vowels and for non-human plural is either the affixal marker *l* and prefixal *n-* before nasalized vowels or the infixal marker *-r-*.

Table 3.1: Distribution of gender/number affixes

Gender assignment	Singular			Plural		
	prefix	infix	suffix	prefix	infix	suffix
I male human	ø-	-w-	-w	b-/m ¹⁵ -	-b-	-b
II female human	y-	-y-	-y			
III animals & inanimate objects	b-/m ¹ -	-b-	-b	l-/n ¹ -	-r-	-l
IV animate & inanimate objects	l- / n ¹ -	-r-	-l			
V inanimate objects & names of young	y-	-y-	-y			

Agreement is shown with the help of prefixes in verb forms and prefixes, infixes and suffixes in pronouns (1), postpositions (3), adverbs (4), and adjectives (4, 6, 7). Only verbs (1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7) beginning with a vowel show prefixal gender/number agreement, but there are also some exceptions (cf. 3.7.1).

1. ø <w>enu žik'o ø-ot'q'i il¹-l'o aλ-a.
 <I>that man(I) I-come-PST.W 1PL.OBL-GEN2 village-IN
 'That man came to our village.'
2. ø-ολολ'ο-so-ho y-ολολ'ο-so y-ez-un.
 I-in.middle-DEF-APUD II-in.middle-DEF II-take-PST.UW
 'The middle (brother) married the (other) middle (sister).' [Orphans.038]
3. mi¹l'o b-ολολ'ο heⁿše gul-o.
 2PL.GEN2 III-in.middle book(III) put-IMP
 'Put the book between you!'

¹⁵ These are allomorphs which occur before roots with nasalized vowels.

4. l-oλo aⁿx^ς-un l-ut^ʔ-un, bercina-b-t^ʔa-n
 IV-apart stomach(IV)-AND IV-divide-PFV.CVB beautiful-HPL-PL-AND
 b-eq-un, m^ςāγ^ςul kanda-ba-n b-ux^ς-un.
 HPL-become-PFV.CVB outside.VERS girl.OBL-PL.ABS-AND HPL-come-PST.UW
 ‘The stomach broke apart and, becoming beautiful, the girls came out.’
 [Witch.046]
5. idu λuss-uq’arλ’a yašk’a-n y-oq-un,
 this sleep-TEMP box(V)-AND V-take-PFV.CVB
 y-aⁿγ^ς-un ife.
 V-open-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG
 ‘When he fell asleep, she took the box and opened it.’ [3Princes.049]
6. b-eč-un-λo b-eč-un-ay-λo bercina-b kandaba.
 HPL-be-PST.UW-NARR HPL-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR beautiful-HPL girl.PL.ABS
 ‘Once upon a time there were beautiful girls.’
7. l-ogu-t’a aq-ba-n l-i-yin y-oⁿk’-un
 NHPL-good-PL room-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-do-PFV.CVB II-go-PST.UW
 žu kad mada-γul.
 that.ABS girl(II) outside-VERS
 ‘Having done the rooms she went outside.’

3.1.1.1. Gender assignment

Assignment may depend on two basic types of information about the noun: its meaning (semantics) and its form. Information about the form may be of two kinds – word structure comprising derivation and inflection (morphology) and sound structure (phonology) (Corbett 1991: 7).

Khwarshi like many other Daghestanian languages uses the semantic factor to a greater degree than morphological and phonological factors. The number of genders ranges from three to eight within the Nakh-Daghestanian group of languages. The languages with a larger number of genders all have male and female human genders,

whereas the principle of assignment of nouns to other genders is not obvious, and it depends on semantic and formal criteria which vary from language to language.

In Khwarshi, there is a distinction between the male and female genders, Gender 1 and Gender 2 respectively. To this extent the system is semantic. The assignment of the remaining three genders is not clear.

There is one word *q'ala* 'child' that takes Gender 3 when in the singular, treated as a non-human object (8), and it takes the human plural when used as a plural noun (9). In addition, this noun can attach the plural suffix when referring to the human plural (10). So it constitutes 'inquate gender', where a few members do not make a quorum (Corbett 1991: 170).

8.	žu	q'ala	b-i-šezuq'un	y-eč-dow
	that.ABS	child(III)	III-do-DURAT	II-be-GNT.PTCP
	γiná	iλ-i	iļequl	uže ø-i-yin
	woman.OBL.ERG	say-PST.W	that.day	boy(I) I-do-PFV.CVB
	ø-eč-i	x ^w adak'ar-il	λin.	
	I-be-PST.W	millar-LAT	QUOT	

'When she was giving birth to the child, the (other) woman who was there said that the boy was born to the miller that day.' [Princes.075]

9.	diyo	q'ala	b-ogu	goli.
	1SG.GEN1	children	HPL-good	be.PRS

'My children are good.'

10.	q'ala-ba	b-ot'q'-i.
	children-PL.ABS	HPL-come-PST.W

'My children came.'

Gender 1 includes nouns denoting male humans, e.g. *obu* 'father, grandfather', *dada* 'father', *uže* 'boy, son', *žik'o* 'man', *bet'erhan* 'husband', *muzo* 'son-in-law', *xol* 'husband', *baža* 'brother-in-law', etc., and all nouns referring to most supernatural

beings (but not ‘devil’) visualized as males like *Allah* ‘god’, *malaik* ‘angel’, *awarag* ‘prophet’.

Gender 2 includes nouns that denote female humans, e.g. *išu* ‘mother, grandmother’, *kad* ‘girl, daughter’, *baba* ‘mother’, *γine* ‘woman, wife’, etc.; and nouns denoting supernatural beings visualized as females like *hurulʃen* ‘goddess’, *hiuk’a* ‘witch’, *qodo* ‘witch’, etc.

There are other words that belong both to Gender 1 and 2, depending on the context referent, such as *lar* ‘guest’, *toxtur* ‘doctor’, *is* ‘sibling’, *tušman* ‘enemy’, *hʃamʃayʃe* ‘friend’ and others. The nouns indicating professions that are traditionally practiced by men can also refer to females, e.g. *qʳebed* ‘smith’, *ustar* ‘craftsman’, *kulak* ‘farmer’, *dibir* ‘mullah’, *iho* ‘herdsman’; nouns that end in *-qan* meaning professions can also be considered as male and female nouns, such as *ħaltʳuqan* ‘worker’, *kečʳiqan* ‘singer’, etc.

There are some nouns, e.g. *w-acaha-w* ‘cousin (male)’ and *y-acaha-y* ‘cousin (female)’, where the gender/number markers seem to be expressed in the nouns, but such nouns are loan words from Avar, and these Avar gender/number markers coincide with Khwarshi gender/number markers. Also, unlike Avar words, Khwarshi has a zero marker in the prefixal position for Gender 1 and the marker *w* only for infixal and suffixal positions.

Thus, these two genders have clear-cut semantics, i.e. Gender 1 is for male humans, and Gender 2 is for female humans.

The nouns that constitute Gender 3 have varied semantics. The basic words are nouns denoting animals, except for the young of animals, e.g. *γʳwe* ‘dog’, *zihe* ‘cow’, *bocʳo* ‘wolf’, *buhu* ‘owl’, *soyro* ‘horse’, *ze* ‘bear’, *zor* ‘fox’, etc.; body parts, e.g. *čʳečʳen* ‘chin’, *koko* ‘breast’, *kode* ‘hair’, etc.; tools, e.g. *qarisa* ‘scythe’, *mangal* ‘sickle’ etc.; abstract notions, e.g. *adab* ‘respect’, *mic* ‘language’; and others. The noun *šaytʳan* ‘devil’, which is a supernatural noun, is treated as an animal and is of Gender 3.

Gender 4 also includes nouns denoting body parts, e.g. *riqʳwe* ‘collar-bone’, *geša* ‘shoulder’, *liλʳa* ‘arm, hand’, *hetʳon* ‘lung’, *lokʳo* ‘heart’, *λozol* ‘bone’, *zimar* ‘gum’, *hoʳλʳo* ‘cheek’; utensils, e.g. *čaydan* ‘kettle’, *tʳuqʳ* ‘knife’, *šog* ‘pan’; tools, e.g. *xerex* ‘saw’, *oʳg* ‘axe’, *geram* ‘hammer’, *rexne* ‘spade’. Gender 4 can be considered as the gender of abstract notions and liquids. All verbal nouns (or masdars) with the suffix -

nu are assigned to this gender (such nouns as *oqolnu* ‘appearance’ from the verb *oqola* ‘to appear’; *mokonu* ‘hunger’ from the verb *mokoya* ‘to be hungry’, etc.). Nouns ending in *-li*, which is the suffix of abstract notions, are also in Gender 4, e.g. *q’adarli* ‘meanness’, *karamali* ‘magic’, etc.¹⁶ Another layer of words in Gender 4 comprises nouns denoting liquids (such as *lo* ‘water’, *čančal* ‘waterfall’, *l’ol* ‘oil’, *γodo* ‘rain’, etc.), though nouns such as *raład* ‘sea’, *k’ara* ‘lake’ are found in Gender 3.

All nouns denoting animals’ young are in Gender 5. Though there are exceptions like *kuc’a* ‘bird’, *γaγant’u* ‘butterfly’ which are found in this gender as well. There are also small groups of nouns denoting body parts, e.g. *č’ontu* ‘bones’, *gurtu* ‘knee’, *k’ak’a* ‘leg’, etc., utensils, e.g. *zonok* ‘mug’, *munu* ‘fork’, etc., tools, e.g. *ešen* ‘mattock’, *eškeł’* ‘shovel’, etc., clothes, e.g. *gid* ‘dress’, etc.

In the plural the distinction is made between human plural, which includes plural nouns of Gender 1 and Gender 2, and non-human plural, which comprises plural nouns of Gender 3, Gender 4, and Gender 5.

Petrified gender markers on a noun

In some Daghestanian languages, like Avar, Andic, and Lezgian languages, there are several nouns which still have gender-indicating prefixes within the words (for example, in Avar, *w-as* ‘boy’, *y-as* ‘girl’, and others). In Khwarshi, there are no petrified gender markers on nouns, except for some Avar loans that can designate gender by their form:

e.g.	w-acaha-w ‘cousin (male)’	y-acaha-y ‘cousin (female)’
	q’orola-w ‘widower’	q’orola-y ‘widow’

¹⁶ There is one lexicalized noun *q’emli* ‘relatives’ which does not denote an abstract notion and is assigned to Gender 3. The noun *q’emli* ‘relatives’ is based on the abstract suffix *-li* and the noun *q’em* ‘head (4)’.

3.1.1.2. Assignment of borrowings

Words which are borrowed from other languages exhibit some principles of gender assignment even if not fully productive. Gender 3 includes most loans ultimately from Arabic and Persian that are of early origin such as *askar* ‘troops, army’, *žawab* ‘answer’, *zaman* ‘time’, *tarix* ‘history’, *dunnal* ‘life’, *q’alam* ‘pencil’, *ustar* ‘craftsman’, *ruh* ‘soul’, etc. And there are also religious loans like *q’urʿān* ‘the Koran’, *din* ‘religion’, *ħaram* ‘sin’, *imam* ‘imam’, *naib* ‘Muslim leader’, *mažīt* ‘mosque’. Gender 4 includes most international and Russian borrowings: *komputer* ‘computer’, *restoran* ‘restaurant’, *radio* ‘radio’, *rukzak* ‘rucksack’, *koncert* ‘concert’, *institut* ‘institute’, *temperatura* ‘temperature’, *krosword* ‘crossword’, *samowar* ‘samovar’, *dieta* ‘diet’, *telewizor* ‘television set’, *fontan* ‘fountain’, etc. Words borrowed in the early period of the language are assigned to the third gender (most Arabic words), while loans of the late period and neologisms tend to go into the fourth gender. This can be evidence that there was a shift of default gender from the third to the fourth gender.

3.1.1.3. Semantic analogy

Another interesting factor is the assignment of gender by *semantic analogy* (Corbett 1991: 75), according to which the loanword takes the gender of a noun of similar meaning already in the language. Table 3.2 shows the assignment of borrowed words to the appropriate genders. Russian words end up in the gender where the original noun with the same meaning already exists.

Table 3.2: Assignments of loan words

Genders	glossing	Khwarshi words	Russian loans
Gender 3	army history book skull	<i>askar</i> <i>tarix</i> <i>heʹše</i> <i>oqʹru</i>	<i>armiya</i> <i>istoriya</i> <i>učebnik</i> <i>čerep</i>
Gender 4	lock room, office beer	<i>ražika</i> <i>aq</i> <i>orodu</i>	<i>zamok</i> <i>ofis</i> <i>piwo</i>
Gender 5	pit	<i>gʹandu</i>	<i>yama</i>

This approach to the assignment of loans to a certain gender is also important for finding out which gender comprises most loans, or which gender is the default one.

About two hundred loans denoting non-human objects were analyzed, and most of them appeared to be in the third and the fourth rather than in the fifth gender. According to the analysis, the fourth gender seems to be the default gender since most of the stock of loans, about 60%, was assigned to this gender, about 30% of nouns were assigned to the third gender, and about 10% of nouns were assigned to the fifth gender.

3.1.2. Number

The category of number is an overt category in Khwarshi. Singular and plural are morphologically distinguished. The singular is unmarked. The plural has the suffix *-bo* /*-ba* which marks plural Absolutive. This plural suffix is attached to the oblique stem of two-stem inflection nouns and to the base stem of one-stem inflection nouns.

There is also the plural suffix *-za*, which always marks the plural oblique stem of a noun (cf. 3.1.3). There is one plural suffix, *-no/-na*, which is used in the Absolutive and oblique stem formation but it is restricted to a small number of nouns, e.g. *is* ‘sibling’ and *is-na-ba* ‘sibling-PL-PL.ABS’.

The choice of Absolutive plural suffixes *-bo/-ba* is phonologically conditioned: the suffix *-bo* is the basic suffix, i.e. it is used when the noun’s final syllable has any vowel besides *a*, and the suffix *-ba* is used when the noun’s final syllable has the vowel *a*.

e.g.	zor ‘fox’	zor-bo ‘fox-PL.ABS’
	t’ut’ ‘fly’	t’ut’-bo ‘fly-PL.ABS’
	he ⁿ še ‘book’	he ⁿ še-bo ‘book-PL.ABS’
	c’ic’i ‘flower’	c’ic’i-bo ‘flower-PL.ABS’
	biλ’ ‘herd’	biλ’-bo ‘herd-PL.ABS’
	k’uca ‘bird’	k’uca-ba ‘bird-PL.ABS’

Almost all nouns, including loans, can be used with a plural suffix even though such nouns may denote abstract notions. Words such as names of traditional holidays, days of the week, seasons, months, heavenly bodies, etc. can receive a plural suffix.

e.g.	bayram ‘holiday’	bayram-ba ‘holiday-PL.ABS’
	adab ‘tradition’	adab-ba ‘tradition-PL.ABS’
	subo ‘autumn’	subu-bo ‘autumn-PL.ABS’
	ruzma ‘Friday’	ruzma-ba ‘Friday-PL.ABS’

In Khwarshi there are also collective nouns. Collective nouns refer to the group of nouns which are of similar meaning, i.e. refer to a group of similar entities. These are nouns denoting fruits, vegetables, berries, plants, liquids, grains, metals, and other entities. Such collective nouns can also be used in plural. When used in the plural form, these nouns obtain an individual specific meaning, and they can receive the following interpretations:

e.g. liquids

ło ‘water’ łe-bo ‘water-PL.ABS’

- 1) different kinds of water (e.g. water in the river or water in the sea)
- 2) water in different places (e.g. in different jugs)

yoⁿq’u ‘broth’ yoⁿq’u-bo ‘broth-PL.ABS’

- 1) different kinds of broth (e.g. fat or low-fat broth)
- 2) broth in different places

eⁿq’^o ‘blood’ eⁿq’^o-bo ‘blood-PL.ABS’

- 1) different blood types
- 2) different kinds of blood (e.g. color)

e.g. fruits

eⁿš ‘apple’ eⁿš-no-bo ‘apple-PL-PL.ABS’

- 1) different sorts of apples
- 2) apples in different places

e.g. plants

mič ‘nettle’ mič-bo ‘nettle-PL.ABS’

- 1) different kinds of nettle
- 2) nettle in different places

c’uy ‘rush’

c’uy-bo ‘rush-PL.ABS’

- 1) different kinds of rushes
- 2) rushes in different places

e.g. others

oγodo ‘sweat’ oγodo-bo ‘sweat-PL.ABS’

- 1) sweat on different people
- 2) sweat in different places

šiλ’u ‘garment’

šiλ’u-bo ‘garment-PL.ABS’

- 1) garments of several people
- 2) garments in different places

There are some polysematic nouns that form a plural, but due to pragmatic factors one of the plural meanings can be less distinct.

e.g. bucu ‘moon, month’ bucu-bo/buc-bo ‘months’ (also ‘moons’)
 os ‘money, silver’ os-bo ‘money-PL.ABS’ (also ‘silvers’)

Some nouns can obtain additional meanings when used in plural:

e.g. ezol ‘eye’ ezala-ba ‘eye-PL.ABS’, ‘eyes’ and ‘glasses’

The plural formation is also possible with onomatopoeic nouns:

e.g.	d ^w ar-d ^w ali	‘noise from footsteps’
	d ^w ar-d ^w alibo	‘frequent noise’; ‘noise in different places’
	ɣ ^w ar-ɣ ^w ali	‘noise from thunder’
	ɣ ^w ar-ɣ ^w alibo	‘frequent noise’; ‘noise in different places’

There are some nouns that do not form plural, and they have a collective meaning:

e.g.	eλ’u ‘rose-hip’
	kanli ‘light’
	čoloy ‘straw from wheat’,
	xoxoru ‘chaff from barley’
	muqur ‘oak’
	gabi ‘sand’

Borrowed nouns can also have collective and individual meanings. When the loan noun *kartoška* ‘potato’ is used in the singular it has the meaning of individual singular and collective plural and when used in the plural the noun receives the interpretation of the individual plural:

11.	kand-i	kartoška	lol-i.
	girl.OBL-ERG	potato.ABS	boil-PST.W
	‘The girl boiled a potato/potatoes.’		
12.	kand-i	kartoška-ba	lol-i.
	girl.OBL-ERG	potato-PL.ABS	boil-PST.W
	‘The girl boiled several potatoes.’		

Russian loans can be used with the plural suffix:

e.g.	Russian	Khwarshi
	kuruška ‘cup’	kuruška-ba ‘cup-PL.ABS’
	loška ‘spoon’	loška-ba ‘spoon-PL.ABS’

There is one noun that only has a plural form:

e.g.	duron-bo ¹⁷ ‘binoculars’ (*duron)
------	--

Some dvandva nouns (also known as copulative compounds) do not form a plural and have a collective meaning:

e.g.	reła-zebu ‘day and night’
	uže-kad ‘children’ (lit. boy-girl)
	išu-obu ‘parents’ (lit. mother-father)
	lamus-yañ ‘conscience’ (lit. conscience-dignity)
	laca-c’o ‘food’ (lit. food-fire)
	c’od-koknu ‘meal’ (lit. drink-eat)

Some other dvandva nouns do form plural, i.e. they distinguish between collective and individual meanings:

e.g.	γur-γon ‘garden’ (lit. stone-tree)
	γur-γonobo ‘different kind of gardens’
	beq’e-č’eme ‘fruits’ (lit. dried apricot-corner)
	beq’e-č’emebo ‘different kinds of fruits’
	γolo-posu ‘cattle’ (lit. cattle-cattle)
	γolo-posubo ‘different kinds of cattle’

¹⁷ There is also an alternative form *dronbo* ‘binoculars’.

3.1.3. Oblique stem formation

Khwarshi declension can follow one-stem inflection and two-stem inflection paradigms as in other Daghestanian languages, the two-stem pattern being the most widespread. The one-stem inflection pattern consists of the *base stem*, which is used in the Absolutive case as well as in the formation of the oblique cases. The two-stem inflection is an opposition of the *base stem*, which coincides with the Absolutive case (which is also used as *citation form*) and the *oblique stem* used in the formation of other cases. The Khwarshi declension paradigm mostly follows the two-stem pattern (cf. Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Distribution of one- and two-stem inflection nouns in Khwarshi

one-stem inflection	two-stem inflection	
38%	stress change	other oblique stem markers
	42%	20%

3.1.3.1. One-stem inflection nouns

The following example illustrates the one-stem inflection paradigm. The base stem *hadam* ‘people’ is used throughout in the formation of the oblique cases. In the one-stem inflection the Ergative suffix *-i* is added directly to the base stem.

In the one-stem inflection noun with a final consonant, the epenthetic vowel *i/u* is used before a syllable with C structure, e.g. *zor* ‘fox’ and *zor-i-I* ‘fox-EP-LAT’, and no epenthetic vowel is used before a syllable with CV structure, e.g. *zor* ‘fox’ and *zor-λ'o* ‘fox-SUP’.

The Ergative suffix *-i* is regularly attached to nouns with final consonants, e.g. *zor* ‘fox’ – *zor-i* ‘fox-ERG’. There are also a few one-stem inflection nouns of monosyllabic structure that end in a vowel, for which the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* is used before the Ergative suffix *-i*, e.g. *ze* ‘bear’ – *ze-y-i* ‘bear-EP-ERG’, where *-y-* is epenthetic:

	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ABS	tawxán ‘chimney’	tawxán-ba	ze ‘bear’	zé-bo
ERG	tawxan-í	tawxan-zá	ze-y-í	ze-zá
GEN1	tawxan-í-s	tawxan-zá-s	ze-y-ís	ze-zá-s
GEN2	tawxán-la	tawxán-za-lá	zé-lo	ze-zá-la
LAT	tawxan-í-l	tawxan-zá-l	ze-y-íl	ze-zá-l
INSTR	tawxan-í-z	tawxan-zá-z	-	-
SUPER	tawxán-λ’á	tawxán-za-λ’á	zé-λ’o	ze-zá-λ’a
CONT	tawxán-qa	tawxán-za-qá	zé-qo	ze-zá-qa
APUD	tawxán-γα	tawxán-za-γá	zé-γo	ze-zá-γα
AD	tawxán-ha	tawxán-za-há	zé-ho	ze-zá-ha
SUB	tawxan-í-λ	tawxan-zá-λ	ze-y-íλ	ze-zá-λ
INTER	tawxan-í-ł	tawxan-zá-ł	ze-y-ł	ze-zá-ł
IN	tawxán-ma	tawxán-za-má	-	-

3.1.3.2. Two-stem inflection nouns

In the two-stem inflection Khwarshi distinguishes two stems in nouns: the base stem and the oblique stem. The oblique singular stem is based on the special oblique markers used before the inflectional suffix. The Absolutive plural is based on the suffix *-bo/-ba* attached to the oblique singular form. The plural oblique stem is built by attaching the plural oblique stem suffix *-za* to the oblique singular form. Note that the base stem corresponds to the noun in the Absolutive case which is also the citation form.

3.1.3.2.1 Oblique singular stem

The *oblique stem* can be derived by several means: (1) word stress is used to distinguish between the absolutive and the oblique stem; (2) the oblique stem can be derived from the base (direct) stem with the special oblique suffixes which occur before the inflectional suffixes, these being *-t’*, *-o/-a*, *-mo/-ma*, *-la-*, and reduplication of the final consonant plus *-o/-a*; (3) the oblique stem is also formed by stem modification. These three mechanisms are discussed below in detail.

3.1.3.2.1.1 Using word stress

About 42% of nouns have a final vowel and do not use the oblique stem suffixes to derive an oblique stem. The oblique stem is formed by a stress pattern which varies between the Absolutive case and the oblique cases. The stress in the base stem, i.e. in the Absolutive is *penultimate* while the stress in the oblique stem is *ultimate* (cf. Table 3.4).

Table 3.4: Word stress change in oblique stem formation

base stem	oblique stem
q'ála 'child'	q'alá 'child.OBL'
túbi 'gun'	tubí 'gun.OBL'
múže 'bed'	mužé 'bed.OBL'
lága 'body'	lagá 'body.OBL'
žík'o 'man'	žík'ó 'man.OBL' / žik'wó / žik'wé ¹⁸
zíhe 'cow'	zihé 'cow.OBL'
liλ'aqása 'glove'	liλ'aqasá 'glove.OBL'

Two-stem inflection with stress change in the oblique stem:

¹⁸ The noun *žík'o* 'man.ABS' can form an oblique stem either by means of word stress *žík'ó* 'man.OBL', or the oblique form can be based on a vowel change and the labialization of the final consonant, *žík'wé* 'man.OBL', or the oblique stem can be formed simply by the labialization of the final consonant, *žík'wó* 'man.OBL'. All these forms are free variants.

	Singular	Plural
ABS	réxne ‘spade’	rexné-bo
ERG	rexné	rexne-zá
GEN1	rexné-s	rexne-zá-s
GEN2	rexné-lo	rexné-za-lá
LAT	rexné-l	rexne-zá-l
INSTR	rexné-z	rexne-zá-z
SUPER	rexné-λ’o	rexné-za-λ’á
CONT	rexné-qo	rexné-za-qá
APUD	rexné-γo	rexné-za-γá
AD	rexné-ho	rexné-za-há
SUB	rexné-λ	rexne-zá-λ
INTER	rexné-ł	rexne-zá-ł
IN	rexné-ma	rexné-za-má

3.1.3.2.1.2 Using oblique suffixes

The oblique stem is derived from the base stem by adding one of the oblique suffixes, which are *-t’*, *-o/-a*, *-mo/-ma*, *-la-*, and reduplication of the final consonant plus *-o/-a*¹⁹ (cf. Table 3.5). The use of the oblique markers is lexicalized and some nouns allow alternatives.

¹⁹ The choice of vowel *o* or *a* in suffixes is triggered by vowel harmony.

Table 3.5: Oblique suffixes in Khwarshi

direct stem	oblique suffixes
	-mo-/-ma-
a ⁿ c ‘door’ ráč’i ‘rope’ e ⁿ m ‘post’ e ⁿ š ‘apple’	a ⁿ c-má-la ‘door-OBL-GEN2’ rač’i-mó-s ‘rope-OBL-GEN1’ e ⁿ m-mó-l ‘post-OBL-LAT’ e ⁿ š-mó-s ‘apple-OBL-GEN1’
	-la-
t’u ‘finger’ ko ‘hair’ am ‘coal’	t’u-lá-la ‘finger-OBL-GEN2’ ko-lá-s ‘hair-OBL-GEN1’ am-lá-s ‘coal-OBL-GEN1’
	-o-/-a-
can ‘she-goat’ k’imač ‘egg’ xerex ‘saw’	can-á-l ‘she-goat-OBL-LAT’ k’imač’-á-s ‘egg-OBL-GEN1’ xerex-ó-s ‘saw-OBL-GEN1’
	-t’-
obu ‘father’ is ‘sibling’	obú-t’-lo ‘father-OBL-GEN2’ is-t-i-s ‘sibling-OBL-EP-GEN1’
	reduplication of final consonant plus o/a
u ⁿ č ‘jug’	u ⁿ č-čó-λ’o ‘jug-OBL-SUP’
sařat ‘hour’	sařat-tá-d ‘hour-OBL-DUR’
sapun ‘soap’	sapun-nó-s ‘soap-OBL-GEN1’

The oblique suffix *-mo-/-ma-* is the most productive among the other oblique suffixes. The oblique suffix *-mo/-ma* is mostly used with inanimate objects, and it mostly occurs in nouns ending in a vowel (e.g. *nucu* ‘honey’ – *nucu-mo* ‘honey-OBL’). Like many inflectional endings this oblique suffix undergoes vowel harmony, i.e. the oblique suffix *-ma-* comes after vowel *a*, and the suffix *-mo-* comes after other vowels.

The oblique suffix *-t'* occurs only with three kinship terms, namely *obu* ‘father’ – *obu-t'* ‘father-OBL’, *išu* ‘mother’ – *iše-t'* ‘mother.OBL-OBL’, and *is* ‘sibling’ – *is-t'*²⁰ ‘sibling-OBL’. Note that the Ergative suffix *-i* is attached to the oblique suffix *-t'*.

ABS	óbu ‘father’	išu ‘mother’ ²¹	is ‘sibling’
ERG	obu-t'-í	iše-t'-í	is-t-í
GEN1	obu-t'-í-s	iše-t'-í-s	is-t-í-s
GEN2	obú-t'-lo	išé-t'-lo	is-t-í-lo ²²
LAT	obu-t'-í-l	iše-t'-í-l	is-t-í-l
SUPER	obú-t'-λ'o	išé-t'-λ'o	is-t-í-λ'o
APUD	obú-t'-γo	išé-t'-γo	is-t-í-γo
AD	obú-t'-ho	išé-t'-ho	is-t-í-ho
CONT	obú-t'-qo	išé-t'-qo	is-t-í-qo
INTER	obu-t'-í-ł	iše-t'-í-ł	is-t-í-ł

The other oblique suffixes such as *-la-*, *-o/-a-* are not productive (cf. Table 3.5).

3.1.3.2.1.3 Stem modification in oblique stem formation

The oblique stem in some nouns can be formed by stem modification before the inflectional suffix and stem modification before the oblique suffix. Stem modification is not a productive process when the oblique stem is formed, and there are few nouns that derive obliques by stem modification. Stem modification before an inflectional suffix includes the following phonological processes: final vowel change, insertion of a

²⁰ The oblique suffix *-t'* becomes non-ejective *-t* due to the assimilation to the preceding sibilant.

²¹ This noun can also have an oblique stem identical to the Absolute, e.g. *išu* ‘mother.ABS’ and *išú-s* ‘mother-GEN1’, but such forms are marginal.

²² The form *is-t-í-lo* (*is-t-í-λ'o*, etc.) retains the epenthetic vowel *í* before the syllables with the CV structure because the language does not allow consonant clusters having more than two consonants (the exceptions are some borrowings, e.g. *maršrutka* ‘minibus’).

consonant and truncation. Some vowel final nouns form the oblique stem by changing the final vowel.

Table 3.6: Final vowel change in the oblique stem

Base stem	Oblique stem
/e/ > /a/	
uže ‘boy’	užá
γine ‘woman’	γiná
/u/ > /a/	
šeľu ‘horn’	šeľá
heλu ‘comb’	heλá
ō ⁿ ču ‘hen’	ō ⁿ čá
/o/ > /e/	
ło ‘water’	łe

The oblique stem is formed with the oblique suffix *-n*, and it is found within one noun λ’u ‘roof’:

	Singular
ABS	λ’u ‘roof’
ERG	λ’u-n-í
GEN1	λ’u-n-ús
GEN2	λ’ú-n-lo
LAT	λ’u-n-úl
INSTR	λ’u-n-úz
SUPER	λ’ú-n-λ’o
CONT	λ’ú-n-qo
APUD	λ’ú-n-γo
AD	λ’ú-n-ho
SUB	λ’u-n-úλ
INTER	λ’u-n-úł
IN	λ’ú-n-ma

Another way to create the oblique stem is to insert a consonant *-n* into the stem. This is found in only one noun *kad* 'girl':

	Singular
ABS	<i>kad</i> 'girl'
ERG	<i>kand-í</i>
GEN1	<i>kand-í-s</i>
GEN2	<i>kand-í-lo</i>
LAT	<i>kand-í-l</i>
SUPER	<i>kand-í-λ'o</i>
CONT	<i>kand-í-qo</i>
APUD	<i>kand-í-γo</i>
AD	<i>kand-í-ho</i>
SUB	<i>kand-í-λ</i>
INTER	<i>kand-í-ł</i>

The oblique stem can also be formed by vowel truncation, e.g. *boc'o* 'wolf' and *boc'* 'wolf.OBL', where the epenthetic vowel *#u* is used before the inflectional suffixes with a C syllable structure.

	Singular
ABS	<i>bóc'o</i> 'wolf'
ERG	<i>bóc'-í</i>
GEN1	<i>bóc'-í-s</i>
GEN2	<i>bóc'-lo</i>
LAT	<i>bóc'-í-l</i>
SUPER	<i>bóc'-λ'o</i>
CONT	<i>bóc'-qo</i>
APUD	<i>bóc'-γo</i>
AD	<i>bóc'-ho</i>
SUB	<i>bóc'-í-λ</i>
INTER	<i>bóc'-í-ł</i>

There are two nouns *γobol* ‘mill’ and *γudul* ‘garden’ where the oblique stem can be formed with either the oblique suffix *a* or by consonant truncation. The forms with a truncated consonant are mostly used by older speakers, whereas the non-truncated forms mostly occur with younger speakers. There are no truncated forms in the Ergative case, in the Genitive 2, or in the Lative.

	Singular	Alternative form	Singular	Alternative form
ABS	γoból ‘mill’		γudúl ‘garden’	
ERG	γobol-á		γudul-á	
GEN1	γobós	γobolás	γudús	γudul-á-s
GEN2	γobololo		γudul-á-la	
LAT	γobolál		γudul-á-l	
SUPER	γoból’o	γobolaλ’a	γudúl’o	γudúlλ’o
CONT	γobóqo	γobolaqa	γudúqo	γudúlqo
APUD	γobόγo	γobolaya	γudύγo	γudúlγo
AD	γobόho	γobolaha	γudύho	γudúlho
SUB	γobόλ	γoboláλ	γudύλ	γuduláλ
INTER	γobół	γoboláł	γudúł	γuduláł

Stem modification before an oblique suffix includes medial and final vowel change, insertion of a semivowel, and truncation and assimilation of the final consonant to the oblique suffix.

The medial vowel is changed before adding the oblique suffix, e.g. *ezól* ‘eye’ and *ezal-á* ‘eye.OBL-OBL’, *eser* ‘brow’ and *esar-á* ‘brow.OBL-OBL’; the final vowel is changed before adding the oblique suffix, e.g. *íšu* ‘mother’ and *íše-t’* ‘mother-OBL’; the final vowel is truncated and the final consonant of a noun is assimilated to the oblique suffix, e.g. *túbi* ‘gun’ and *tum-mó* ‘gun.OBL’; and the semivowel *y* is inserted into the oblique stem plus an oblique suffix, e.g. *šog* ‘pan’ and *šoygó* ‘pan.OBL’.

There is one exceptional noun that forms an oblique stem with the suffix *-no*, e.g. *mic* ‘tongue/language’, and *mic-no* ‘tongue/language-OBL’.

3.1.3.2.1.4 Oblique stem alternatives

Some nouns can have alternative oblique stems in the singular as well as in the plural:

	SINGULAR	
ABS	túbi	'gun'
ERG	tubí	tum-mó
GEN1	tubí-s	tum-mó-s
GEN2	tubí-lo	tum-mó-lo
LAT	tubí-l	tum-mó-l

	SINGULAR		PLURAL		
ABS	o ⁿ g 'axe'		o ⁿ g-nó-bo	o ⁿ g-mó-bo	ó ⁿ g-bo
ERG	o ⁿ g-mó	o ⁿ g-í	o ⁿ g-no-zá	o ⁿ g-mo-zá	o ⁿ g-zá
GEN1	o ⁿ g-mó-s	o ⁿ g-í-s	o ⁿ g-no-zá-s	o ⁿ g-mo-zá-s	o ⁿ g-zá-s
GEN2	o ⁿ g-mó-lo	ó ⁿ g-lo	o ⁿ g-nó-za-lá	o ⁿ g-mó-za-lá	o ⁿ g-zá-la
LAT	o ⁿ g-mó-l	o ⁿ g-í-l	o ⁿ g-no-zá-l	o ⁿ g-mo-zá-l	o ⁿ g-zá-l

3.1.3.2.2 Plural form

Plural nominal forms are based on the suffixes *-bo/-ba* and *-no/-na*. The suffixes *-bo/-ba* are distributed in the following way: the plural suffix *-bo* is the basic suffix, i.e. *-bo* is used when the final nominal syllable contains any vowel but *a*, and the plural suffix *-ba* is used when the final nominal syllable is *a*.

The plural suffix *-bo* is used to mark the Absolutive case. This Absolutive plural suffix *-bo* is added to the base stem (in nouns with the one-stem inflection patterns) and to the oblique stem (in nouns with the two-stem inflection pattern).

e.g. one-stem inflection nouns

kukúm ‘plum’	kukúm-bo ‘plum-PL.ABS’
hadám ‘man’	hadám-ba ‘man-PL.ABS’
raład ‘sea’	raład-ba ‘sea-PL.ABS’
zor ‘fox’	zór-bo ‘fox-PL.ABS’
ze ‘bear’	zé-bo ‘bear-PL.ABS’
šajt’án ‘devil’	šajt’án-ba ‘devil-PL.ABS’
x ^ʰ ux ^ʰ ‘face’	x ^ʰ úx ^ʰ -bo ‘face-PL.ABS’

e.g. two-stem inflection nouns

k’úlu ‘whisker’	k’ulú-bo ‘whisker.OBL-PL.ABS’
t’íkka ‘he.goat’	t’iká-ba ‘he.goat-PL.ABS’
sił ‘tooth’	sił-á-ba ‘tooth-OBL-PL.ABS’
γíne ‘woman’	γiná-ba ‘woman.OBL-PL.ABS’
bóc’o ‘wolf’	bóc’-bo ‘wolf.OBL-PL.ABS’
γ ^w áde ‘raven’	γ ^w ád-ba ‘raven.OBL-PL.ABS’
rók’o ‘root’	rók’-bo ‘root.OBL-PL.ABS’

The other plural suffix *-no/-na* is found in about ten nouns, which all have monosyllabic (C)VC structure and must be followed by the plural suffix *-bo/-ba*. All of these nouns are two-stem inflection nouns, and all of these nouns except for *ís* ‘brother’ allow the alternative one-stem inflection pattern. This plural suffix *-no/-na* is used when the plural absolutive is formed and also when the oblique plural is formed (see the following section). All of these one-stem inflection nouns allow alternative plural formation, i.e. without the plural suffix *-no/-na*.

e.g.	one-stem inflection	
	plural forms	alternative plural forms
	muq ^ɕ -nó-bo ‘line-PL-PL.ABS’	múq ^ɕ -bo ‘line-PL.ABS’
	mis-nó-bo ‘hair-PL-PL.ABS’	mís-bo ‘hair-PL.ABS’
	mit’-nó-bo ‘drop-PL-PL.ABS’	mít’-bo ‘drop-PL.ABS’
	muž-nó-bo ‘foam-PL-PL.ABS’	múž-bo ‘foam-PL.ABS’

e.g.	two-stem inflection	
	plural forms	alternative plural forms
	is-ná-ba ‘sibling-PL-PL.ABS’	
	e ⁿ š-nó-bo ‘apple-PL-PL.ABS’	é ⁿ š-bo ‘apple-PL.ABS’
	mič-nó-bo ‘nettle-PL-PL.ABS’	míč-bo ‘nettle-PL.ABS’
	u ⁿ č-nó-bo ‘jug-PL-PL.ABS’	ú ⁿ č-bo ‘jug-PL.ABS’
	o ⁿ g-nó-bo ‘axe-PL-PL.ABS’	ó ⁿ g-bo ‘axe-PL.ABS’
	mic-nó-bo ‘language-PL-PL.ABS’	míc-bo ‘language-PL.ABS’

Only two nouns allow alternative plural forms based on the singular oblique stem:

e.g.	e ⁿ š ‘apple’	e ⁿ š-nó-bo ‘apple-PL-PL.ABS’
		e ⁿ š-mó-bo ‘apple-OBL-PL.ABS’
	o ⁿ g ‘axe’	o ⁿ g-nó-bo ‘axe-PL-PL.ABS’
		o ⁿ g-mó-bo ‘axe-OBL-PL.ABS’

3.1.3.2.3 Plural oblique form

The plural oblique suffix is *-za*, to which other inflectional suffixes are added. The plural oblique suffix *-za* is suffixed directly to the base stem in nouns with one-stem inflections:

e.g.	nartáv 'giant'	nartaw-zá 'giant-PL.OBL'
	xan 'khan'	xan-zá 'khan-PL.OBL'
	qartáy 'witch'	qartay-zá 'witch-PL.OBL'
	t'ut' 'fly'	t'ut'-zá 'fly-PL.OBL'

In the two-stem inflection nouns, the plural oblique suffix *-za* is added to the oblique singular form:

e.g.	túbí 'gun'	tubí 'gun.OBL'	tubi-zá 'gun.OBL-PL.OBL'
	t'u 'finger'	t'u-lá 'finger-OBL'	t'u-la-zá 'finger-OBL-PL.OBL'
	sil 'tooth'	sil-á 'tooth-OBL'	sil-a-zá 'tooth-OBL-PL.OBL'
	úže 'boy'	užá 'boy.OBL'	uža-zá 'boy.OBL-PL.OBL'

A small number of nouns that form their plural with the suffix *-no/-na* derive the plural oblique stem by adding the suffix *-za*. These forms can also have alternative plural forms based on the base stem:

e.g.	one-stem inflection	alternative plural oblique forms
	plural oblique forms	
	muq ^č -no-zá 'line-PL-PL.OBL'	muq ^č -zá 'line-PL.OBL'
	mis-no-zá 'hair-PL-PL.OBL'	mis-zá 'hair-PL.OBL'
	mít'-no-zá 'drop-PL-PL.OBL'	mít'-zá 'drop-PL.OBL'
	muž-no-zá 'foam-PL-PL.OBL'	muž-zá 'foam-PL.OBL'
e.g.	two-stem inflection	alternative plural oblique forms
	plural oblique forms	
	is-na-zá 'sibling-PL-PL.OBL'	
	e ⁿ š-no-zá 'apple-PL-PL.OBL'	e ⁿ š-zá 'apple-PL.OBL'
	mič-no-zá 'nettle-PL-PL.OBL'	mič-zá 'nettle-PL.OBL'
	u ⁿ č-no-zá 'jug-PL-PL.OBL'	u ⁿ č-zá 'jug-PL.OBL'
	o ⁿ g-no-zá 'axe-PL-PL.OBL'	o ⁿ g-zá 'axe-PL.OBL'
	mic-no-zá 'language-PL-PL.ABS'	mic-zá 'language-PL.OBL'

The other alternative forms are the following:

e.g.	é ⁿ š-bo ‘apple-PL.ABS’	e ⁿ š-zá ‘apple-PL.OBL’
	e ⁿ š-nó-bo ‘apple-PL-PL.ABS’	e ⁿ š-no-zá ‘apple-PL-PL.OBL’
	e ⁿ š-mó-bo ‘apple-OBL-PL.ABS’	e ⁿ š-mo-zá ‘apple-OBL-PL.OBL’
	o ⁿ g-nó-bo ‘axe-PL-PL.ABS’	o ⁿ g-no-zá ‘axe-PL-PL.OBL’
	o ⁿ g-mó-bo ‘axe-OBL-PL.ABS’	o ⁿ g-mo-zá ‘axe-OBL-PL.OBL’

The oblique marker *-t’* is never used in the plural formation with the one noun *is* ‘sibling’, where in the plural declension, the oblique marker *-t’* is changed to the oblique marker *-na*.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL		
ABS	is ‘sibling’	is-ná-ba		
ERG	is-t’-í	is-na-zá		
GEN1	is-t’-í-s	is-na-zá-s		
GEN2	is-t’-í-lo	is-ná-za-lá		
LAT	is-t’-í-l	is-na-zá-l		
but	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
ABS	išu ‘mother’	išu-bo	óbu ‘father’	obú-bo
ERG	iše-t’-í	iše-t’-zá	obut’-í	obut’-zá
GEN1	iše-t’-í-s	iše-t’-zá-s	obut’-í-s	obut’-zá-s
GEN2	iše-t’-í-lo	iše-t’-za-lá	obút’-lo	obút’-za-lá
LAT	iše-t’-í-l	iše-t’-zá-l	obut’-í-l	obut’-zá-l

3.1.4. Case

There are fifty-one cases and case combinations in Khwarshi: eight grammatical cases (Absolutive, Ergative, Genitive 1, Genitive 2, Instrumental, Durative, Vocative, and Causal) and forty-three local cases which are built from the combination of seven orientation suffixes (Super, Sub, In, Inter, Ad, Apud, Cont) and six directional suffixes (Essive, Lative, Versative, Ablative, Translative, Terminative).

3.1.4.1. Grammatical cases

The following set of grammatical cases exists in the language: Absolutive, Ergative, Genitive 1, Genitive 2, Instrumental, Durative, Vocative, and Causal. Note that Dative/Lative is classified as a local suffix due to the syncretism of endings.

3.1.4.1.1 Absolutive case

The Absolutive case is a grammatical case used to mark both the subject of an intransitive verb (13, 14, 15) and the patient of a transitive verb (16). The noun in the Absolutive can also form the nominal part of the predicate (17). The Absolutive case is unmarked, i.e. it has a zero marker. The nouns in the Absolutive case are used as the lexical citation forms.

13. m-ok'-un zor boc'-γo-l.
 III-go-PST.UW fox(III).ABS wolf.OBL-APUD-LAT
 'The fox went to the wolf.' [Witch.033]

14. uže išet'lo liλ'e λis-i.
 boy.ABS mother.GEN2 in.hand sleep-PST.W
 'The boy has fallen asleep in the mother's hands.'

15. b-eč-in hos biskina-b uže-n obu-n.
 HPL-be-PST.UW one poor-HPL boy(I).ABS-AND father(I).ABS-AND
 'There lived a poor father and a son.' [3Feats.001]

16. išet'-i bušne b-i-še goli.
 mother.OBL-ERG bread(III).ABS III-do-PRS be.PRS
 'The mother makes the bread.'

17. idu γine ił'ó toxtur y-eč-i.
 this woman(II).ABS 1PL.GEN1 doctor.ABS II-be-PST.W
 'This woman was our doctor.'

The Absolutive case is also used to mark the instrument in contact predicates, e.g. *lek'ʷa* ‘to hit’, *lak lexa* ‘to color’ (also cf. 4.6.4.2).

18. uža qodo-qo lak l-ex-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG wall.OBL-CONT paint(IV).ABS IV-touch-PST.W
 ‘The boy colored the wall with the paint.’

19. de uža-la k'ant'a l-ek'ʷ-i.
 1SG.ERG boy.OBL-GEN2 stick(IV).ABS IV-hit-PST.W
 ‘I hit the boy with the stick.’

3.1.4.1.2 Ergative case

The Ergative case is used to mark the agent in transitive constructions. The Ergative is formed differently in one-stem and two-stem inflection nouns. In one-stem inflection nouns, the Ergative is formed with the suffix *-i*, which is added directly to nouns that end in a consonant (20) or to monosyllabic nouns ending in a vowel, where the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* is used before the Ergative suffix *-i* (21) (also cf. 3.1.3.1) (polysyllabic nouns ending in a vowel are all two-stem inflection). Unlike other grammatical cases which are used with nouns and pronouns, the Ergative case suffix *-i* is used only with nouns. The Ergative case for personal pronouns ends in *-e*, e.g. *do* ‘1SG.ABS’ – *de* ‘1SG.ERG’, *mo* ‘2SG.ABS’ and *me* ‘2SG.ERG’, etc.

20. isx-in hobože xan-i izzuqo židuli
 ask-PST.UW now khan-ERG that.PL(P).CONT that.PL(D).INTER
 heč'če hunar gollu žik'o hibo-k goli λin.
 most feat be.PRS.PTCP man what-QUES be.PRS QUOT
 ‘The khan asked which of them is most talented for the feat.’ [Princes.108]

21. q^ʕe-y-i γon-o-s q^ʕwe^ʕj x^ʕux^ʕ-i.
 rabbit-EP-ERG tree-OBL-GEN1 bark nibble-PST.W
 ‘The rabbit nibbled the bark of the tree.’

26. em-mo, m-eg-an m-eg-un, žik'o ø-uwox-i.
 post-OBL.ERG III-fall-RED III-fall-PFV.CVB man(I) I-kill-PST.W
 'Having fallen, the post killed the man.'

3.1.4.1.3 Genitive case

The Genitive case indicates a relationship, primarily one of possession, between the noun in the Genitive case, a possessor, preceding its possessum. There are two Genitives in Khwarshi. Genitive 1 with the suffix *-s* (27) marks the attribute to a noun in the Absolutive case, while Genitive 2 with the suffix *-lo/-la* (28) refers to a noun in any oblique case. Thus, Khwarshi has a kind of Suffixaufnahme (Kibrik 1995: 219, Boguslavskaja 1995: 234) where nouns in their attributive function agree with head nouns.

27. hada žik'o-s eⁿs b-it'-x-in b-eč-in.
 one.OBL man-GEN1 ox(III) III-divide-CAUS-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'The ox of one man was stolen.' [Woman.030]

28. hos heč'č'e y-uq'^ɸq'^ɸu y-ek'1-un čamassek'-lo hast'ina-ma-li.
 one most II-big II-fall-PST.UW date-GEN2 trough.OBL-IN-LAT
 'The eldest one fell into the trough of dates.' [Orphans.025]

There is no distinction between alienable possession and inalienable possession, and the Genitive is used in both contexts (29, 30).

29. obu-t'-is tubi
 father-OBL-GEN1 gun
 'father's gun'
30. obu-t'-is is
 father-OBL-GEN1 sibling
 'father's sibling'

The Genitive 2 is used to mark the animate patient with contact predicates (cf. 4.6.4.2):

31. ise žulik-lo t'uq^ʕ haλ-i.
 that.OBL.ERG cheater-GEN2 knife hit-PST.W
 'He hit the cheater with the knife.'

3.1.4.1.4 Instrumental case

The Instrumental case has the suffix *-z*. Only inanimate nouns can stand in the Instrumental case. The marker *-z* is only used in its instrumental function with concrete nouns (e.g. axe, pen, knife, etc.).

32. iše kand-i muše gollo
 that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG smell be.PRS.PTCP.OBL
 sapuno-z usan-un idu yuq^ʕuč'e.
 soap.OBL-INST bathe-PST.W this old.woman
 'That girl bathed the old woman with the good smelling soap.' [Orphan.014]

33. q^{ʕw}anayaγužaz c'alid-a b-iq'-dow ut'ana kaγataλ'a,
 two.APUD.TRANSL read-INF III-know-GNT.PTCP red letter.SUP
 k^ʕab^ʕa šaq'i-z q^wa-gu xat' b-eč-i.
 black ink-INSTR write-PST.PTCP handwriting(III) III-be-PST.W
 'There was the handwriting written with black ink on a red piece of paper (written) from both sides.' [Old man]

The Instrumental case can also have an abstract meaning. When used with duration adverbials it expresses telic meaning.

34. hada buco-z de γudul n-ež-i.
 one.OBL month.OBL-INST 1SG.ERG garden(IV) IV-sow-PST.W
 'I sowed a garden in a month.'

e.g.	wo, γina-yu	e.g.	wo, išu
	hey woman.OBL-VOC		hey mother
	‘Hey, woman.’		‘Hey, mum.’

37.	b-ux-le,	hadam-i-yu,	di ^h ʔo	eze-l
	HPL-come-IMP	people-EP-VOC	1SG.GEN2	in.the.eye-LAT
	hos himon	n-eλ'-un,	l-eγ-o	žu himon.
	one thing(IV)	IV-go-PST.UW	IV-take-IMP	that.ABS thing(IV)
	‘Hey people, come, there is something in my eye, take it out.’ [Who is the longest one?]			

3.1.4.1.7 Causal case

The Causal case is marked by the suffix *-λeru* added to the oblique form of the noun and has the meaning ‘because of’. The suffix *-λeru* is also used to form the converbal constructions (also cf. 4.10.3.2.5).

38.	dub-λeru	do-n	šuk-i.
	2SG.OBL-CAUSAL	1SG.ABS-AND	beat-PST.W
	‘And I was beaten because of you.’		

39.	dub-λeru	di- ^h in	os	b-oq-i.
	2SG.OBL-CAUSAL	1SG.OBL-LAT-AND	money(III)	III-get-PST.W
	‘I got the money thanks to you.’			

3.1.4.2. Spatial cases

The spatial system of Khwarshi has two morphological slots or positions, one for the orientation suffix and the other for the directional suffix (cf. Table 3.7). The orientation suffixes denote the location of an object in space, e.g. on, under, at, in, near. The directional or orientation suffixes express the meaning of direction, e.g. through, from, to, up to/until. There are seven orientation and six directional suffixes. The orientation suffixes are Super ‘on’, Sub ‘under’, In ‘inside’, Inter ‘in’, Apud ‘close at’, Ad ‘at’, Cont ‘on’, and the directional suffixes are Essive ‘absence of motion’, Lative

‘to’, Versative ‘towards’, Ablative ‘from’, Translative ‘through’, and Terminative ‘up to/until’. There are 42 possible combinations of spatial cases.

Table 3.7: Locative cases

	Essive	Lative	Versative	Ablative	Translative	Terminative
SUPER	-λ'o	-λ'o-l	-λ'o-γul	-λ'o-zi	-λ'o-γužaz	-λ'o-q'a
SUB	-λ	-λ-ul	-λ-γul	-λ-zi	-λ-γužaz	-λ-q'a
IN	-ma	-ma-l	-ma-γul	-ma-zi	-ma-γužaz	-ma-q'a
INTER	-ł	-ł-ul	-ł-γul	-ł-zi	-ł-γužaz	-ł-q'a
AD	-ho	-ho-l	-ho-γul	-ho-zi	-ho-γužaz	-ho-q'a
APUD	-γo	-γo-l	-γo-γul	-γo-zi	-γo-γužaz	-γo-q'a
CONT	-qo	-qo-l	-qo-γul	-qo-zi	-qo-γužaz	-qo-q'a

3.1.4.2.1 The orientation Super (marked by -λ'o/-λ'a).

The primary meaning of Super is the location of an object on a certain surface with the meaning ‘loose and/or close contact with’, usually having contact on a smaller surface unlike the meaning of Cont which refers to the fixed contact on a larger surface, e.g. *qodo-λ'o surat* ‘picture on the wall’ and ‘contact with a small surface’, e.g. *šiša-λ'a etiketka* ‘label on the bottle (not around)’, *ustul-λ'o heše* ‘book on the table’, *u"č q'eł'o-λ'o* ‘jug on the floor’, *liλ'a-λ'a mut* ‘wart on the hand’, *λoq"wa-λ'a amar* ‘bump on the forehead’, *k"erti-λ'o hadam* ‘people in the godekan²³’.

40. ono γon-o-λ'o heⁿhe b-eč-un.
 there tree-OBL-SUP pear(III) III-be-PST.UW
 ‘There were pears on the tree.’ [3Feats.009]

41. Malla.rasan, om^soq^se-λ'o ludo-n gul-un,
 Malla.rasan(I) donkey-SUP wood-AND put-PFV.CVB
 ø-oⁿk'-un huⁿne-ho.
 I-go-PST.UW road-AD
 ‘Malla-rasan put the wood on (his) donkey and went his way.’ [Malla rasan]

²³ Godekan is a central square in the village where people meet.

There are also lexicalized meanings of the Super orientation suffix denoting localization in some settlement or some region (42).

42. \emptyset -ot'q'-i Mandžuriya- λ 'a \emptyset -ečč-u
 I-come-PST.W Manchuria-SUP I-be-PST.PTCP
 pulemetčik ručnoy, lol-bo-n l-uwōx-un.
 machine.gunner(1) manual leg.OBL-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-kill-PFV.CVB
 'The manual machine gunner who was in Manchuria came back having hurt his legs.' [Old man]

The Superessive can be combined with the postposition λ 'olo 'above' having the meaning 'on the top of something'.

43. γ on- λ 'o γ ^wade goli.
 tree-SUP raven be.PRS
 'There is a raven on the tree.'
44. γ on- λ 'o λ 'olo γ ^wade goli.
 tree-SUP above raven be.PRS
 'There is a raven on the top of the tree.'

The Superessive can be used to express a meaning such as '(my/his) name is':

45. uža- λ 'a co Muḥamad l-eč-un.
 boy.OBL-SUP name(IV) Magomed IV-be-PST.UW
 'The boy's name was Magomed.' [Mesedo.002]

The Superessive suffix combined with an ordinal numeral can denote time, as in (46), and it can express price, as in (47).

46. saʕat baʕelʔ-ʕ'a mo ø-oⁿk'-a ø-eč-i
 hour eight.OBL-SUP 2SG.ABS I-go-INF I-be-PST.W
 ħalt'i-ʕ'o dibir-lin gollu.
 work-SUP mullah-AS be.PRS.PTCP
 'At about eight o'clock you were to go to work as mullah.' [Old man]

47. uⁿq'e-la-ʕ'a iʕ-o idu himon ʕin iʕ-in bazargan-i.
 four-OBL-SUP give-IMP this thing QUOT say-PST.UW tradesman-ERG
 "'Give this thing for four (rubles)," the tradesman said.'

There are a small number of psychological predicates that mark the oblique argument with the Superessive, e.g. *rek'oq'aw eča* 'to be sorry for', *buža* 'to believe', 'to be content with', etc.

48. žu ɣine c'aq' isuʕ'o buž-un y-eč-un.
 that.ABS woman(II) very that.SUP believe-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.UW
 'That woman believed him very much.'

The Superessive can express other metaphorical location in the expression 'to remember' which literally means 'to come on one's heart'.

49. kandil žu himon lok'o-ʕ'o l-eč-i.
 girl.LAT that.ABS thing(IV) heart-SUP IV-be-PST.W
 'The girl remembered about it.'

The Superablative suffix *-ʕ'o-zi* is attached to a standard of comparison (standard NP) in the comparative construction (also cf. 4.2.2).

- | | COMPAREE NP | STANDARD NP | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-------------------|----------|--------|
| 50. | Qurban | Nazir-ʕ'o-zi-n | lebala-w | goli. |
| | Kurban(I) | Nazir-SUP-ABL-AND | brave-I | be.PRS |
| | 'Kurban is braver than Nazir.' | | | |

3.1.4.2.2 The orientation Sub (marked by $-\lambda$).

The orientation suffix $-\lambda$ is used to express the state of an object ‘under something’. It is often used in combination with postpositions such as *gił* ‘under’, ‘down’.

51. iso xuy tuqq-u λ ar-la γ iná
 that.GEN1 noise hear-PST.PTCP kunak-GEN2 wife.OBL.ERG
 lac’alas podnos karavati λ *gił* gul-un.
 food.GEN1 plate bed.SUB under put-PST.UW
 ‘When the kunak’s wife heard his noise, she put the plate with food under the bed.’ [Malla rasan]

52. \emptyset -ot’q’-un nartaw, hobote γ ono- λ
 I-come-PST.UW giant(1).ABS there.OBL tree.OBL-SUB
 izzu-č b-eč-un.
 that.PL.(P)ABS-EMPH HPL-be-PFV.CVB
 ‘The giant came there while they were sitting under the tree.’ [3Feats.012]

53. ise xan-la lolu- λ n-e λ ’-un muhu-bo.
 that.OBL khan-GEN2 leg.OBL-SUB NHPL-go-PST.UW grain-PL.ABS
 ‘The grains went under the khan’s leg.’ [3Feats.103]

The Subessive also indicates an object of exchange, which can be money or any other object.

54. dudu-n soyro- λ i $\lambda\lambda$ -u baha-n tu λ -un,
 how-AND horse-SUB give-PST.PTCP price-AND give-PFV.CVB
 raził-ok’-un idu obu nartaw-i.
 agree-CAUS-PST.UW this father giant-ERG
 ‘The giant made the father agree, offering (him) the same price as for the horse.’
 [3Feats.076]

The Subessive is used in the metaphoric expression ‘to be suitable for’.

55. *bercina-y-in* *goli,* *y-oγo* *mo,* *aq-iλ* *roq'q'-un*
 beautiful-II-AND be.PRS II-hey 2SG.ABS house-SUB get.right-PFV.CVB
goli, *dil^l* *goq-i* *žu* *kad.*
 be.PRS 1SG.LAT love-PST.W that.ABS girl
 ‘Hey, (she) is beautiful, and suitable for the house, I liked that girl.’ [Dialog]

3.1.4.2.3 The orientation In (marked by *-ma*).

The orientation In expresses the location of an object in a certain closed (limited) space, inside a hollow object, e.g. *šifoner-ma* ‘in the wardrobe’, *mači-ma* ‘in the shoe’, *ustur-ma* ‘in the drawers of the table’, *čanta-ma* ‘in the pocket’, *ezala-ma* ‘in the eye’, *mašina-ma* ‘in the car’, *ʿa^hha-ma* ‘in the ear’, *busu-ma* ‘in the fist’, *aq-ma* ‘in the room’, etc. In one noun the suffix *-ma* has undergone reduction, as in *aλ* ‘village’ – *aλ-a* ‘in the village’.

56. *idu-n* *exena-ma-γul* *kul-un* *y-oⁿk'-a*
 this-AND pillow.OBL-IN-VERS throw-PST.UW II-go-INF
y-eq-un *ħiħuk'a.*
 II-begin-PST.UW witch(II).ABS
 ‘The witch threw him into the pillow and began to go.’ [Mesedo.057]

57. *iλ-in* *had-qa-l* *ze* *gollo* *g^ʿanda-ma-l*
 say-PST.UW one.OBL-CONT-LAT bear be.OBL.PRS.PTCP pit.OBL-IN-LAT
q^ʿem *l-ešt'-o* *λin.*
 head(IV) IV-let-IMP QUOT
 ‘They said to one man to put the head into the pit where the bear was.’
 [Anecdote.002]

3.1.4.2.4 The orientation Inter (marked by *-f*).

The orientation Inter expresses the location of an object in an amorphous space or inside a ‘mass object’, emphasizing the mass character of the landmark, e.g. *te-f* ‘in

the water’, *eⁿxu-ŋ* ‘in the river’, *raŋadi-ŋ* ‘in the sea’, *eqo-ŋ* ‘in the blood’, *ešu-ŋ* ‘in the apple’, *yono-ŋ* ‘in the forest’, *c’odo-ŋ* ‘in the fire’, *kukumo-ŋ* ‘in the flour’, etc.

58. *isu-l* *b-ak-un* *ŋe-ŋ* *giŋ* *eⁿš,*
 that.OBL-LAT III-see-PST.UW water.OBL-INTER down apple(III).ABS
l-ešt’-in *liŋ’a-n* *b-oq-un-ay.*
 IV-let-PST.UW hand(IV).ABS-AND III-catch-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘He saw an apple in the water, let out his hand (to catch the apple), but didn’t catch it.’ [Mesedo.019]

59. *armi-ŋ* *ø-oⁿk’-i* *iŋ’ó* *q^winequ-n* *ŋino*
 army-INTER I-go-PST.W 1PL.GEN1 forty-AND five
žik’o *hobode* *aŋ-a-zi.*
 man(I) here village-IN-ABL
 ‘Forty-five men went to the army from our village.’ [Old man]

60. *hobot’un* *homonu* *huⁿnza-ŋ* *biŋ’-in* *posu-n*
 like.this such mountain.PL.OBL-INTER herd-AND cows-AND
ɣolo-n *ihoŋ-un,* *xristan-ba* *b-eč-un.*
 cattle-AND pasture-PFV.CVB Christian-PL.ABS HPL-be-PST.UW
 ‘So in the mountains the Christians were pasturing their sheep and cows.’ [Old man]

Additionally, both the Inessive and Interessive can be used to convey the distinction between ‘loose’ (default) and ‘close’ containment (Daniel & Ganenkov 2009: 675). Close containment refers to objects that occupy the whole of the inner space of the container. For instance, the noun *aŋ* ‘village’ can be used either with the Inessive or Interessive suffix. When the Inessive is used, it refers to some general localization in space (61), and when the Interessive is used, it refers to the localization in the depths of the village (62).

61. do aλ-a y-eč-i.
 1SG.ABS village-IN II-be-PST.W
 ‘I (female) was in the village.’
62. aλaλ l-oλonuqa goli iļes aq.
 village.INTER IV-in.center be.PRS that.GEN1 house(IV)
 ‘Her house is in the center of the village.’

This orientation suffix can also have a non-spatial meaning, i.e. it can express the comitative meaning ‘with’, used only with personal pronouns, proper names, and other animate objects.

63. t’it’ihú b-ez-un oⁿču, oⁿču-ł hadal
 hawk.OBL.ERG III-take-PFV.CVB hen(III).ABS hen(III)-INTER together
 iļe-lo k’ak’a-qa-n y-oⁿc-un gollu
 that.OBL-GEN2 leg-CONT-AND V-tie-PFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP
 oⁿče-č huⁿho-n y-ez-un.
 nine-COLL chick(V).ABS-AND V-take-PST.UW
 ‘The hawk took the hen with nine chicks that were tied to her leg.’ [Xitilbeg.013]

This orientation suffix *-ł* when used with the noun *lib* ‘year’ refers to dates, as in (64a). It is also possible to omit the noun *lib* ‘year’, then the numeral is marked for the Intensive, as in (64b).

64.

- a. q^{ʕw}inequn uⁿq^ʕe-iλλo λiba-ɫ gočid-ok^ʕ-i
 forty four-OBL.ORD year.OBL-INTER drive-CAUS-PST.W
 čačan-za²⁴.
 Chechen-PL.OBL

‘In (19)44 the Chechens were driven away (i.e. from their place).’ [Old man]

- b. q^{ʕw}inequn uⁿq^ʕe-iλλu-ɫ gočid-ok^ʕ-i čačan-za.
 forty four-ORD-INTER drive-CAUS-PST.W Chechen-PL.OBL
 ‘In (19)44 the Chechens were driven away (i.e. from their place).’

3.1.4.2.5 The orientation Ad (marked by *-ho/-ha*).

The primary meaning of this orientation suffix is the location of an object at something, e.g. at the table, at the tree, etc.

65. ʕadala-w-in ø-us-un eⁿxe-ho q^ʕudu-n
 fool-I-AND I-find-PST.UW river.OBL-AD down-AND
 ø-eč-un eⁿso gobizaha.
 I-be-PFV.CVB snow be.NEG.PRS.LOC.CVB

‘(He) found Fool at the river sitting at the place where there was no snow.’

[Fool.112]

It is also used for an abstract meaning with the verb ‘to marry a man’, ‘to give one’s daughter away in marriage’.

²⁴ The noun *čačan-za* is a plural oblique/ergative form which is preferably used in the position of the intransitive subject, whereas the Absolutive form *čačan-ba* is also possible in such a position, but the Absolutive form is not preferred.

66. mičaha-b ahlu-s uže golaλa, y-eγ-še λun
 rich-HPL family-GEN1 boy be.PRS.ANTR II-take-PRS QUOT
 b-eq-un haq'u-q'ala isuho.
 III-happen-PST.UW family-children that.AD
 'As he was from the rich family, relatives decided to marry (the girl).'
 [Wedding.003]

67. mižul tuq-un-ay ił'ło abaxar-is
 2SG.LAT hear.PST.UW-NEG 1PL.GEN2 neighbor-GEN1
 kad xol-ho y-o"k'-še λin.
 daughter(II) husband-AD II-go-PRS QUOT
 'Have you not heard that the daughter of our neighbor is getting married?'

The Adessive case is often used to form temporal adverbs:

- e.g. emi 'spring' em-ho 'in the spring'
 at'anu 'summer' at'ama-ha 'in the summer'

This locative case can also be used in set expressions, e.g. *dawla-ha mok'a* 'to go for hunting'.

3.1.4.2.6 The orientation Apud (marked by -γo /-γα)

Unlike the Adessive with the meaning 'at', the Apudessive denotes 'in close contact with', 'nearby' (68). Like other orientation markers, the Apud marker can be followed by a postposition; for the Apudessive this is *puho* 'aside' (69).

68. y-o"k'-un abaxar yuq'^suč'eγol-in uq'^suč'eγol-in
 II-go-PST.UW neighbor(II) old.woman.APUD.LAT-AND old.man.APUD.LAT-AND
 iłeγol madaγul žu kad y-ešt'-o λin.
 that.APUD.LAT outside.VERS that.ABS girl(II) II-let-IMP QUOT
 'The neighbor went to the grandmother and grandfather, asking to let the girl go outside with her.' [Jealous.004]

71. b-og b-oło bolo-qo-l boc'o łuy-ał.a,
 III-good III-alike.OBL ice-CONT-LAT wolf(III) stick-ANTR
 goł'-un zor-i łıłuk'a.
 call-PST.UW fox-ERG witch
 'When the wolf was frozen good enough to the ice, the fox called the witch.'
 [Witch.042]

72. kad hada em-qo y-oⁿc-un y-eč-i.
 girl(II).ABS one.OBL column-CONT II-tie-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.W
 'The girl was tied to the column.' [3Princes.074] (e.g. the girl was tied with the rope to the column but at some distance from it)

The utterance predicates such as *isxa* 'to ask', *ıla* 'to tell', *isa* 'to say' mark the addressee with the Contessive or Contlative combination.

73. me is-o di-qo dubo heč'č'e nucaha-r
 2SG.ERG tell-IMP 1SG.OBL-CONT 2SG.GEN1 very tasty-IV
 lił na-sa-k goli λin iλ-in boc'i.
 meat(IV).ABS where-DEF-QUES be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW wolf(III).OBL.ERG
 "'You tell me, where is your most tasty meat?" the wolf said.' [Hajj.029]

The combination of Cont with Lative is also used for the object of verbs of active perception, such as *tuqa* 'to listen' (but not in the sense of 'to hear'), *guc'a* 'to look' (74).

74. isu-lo tir-mo-qo-l gic'-ał.a, c'aq'
 that.OBL-GEN2 sword-OBL-CONT-LAT look-ANTR very
 ø-uł'-un idu žik'o.
 I-fear-PST.UW this man (I).ABS
 'When he looked at his sword, he got scared.' [Xitilbeg.022]

The Contessive like the Genitive can be used in the predicative possessive constructions. It expresses temporary possession whereas permanent possession is expressed with the Genitive.

75.

- a. baba-qa os goli.
 mother-CONT money.ABS be.PRS
 ‘The mother has money.’ (lit. ‘The mother has money with her.’)
- b. baba-s os goli.
 mother-GEN1 money.ABS be.PRS
 ‘The mother has money.’

The combination of Cont with the Ablative suffix can express the causal meaning (‘because of’):

76. q^oola-qa-z γay-in b-ok’-i.
 pelt.OBL-CONT-ABL house(III)-AND III-burn-PST.W
 ‘The house burnt because of the pelt.’ [Fool.091]

The Contessive is also used to mark the subject in potential constructions with intransitive predicates. The potential construction is formed by adding the potential marker *-l-* to an (in)transitive verb and the agent-like noun phrase appears in the Contessive (also cf. 4.4.4).

77. Mariyam-qa t’u b-ič’-l-i.
 Mariyam-CONT finger(III) III-cut-POT-PST.W
 ‘Mariyam cut (her) finger by accident.’

The Contessive is used to mark the causee in causative constructions (also cf. 4.7.2).

78. hed Ibrahim-i ʃoλ-x-un γudul užaqa.
 then Ibragim-ERG plough-CAUS-PST.UW field boy.CONT
 ‘Then Ibragim made the boy plough the field.’

The modal verbs such as *leqa* ‘to be able to’, *eⁿx^a* ‘manage’ mark the subject with the Contessive.

79. hobože hibo-q’e de l-i-yalu λin iλ-in
 now what-QUES 1SG.ERG IV-do-DELIB QUOT say-PST.UW
 ise, aλa-ʃ-γul os-un ø-oⁿk’-a gobi
 that.OBL.ERG village.OBL-INTER-VERS money-AND I-go-INF be.PRS.NEG
 diqo, idu c’ali-n diqo l-eq-bi λin.
 1SG.CONT this study(IV)-AND 1SG.CONT IV-be.able-NEG QUOT
 ‘He said: now what will I do, I do not have money to go back to the village and I could not manage with this studying.’ [Zagalawdibir]

3.1.4.2.8 Directional suffixes

Directional suffixes include Essive, Lative, Versative, Ablative, Translative, and Terminative.

The Essive carries the meaning of a state of being somewhere or an absence of motion. The Essive is zero marked.

80. idu dublo m^ʃaλ’e-qo eⁿq’^ʃo goli λin
 this 2SG.GEN2 lip.OBL-CONT(ESS) blood be.PRS QUOT
 iλ-in ʃiʃuk’á.
 say-PST.UW witch.OBL.ERG
 ‘‘There is blood on your lip,’’ the witch said.’ [Witch.024]

The Lative indicates motion to a location. It corresponds to the English preposition ‘to’ and ‘into’, and it has the suffixes *-l/-li*, which are free variants.

81. abaxar-i m-oc-un iġe-s kode γono-qo-l.
 neighbor-ERG III-tie-PST.UW that.OBL-GEN1 hair(III).ABS tree.OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘The neighbor tied her hair to the tree.’ [Jealous.010]

82. l-eγ-un ise exena-ba-n om^soq^se-λ'o-zi,
 IV-take-PFV.CVB that.OBL.ERG sack.OBL-PL.ABS-AND donkey-SUP-ABL
 bočka-ma-l kukku-n čaλ-un, q'udu ø-eč-un.
 barrel-IN-LAT flour-AND pour-PFV.CVB down I-sit-PST.UW
 ‘He took the sacks from the donkey, poured out the flour into the barrel and sat down.’ [Bulatan&Bariyan]

The Lative suffix *-l* in combination with the Apud suffix *-γo/-γα* is used to express direction with the motion verbs like *mok'a* ‘to go’, *bot'q'a* ‘to come’, and some others.

83. b-ot'q'-un boc'o eⁿš-γo-li.
 III-come-PST.UW wolf (III) apple-APUD-LAT
 ‘The wolf came near the apple tree.’ [Hajj.035]

84. ø-oⁿk'-un idu uže obu-t'-γo-γul.
 I-go-PST.UW this boy(I).ABS father-OBL-APUD-VERS
 ‘This boy went near the father.’

When the Lative suffix is used on its own with nouns, it has a grammatical function, i.e. the Lative is used to mark the Experiencer (85) and Benefactive (86) roles of inverse verbs.

85. hobože isul bulh-un idu himon.
 now that.LAT understand-PST.UW this thing
 ‘Now he understood this thing.’ [3Princes.017]

86. do ø-uh-*uq'arλ'a* *mižul* *žib.žibis* co-n
 1SG.ABS I-die-TEMP 2PL.LAT each.GEN1 name-AND
q^wa-yin *himon* *goli.*
 write-PFV.CVB thing be.PRS
 ‘When I die, there is a thing for three of you, with your names written (on it).’
 [3Princes.003]

The recipient can be marked with the Lative suffix to express permanent transfer (87), and the Apudlative suffix is used to refer to temporal transfer (88) with verbs such as *iλa* ‘to give’, *lot'ok'a* ‘to bring’, and some others.

87. *dił* *iλ-o* *λin* *iⁿya-yun* *uže.*
 1SG.LAT give-IMP QUOT cry-PST.UW boy
 ‘“Give it to me,” the boy cried.’
88. *ʁadalaw-i* *ise.iso* *soyro* *xan-γa-l* *iλ-in.*
 fool-ERG REFL.GEN1 horse khan-APUD-LAT give-PST.UW
 ‘The Fool gave his own horse to the khan.’

The Versative expresses the basic meaning ‘towards a place’ or ‘in the direction of something’. The meaning of this case is also close to that of the Lative case. The suffix of the Versative case is *-γul*.

89. *y-ez-un* *abaxar-i* *kad* *γon-o-ł-γul.*
 II-take-PST.UW neighbor-ERG girl(II).ABS forest-OBL-INTER-VERS
 ‘The neighbor took the girl to (in the direction of) the forest.’ [Jealous.006]
90. *zabaykalskiy* *huⁿne* *goli* *ono* *Sibir-λ'o-γul* *b-eq-dow.*
 Zabaykal road(III) be.PRS there Siberia-SUP-VERS III-happen-GNT.PTCP
 ‘There is a Zabaykal road which goes to (in the direction of) Siberia.’ [Old man]

Thus, the Lative refers to a definite direction, e.g. *uškulλ'ol* 'school.SUP.LAT' 'to the school', and the Versative means a non-specified direction 'in the direction of *uškulλ'oγul* 'school.SUP.VERS' 'in the direction of the school'.

The Ablative has the basic meaning 'out of a place', 'from off'. It is marked with the ending *-z/-zi*.²⁵

91. *hos* *ħažiyaw* *ø-oⁿk'-še* *ø-eč-un* *ise.iso* *om^ooq^oe-n*
 one Hadji(I) I-go-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW REFL.GEN1 donkey-AND
g^oan-un *awlaq-λ'a-zi* *λ'iho-l*.
 pull-PFV.CVB plain-SUP-ABL far.away-LAT
 'Pulling his donkey, Hadji went from one place to the other.' [Haji.002]

92. *aⁿka* *l-eqq-uč* *qarpuz-a-ma-zi* *m^oāγul*
 hole(IV) IV-happen-IMM.ANTR water.melon-OBL-IN-ABL outside.VERS
q^oe *k'oλ-i*
 hare jump-PST.W
 'As soon as (I) made a hole, the hare jumped out of the watermelon.' [Who can lie better?]

93. *Sultan-i* *iso* *welesiped* *Kazaxstan-λ'a-z*
 Sultan-ERG that.GEN1 bicycle(IV) Kazakhstan-SUP-ABL
n-eq'q'-u *diγol* *iλ-še* *l-eč-i*.
 IV-bring-PST.PTCP 1SG.APUD.LAT give-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W
 'Sultan gave me his bicycle which he has brought from Kazakhstan.' [Old man]

The Translative indicates 'motion through something'. It can also have metaphoric usage such as 'a change in the state of a noun'. The suffix of the Translative is *-γužaz*.

²⁵ Note that the suffix of the Instrumental case is always *-z*, while the suffix of the Ablative is either *-z* or *-zi*, these being in free variation.

94. $i\dot{h}u-l$ $dub-lo$ $mok'o-\lambda'o-\gamma u\check{z}az$ $m-ok'-a$
 1PL.OBL-LAT 2SG.OBL-GEN2 place-SUP-TRANSL HPL-go-INF
 hos $hu^{n}ne-ci-n$ $i\lambda-o$ λin $i\lambda-in$ $is-na-za$.
 one path-PART-AND give-IMP QUOT say-PST.UW brother-PL-PL.OBL.ERG
 ‘‘You let us go through your road,’’ the brothers said.’ [Fool.011]

95. $aq-\gamma a$ $\emptyset-ot'q'-a\lambda a,$ $gi\dot{t}-\gamma ul$ $\emptyset-eq^{w}-a$
 house-APUD I-come-ANTR inside-VERS I-begin-INF
 $at\gamma ul$ $aka-ma-\gamma u\check{z}az$ $guc'-un$ $\check{z}u$.
 before window-IN-TRANSL look-PST.UW that.ABS
 ‘When he came near the house, and before going inside, he looked through the window.’ [Malla rasan]

The Terminative case means ‘motion until, up to something’. The Terminative case suffix is $-q'a$. The suffix $-q'a$ is also used to form the terminative converb (also cf. 4.10.3.1.6).

96. $Mu\dot{h}amad$ $qod-o-\gamma o-q'a$ $\emptyset-o^{n}k'-i$.
 Magomed(I) wall-OBL-APUD-TERM I-go-PST.W
 ‘Magomed almost reached the wall.’ (lit. reached until the wall)

97. $n-e\check{z}\check{z}-u$ γon $\lambda'u-n-\lambda'o-q'a$ $l-ot'q'-un$.
 IV-plant-PST.PTCP tree(IV) roof-OBL-SUP-TERM IV-come-PST.UW
 ‘The planted tree reached till the roof.’

The Terminative case is also used in abstract meaning in the expression ‘to wait for someone’.

98. $\lambda obo-\lambda'o-q'a$ $i\dot{h}o$ $i\dot{h}e-t-q'a$ $b-e\check{c}-i$.
 afternoon-SUP-TERM 1PL.ABS that.OBL-INTER-TERM HPL-be-PST.W
 ‘We waited for her until the afternoon.’

3.1.5. Place name and ethnic names

According to the morphological structure, place names can be divided into three groups. The first group of place names has a citation form which is identical to the Essive form, i.e. the stem is different from the citation form. Such place names include Khwarshi speaking villages, e.g. *k'ol-* and *k'oloqo* 'in Kwantlada', etc. (cf. Table 3.7). Khwarshi place names are usually formed with various orientation suffixes such as with the Contessive marker *-qo/-qa* (e.g. *aλ'i-qo* 'in Khwarshi', *k'olo-qo* 'in Kwantlada') or the Adessive suffix *-ho/-ha* (e.g. *zolu-ho* 'in Santlada'), or the Interessive suffix *-l* (e.g. *eče-l* 'in Khwayni').

Table 3.7: Place names

	stem	Essive (absence of motion)	Lative (direction to)	Versative (direction towards)
Kwantlada	k'ol-	k'olo-qo	k'olo-qo-l	k'olo-qo-γul
Inkhokwari	ix-	iqo	iqo-l	iqo-γul
Khwarshi	aλ'i-	aλ'i-qo	aλ'i-qo-l	aλ'i-qo-γul
Santlada	zol-	zolu-ho	zolu-ho-l	zolu-ho-γul
Khonokh	honu-	honu-ho	honu-ho-l	honu-ho-γul
Khwayni	eč-	eče-l	eče-l-il	eče-l-γul

The other group of place names has identical forms for stem, citation and Essive, e.g. *bežt'a* 'Bezhta', *aγvali* 'Agvali' (cf. Table 3.8).

Table 3.8: Place names

	stem /(also citation form)	Essive (absence of motion)	Lative (direction to)	Versative (direction towards)
Bezhta	bežt'a-	bežt'a	bežt'a-li	bežt'a-γul
Agvali	aγvali-	aγvali	aγvali-l	aγvali-γul
Makhach- kala	anži-	anži-λ'o anži	anži-λ'o-l anži-l	anži-λ'o-γul anži-γul

99. dilʔo	hʔamʔayʔé	Bežtʔa	ʔumru	b-i-še.
1SG.GEN2	friend.OBL.ERG	Bezhta	life(III)	III-do-PRS
'My friend lives in Bezhta.'				

The third group of place names has a stem form identical to the citation form but different from the Essive (cf. Table 3.9). Such place names include the names for cities and countries, e.g. *masku* 'Moscow', *germaniya* 'Germany', *xasavyurt* 'Khasavyurt', etc.

Table 3.9: Place names

	stem/ (also citation form)	Essive (absence of motion)	Lative (direction to)	Versative (direction towards)
Khunzakh	xuzaq-	xuzaq-e	xuzaq-e-l	xuzaq-e-ʔul
Oktyabrʔs-koe	oktyabrski-	oktyabrski-ʔ'o	oktyabrski-ʔ'o-l	oktyabrski-ʔ'o-ʔul
Pervomays-koe	pervomayski-	pervomayski-ʔ'o	pervomayski-ʔ'o-l	pervomayski-ʔ'o-ʔul
Khasavyurt	xasavyurt-	xasavyurt-i	xasavyurt-i-l	xasavyurt-i-ʔul
Babayurt	babayurt-	babayurt-i	babayurt-i-l	babayurt-i-ʔul
Makhachkala	mahačqala-	mahačqala-ʔ'a	mahačqala-ʔ'a-l	mahačqala-ʔ'a-ʔul
Moscow	masku-	masku-ʔ'o	masku-ʔ'o-l	masku-ʔ'o-ʔul
Germany	germaniya-	germaniya-ʔ'a	germaniya-ʔ'a-l	germaniya-ʔ'a-ʔul

Some place names express location with the suffix of the Superessive, e.g. *oktyabrski-ʔ'o* 'in Oktyabrskoe', *masku-ʔ'o* 'in Moscow'; some other place names express location with the idiosyncratic suffix *-i* used with names of cities ending in *-yurt*, e.g. *kizilyurt* 'Kizilyurt' – *kizilyurt-i* 'in Kizilyurt', *xasavyurt* 'Khasavyurt' – *xasavyurt-i* 'in Khasavyurt'; some other place names also express location with another idiosyncratic suffix *-e*, e.g. *xuzaq-e* 'in Khunzakh'.

All Khwarshi place names have forms for the Essive, the Lative, and also for other directional cases, such as the Versative, Ablative, Translative, and Terminative.

100. žu K'oloqo-q'a ø-oⁿk'-i.
 that.ABS Kwantlada.CONT-TERM I-go-PST.W
 'He came up to Kwantlada.'

101. iλ'o í^lo Iqqo-γul m-ok'-i Aγvali-γužaz.
 last.year 1PL.ABS Inkhokwari.CONT-VERS HPL-go-PST.W Agvali-TRANSL
 'Last year we went to Inkhokwari through Agvali.'

3.1.5.1. Attributive formation

There are place names that derive attributive forms either by using the suffix of the Genitive case *-s* or by using the special oblique marker *-že-* together with the Genitive suffix *-s*. Place names referring to local villages form an attributive by adding the oblique suffix *-že-* to the stem and by adding the Genitive suffix, and such an attributive form refers to the ethnic group, e.g. *ečel* 'in Khwayni' and *eče-že-s* 'Khwayni's'.

102. žu q'ala ihoλ-dow žik'o ø-eč-un bogožes.
 that.ABS children feed-GNT.PTCP man(i) I-be-PST.UW Bagwalal.GEN1
 'This was a Bagwalal man who took care of these children.'

Place names referring to city and country names form the attributive only with the Genitive suffix. There are a few place names referring to cities that can have two attributive forms with a slight difference in meaning, e.g. *Temirxan-šura-že-s hadam* 'people of Buynaksk' and *Temirxan-šura-s č'ido* 'territory (ground) of Buynaksk'.

Attributive place names can be used as attributes and substantives. The attributive form is in the Genitive 1 case when modifying an Absolutive noun, and it is in the Genitive 2 case when modifying nouns in other oblique cases. Nationality attributes can be used as substantives, i.e. as headless adjectives, and they receive all case marking (cf. Table 3.10).

Table 3.10: Attributive and substantive place names

	‘Kwantlada man’	‘Kwantlada (man or woman)’ ²⁶
ABS	k’oλ.ožes žik’o	k’oλ.ožes
ERG	k’oλ.oželo žik’o/ žik’ ^w e	k’oλ.o-že-lo
GEN1	k’oλ.oželo žik’o-s	k’oλ.ože-lo-s
GEN2	k’oλ.oželo žik’o-lo	k’oλ.o-že-lo-lo
LAT	k’oλ.oželo žik’o-l	k’oλ.o-že-lo-l

The majority of Khwarshi (Tsezic) indigenous ethnic names take the plural suffix *-zol/-za*, e.g. *zoluzo* ‘Santlada people’, whereas the other ethnic nouns (including loans) take the plural suffix *-bol/-ba*, e.g. *darginbo* ‘Dargi people’ (cf. Table 3.11).

There are a few loan ethnic names that can have a non-attributive singular form based on analogy with Russian, e.g. *lakec* ‘one Lak (male)’ can only refer to a male while to refer to a female the attributive form is used together with the noun ‘woman’.

There are two forms that can refer to ‘Georgian’, *q’azaq-* and *gurži-*, where the last form distinguishes number and gender in the attributive forms, e.g. *guržiya-b-že-s* (human plural), *guržiya-w-že-s* (male singular), *guržiya-y-že-s* (female singular), and also *guržizo* ‘Georgians’.

²⁶ The form with an omitted head noun can refer to male and female nouns.

103.hobože židaλ'asa žoholi aedu ono-z b-ux-un,
 now again after <HPL>this there-ABL HPL-come-PFV.CVB
 ide-z b-ux-un, guržizo b-ot'q'-un hed,
 here-ABL HPL-come-PFV.CVB Georgian.PL HPL-come-PFV.CVB then
 cizo b-ot'q'-un, ono-z λ'iho-li hed bogozo
 Tsez.PL HPL-come-PFV.CVB there-ABL aside-LAT then Bagwalal.PL
 b-ot'q'-un, esut'hozo b-ot'q'-un, hosso a<r>de
 HPL-come-PFV.CVB Echeda.PL HPL-come-PFV.CVB other IV> here
 solo-l aλaza-zi hadam-ba-n b-ux-un,
 around-LAT village.PL.OBL-ABL people-PL.ABS-AND HPL-come-PFV.CVB
 hobot'un aλ b-eq-un ide.
 like.this village(III) III-happen-PST.UW here

'Now since the Georgians came, the Tsez came, and then from here the Bagwalal came, the Echeda came, other people also came from around from other villages, so this way this village was created here.' [Old man]

Table 3.11: Ethnic names²⁷

	stem	attributive forms		people	singular form (non-attributive)
		singular	plural		
Kwantlada	k'ol-	k'oli-že-s	-	k'olo-zo	-
Inkhokwari	ix-	ixi-že-s	-	ix-zo	-
Khwarshi	aλ'i-	aλ'i-že-s	-	aλ'i-zo	-
Santlada	zol-	zoli-že-s	-	zolu-zo	-
Khonokh	honu-	honu-že-s	-	honu-zo	-
Xhwayni	eč-	eče-že-s	-	eče-zo	-
Tsez	ci-	ci-ze ²⁸ -s	-	ci-zo/cuzo	-
Bezhta	bežt'a-	bežt'a-že-s	-	bežt'in-zo	-
Andi	ʔandir-	ʔandir-že-s	-	ʔandir-zo	-
Khunzakh	xuza-	xuza-že-s	-	xuza-za	
Avar	maʔarul	maʔarul-že-s	-	maʔarul-zo	-
Lak	lak-	lak-že-s	-	lakec-bo lak-bo	lakec (male)
Dargi	dargin-	dargin-že-s	-	dargin-bo	
Kymik	ʔaraʔ-	ʔaraʔ(i)-že-s	-	ʔaraʔ-za	
Jewish	žuhut'a-	žuhut'a-že-s	-	žuhut'a-ba	
Georgian	guržiya-	guržiya-w-že-s (male)	guržiya-b-že-s	guržiya-b-za	guržiya-w (male)
		guržiya-y-že-s (female)		gurži-zo	guržiya-y (female)
	q'azaq-	q'azaq-že-s	-	q'azaq-ba	q'azaq
German	nemec-	nemec-že-s	-	nemec-bo	nemec (male)
		nemce-že-s	-		

²⁷ The table also shows alternative forms.

²⁸ The form *ci-ze-s* 'Tsezic/Tsez person' is based on the assimilation of the oblique marker *-že-*.

3.1.5.2. Syntax of Place names

Place names that use the Essive form as a citation form never occur in the argument position unless a periphrastic construction is used which is made by combining an attributive form plus a generic noun (e.g. *aλ* ‘village’, *mok’o* ‘place’, *č’ido* ‘ground’) (104), or the place name is put in the adjunct position (105, 106), where the adjunct position is most preferred in the natural discourse.

104. di ^l	k’oλožes	mok’o	b-ak-še.
1SG.LAT	Kwantlada.OBL.GEN1	place(III)	III-see-PRS
‘I see Kwantlada village.’			

105. di ^l	K’oλoqo-so	mok’o	gōq.
1SG.LAT	Kwantlada.CONT.ESS-DEF	place	like.GNT
‘I like Kwantlada place.’			

106. di ^l	K’oλoqo	y-eč-a	gōq.
1SG.LAT	Kwantlada.CONT.ESS	II-be-INF	like.GNT
‘I (female) like being in Kwantlada.’			

3.1.6. Proper names

Proper names can be used with the special morpheme *-zo/-za* to denote the family relation of son or daughter to father or mother. The suffix *-zo/-za* (which also undergoes vowel harmony) is used with a male or female name (in the singular) indicating son-daughter relations. As an attributive, the proper name marked with *-zo/-za* is used to modify another proper name in the Absolutive, and when the oblique cases are formed, the suffix *-zo/-za* is changed to the oblique form *-zulo* (cf. Table 3.12). A proper name with the suffix *-zo/-za* can be used as a substantive and can receive all nominal inflections (cf. Table 3.12).

Table 3.12: Declension of proper names

	‘Zaynab, daughter of Karim’	‘daughter/son of Karim’	‘Nazir, son of Zahra’	‘daughter/son of Zahra’
ABS	Karim-zo Zaynab	Karim-zo	Zahra-za Nasir	Zahra-za
ERG	Karim-zulo Zaynab-i	Karim-zulo	Zahra-zulo Nazir-i	Zahra-zulo
GEN1	Karim-zulo Zaynab-is	Karim-zulos	Zahra-zulo Nazir-is	Zahra-zulos
GEN2	Karim-zulo Zaynab-la	Karim-zulolo	Zahra-zulo Nazir-la	Zahra-zulolo
LAT	Karim-zulo Zaynab-il	Karim-zulol	Zahra-zulo Nazir-il	Zahra-zulol

Apart from kinship relation, this suffix *-zo/-za*, when used with proper names modifying common names in singular or plural, denotes the relation of possession (cf. Table 3.13).

Table 3.13: Proper names in attributive function

	‘car of Maha’s son/daughter’	‘cars of Maha’s son/daughter’
ABS	Maḥaza mašina	Maḥaza mašina-ba
ERG	Maḥazulo mašiná	Maḥazulo mašina-za
GEN1	Maḥazulo mašina-s	Maḥazulo mašina-za-s
GEN2	Maḥazulo mašina-la	Maḥazulo mašina-za-la
LAT	Maḥazulo mašina-l	Maḥazulo mašina-za-l

Proper names with the suffix *-zo/-za* in the Genitive case are used to modify common nouns in singular and plural, e.g. *ʕilmuzulos yine* ‘the wife of Ilmu’s son’; such phrases can be extended as, for example, *ʕilmuzulo Muḥamadís yine* ‘the wife of Magomed, son of Ilmu’ (cf. Table 3.14).

Table 3.14: Proper names in attributive function

	‘herd of Aliasxab’s son/daughter’
ABS	ʕaliasxabzulos b ^ʕ iλ’
ERG	ʕaliasxabzulolo b ^ʕ iλ’-i
GEN1	ʕaliasxabzulolo b ^ʕ iλ’-is
GEN2	ʕaliasxabzulolo b ^ʕ iλ’-la
LAT	ʕaliasxabzulolo b ^ʕ iλ’-il

3.2. Adjectives

Adjectives constitute the largest word class after nouns and verbs. Adjectives like verbs agree with nouns in gender and number. Adjectives can be used in the functions of attributes (107), predicates (108), and other functions after substantivization (109).

107. \emptyset -uxala uže – ‘a tall boy’
 I-long boy(I)

108. diyo uže \emptyset -uxala goli.
 1SG.GEN1 boy(I).ABS I-long be.PRS
 ‘My son is tall.’

109. y-uq^su-so y-ot^q-i.
 II-big-DEF II-come-PST.W
 ‘The eldest (girl) came.’

With respect to the morphological form, two classes of adjectives can be distinguished: those that take gender/number agreement and those that do not. The majority of adjectives take gender/number affixes (more than 60%), and more than half of these adjectives are loan words from Avar. The gender/number markers can occur either in the suffixal position or in the prefixal position. All borrowed adjectives from Avar (about 45%) take gender/number agreement suffixes (110). It should be noted that Khwarshi is the only language in the Tsezic group that has preserved suffixal agreement in borrowed Avar adjectives. All adjectives of Khwarshi origin (about 15%) that show gender/number agreement have gender/number prefixes (111, 112).

110. bercina-y / c’odora-w
 ‘beautiful-II’ ‘clever-I’

111. y-uxala	/	ɸ-uq ^ʕ u		
‘II-tall’		‘IV-big’		
112. ɸ-ogu obu		y-ogu kad	b-ogu zihe	
I-good father(I)		II-good girl(II)	III-good cow(III)	
‘good father’		‘good girl’	‘good word’	
l-ogu lože		y-ogu λib	b-ogu-t’a žik’o-bo	
IV-good word(IV)		V-good year(V)	HPL-good-PL man-PL.ABS	
‘good cow’		‘good year’	‘good men’	
l-ogu-t’a mači-bo				
NHPL-good-PL shoe-PL.ABS				
‘good shoes’				

The second class of adjectives (about 40%) are those adjectives that do not show gender/number agreement. Almost all of these adjectives are of Khwarshi origin. Such adjectives are vowel-initial adjectives (about 10%), denoting color terms, e.g. *ut’ana* ‘red’, *aluk’a* ‘white’, *ečuk’a* ‘yellow’, and consonant-initial adjectives (about 30%), which are degree adjectives, e.g. *x’oɸɸu* ‘broad’, *k’ottu* ‘short’, *žel’ɸu* ‘light’, etc. There are a small number of short forms of loan adjectives that do not have gender/number affixes (e.g. *ɸoloqan* ‘young’, *nucagu* ‘sweet’).

When adjectives are used attributively modifying oblique head nouns, most of the adjectives change their form to oblique form. Adjectives of Khwarshi origin ending in *-a* and loan adjectives from Avar can either preserve the Absolutive form when modifying oblique head nouns, or the oblique is formed with the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* (cf. Table 3.15). Other adjectives of Khwarshi origin, derived and non-derived, change the final vowel of the Absolutive form to *-o* when the oblique cases are formed (cf. Table 3.16). In addition, the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* can be added to the adjective which is already in the oblique form, i.e. oblique form based on final vowel change.

All adjectives distinguish singular and plural forms. Singular is an unmarked form. The plural suffix *-t'a* is used in the Absolutive as well as in the oblique case formation (cf. Table 3.15 & Table 3.16).

Table 3.15: Attributive use of adjectives

	k ^ɛ aba γ ^w ade ‘black bird’		sihira-b zor ‘sly fox’	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
ABS	k ^ɛ aba γ ^w ade	k ^ɛ aba-t’a γ ^w ad-ba	sihira-b zor	sihira-l-t’a zor-bo
ERG	k ^ɛ aba-(la) γ ^w ad-i	k ^ɛ aba-t’a-(la) γ ^w ad-za	sihira-b-la zor-i	sihira-l-t’a-(la) zor-za
GEN1	k ^ɛ aba-(la) γ ^w ad-is	k ^ɛ aba-t’a-(la) γ ^w ad-za-s	sihira-b-la zor-is	sihira-l-t’a-(la) zor-za-s
GEN2	k ^ɛ aba-(la) γ ^w ad-la	k ^ɛ aba-t’a-(la) γ ^w ad-za-la	sihira-b-la zor-lo	sihira-l-t’a-(la) zor-za-la
LAT	k ^ɛ aba-(la) γ ^w ad-il	k ^ɛ aba-t’a-(la) γ ^w ad-za-l	sihira-b-la zor-il	sihira-l-t’a-(la) zor-za-l

Table 3.16: Attributive use of adjectives

	y-uq ^ɛ u-so kad ‘the eldest girl’	
	singular	plural
ABS	y-uq ^ɛ u kad	b-uq ^ɛ u-t’a kandaba
ERG	y-uq ^ɛ o-(lo) kand-i	b-uq ^ɛ u-t’a-(la) kanda-za
GEN1	y-uq ^ɛ o-(lo) kand-is	b-uq ^ɛ u-t’a-(la) kanda-za-s
GEN2	y-uq ^ɛ o-(lo) kand-i-lo	b-uq ^ɛ u-t’a-(la) kanda-za-la
LAT	y-uq ^ɛ o-(lo) kand-il	b-uq ^ɛ u-t’a-(la) kanda-za-l
	goqqu kad ‘liked girl’	
	singular	plural
ABS	goqqu kad	goqqu-t’a kandaba
ERG	goqqu-(lo) kand-i	goqqu-t’a-(la) kandaza
GEN1	goqqu-(lo) kand-is	goqqu-t’a-(la) kandaza-s
GEN2	goqqu-(lo) kand-ilo	goqqu-t’a-(la) kandaza-la
LAT	goqqu-(lo) kand-il	goqqu-t’a-(la) kandaza-l

The definiteness particle *-so/-sa* can be used with adjectives, and it is attached directly to the Absolutive stem or to the plural stem with the optional oblique suffix *-lo/-la*.

Table 3.17: Attributive use of adjectives

	bogu-so qaz 'good goose'	logut'a-sa qaz-ba 'good geese'
ABS	bogu-so qaz	logut'a-sa qaz-ba
ERG	bogu-so-(lo) qaz-i	logut'a-sa-(la) qaz-za
GEN1	bogu-so-(lo) qaz-is	logut'a-sa-(la) qaz-za-s
GEN2	bogu-so-(lo) qaz-la	logut'a-sa-(la) qaz-za-la
LAT	bogu-so-(lo) qaz-il	logut'a-sa-(la) qaz-za-l

There is no negative particle that can attach to adjectives or nouns. Thus, the auxiliary or another finite verb is used in the negative form in order to negate an adjective (113).

113. žu ø-uxala gobi.
 that.ABS I-long be.PRS.NEG
 'He is not tall.'

There are a small number of loan adjectives from Avar that can have both short and full forms. Some short forms of adjectives can be used only predicatively (e.g. *razi goli* 'to be agreed', *č'ago eča* 'to stay alive'), whereas the short and full forms of other adjectives can be used both attributively or predicatively (114).

114. žu razi (raziya-w) goli eⁿdu ø-eč-a.
 that.ABS agreed (agreed-I) be.PRS inside I-be-INF
 'He agreed to stay at home.'

115. žu raziya-w žik'o goli.
 that.ABS agreed-I man(I) be.PRS
 'He is a content man.'

116. *žu razi žik'o goli.
 that.ABS agreed man be.PRS
 'He is a content man.'

Two adjectives have full, short and derivative forms. The adjective 'bitter' has the short form *muq'a-r* 'bitter-IV' with a suffixal slot for the gender/number agreement, and the derivative form *muq'a-gu* which is derived from the short form with the suffix *-gu* (also cf. 3.9.2). The latter form does not show gender/number agreement. The adjective 'sweet' has the full form *nucaha-r* 'sweet-IV' and the short form *nuca-r* 'sweet-IV', both forms having slots for suffixes; the third form is the derivative *nuca-gu*, derived with the suffix *-gu* from the noun *nucu* 'honey'. These short and full forms of adjectives can be used predicatively and attributively.

There is one adjective of Khwarshi origin that can have two forms, short and full, *l-ow* and *l-ogu* 'good.' There seems to be no difference in the use of these forms; both forms can be used predicatively (117) and attributively (118). When used attributively the form *logu* changes its form to the oblique *logo*, while the form *low* does not (118).

117. idu soyro b-ogu goli.
 this horse(III) III-good be.PRS
 'This horse is good.'

118. y-ow / y-ogo kand-i bataxu y-i-yi.
 II-good II-good.OBL girl(II).OBL-ERG bread(V) V-do-PST.W
 'The good girl made bread.'

All loan adjectives from Avar end in the vowel *-a-* plus a gender/number suffix. There is, however, one loan adjective that ends in a consonant, *foloqan* 'young', which

is a reduced form of *ʃoloqana-b* ‘young-HPL’, and these two adjectives are free variants.

All indigenous adjectives end in a vowel. The formal marker for the majority of the indigenous adjectives is the ending *-u*. There are also the derivative suffixes *-xu*, *-gu*, and the Past participle suffix is *-gu/-u*. Note that when the oblique is formed the final vowel of adjectives *-u* is changed to *-o*.

	original adjectives	derived adjectives	past participles
e.g.	k’ottu ‘low’	muq’a-gu ‘bitter’	luc’c’u ‘cold’
	-ičču ‘thick’	hırša-xu ‘rusty’	lollu ‘boiled’

3.2.1. Substantivized adjectives

Adjectives can be used as substantives, and, like genuine nouns, the substantive adjectives can follow one-stem and two-stem inflection patterns. In one-stem and two-stem inflection adjectives, the Absolute singular is unmarked. The Absolute singular form is used as a citation form, e.g. *ečuk’a* ‘green’.

3.2.1.1. One-stem inflection adjectives

The *one-stem* inflection adjectives consist of a base stem which is used in the Absolute case as well as in the oblique case formation. Such adjectives are always consonant final (cf. Table 3.18 and Table 3.19).

Table 3.18: Substantive adjectives

	bercina-y ‘beautiful-π’	saya-w ‘healthy-ι’
ABS	bercina-y	saya-w
ERG	bercina-y-i	saya-w-i
GEN1	bercina-y-is	saya-w-is
GEN2	bercina-y-la	saya-w-la
LAT	bercina-y-il	saya-w-il

Table 3.19: Substantive general participles

	c'ali-dow 'the one who studies'	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow 'the one (male) who lies'
ABS	c'ali-dow	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow
ERG	c'ali-dow-i	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow-i
GEN1	c'ali-dow-i-s	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow-is
GEN2	c'ali-dow-lo	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow-lo
LAT	c'ali-dow-il	ø-aq ^ɕ -dow-il

3.2.1.2. Two-stem inflection adjectives

The *two-stem* inflection adjectives consists of two stems: one stem is used in the Absolutive case, and the other stem is used in the oblique case formation. The two-stem inflection adjectives form the oblique stem by the following processes: stress change, final vowel change, and using the oblique suffix *-lo/-la*. Adjectives with final /e/ and /a/ vowels form the oblique stem by stress change. Alternatively, such adjectives can form the oblique by attaching the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* (cf. Table 3.20).

Table 3.20: Substantive adjective

	k ^ɕ aba 'the black one'		lalate 'the barefooted one'	
ABS	k ^ɕ aba	k ^ɕ ába	laláte	laláte
ERG	k ^ɕ abá	k ^ɕ aba-lá	lalaté	lalate-ló
GEN1	k ^ɕ abá-s	k ^ɕ aba-lá-s	lalaté-s	lalate-ló-s
GEN2	k ^ɕ abá-la	k ^ɕ aba-lá-la	lalaté-lo	lalaté-lo-ló
LAT	k ^ɕ abá-l	k ^ɕ aba-lá-l	lalaté-l	lalate-ló-s

Adjectives with the final vowel /u/ change in the oblique to the vowel /o/. Such adjectives include indigenous adjectives and derived adjectives, i.e. adjectives formed with the adjectival suffixes *-xu*, *-gu*, *-tu*, and the Past participles ending in *-u/-gu* as well (cf. Table 3.21 and Table 3.22). Alternatively, such adjectives form the oblique stem by attaching the oblique suffix *-lo/-la*.

Table 3.21: Substantive adjectives

	ø-ogu '1-good'	zuzzu 'thin'	zozolu 'sharp'
ABS	ø-ogu	zuzzu	zozolu
ERG	ø-ogo-(lo)	zuzzo-(lo)	zozolo-(lo)
GEN1	ø-ogo-(lo)-s	zuzzo-(lo)-s	zozolo-(lo)-s
GEN2	ø-ogo-(lo)-lo	zuzzo-(lo)-lo	zozolo-(lo)-lo
LAT	ø-ogo-(lo)-l	zuzzo-(lo)-l	zozolo-(lo)-l

Table 3.22: Substantive past participles

	iλλu 'the one who said'	ø-e ⁿ ggu 'the one who fell'
ABS	iλλu	ø-e ⁿ ggu
ERG	iλλo-(lo)	ø-e ⁿ ggo-(lo)
GEN1	iλλo-(lo)-s	ø-e ⁿ ggo-(lo)-s
GEN2	iλλo-(lo)-lo	ø-e ⁿ ggo-(lo)-lo
LAT	iλλo-(lo)-l	ø-e ⁿ ggo-(lo)-l

Note that the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* can also attach directly to the Absolutive form:

119.ø-uq' ^s u-lo	iλ-in	ik'sew-lo-qo-l	hibo	λin
I-big-OBL.ERG	say-PST.UW	small-OBL-CONT-LAT	what	QUOT
I-us-i	kaγat-a-λ'a-l	q ^w a-yin.		
IV-find-PST.W	letter-OBL-SUP-LAT	write-PFV.CVB		

'The older one said to the younger one, "What was written in the letter?"' [Who can better lie?]

The definiteness particle *-so/-sa* is also used with substantive adjectives, and it is added directly to the Absolutive form; in addition, the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* can be optionally used in the oblique stem formation (cf. Table 3.23).

Table 3.23: Substantive adjectives

	gurma 'round'	c'alidow 'the one who studies'	'the one who said'
ABS	gurma-sa	c'alidow-so	iλλu-so
ERG	gurma-sa-(la)	c'alidow-so-(lo)	iλλu-so-(lo)
GEN1	gurma-sa-(la)-s	c'alidow-so-(lo)-s	iλλu-so-(lo)-s
GEN2	gurma-sa-(la)-la	c'alidow-so-(lo)-lo	iλλu-so-(lo)-lo
LAT	gurma-sa-(la)-l	c'alidow-so-(lo)-l	iλλu-so-(lo)-l

3.2.1.3. Absolutive plural formation with one and two-stem inflection adjectives

The use of a plural suffix is necessary with the adjectives that do not show gender/number agreement. The plural can be formed with the nominal suffix *-bo/-ba*, used with one-stem and two-stem inflection adjectives. These include Past and General participle forms. With two-stem inflection adjectives, the plural suffix *-bo/-ba* is added directly to the base stem, and not to the oblique stem. The plural suffix *-bo/-ba* corresponds to the Absolutive plural form.

e.g. hod-dow 'ask-GNT.PTCP' hod-dow-bo 'ask-PST.PTCP-PL.ABS'
 iss-u 'say-PST.PTCP' iss-u-bo 'say-PST.PTCP-PL.ABS'

The plural suffix *-t'a* is used with one-stem and two-stem inflection adjectives in the Absolutive plural and in the oblique cases.

e.g. ečuk'a 'yellow' ečuk'a-t'a 'yellow-PL'
 hírša-xu 'rust-ADJZ' hírša-xu-t'a 'rust-ADJZ-PL'
 aluk'a 'white' aluk'a-t'a 'white-PL'

3.2.1.4. Oblique plural formation with one and two-stem inflection adjectives

Adjectives form the plural oblique stem using special plural oblique suffixes that occur only with substantivized adjectives. The plural oblique substantive suffixes are *-ze/-za/-zu/-zo*, and they have different distributions. The plural oblique marker is added directly to the base stem with one-stem inflection adjectives (cf. Table 3.24), and it is added to the oblique singular stem with two-stem inflection adjectives (cf. Table 3.25).

The suffix *-za* is used throughout in the plural oblique declension, i.e. it occurs both in the Ergative and oblique formation. Alternatively, the Ergative plural can be formed with the suffix *-ze*. Genitive 1 in the plural substantive adjectives is formed with the suffix *-s* added to the plural oblique stem with the suffix *-za* or another oblique suffix *-zu*, but alternatively the Genitive 1 can be formed with the plural oblique suffix *-zo*. There is another alternative oblique plural suffix *-zu*, which is used to mark plural oblique cases apart from the Ergative plural.

Table 3.24: Substantivized general participle

	‘those who study’	
ABS	c’alidow-bo	
ERG	c’alidow-za / -ze	c’alidow-za/-ze
GEN1	c’alidow-za-s /c’alidow-zo	c’alidow-zu-s
GEN2	c’alidow-za-la	c’alidow-zu-la
LAT	c’alidow-za-l	c’alidow-zu-l

Table 3.25: Substantivized past participle

	‘those who said’	
ABS	iλλu-bo	
ERG	iλλo-ze/-za	iλλo-ze/-za
GEN1	iλλo-za-s /iλλo-zo	iλλo-zu-s
GEN2	iλλo-za-la	iλλo-zu-lo
LAT	iλλo-za-l	iλλo-zu-l

The plural suffix *-t’a* is used not only in the Absolutive but also in the oblique formation. In the oblique plural formation the plural suffix *-t’a* is added to the base stem rather than to the oblique, and then the oblique plural markers and the definiteness particle *-so/-sa* can be added to this suffix *-t’a*.

ABS	b-uq ^s u-t'a-sa	'the eldest (plural)'
ERG	b-uq ^s u-t'a-sa-za	
GEN1	b-uq ^s u-t'a-sa-za-s	
GEN2	b-uq ^s u-t'a-sa-za-la	
LAT	b-uq ^s u-t'a-sa-za-l	

3.2.2. Degrees of comparison

There are no comparative and superlative forms of adjectives in Khwarshi, but these meanings can be conveyed by comparative constructions that consist of comparative objects and comparative predicates. The Superablative suffix *-λ'o-zi* is added to the standard of comparison (120). The comparative predicate usually consists of an adjective and an auxiliary (121).

120. žu	bercina-y	goli.
that.ABS	beautiful-II	be.PRS
	'She is beautiful.'	

121. žu	di-λ'o-zi	bercina-y	goli.
that.ABS	1SG.OBL-SUP-ABL	beautiful-II	be.PRS
	'She is more beautiful than me.'		

The superlative meaning is conveyed through the adverb *heč'č'e* 'most' (122), which always precedes the modifying adjective.

122. žu	heč'č'e	bercina-y	goli.
that.ABS	most	beautiful-II	be.PRS
	'She is the most beautiful.'		

Comparative predicates can also be used attributively, as in (123).

123.ise	de	b-ezzo-λ'o-zi-n
that.OBL.ERG	1SG.ERG	III-buy.PST.PTCP.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND
bercina-b	he ⁿ še	b-ez-i.
beautiful-III	book(III)	III-buy-PST.W

'He bought a more beautiful book than the one I bought.'

3.2.3. Metaphoric expressions

The majority of metaphoric adjectives are formed with the help of the equative adverb *-otu* 'alike' or the equative particle *-cew*. The equative particle *-cew* is added to the modifying noun that precedes the modified adjective.

e.g.	am-cew	k ^s aba	'black as coal'
	coal-EQ	black	
	e ⁿ q ^s o-cew	ut'ana	'red as blood'
	blood-EQ	red	
	yon-cew	ø-uxala	'tall as a tree'
	tree-EQ	I-tall	
	e ⁿ so-cew	aluk'a	'white as snow'
	snow-EQ	white	

The equative adverb *-otu* 'alike' can be used to modify a preceding noun in order to express typical and well-known values with no explicit adjective used, e.g. *green grass*.

e.g.	ħo ⁿ ko	y-oŋu	'slow as a cart'
	cart	II-alike	
	as	I-oŋu	'blue as sky'
	sky	IV-alike	

qalta ø-ołu ‘tall as a pole’
 pole ı-alike

The noun λ' er ‘color’ can form different types of color terms. The common way is to use the modifying noun phrase in the Genitive 2 case and the noun λ' er ‘color’ in the Genitive 1 case.

e.g. č'ek'lo λ' era-s ‘brown’ (lit. color of a flea)
 flea.GEN2 color.OBL-GEN1

λ ib-lo λ' era-s ‘green ’ (lit. color of a leaf)
 leaf-GEN2 color.OBL-GEN1

3.3. Adverbs

There are circumstantial adverbs, adverbs of quality and degree, and comparative adverbs (cf. Table 3.26). The circumstantial adverbs include place, time, and manner adverbs.

The class of adverbs is heterogeneous: it includes adverbs which are related with the pronominal roots (e.g. demonstrative adverbs, manner adverbs); it also includes some non-derived lexemes (e.g. directional adverbs, frequency adverbs, adverbs of quality and degree); the class of adverbs also consists of fossilized case forms of nouns (e.g. time adverbs).

Table 3.26: Adverbs

Types of adverbs			forms
Circumstantial adverbs	place	place	<i>zize</i> ‘in the mouth’, <i>liλ’e</i> ‘in the hand’, etc.
		demonstrative	<i>a <w> de</i> ‘<I> here’, <i>a <w> e</i> ‘<I> here’, <i>o <w> ne</i> ‘<I> there’, <i>o <w> e</i> ‘<I> there’, <i>hobode</i> ‘here’, <i>homone</i> ‘there’
		directional	<i>λ’olo</i> ‘up’, <i>gił</i> ‘down’, <i>miq’e</i> ‘far away’, <i>žoquža</i> ‘behind’, <i>žohoq’emul</i> ‘backwards’, etc.
	time	location time	<i>emho</i> ‘in spring’, <i>linλ’o</i> ‘at 5 o’clock’, etc.
		frequency	<i>harza</i> ‘often’, <i>gił-gił</i> ‘seldom’, <i>hoⁿq’oso</i> ‘once’, etc.
		other time adverbs	<i>žequł</i> ‘today’, <i>huniža</i> ‘yesterday’, <i>γoll’o</i> ‘in the morning’, etc.
	manner	<i>a <r> t’un</i> ‘<IV> like.this’, <i>o <r> t’un</i> ‘<IV> like.that’, <i>hobot’un</i> ‘like that’, <i>bercingo</i> ‘attentively’, etc.	
Adverbs of quality and degree			<i>c’aq’</i> ‘very’, <i>fezeʃan</i> ‘much’, <i>liže</i> ‘much’, etc.
Comparative adverbs			<i>homondu</i> ‘such’

3.3.1. Circumstantial adverbs

3.3.1.1. Place adverbs

There are a small number of place adverbs indicating body parts which are formed with the idiosyncratic suffix *-e* added to the truncated stem, e.g. *liλ'a* 'hand' and *liλ'e* 'in the hand', *ezol* 'eye' and *eze* 'in the eye':

124. užá	isti-lo	eze	haλ-in.
boy.OBL.ERG	sibling.OBL-GEN2	in.the.eye	hit-PST.UW
'The boy hit (his) brother's eye.'			

There is one noun which does not have the Absolutive citation form but is only present as an adverb ending in suffix *-e*, e.g. *zize/zuze* 'in the mouth':

125. diłł'o	zize-l	t'ut'	m-ok'-i.
1SG.GEN2	in.the.mouth-LAT	fly(III)	III-go-PST.W
'A fly flew into my mouth.'			

126. gamušaza	g ^ʃ an-un,	l-eγ-un	žu
buffalo.PL.OBL.ERG	pull-PFV.CVB	IV-take-PST.UW	that.ABS
himon	eze-zi.		
thing(IV)	in.the.eye-ABL		
'The buffalos pulled and took that thing out of the eye.' [Who is the longest one?]			

One place name also marks location with this idiosyncratic suffix *-e* (also cf. 3.1.5):

e.g. xuzaqe 'in Khunzakh'

3.3.1.1.1 Demonstrative adverbs

Almost all demonstrative adverbs can attach various directional suffixes, but they never attach orientation suffixes (cf. Table 3.27).

Table 3.27: Locative chart of demonstrative adverbs

	Essive	Lative	Versative	Ablative	Translative	Terminative
<I> here	a<w>de	a<w>de-l	a<w>de-γul	a<w>de-zi	a<w>de-γužaz	a<w>de-q'a
<I> there	o<w>ne	o<w>ne-l	o<w>ne-γul	o<w>ne-zi	o<w>ne-γužaz	o<w>ne-q'a
there	hobode	hobode-l	hobode-γul	hobode-zi	hobode-γužaz	hobode-q'a
there	homone	homone-l	homone-γul	homone-zi	homone-γužaz	homone-q'a

The proximal demonstrative adverbs are *a<w>de* ‘<I> here’, *a<y>de* ‘<II> here’/<V> here, *ade* ‘<III> here’, ‘<HPL> here’, *a<r>de* ‘<IV> here’, ‘<NHPL> here’, with the meaning ‘close to the speaker’ having an agreement slot for the gender/number infixes. The agreement is always with an Absolutive argument.

127. a<w>de-l guc'-a hobo λun iλ-in ise xanqal.
 <I> here-LAT look-INF come QUOT say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG khan.CONT.LAT
 ‘‘Come here to have a look,’’ he said to the khan.’ [3Princes.036]

128. ise lac'a a<r>de-zi ono-γul l-ez-i.
 that.OBL.ERG food(IV) <IV> here-ABL there-VERS IV-take-PST.W
 ‘He took the food from here to there.’

The proximal demonstrative adverbs can have the corresponding short forms, e.g. *a<w>e* ‘<I> here’, *a<y>e* ‘<II> here’/<V> here, *ae* ‘<III> here’, ‘<HPL> here’, *a<r>e* ‘<IV> here’, ‘<NHPL> here’, ‘close to the speaker’, ‘over here’. Unlike the corresponding full forms, such short forms do not attach directional suffixes.

129. a<w>e a<w>su-γo ø-ałaq'u ø-eč-i žu uže.
 <I> here <I> this.OBL-APUD I-alike I-be-PST.W that.ABS boy(I)
 ‘Here, this boy was like him.’

130.a <r>e homondu-č šiλ'u l-eč-i diyo.
 <IV> here such-EMPH cloth(IV) IV-be-PST.W 1SG.GEN1
 'Here, my cloth was like this.'

131.a <y>e žu y-ak-še dubul.
 <II> here that.ABS II-see-PRS 2SG.LAT
 'Here, you see her.'

The distal demonstrative adverbs are *o<w>ne* ' <I> there', *o<y>ne* ' <II> there', ' <V> there', *one* ' <III> there', ' <HPL> there', *o<r>ne* ' <IV> there', ' <NHPL> there' with the meaning 'far from the speaker'.

132.o <w>ne-l ø-oⁿk'-o.
 <I> there-LAT I-go-IMP
 'Go there!'

133.o <y>ne hos kad y-eč-i.
 <II> there one girl II-be-PST.W
 'There was one girl.'

134.o <w>ne λ'iho hosunu diyo us-un goli.
 <I> there sideward other 1SG.GEN1 sibling(I)-AND be.PRS
 'There is my brother over there.' [Fool 108]

The distal demonstrative adverbs have the corresponding short forms, e.g. *o<w>e* ' <I> there', *o<y>e* ' <II> there', ' <V> there', *oe* ' <III> there', ' <HPL> there', *o<r>e* ' <IV> there', ' <NHPL> there' with the meaning 'far from the speaker', 'over there'. These adverbs do not attach directional suffixes.

135.o <y>e žu γine.
 <II> there that.ABS woman(II)
 'There, that woman.'

- 136.o <w>e qarpuz tiλ-dow žik'o ø-ot'q'-i.
 <I>there water.melon give-GNT.PTCP man(I) I-come-PST.W
 'There, the man who sells watermelon came.'

There are two more demonstrative adverbs, the proximal adverb *hobode* 'here', 'close to the second person or addressee' and the distal demonstrative adverb *homone* 'there', 'far from the second person or listener':

- 137.mo hobode γon-o-λ ø-eč-e λin iλ-in
 2SG.ABS here tree-OBL-SUB I-be-IMP QUOT say-PST.UW
 nartaw-i obu-t'-qo-l.
 giant-ERG father-OBL-CONT-LAT
 'The giant said to the father, "Stay here under this tree.'" [3Feats.020]

- 138.hobode mok'o-λ'o q'^wana t'ala-s mina
 this place-SUP two.OBL floor-GEN1 house(III)
 b-i-yo dil'.
 III-do-IMP 1SG.LAT
 'Build for me a big two-story house at this place.' [3Princes.039]

- 139.homone hos xalq'i b-uλ-un b-ak-še.
 there one people HPL-gether-PFV.CVB HPL-see-PRS
 'I see people that gathered there.'

- 140.homone-l lac'a-n gul-o, do y-ux-še-da
 there-LAT food-AND put-IMP 1SG.ABS II-go-PRS-PART
 goli kok-a.
 be.PRS eat-INF
 'Put the food over there, I will come to eat.' [Mesedo.078]

141.y-a ⁿ γ-un,	iλ-in	ise,	do	homone
V-open-PFV.CVB	say-PST.UW	that.OBL.ERG	1SG.ABS	that
azbar-la	mada-λ	gul-o	λin.	
yard-GEN2	outside-SUB	put-IMP	QUOT	

'Having opened (the box), he said to bring him to that yard (of the khan's).
[3Princes.070]

3.3.1.1.2 Directional adverbs

Place adverbs constitute the majority amongst the other groups of adverbs. Most place adverbs are based on nouns in the corresponding locative case. Almost all place adverbs attach directional suffixes, such as Lative, Versative, Ablative, Translative, and Terminative (cf. Table 3.28). The majority of directional adverbs may also function as postpositions.

Table 3.28: Adverbs in locative cases

glossing	Essive (no motion)	Lative (to)	Versative (towards)	Ablative (from)	Translative (through)	Terminative (till)
inside, (in)	e ⁿ du	e ⁿ du-l	e ⁿ du-γul	e ⁿ du-z	e ⁿ du-γužaz	e ⁿ du-q'a
outside	madaha	madaha-l	mada-γul mā-γul	madaha-z	mā-γužaz mada-γužaz	madaha-q'a
up	λ'olo	λ'olo-l	λ'olo-γul	λ'olo-z	λ'olo-γužaz	λ'olo-q'a
below	gił	giłi-l	gił-γul	gił-zi	gił-γužaz	gił-q'a
near	oge	oge-l	oge-γul	oge-z	oge-γužaz	-
close	puho	puho-l	puho-γul	puho-z	puho-γužaz	-
far away	miq'e	miq'e-l	miq'e-γul	miq'e-z	miq'e-γužaz	miq'e-q'a
behind	žoquža	žoquža-l	žoquža-γul	žoquža-z	žoquža-γužaz	žoquža-q'a
further behind	žoho	-	žō-γul	žoho-zi	-	-
ahead	atγuža	atγuža-l	atγuža-γul	atγuža-z	atγuža-γužaz	atγuža-q'a
sideward	λ'iho	λ'iho-l	λ'iho-γul	λ'iho-z	λ'iho-γužaz	λ'iho-q'a
up the mountains	liλ'o	liλ'o-l	liλ'o-γul	liλ'o-z	liλ'o-γužaz	liλ'o-q'a
on the plains	lił'o	lił'o-l	lił'o-γul	lił'o-z	lił'o-γužaz	lił'o-q'a
there	ono	ono-l	ono-γul	ono-z	ono-γužaz	ono-q'a

λ'olo 'up'

142.b-ux-un hed boc'o ono λ'olo-z λ'iho-li
 III-go-PST.UW then wolf (III) there up-ABL far.away-LAT
 om^ooq^se-γo-li.
 donkey-APUD-LAT
 'Then the wolf went from there to the donkey.' [Hajj.043]

143. om^ooq^e λ'olo-γul b-ah-še gollu ḡ^on^sḡⁿλ-un.
 donkey(III) up-VERS III-climb-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP bray-PST.UW
 'When the donkey went up (the hill), he brayed.' [Malla rasan]

gił 'down'

144. durid-aλa y-ek'l-un ḥono-č g^oanda-ma-l gił-γul.
 run-ANTR II-fall-PST.UW three-COLL pit.OBL-IN-LAT down-VERS
 'When (they) ran, all three fell into the pit.' [Ophans.019]

eⁿdu 'inside'

145. m-eλ'-un eⁿdu-γul γine-n uže-n.
 HPL-go-PST.UW inside-VERS woman(II)-AND boy(I)-AND
 'The woman and the boy went home.' [Ophans.076]

146. hed Malla.rasan ø-oⁿk'-un lol-bo l-ek'ek'-še
 then Malla.rasan(I) I-go-PST.UW foot.OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-hit.DUR-IPFV.CVB
 eⁿdu-l.
 inside-LAT
 'Then Malla-Rasan came in banging his feet on the ground.' [Malla rasan]

madaha 'outside'

This adverb is derived from the noun *ma*, *mada* 'threshold' and the Adessive suffix *-ho/-ha*. The adverb *madaha* 'outside' has only two contracted forms, in the Versative *mada-γul* and *m^oā-γul²⁹* and in the Translative *mada-γužaz* and *mā-γužaz*.

147. eⁿdu-l žu gul-aλa, ø-ot'q'-un žu
 inside-LAT that.ABS put-ANTR I-come-PST.UW that.ABS
 dibir.žik'o mada-λ'a-l.
 mullah(I) threshold-SUP-LAT
 'When they brought him home, mullah came to his place.' [Xitilbeg.056]

²⁹ In this form the vowel is lengthened due to the consonant drop.

148.dubul soyro γolλ'o mada-ha b-us-a
 2SG.LAT horse(III) morning.SUP outside-AD III-find-INF
 goli λun iλ-in užá.
 be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW boy.OBL.ERG
 ‘‘You will find the horse outside in the morning,’’ the boy said.’ [3Feats.059]

miq'e ‘far away’

149.uže-n obu-n m-eλ'-in hed miq'e-γul-in.
 boy(1)-AND father(1)-AND HPL-go-PST.UW then far.away-VERS-AND
 ‘Then the son and the father went far away.’ [3Feats.006]

λ'ihó ‘aside’, ‘sideward’, ‘down hill’

150.b-ux-un λ'olo-z λ'ihó-l b-ux-šezuq'un, b-us-un
 III-go-PFV.CVB up-ABL down.hill-LAT III-go-DURAT III-find-PST.UW
 iše-l soyro.
 that.OBL-LAT horse(III)
 ‘When (donkey) went from uphill down the hill, (donkey) met a horse.’ [Hajj.026]

liλ'o ‘up the mountain’ (and even further)

151.ze-yi iλ-in t'ok'a-b liλ'o-l mížo
 bear-ERG say-PST.UW not.any.more-HPL far away-LAT 2PL.ABS
 m-ok'-un žoho-li behid-a gobi.
 HPL-go-PFV.CVB after-LAT permit-INF be.PRS.NEG
 ‘The bear said, ‘‘I will not allow, if you go further.’’ [Fool.005]

li'ó ‘down’, ‘down the plain’

152.i'ó aλ li'ó goli.
 1PL.GEN1 village down.the.plain be.PRS
 ‘Our village is down the plain.’

153. m-eλ'-še b-eč-in huⁿne-ho λi^lo-l.
 HPL-go-PRS HPL-be-PST.UW road-AD down-LAT
 '(They) went down along the road.' [Princes.014]

The demonstrative adverb *ide* 'here' is a proximal adverb and *ono* 'there' is a distal adverb.

154. ħiħiλ-un, ono-γul durid-in, ide-γul durid-in
 neigh-PFV.CVB there-VERS run-PFV.CVB here-VERS run-PST.UW
 idu soyro idu boc'o b-ak^w-aλ.a.
 this horse(III) this wolf(III) III-see-ANTR
 'This horse neighed and ran from there to here, when the horse saw this wolf.' [Hajj.015]

155. l-ešt'-in ise q^sem ono-l.
 IV-let-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG head (IV) there-LAT
 'He put his head in there.' [Anecdote.007]

156. ono de n-ež-i qarpuz.
 there 1SG.ERG IV-plant-PST.W water.melon(IV)
 'There I planted watermelon.' [Who can lie better?]

There are two adverbs with the meaning 'behind': the adverb *žoho* means 'further behind', and the adverb *žoquža* means 'closely behind'.

žoho 'further behind, after'

The adverb *žoho* has an alternative form, *žoholi*, and they are interchangeable (157). This adverb does not have the full case paradigm, i.e. it attaches only a few directional suffixes, which are Versative and Ablative suffixes. This adverb is obligatorily used in the reduced form when the Versative suffix is added, *žō^w-γul*, and such a form is only used in a fixed expression, as in (158).

157.mo hobože žohol iĕ moĭ.moĭ-u
 2SG.ABS now after that.OBL.ERG teach.ITER-PST.PTCP
 l-i-yin ø-eč-e.
 IV-do-PFV.CVB I-be-IMP
 ‘Now from this moment you stay and do what she teaches you.’ [Fool.118]

158.zō^w-γul λuxxo-zu-l saxĭ iλ-oλo.
 behind-VERS stay.OBL.PST.PTCP-OBL-LAT health give-OPT
 ‘May those who are left behind be healthy!’ (said at the funeral to the relatives as
 condolence)

žoquža ‘behind’

The adverb *žoquža* ‘behind’ has the full paradigm of directional suffixes.

159.ise kad žoquža-γul k’erek’-i.
 that.OBL.ERG girl behind-VERS drive.away-PST.W
 ‘He sent the girl away.’

atyuža ‘forward’

160.atyuža-γul ø-uλ-o.
 forward-VERS I-bend-IMP
 ‘Turn forward!’

161.de uže atyuža-l ø-ešt’-i.
 1SG.ERG boy(1) forward-LAT I-let-PST.W
 ‘I sent a boy ahead.’

3.3.1.1.3 Other directional adverbs

The following directional adverbs do not show the full paradigm of locative suffixes.

žohoq^{ʕemul}/*žohoq*^{ʕemil} ‘backward’

The adverb *žohoq*^{ʕemul} ‘backwards’ can be further analyzed as a combination of the adverb *žoho* ‘behind’ plus the noun *q*^{ʕem} ‘head’ with the Lative suffix *-l*, and this adverb can be literally translated as ‘behind the head’:

162. idu-n b-eγ-un, bexan-in žohoq^{ʕemul} m-eq’-un.
 this-AND III-sell-PFV.CVB bridle(III)-AND backwards III-bring-PST.UW
 ‘He sold the horse and brought the bridle back.’ [3Feats.064]

163. guc’-un idu iŋeqol, l-ak-un isu-l
 look-PFV.CVB this.ABS that.CONT.LAT NHPL-see-PST.UW that.OBL-LAT
 iŋe-s žohoq^{ʕemil} l^ʃ-uλλ-u lol-bo.
 that.OBL-GEN1 backwards NHPL-bend-PST.PTCP leg.OBL-PL.ABS
 ‘When he looked at her, he saw her crooked legs.’ (or lit. backwards bent legs)
 [Woman.017]

This adverb can have the reduced truncated form, as in (164):

164. izzu m-eλ’-še b-eč-aλa, uže žōq’ul ø-eč-i.
 that.PL.(P)ABS HPL-go-PRS HPL-be-ANTR boy(I) backwards I-be-PST.W
 ‘When they went, and the boy stayed behind.’ [3Feats.038]

bit’t’e ‘straight forward, correct, exact’

The adverb *bit’t’e* is related to the adjective *bit’t’ural* ‘correct’, a borrowing from Avar. This adverb has several derivative forms, which have slight semantic differences: *bit’t’e* means ‘correct, exact’, *bit’t’el* means ‘straight’, and *bit’t’enuq’ul* means ‘straight forward’.

165. bit’t’e is-i ise.
 correct say-PST.W that.OBL.ERG
 ‘He said right.’

166. bit't'enuq'ul y-oⁿk'-o!
 straight II-go-IMP
 'Go straight forward!' (i.e. go straight on the line)

167. bit't'el ø-eⁿxe-yo!
 straight I-go-IMP
 'Go straight!' (i.e. not shaking from side to side)

q'udu 'down'

The adverb *q'udu* 'down' does not have the full paradigm of directional suffixes, and it can only attach the Lative suffix *-l* (168). This adverb *q'udu* 'down' is lexicalized, and it is used in the expression *q'udu eča* 'to sit down' (169).

168. b-iš-in q'udu-l m-eλ'-un.
 III-divide-PFV.CVB down-LAT III-go-PST.UW
 'Breaking apart, (the apple) fell down. [3Feats.099]

169. m-eλ'-un hada alaxλ'al, heⁿhe-mo-lo
 HPL-go-PFV.CVB one.OBL waste.land.SUP.LAT pear-OBL-GEN2
 γon-o-λ q'udu b-eč-un.
 tree-OBL-SUB down HPL-be-PST.UW
 'When (they) came to the waste land, (they) sat down under the pear tree.'
 [3Feats.007]

-axxač 'back again'

The adverb *-axxač* 'back again' has a prefixal slot for gender/number agreement. Agreement is always with the Absolutive argument. The meaning of this adverb is close to the frequency adverb *žahaλ'a* 'again'. This adverb does not attach orientation suffixes.

170.y-axxač y-oⁿk'-un idu γine, goλ'-un.
 II-back.again II-go-PFV.CVB this woman(II) call-PST.UW
 'This woman went back again and called.' [Mesedo.047]

171.r-axxač išet'-i ło n-eq'-i.
 IV-back.again mother.OBL-ERG water(IV) IV-bring-PST.W
 'The mother brought the water back again.'

-oλoλ'o 'in the middle'

The adverb -oλoλ'o 'in the middle' has a prefixal slot for gender/number agreement, and it agrees with its object. This adverb is derived from the adverb -oλo 'apart' plus the orientation suffix Super -λ'o/-λ'a.

172.gul-o heⁿše b-oλoλ'o ustur-λ'o.
 put-IMP book(III) III-in.middle chair-SUP
 'Put the book in the middle on the chair!'

3.3.1.2. Time adverbs

There are many temporal adverbs that can refer to the parts of the day, and to the calendar seasons. The majority of adverbs of time are derived from nouns and adjectives with the help of the orientation suffixes. Time adverbs can express location in time and frequency.

3.3.1.2.1 Location in time

3.3.1.2.1.1 Seasonal adverbs

Adverbs denoting seasons are derived from nouns by adding the orientation suffix, the Adessive suffix -ho/-ha. The first two seasonal terms are irregular forms.

e.g.	uλumoho /uλum-ho 'in winter'	uλnu 'winter'
	at'amaha /at'am-ha 'in summer'	at'anu 'summer'
	emho 'in spring'	emi 'spring'
	suboho 'in autumn'	subo 'autumn'

3.3.1.2.1.2 Clock time

Clock time is expressed either with the orientation suffixes or with adverbial clauses.

e.g.	ħin-λ'o			'at five o'clock'
	five.OBL-SUP			
	ħino	t'ubayd-aλa		'at five o'clock'
	five	finish-ANTR		
	u ⁿ q'e-l-λ'o	beq'ana	ħalt'id-aλa	'at half past three'
	four-OBL-SUP	half	work-ANTR	

3.3.1.2.1.3 Days of the week

The days of the week are based on the ordinal numerals. The word for 'Sunday' can be expressed by three different words: by the ordinal numeral *q'^{sw}ene-iλλu* 'two-ORD', by the borrowed Avar word *ħat'an* 'Sunday', and by using the descriptive word *bazar-zebu* 'market day' since it is Sundays when the market takes place. The word *ruzma*³⁰ refers to the Muslim tradition of going to the mosque every Friday, so this word is used to refer to Friday. The ordinal numerals can be used with or without the word *zebu* 'day'.

e.g.	ħos-iλλu	'one-ORD'	'Saturday'
	q' ^{sw} ene-iλλu	'two-ORD' / ħat'an / bazar-zebu	'Sunday'
	ħono-iλλu	'three-ORD'	'Monday'
	u ⁿ q'e-iλλu	'four-ORD'	'Tuesday'
	ħuno-iλλu	'five-ORD'	'Wednesday'
	e ⁿ ħ-iλλu	'six-ORD'	'Thursday'
	ruzma zebu		'Friday'

³⁰ This word is presumably of Old Persian origin (p.c. with Don Stilo).

3.3.1.2.1.4 Dates

Dates are expressed with simple numerals using obligatorily the locative suffix on the last component, e.g. the word for ‘month’ or ‘year’.

e.g. uⁿq’e-iλλo apre^l-λ’o ‘on the 4th of April’
four-ORD.OBL April-SUP

q’^winequn uⁿq’e-iλλo λiba-ł ‘in the year ‘44’
forty four-ORD.OBL year.OBL-INTER

azar-un oⁿče bešon-un hač’ac’a eⁿł-iλλu λibał
thousand-AND nine hundred-AND ninety six-ORD.OBL year.INTER
‘in 1996’

3.3.1.2.2 Frequency

The following frequency adverbs exist:

e.g. harza ‘often’
 gił-gił ‘seldom’
 hoⁿq’osot’a ‘sometimes’
 hoⁿq’oso ‘once’
 žahaλ’a ‘again’, ‘once more’

173.ø-axxač uže-n ø-eq-un ø-ot’q’-aλa,
I-back.again boy(I)-AND I-become-PFV.CVB I-come-ANTR
ø-ixxid-in obu isuqol hobot’un aluk’a
I-scold-PST.UW father(I) that.CONT.LAT like.this white
soyro b-eč-i žahaλ’a-n λin.
horse(III) III-be-PST.W again-AND QUOT

‘When the horse turned into the boy again, the father scolded the boy saying that the white horse had come again.’ [3Feats.050]

174. zamana m-eλ'-aλa, ø-ešt'-un žahaλ'a-n soyro b-eγ^w-a.
 time(III) III-go-ANTR I-let-PST.UW again-AND horse(III) III-sell-INF
 'When some time passed, (boy) sent (him) again to sell the horse.' [3Feats.066]

3.3.1.2.3 Other adverbs of time

There are adverbs that refer to time location in terms of their relation to the moment of speech (present, past, future):

Present

žequł 'today'
 hobože 'now'

Past

huniža 'yesterday'
 hunsalaquł 'the day before yesterday'
 iλ'e / uλ'o / iλ'o 'the last year'
 iλ'iža 'the year before the last year' or '2 years ago'
 iλ'e-iλ'iža 'the year before the last year before the last year'
 or '3 years ago'
 baleč 'long ago'
 žohoz³¹ 'late'
 atγul 'earlier'

Future

γode 'tomorrow'
 zozzo 'the day after tomorrow'
 ĥazza 'the day after the day after tomorrow'
 bizzo 'the day after the day after the day after tomorrow'
 p'izzo 'the day after the day after the day after the day after tomorrow'
 zizzo 'the day after the day after the day after the day after the day after tomorrow'

³¹ The temporal adverb *žohoz* 'late' is based on the adverb *žoho* 'then, behind, late' and the Ablative case, with the suffix *-z*.

e.g. čul-šehol 'before the dawn'
dawn-POSTR

biq^ɕ č'iq-aλa 'with the dawn'
sun hit-ANTR

biq^ɕ k'oλ-aλa 'with the sunset'
sun jump-ANTR

3.3.1.3. Manner adverbs

The proximal manner adverb is *a<r>t'un* '<IV>like.this' and the distal manner adverb is *o<r>t'un* '<IV>like.that' (175, 176). Both forms have gender/number infixes. There is another distal manner adverb *hobot'un* 'like that' (177) and this adverb does not have any semantic difference from the distal manner adverb *o<r>t'un* '<IV>like.that'.

175.a<r>t'un hib^la l-i-yi me?
<IV>like.this why IV-do-PST.W 2SG.ERG
'Why did you do like this?'

176.o<w>t'un dubo bit'ura-l-in l-us-un žoho,
<I>like.that 2SG.GEN1 right-IV-AND IV-find-PFV.CVB after
a<y>de ilu-l-si hososo kad y-ez-o me.
<II>this 1PL.OBL-INTER-ABL one.DEF girl(II) II-take-IMP 2SG.ERG
'If you tell the truth, you marry one of us.' [Fool.107]

177.hobot'un iŕe iλ-aλa, žu žik'o
like.this that.OBL.ERG say-ANTR that.ABS man(I)
kukkołsi ø-eq-un ø-ik-in.
flour.INTER.ABL I-happen-PFV.CVB I-run-PST.UW
'When she said so, the man came out of the flour and ran away.' [Malla rasan]

The adverb *-oło* ‘apart’ is used to express the manner of action (178). Besides this, it is also used in the fixed expression ‘to bet on something’, as in (179):

178. *b-oło bada-n b-ut'-un, diyo muxa-n luq-un.*³²
 III-apart sack(III)-AND III-divide-PFV.CVB 1SG.GEN1 tale-AND finish-PST.UW
 ‘My sack is torn apart, and the tale finished.’ [Orphans.080]

179. *obu-t'-i soyro b-oło gul-i.*
 father-OBL-ERG horse(III) III-apart put-PST.W
 ‘The father bet on the horse.’

The adverb *-ołol* ‘in two, half-and-half’ is based on the adverb *-oło* plus the Lative suffix *-l*. It is used in expressions like ‘to do something together’, ‘to buy something half-and-half’, etc., as in (180).

180. *žide šił'u l-ez-i l-oło-l.*
 that.PL(D).ERG clothes(IV) IV-buy-PST.W IV-apart-LAT
 ‘They bought clothes, each paying half of the price.’ / ‘They bought clothes in order to wear them together.’

There are also a number of manner adverbs borrowed from Avar:

e.g. *bercingo* ‘attentively’
bałgo ‘secretly’
hasil ‘at the end’
habsafat ‘now, nowadays’

³² This sentence is a proverb used in fiction tales when finishing a story.

3.3.2. Adverbs of quantity and degree

The adverbs of quantity and degree are the following:

- e.g. c'aq' 'very'
 fezeʃan 'many, much'
 l-iže 'more'
 c'oxxu 'few', 'a little'
 t'iri 'nothing'
 helmuqe 'many, enough'

- 181.hibo l-i-yi me?
 what IV-do-PST.W 2SG.ERG
 -'What did you do?' [Fool.087]
 t'iri-n l-i-bi.
 nothing-AND IV-do-NEG
 -'I did nothing.' [Fool.088]

3.3.3. Comparative adverbs

There are two comparative adverbs, *homondu/hobondu* 'such', with the reduced form *ondu* 'such' and *homoncu* 'so much', with the reduced form *occu*.

- 182.iʃʃo išet'is ondu lože l-eč-bi.
 1PL.GEN2 mother.GEN1 such voice(IV) IV-be-PST.NEG
 'Our mother didn't have such a voice <...>'.³³ [Witch.013]

- 183.b-i-še hobondu q'ut'i λun iλ-in kandaza.
 III-do-PRS such deal(III) QUOT say-PST.UW girl.PL.OBL.ERG
 "'We agree on such a deal,'" - the girls said.' [Fool.110]

³³ Angle brackets refer to an omitted text.

3.3.4. Other adverbs

Some adverbs, e.g. *I'-oλoλ'o* 'in the middle' can behave as adjectives, e.g. *ø-oλoλ'o uže* 'middle son'. And as adjectives they can also be substantivized.

184. heč'č'e	ø- <i>uq</i> ' <i>ulo</i> -I-in	ø-oλoλ'o-lo-I-in	mesed-is
most	I-big.OBL-LAT-AND	I-in.middle-OBL-LAT-AND	gold-GEN1
sahi	b-us-un.		
measure(III)	III-find-PST.UW		

'The eldest and the middle (brothers) found the measure of gold.' [3Princes.006]

3.3.5. Attributive and substantive adverbs

Adverbs can be used as attributes modifying nouns (185) and as substantives (186). The particle *-so/-sa*, which is also a definiteness particle, is used to form attributive and substantive adverbs. When used attributively or substantively, the oblique suffix *-lo/-la* can optionally be used in the oblique form.

ABS	heč'č'e atγuža-sa uže 'the first boy'	heč'č'e atγuža-sa 'the first'
ERG	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la) uža	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la)
GEN1	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la) uža-s	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la)-s
GEN2	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la) uža-la	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la)-lo
LAT	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la) uža-l	heč'č'e atγuža-sa-(la)-l

185. žik''e	miq'e-so	baydan	m-ež-i.
man.OBL.ERG	far.away-DEF	field(III)	III-plant-PST.W

'The man planted the furthest field.'

186. ø-oλoλ'o-so-ho	y-oλoλ'o-so	y-ez-un.
I-in.middle-DEF-APUD	II-in.middle-DEF	II-take-PST.UW

'The middle (brother) married the (other) middle (sister).' [Orphans.038]

3.4. Postpositions

Khwarshi has postpositions and no prepositions. Postpositions also serve as a linker that connects the NP and the rest of the clause. The main function is to clarify and concretize the meaning of the grammatical and locative cases. The postpositions have a meaning close to the case ending, but they are distinct words, and they govern the nouns that are syntactically connected with them and that stand in special case forms before the postpositions. Some postpositions convey spatial relations, and they have been developed from the nouns (e.g. *puho* ‘near’ < *pu* ‘side’). Some other postpositions usually correspond to spatial adverbs.

All indigenous postpositions can function as adverbs, i.e. they can occur elsewhere in the clause and they can bear no syntactic relation to any noun phrase (also cf. 3.3.1.1.2). Among the indigenous postpositions are the following: *λ'olo* ‘up’, *eⁿdu* ‘in’, *žoquža* ‘behind’, *atyul* ‘in front of’, *gīt* ‘under’, *puho* ‘near’, *q'udu* ‘down’, *solo* ‘around’, *oge* ‘near’, *hadal* ‘together, near’, *l^o-oλoλ'o* ‘in the middle, between’, *l^o-oλonuq'a* ‘in the center’, *dandil* ‘towards’, etc. In addition, there are loan postpositions from Avar like *sabašin* ‘because of’, and *roqihol* ‘according to’, which function only as postpositions. Postpositions that have a gender/number agreement slot show agreement with the Absolutive. There are two groups of postpositions: postpositions having a spatial meaning and postpositions having an abstract meaning.

3.4.1. Postpositions with a spatial meaning

žoquža ‘behind’

The postposition *žoquža* ‘behind’ governs the noun phrase in the Genitive 2 case:

187. γoλλ'o	q'arλ'a-č	ø-ah-un	c'odora-w	a ⁿ c-ma-la
morning.SUP	early-EMPH	I-stand-PFV.CVB	clever-I	door-OBL-GEN2
žoq'uža	cuc-an	cuc-un	ø-eč-un.	
behind	hide-RED	hide-PFV.CVB	I-be-PST.UW	

‘The clever one got up early in the morning hiding himself behind the door.’

[Fool.049]

λ'olo 'up, over, above'

The use of the postposition *λ'olo* 'above' implies a slight semantic difference. The postposition *λ'olo* specifies the localization of an object on the top of something, as in (189, 190).

188. *γobo-λ'o* *γur-a-ba* *l-eč-i.*
 pile-SUP stone-OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were stones on the pile.'

189. *γobo-λ'o* *λ'olo* *γur-a-ba* *l-eč-i.*
 pile-SUP above stone-OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were stones on the top of the pile.'

190. *žu* *žik'o* *get-lo* *λ'olo* *ø-uk'-un* *ø-eč-aλa,*
 that.ABS man(I) yoke-GEN2 over I-bend-PFV.CVB I-be-ANTR
mus *b-ek'l-un.*
 hair(III) III-fall-PST.UW
 'When the man sat on the top of the yoke bending, (his) hair had fallen <...>.'
 [Princes.046]

gił 'under'

The postposition *gił* 'under' can govern noun phrases in the Intercessive or the Subessive cases.

191. *b-ak-un* *łe-l* *gił* *e"š,* *l-ešt'-in*
 III-see-PFV.CVB water.OBL-INTER down apple(III) IV-let-PST.UW
liλ'a *b-oq-un-ay* *e"š.*
 arm(IV) III-catch-PST.UW-NEG apple(III)

'(He) saw an apple in the water, let out his hand, but didn't catch an apple.'
 [Mesedo.019]

192. iso xuy tuq-q-u, λar-la γiná
 that.GEN1 noise hear-PST.PTCP kunak-GEN2 woman.OBL.ERG
 lac'a-la-s podnos karavat-iλ gił gul-un.
 food-OBL-GEN1 tray bed-SUB down put-PST.UW
 'When (she) heard his noise, the kunak's wife put the tray with food under the bed.' [Malla rasan]

193. lay-λ'o-l ø-ot'q'-aλa, γon-o-λ gił ø-us-un
 consciousness-SUP-LAT I-come-ANTR tree-OBL-SUB down I-find-PST.UW
 isu-l.
 that.OBL-LAT
 'When (he) regained consciousness, he found (himself) under the tree.'
 [3Princes.052]

žoho 'behind'

This preposition governs a noun phrase in the Genitive 2 case, as in (194). Almost all postpositions can be used in the reduplicated form to intensify the meaning, as in (195). The postposition *žoho* can also express the purposive meaning, as in (196).

194. ø-oⁿk'-un idu γina-la žoho.
 I-go-PST.UW this(I) woman.OBL-GEN2 behind
 'He went after his wife.' [Ophans.075]

195. om^ooq'^oe-lo mok'o-λ'o ø-oⁿcc-u-so žik'o ĥažiyaw-la
 donkey-GEN2 place-SUP I-tie-PST.PTCP-DEF man(I) Hadji-GEN2
 žoh.žoho ø-oⁿk'-še ø-eč-un.
 RED.behind I-go-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW
 'Another man that was tied instead of the donkey went after Hadji.'
 [Donkey.007]

196. hoⁿq'osa Malla.rasan, om^ooq'^se-n ħadurłok'-un,
 one.day Malla.rasan donkey-AND prepare-PFV.CVB
 ø-oⁿk'-un γonołγul lido-lo žoho.
 I-go-PST.UW forest.INTER.VERS firewood-GEN2 behind
 'One day Malla-Rasan prepared a donkey and went to the forest for the firewood.'
 [Malla rasan]

oge 'near'

This postposition governs a noun phrase in the Genitive 2 case or a noun phrase in the Apudessive. The use of Genitive 2 means 'near' (197), and the use of Apudessive means 'in contact with' (198).

197. di-I^ho aq-la oge γon.γur goli.
 1SG.OBL-GEN2 house-GEN2 near garden be.PRS
 'There is a garden near my house.'

198. isulo mašina-γa oge de taraxtur b-ah-a b-eč-x-i.
 that.GEN2 car-APUD near 1SG.ERG tractor(III) III-stand-INF III-be-CAUS-PST.W
 'I stopped my tractor close to his car.'

solo 'around'

The postposition *solo* 'around, circle-wise' can also have reduplicated forms, e.g. *sol-solo*, *solo-qolo*:

199. y-uł-un aq-qa solo goł'-un.
 II-spin-PFV.CVB room-CONT around call-PST.UW
 'Spinning around the room, (she) called.' [Mesedo.090]

hadal 'together'

200. b-eč-un izo hadal ħumru b-i-še.
 HPL-be-PST.UW that.PL.(P)ABS together life(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB
 'They were living together.' [Orphans.002]

201.do-n	ø-ux-še	dubuř	hadal,	ħono-č
1SG.ABS-AND	I-come-PRS	2SG.INTER	together	three-COLL
m-eλ'-še	íĴo	λin	iλ-in.	
HPL-go-PRS	1PL.ABS	QUOT	say-PST.UW	

‘‘I will also go together with you, we all three are coming,’’ (he) said.’

dandil ‘towards’

When used as a postposition *dandil* ‘towards’ governs a noun phrase in the Genitive 2 case:

202.di-ĴĴo	dandil	haca	piλ-še	l-eč-i.
1SG.OBL-GEN2	towards	wind(IV)	blow-IPFV.CVB	IV-be-PST.W

‘The wind was blowing into my direction (i.e. into my face).’

203.ħalt'i-λ'o-z	y-ux-šezuq'un,	ifele	dandil	k'it'-is
work-SUP-ABL	II-come-DURAT	that.GEN2	towards	cat-GEN1
hu ⁿ ho	y-ux-še	y-eč-i.		
kitten(V)	V-come-IPFV.CVB	V-be-PST.W		

‘When she was coming back from the work, she met a kitten on her way.’

Ĵ-olol'o ‘in the middle, between’

When used as a postposition *Ĵ-olol'o* ‘in the middle, between’ governs a noun phrase in the Genitive 2. This postposition has a prefixal slot for gender/number agreement.

204.obu-t'-i	q' ^{sw} ana-č	buλu-lo	l-olol'o	kert'i
father-OBL-ERG	two.OBL-COLL	shed(III)-GEN2	IV-between	fence(IV)
l-i-yi.				
IV-do-PST.W				

‘The father made a fence between two sheds.’

205.izzulo γay-za-la ʔ-ολλολ'ο kanaw goli.
 that.PL.(P)GEN2 house-PL.OBL-GEN2 NHPL-between gutter(IV) be.PRS
 'There is a gutter between their houses.'

ʔ-ολοnuq'a 'in the center'

When used as a postposition *ʔ-ολοnuq'a* 'in the center', it governs a noun phrase in the Inessive.

206.aq-ma ʔ-ολοnuq'a gul-un goli ustur.
 room-IN IV-in.the.center put-PFV.CVB be.PRS chair(IV)
 'The chair is put in the center of the room.'

207.q'at'a-ma y-ολοnuq'a y-ah-a y-eč-un kad y-eč-i.
 street-IN II-in.the.center II-stand-INF III-be-PFV.CVB girl(II) II-be-PST.W
 'The girl was standing in the center of the street.'

3.4.2. Postpositions with abstract meaning

sabaʔin 'thanks to', 'by means of'

This postposition governs a noun phrase either in the Superessive or in the Absolutive case.

208.dub-λ'ο sabaʔin di-qo-l b-ixxid-i.
 2SG.OBL-SUP thanks.to 1SG.OBL-CONT-LAT HPL-scold-PST.W
 'I was scolded because of you.'

209.mo sabaʔin di-qo-l b-ixxid-i.
 2SG.ABS thanks.to 1SG.OBL-CONT-LAT HPL-scold-PST.W
 'I was scolded because of you.'

roq'ihol 'according to'

This postposition governs a noun phrase only in the Superessive case:

210. dandiŋ-in hobože q'ut'i-λ'o roq'ihol idu q'^{sw}ine-č žulik.
 meet-PST.UW now deal-SUP according.to this two-COLL cheater
 'Now two cheaters met according to the deal.' [Donkey.022]

211. iŋe heⁿše b-ez-i b-i-go q'ut'i-λ'o
 that.OBL.ERG book(III) III-buy-PST.W III-do-OBL.PST.PTCP deal-SUP
 roq'ihol.
 according.to
 'She bought the book according to the deal that was made.'

3.5. Pronouns

Khwarshi distinguishes the following types of pronouns: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, reflexive, reciprocal, distributive, and universal quantifier (cf. Table 3.29).

Table 3.29: Pronouns

Pronouns		forms
Personal pronouns		<i>do</i> ‘I’, <i>mo</i> ‘you(SG)’, <i>il’o</i> ‘we’, <i>mižo</i> ‘you(PL)’
Demonstrative pronouns		<i>žu</i> ‘that’, <i>izzu</i> ‘these’, <i>židu</i> ‘those’, <i>a <w> edu</i> ‘this’, <i>o <w> enu</i> ‘that’, etc.
Interrogative pronouns		<i>hibo</i> ‘what, who’, <i>ito</i> ‘when’, <i>na</i> ‘where’, <i>dudu</i> ‘how’, <i>hibl’a</i> ‘why’, etc.
Indefinite pronouns	Ordinary indefinite	<i>hiboλa</i> ‘someone’, <i>naλa</i> ‘somewhere’, <i>itoλa</i> ‘somewhen’, etc.
	Specific indefinite	<i>hos</i> ‘one’
	Free-choice indefinite	<i>boλ’uddu</i> ‘any’
	Negative indefinite	<i>nan</i> ‘nowhere’, <i>iton</i> ‘never’, <i>hoččun</i> ‘nobody’, etc.
Reflexive pronouns	Complex reflexives	<i>žu-žuč</i> ‘himself’, etc.
	Reflexive-emphatic	<i>žuč</i> ‘himself’, etc.
Reciprocal pronouns		<i>hadiyadba</i> ‘each other’
Distributive pronouns		<i>žib žib</i> ‘each’, <i>hibalan</i> ‘each’
Universal quantifier ‘all’		<i>golluč</i> ‘all’, etc.
‘Other’		<i>hosunu</i> ‘other’, <i>hosunun</i> ‘another’

3.5.1. Personal pronouns

Khwarshi, like other Tsezic languages, does not have an inclusive/exclusive opposition within personal pronouns as most Andic languages and Avar do. Unlike other Tsezic languages, Khwarshi has a distinction between Absolutive and Ergative case marking in all personal pronouns. The personal pronouns include first and second person pronouns, and singular and plural (third person pronouns are expressed as demonstratives) (cf. Table 3.30).

Table3.30: 1st and 2nd person pronoun paradigm³⁴

	1SG 'I'	2SG 'you'	1PL 'we'	2PL 'you'
ABS	do	mo	i ^l o	mižo
ERG	de	me	i ^l é	mižé
GEN1	diyó	dubó	i ^l ó	mižó
GEN2	di- ^l ó	dub-ló	i ^l - ^l ó/i ^l u-ló	mi ^l - ^l ó
LAT	di-l	dubu-l	i ^l u-l	mižu-l
SUP	di-λ'o	dub-λ'o	i ^l u-λ'o	mižu-λ'o

The oblique stem of the 1st person singular is *dí*, the oblique stem of the 2nd person singular is *dubu* (before inflectional suffixes with a syllable-final consonant) and *dub* (before inflectional suffixes with a syllable-initial consonant). Note that the second person singular form *mo* '2SG' undergoes suppletion when oblique cases are formed except for the Ergative case. Unlike the nominal paradigm where the Genitive 1 is always marked with the suffix *-s*, all personal pronouns in the Genitive 1 have the ending *-o*. In pronouns the Genitive 1 and Genitive 2 are always in the stressed position.

The first person plural pronoun *i^lo* has an oblique stem *i^lu* before inflectional suffixes with syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants, but the oblique stem can be optionally *il* before the Genitive 2 suffix *-lo*. The oblique stem of the second person plural pronoun is *mižu* before syllable-initial and syllable-final consonants, except for the Genitive 2 case where the oblique stem is *mil* (this oblique stem has undergone regressive assimilation). There is a syncretism of the Absolutive and Genitive 1 forms of the first person and the second person plural pronouns, both forms ending in *-o*. Other grammatical and locative cases are formed by the corresponding suffix added to the oblique form of the personal pronouns.

Note that like some adjectives and adverbs of VCV syllable structure, the pronouns of VCV structure can also have alternative emphatic forms based on the

³⁴ Note that the stress is only marked in pronominal forms that do not follow the general stress marking principle: the stress is ultimate in a final closed syllable, and the stress is penultimate when the word has a final open syllable.

gemination of the medial consonant (cf. 2.1). The geminated emphatic forms are preferable. Thus, the first person plural pronoun *iʔo* can have the alternative geminated form *iʔʔo* ‘we’.

3.5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns function as third person pronouns, i.e. the demonstrative pronoun *ʒu* is used as the third person singular, and the plural proximal *izzu* and distal *ʒidu* demonstrative pronouns are used as the third person plural pronouns.

The demonstrative pronouns distinguish between the meanings of proximity and distance. The demonstrative pronouns that express proximity are *idu*, *awedu*, *hobodu* ‘this’, and those that express distance are *inu*, *owenu*, *homonu* ‘that’. These two demonstrative series seem to be correlated through the alternation of the root consonants *-d-* and *-n-* in the proximal and distal demonstratives.

The demonstrative pronoun *ʒu* is a distal demonstrative pronoun, but it does not have the corresponding proximal pronoun. The distal demonstrative pronouns in the singular have the Absolutive form *ʒu*, and the oblique cases are based on the suppletive forms. The distal demonstrative *ʒu* does not distinguish gender and can refer to all genders, while the oblique distal demonstrative forms distinguish between male vs. the other genders, e.g. *ise* ‘3SG.OBL (male human)’ with the alternative emphatic geminated form *isse* and *ile* ‘3SG.OBL (female human, non-human, animate, inanimate)’ with the alternative emphatic geminated form *ille*.

The oblique stem for the demonstrative pronoun *ʒu* referring to male gender is *isu*, and the oblique stem of *ʒu* referring to the other genders is *ile* which is identical to the Ergative (cf. Table 3.31).

Table 3.31: Demonstrative singular pronouns

	that (male)	that (others)
ABS	žu	žu
ERG	ise	iĕ
GEN1	isó	iĕs
GEN2	isu-ló	iĕ-ló
LAT	isu-l	iĕ-l
SUP	isu-λ'o	iĕ-λ'o

The demonstrative pronouns in the plural distinguish between proximal *izzu* and distal *židu* pronouns, and they do not have a gender distinction. The oblique stems of the plural demonstratives are *izzu* and *židu*. Note that the demonstrative plural proximal pronoun *izzu* is preferably used in its emphatic geminated form, though the non-geminated form *izu* is also possible (cf. Table 3.32).

Table 3.32: Demonstrative plural pronouns

	that.PL (proximal)	that.PL (distal)
ABS	izzu	židu
ERG	izze	žide
GEN1	izzó	židó
GEN2	izzu-ló	židu-ló
LAT	izzu-l	židu-l
SUP	izzu-λ'o	židu-λ'o

The demonstrative pronoun *židu* has two more derived forms that also show the degrees of distance:

e.g.	close to the speaker	<i>izzu</i> ‘that.(P)’
	far from the speaker	<i>židu</i> ‘that.(D)’
	close to the listener	<i>abežidu</i> ‘they’
	far from the listener	<i>hobožidu</i> ‘they’

The distal demonstrative singular and plural pronouns and also proximal plural pronouns can be used attributively, i.e. they can modify a noun. When the distal demonstrative pronoun is used attributively it can be used either in the Absolutive form when modifying a noun in the Absolutive case (212), or the demonstrative pronoun is used in the oblique form when modifying a noun in some oblique form (213-216).

When the demonstrative pronoun modifies a noun in the oblique case, the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun is different from the oblique stem used before the inflectional suffixes, i.e. the attributive oblique stem is *ise* for male gender (213) and *izze* and *žide* for plural demonstrative pronouns (214, 215). In other words the oblique form in such pronouns is identical to the Ergative form, whereas the demonstrative singular pronoun referring to other genders has one oblique form *iĕ* used when modifying a noun (216) and also when attaching inflectional suffixes (also cf. Table 3.31).

212.žu	žik'o	ø-eč-un	nišoĥo-n	γoλ'o-n
that.ABS	man(I)	I-be-PST.UW	night.AD-AND	morning.SUP-AND
dimmo-λ'o		č'eyidd-u	zik'o.	
religion.OBL-SUP		carry.out-PST.PTCP	man(I)	

'That man was making prayer day and night.' [The man who went to God]

213.ise	xan-is	bercina-y	kad	y-eč-un.
that.OBL	khan-GEN1	beautiful-II	daughter(II)	II-be-PST.UW

'That khan had a beautiful daughter.' [3Feats.003]

214.žide ³⁵	hadam-i	b-uq' ⁵ u	xabar	b-i-yin	b-eč-un.
that.PL.(D)OBL	people-ERG	III-big	story(III)	III-do-PFV.CVB	III-be-PST.UW

'Those people made a big gossip.'

³⁵ Note that (D) in parenthesis refers to a distal pronoun.

215. l-i-yin l-ogu aq izze³⁶ žik'oza.
 IV-do-PST.UW IV-good house(IV) that.(P).OBL man.PL.OBL.ERG
 'These men built a good house.'

216. hed ite γiná γel^l-in k'ote-n
 then that.OBL woman.OBL.ERG sieve(III)-AND plate(III)-AND
 b-oq-q-un, lac'a l-i-yin.
 III-take-CAUS-PFV.CVB food(IV) IV-do-PST.UW
 'Then this woman took the sieve and the plate, and made food.' [Malla rasan]

The proximal demonstrative *idu* 'this' and the distal demonstrative *inu* 'that' seem to be the base forms for further formation of other demonstrative pronouns (e.g. *awedu* vs. *owenu*, *hobodu* vs. *homonu*) (also cf. 3.5.2.1). The proximal demonstrative *idu* 'this' refers to the objects that are close to the speaker. This pronoun does not distinguish gender, and the oblique form coincides with the Absolutive. The proximal demonstrative pronoun *idu* 'this' can be used attributively modifying nouns either in Absolutive or oblique case (217 - 219). This pronoun is used as a substantive only in the Absolutive case (220), whereas in the oblique cases it is replaced by the distal demonstrative pronoun (*ise* or *ite*).

217. hadaquł hada žik'oloho kok-še ø-eč-un idu
 one.day one.OBL man.AD eat-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW this
 kandazas obu.
 girl.PL.OBL.GEN1 father(I)
 'One time the father of these girls was eating at one man's (place).' [Sisters.011]

³⁶ Note that (P) in parenthesis refers to a proximal pronoun.

218. wallah, do idu užá-č hic-bič ø-uxx-u
 INTERJ 1SG.ABS this boy.OBL.ERG-EMPH leave-NEG.CVB I-go-PST.PTCP
 goli λin iλ-in obu-t'-i.
 be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW father-OBL-ERG
 'To be honest, this boy won't leave me in peace, he keeps asking me to come with
 him.' [3Feats.014]

219. hobože idu užalsi il^jba-n b-eq-un
 now this boy.INTER.ABL pigeon(III)-AND III-happen-PFV.CVB
 et-un idu uže.
 fly-PST.UW this boy
 'Now this boy turned into a pigeon, this boy flew away.' [3Feats.084]

220. tuq-un idu ø-eč-aλa, hadi iλ-in a < b > edu
 listen-PFV.CVB this.ABS I-be-ANTR one.ERG say-PST.UW < III > this
 č'aʔa b-ow goli.
 bouza(III) III-good be.PRS
 'When he listened, one said that this bouza was good.' [Princes.063]

The distal demonstrative pronoun *inu* 'that' refers to objects that are located far from the speaker. This pronoun can have an attributive function modifying Absolutive and oblique noun phrases.

221. inu kad y-ot'q'-un.
 that girl(II) II-come-PST.UW
 'That girl came.'

3.5.2.1. Other demonstrative pronouns

There are two types of demonstrative pronouns, proximal (*a < w > edu* 'this') and distal (*o < w > enu* 'that'). The proximal pronouns mean 'close to the speaker', and the distal pronouns mean 'far from the speaker'.

The proximal demonstrative pronouns are based on the demonstrative adverbs, e.g. the proximal demonstrative adverbs are $a <w>e$, $a <y>e$, $a e$, $a <r>e$ ‘this’, and they have gender/number infixes.

The demonstrative pronouns also distinguish gender having the infixal gender/number slot: there are five genders in singular and two in plural. But actually there are four demonstrative pronoun forms since Gender 2 and Gender 5 have the same gender marking infix (-*y*-), Gender 3 and human plural gender also have the same markers (-*b*-) and Gender 4 shares the same gender marking infix with the non-human plural gender (-*l*-/*r*-) (as shown in the following table). Demonstrative pronouns like the distal demonstrative singular pronoun (*ž**u*) show suppletion when forming oblique cases. In fact, the oblique forms of demonstrative pronouns are built on the oblique forms of the distal demonstrative singular pronoun (*ž**u*) (cf. the second parts of the stems in the demonstrative pronouns with the distal demonstrative singular pronoun forms). Note that the plural oblique demonstrative pronouns are based on the distal demonstrative singular pronoun and not on the distal demonstrative plural pronoun.

The proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns can have full and reduced forms (e.g. $a <w>edu$ and $a <w>du$), as shown below.

Note that the oblique forms of demonstrative proximal and distal pronouns can also have the alternative emphatic geminated forms, e.g. $a <w>esse$ ‘<I>this.OBL’, $o <y>elle$ ‘<II>that.OBL’.

Demonstrative pronoun paradigm (proximal) ‘this’

	I	II/V	III/HPL	IV/NHPL
ABS	$a <w>(e)du$	$a <y>(e)du$	$a (e)du$	$a <r>(e)du$
ERG	$a <w>(e)se$	$a <y>(e)le$	$a (e)le$	$a <r>(e)le$
GEN1	$a <w>(e)so$	$a <y>(e)les$	$a (e)les$	$a <r>(e)les$
GEN2	$a <w>(e)sulo$	$a <y>(e)lelo$	$a (e)lelo$	$a <r>(e)lelo$
LAT	$a <w>(e)sul$	$a <y>(e)lel$	$a (e)lel$	$a <r>(e)lel$

Demonstrative pronoun paradigm (distal) 'that'

	I	II/V	III/HPL	IV/NHPL
ABS	o <w> (e)nu	o <y> (e)nu	o (e)nu	o <r> (e)nu
ERG	o <w> (e)se	o <y> (e)le	o (e)le	o <r> (e)le
GEN1	o <w> (e)so	o <y> (e)les	o (e)les	o <r> (e)les
GEN2	o <w> (e)sulo	o <y> (e)lelo	o (e)lelo	o <r> (e)lelo
LAT	o <w> (e)sul	o <y> (e)lel	o (e)lel	o <r> (e)lel

The demonstrative pronouns can also be used attributively. The demonstrative pronoun in the Absolutive case is used to modify nouns that are also in the Absolutive, and the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun is used to modify nouns that are in the oblique cases. Note that the oblique form coincides with the Ergative case.

ABS	aw(e)du insan 'this man (I)'	ay(e)du γina 'that woman (II)'
ERG	aw(e)se insani	ay(e)le γina
GEN1	aw(e)se insanus	ay(e)le γinas
GEN2	aw(e)se insanla	ay(e)le γinala
LAT	aw(e)se insanul	ay(e)le γinal

The demonstrative pronouns *hobodu* and *homonu* distinguish between the meanings 'close to the speaker' and 'far from the speaker'.³⁷

However the distinction is lost in the oblique stem formation since the demonstrative *homonu* follows the same declension pattern as the demonstrative *hobodu*. The demonstrative pronoun *homonu* does not have a corresponding plural form either.

³⁷ The other distinction, 'close to the second person' and 'far from the second person', for the demonstrative pronouns *hobodu* and *homonu* is attested by Imnajšvili (1963: 117), but in my work there seems to be no such distinction.

	I GENDER	II-V GENDER	HUMAN PLURAL
ABS	hobodu 'this'	hobodu	hobožidu ³⁸ 'those'
ERG	hobose	hoboŋe	hobožide
GEN1	hoboso	hoboŋe-s	hobožido
GEN2	hobosulo	hoboŋe-lo	hobožidu-lo
LAT	hobosul	hoboŋe-l	hobožidu-l

	I GENDER	II-V GENDER
ABS	homonu 'that'	homodu
ERG	hobose	hoboŋe
GEN1	hoboso	hoboŋe-s
GEN2	hobosulo	hoboŋe-lo
LAT	hobosul	hoboŋe-l

222.hoboŋe	zamana-λ'a	ø-ot'q'-un	iles	xol
this.OBL	time.OBL-SUP	I-come-PST.UW	that.GEN1	husband(t)
γobo-ho	ø-ečč-u.			
mill.OBL-AD	I-be-PST.PTCP			
'At this time her husband came, who was at the mill.' [Malla rasan]				

Use of the distal demonstrative as a placeholder

Only distal demonstrative pronouns can function as placeholders. The use of the distal demonstrative can signal difficulty in recalling a word, or it can be used as a means of avoiding saying a word openly and when the speaker has problem finding the right word.

223.o <r> enu	n-eq'-o!
<IV> that	IV-bring-IMP
'Bring that...how is it called... thing!'	

³⁸ It is interesting to note that the form *hobožidu* is used in the Kwantlada dialect and the form *hoboizzu* is used in the Inkhokwari dialect.

224.o <w>enu, Ahmad!
 <I>that Axmed(I)
 ‘Hey ...how was it...Axmed!’

3.5.3. Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns can be divided into pronouns, adjective-like interrogative pronouns (or pro-adjectives), and adverb-like interrogative pronouns (or pro-adverbs).

The interrogative pronoun *hibo* ‘who, what’ in the Absolutive case does not distinguish gender and refers to all genders. The oblique stem of *hibo* is based on suppletion. In the oblique formation there is one form used to refer to the male and female human gender *lu*, and the other form, *lene*, is used to refer to the third, fourth, and fifth genders. The Genitive 1 case in the form of the interrogative human pronoun has the same ending (-o) as with the personal pronouns, while the Genitive 1 in the other interrogative forms referring to the rest of the genders has the suffix -s, which is also used in the nominal paradigm.

ABS	hibo (I/II) who,	hibo (III/IV/V) what,
ERG	lu	lene
GEN1	liyo	lene-s
GEN2	lu-lo	lene-lo
LAT	lu-l	lene-l

Like other interrogative pronouns, the interrogative pronoun *hibo* ‘what, who’ always occurs before the verb, but not necessarily immediately preceding it (225) (also cf. 4.13.2).

225.me idu himon lul l-ez-i?
 2SG.ERG this thing(IV) who.LAT IV-buy-PST.W
 ‘Who did you buy this thing for?’

The interrogative adverb-like pronouns are *ito* ‘when’, *na* ‘where’, *dudu* ‘how’, *hibl’a* ‘why’, *doccu* ‘much’, ‘how much’, and *šomo* ‘many’, ‘how many’, and they always occur elsewhere before the verb (cf. 4.13).

226. b-ak-bič mižul dudu l-iq’-še λun.
 III-see-NEG.CVB 2PL.LAT how IV-know-PRS QUOT
 “‘When you didn’t see, how do you know?’ (he said) [Princes.037]

227. dow hunar dubo goli, me dudu-k l-i-yi,
 which ability 2SG.GEN1 be.PRS 2SG.ERG how-QUES IV-do-PST.W
 o <r> du.ardu azar himon isix-še l-eč-un.
 <IV> > such.RED thousand thing(IV) ask-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.UW
 “‘What is your ability, how did you do this?’ (she) asked him a thousand questions.’ [3Princes.047]

The interrogative pronoun *ito* ‘when’ (with the alternative emphatic geminated form *itto*) is used in the interrogative sentences always occurring elsewhere before the finite verb, and it is never used in the formation of temporal clauses.

228. idu ito-q’e-k ø-uh-alu λin b-eč-un izzu.
 this.ABS when-QUES-QUES I-die-DELIB QUOT HPL-be-PST.UW that.PL.(P).ABS
 ‘They wondered when he would die.’ [Princes.005]

The interrogative pro-adverb *na* ‘where’, like other genuine place adverbs, can attach a directional suffix, and it is only used in question sentences.

229. waʔaleykumsalam, mo hibo žik’o na-z
 greeting.INTERJ. 2SG.ABS what man(I) where-ABL
 ø-ot’uq’q’-u λin isx-in obu-t’-i.
 I-come-PST.PTCP QUOT ask-PST.UW father-OBL-ERG
 “‘Good day, who are you and where did you come from?’ the father asked.
 [Orphans.065]

230.boc'-i	iλ-in	isuqol,	mo	na-l
wolf.OBL-ERG	say-PST.UW	that.CONT.LAT	2SG.ABS	where-LAT
ø-o ⁿ k'-dogu	žik'o-k	λin.		
I-go-GNT.PTCP	man(I)-QUES	QUOT		

'The wolf asked him, "Where are you going to?"' [The man who went to God]

The interrogative pronoun *šomo* 'how many' is used with countable nouns (231). Another interrogative pronoun *doccu* 'much' is used to refer to uncountable nouns (232, 233).

231.dub-qo	šomo	λib	goli?
2SG.OBL-CONT	many	year	be.PRS

'How old are you?'

232.iŕe-s	doccu	baha	goli?
that.OBL-GEN1	much	price	be.PRS

'How much does it cost?'

233.hadaquŕ	obu-t'-i	isx-in	y-uq' ^s u-lo-qo	doccu
one.day	father-OBL-ERG	ask-PST.UW	II-big-OBL-CONT	much
žu	iŕe-l	gōq	λin.	
that.ABS	that.OBL-LAT	love.GNT	QUOT	

'One day the father asked the elder daughter how much she loved him.'
[Sisters.003]

The interrogative *doco* has the meaning 'many' or 'many time', and can be used not only in the interrogative sentences (234, 235) but also in concessive sentences (236).

- 234.doco himon-q'e iŋe n-eq'-un?
 much thing(IV)-QUES that.OBL.ERG IV-bring-PST.UW
 'How many things did she bring?'
- 235.doco-č doco dubul l-og-ŋar l-i-ya l-uk-še?
 much-EMPH much 2SG.LAT IV-good-NMLZ IV-do-INF IV-must-PRS
 'How many times do I have to help you?'
- 236.doco ø-uλ'-še ø-eč-ŋon, uže isuγol ø-oⁿk'-i.
 many I-be.afraid-IPFV.CVB I-be-CONC boy(I) that.APUD.LAT I-go-PST.W
 'No matter how (he) was afraid of him, the boy went to his place.'

The interrogative pronoun *hib^ha* 'why' is formed as a result of assimilation and truncation – basically it is a compound word based on the indefinite pronoun *hibo* 'what' and the infinitive form of the verb *liya* 'to do'.

- 237.ide λ'olo-so heⁿhe hib^ha b-ek'-x^w-i λin
 here up-DEF pear(III) why III-fall-CAUS-PST.W QUOT
 isx-in nartaw-i.
 ask-PST.UW giant-ERG
 '“Why did you take a pear from there?” the giant asked.' [3Feats.017]

Another interrogative pronoun *leneλeru* 'why' is based on the Causal case suffix *-λeru* added to the oblique stem of the interrogative word *hibo* 'what'.

- 238.leneλeru me idu himon l-i-bi?
 why 2SG.ERG this thing(IV) IV-do-NEG
 'Why did you not do this thing?'

Pro-adjectives

The adjective-like interrogative pronoun is *dow/dogu* 'which', which has the same declension paradigm as genuine adjectives.

239. uže-n ø-eq-un iλ-in ise xanqali
 boy(1)-AND I-happen-PFV.CVB say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG khan.CONT.LAT
 hosun dogu ĥono hunar dubul b-ak-x^w-a q'oč-če λin.
 other which three feat(III) 2SG.LAT III-see-CAUS-INF want-PRS QUOT
 'Turning back into a boy, he asked the khan which other three feats he wanted him
 to perform.' [3Feats.104]

3.5.4. Indefinite pronouns

Following Haspelmath's terminology (1997: 31), Khwarshi distinguishes four series of indefinite pronouns: ordinary, free-choice, specific, and negative indefinite pronouns.

3.5.4.1. Ordinary indefinite pronoun (some, somebody)

Ordinary indefinite pronouns are formed with the particle *-λa* added to the interrogative words.

e.g. hibo-λa 'someone, somewhat, something'
 na-λa 'somewhere'
 ito-λa 'somewhen'
 dudu-λa 'somehow'
 dow-λa 'some'
 šomo-λa 'some'

240. lu-λa aⁿcmaqa t'uk' b-ek'[?]še b-eč-i.
 who.ERG-PART door.CONT knock(III) III-hit-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 'Somebody was knocking at the door.'

241. hibo-λa hos hadam ø-ot'q'-i.
 what-PART one man(I) I-come-PST.W
 'Someone came.'

242.wallah	diyo	bet'erhan-ič	ø-ak-bič	šomo-λa
INTERJ.	1SG.GEN1	master(I)-EMPH	I-see-NEG.CVB	much-PART
zebu	goli.			
day	be.PRS			

'I swear I did not see my master for some days.' [Hajj.048]

The ordinary indefinite pronoun *edub* 'some' always occurs twice in the sentence, denoting a general set divided into two and referring to each of the subsets.

243.edub	q'ala	burku	kul-še	b-eč-i,
some	children	ball(III)	throw-IPFV.CVB	HPL-be-PST.W
edub	k'ολολ-še		b-eč-i.	
some	jump.DUR-IPFV.CVB	HPL-be-PST.W		

'Some children were throwing the ball, and some were jumping.'

3.5.4.2. Specific indefinite pronouns (one)

Specific indefinite pronouns are formed with the numeral *hos* 'one', with its irregular forms in the oblique cases. The specific indefinite pronoun refers to some specific persons or objects, where the speaker knows the identity of a person/object but prefers not to say it to the hearer, and to keep it unidentified (Haspelmath 1997: 38).

ABS	hos	'one'
ERG	hadi	
GEN1	hadi-s	
GEN2	hadi-lo/had-la	
LAT	hadi-l	

244.de	had-γa-l	he ⁿ še	tīλ-i.
1SG.ERG	one.OBL-APUD-LAT	book	give-PST.W

'I gave the book to someone.' / 'I gave the book to one person'

245.kand-i liλ'e hos himon l-oq-un l-eč-i.
 girl.OBL-ERG in.hand one thing(IV) IV-take-PFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W
 'The girl held something in her hands.' / 'The girl held one thing in her hands.'

3.5.4.3. Expressing free-choice pronouns (any, anybody)

Free-choice pronouns are expressed with periphrastic constructions based on *boλ'iddu* 'any' referring to human and non-human objects (246-248), which is a past participle form of a borrowed Avar verb 'to like, want'. Khwarshi must have borrowed this Avar verb but then lost it, which means that Khwarshi does not have this verb synchronically but has preserved the derived past participle form (note that *boλ'iddu* is a Khwarshi Past participle form, not an Avar past participle). In addition, Khwarshi also has the borrowed Avar adjective *boλ'araw* 'beloved', 'any'. The free-choice indefinite form *boλ'iddu* 'any' can be used attributively, as in (246, 247), and it can be used as a substantivized participle, as in (248).

246.iλ-in ise hadamqal boλ'idd-u himon iλ-a
 say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG people.CONT.LAT like-PST.PTCP thing give-INF
 goli, os iλ-a goli homonu iso eⁿs
 be.PRS money give-INF be.PRS such that.GEN1 ox(III)
 b-it'ixx-u hadam b-iqq-a q'oč-če goli λun.
 III-steal.CAUS-PST.PTCP people HPL-know.CAUS-INF want-PRS be.PRS QUOT
 'He said to the people that he would give anything, he would give money as (he)
 wanted to know who stole his ox.' [Woman.031]

247.ustulλ'ozi dubul boλ'idd-u himon l-oq-o!
 table.SUP.ABL 2SG.LAT like-PST.PTCP thing(IV) IV-take-IMP
 'Take anything from the table!'

248.dil'lo ustuqo boλ'idd-u šuk'-a b-ēq.
 1SG.GEN2 brother.CONT like-PST.PTCP beat-INF NHPL-can.GNT
 'My brother can beat anybody.'

The free-choice pronouns can also be based on the concessive converb of the verb *-eč-* ‘be’ combined with the interrogative word. This construction corresponds to the universal concessive converbs with the meaning ‘whatever it might be’, ‘wherever it might be’, etc. (cf. 4.10.3.2).

e.g.	hibo lečlon	‘anything’, ‘whatever (it might be)’
	na lečlon	‘anywhere’ ‘wherever (it might be)’
	ito lečlon	‘any time’ ‘whenever (it might be)’
	dudu lečlon	‘any way’ ‘however (it might be)’
	dow lečlon	‘anything’ ‘whatever (it might be)’
	šomo lečlon	‘any way’ ‘however (it might be)’

249.	ustul-λ'o-zi	hibo	l-eč-lon	himon	l-oq-o!
	table-SUP-ABL	what	IV-be-CONC	thing(IV)	IV-take-IMP
	‘Take anything from the table!’				

250.	dow	l-eč-lon	himon	n-eq'-o!
	which	IV-be-CONC	thing(IV)	IV-bring-IMP
	‘Bring anything!’			

3.5.4.4. Negative indefinite pronoun

Negative indefinite pronouns are formed with the particle *-n* added to the interrogative word.

e.g.	na-n	‘nowhere’	/	dudu-n	‘no way’
	where-AND			how-AND	
	ito-n	‘never’	/	hibo-n	‘no one, nothing’
	when-AND			what-AND	

256.ise hoččun λin iλ-bi.
 that.OBL.ERG nothing QUOT say-NEG
 ‘He said nothing.’

The form *hoččun* ‘nobody, nothing’ has the full case paradigm. Note that the emphatic particle *-čun* is added to the appropriate case form of the indefinite pronoun *hos* ‘one’ when oblique cases are derived.

ABS hoč-čun ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’
 ERG hadi-čun
 GEN1 hadis-čun
 GEN2 hadilo-čun
 LAT hadil-čun

The loan noun from Avar *t’iri* means ‘drop’, but when combined with the noun *himon* ‘thing’ it expresses the negative meaning ‘nothing’, as in (257). The verb is always used in the negative form when combined with *t’iri himon* ‘nothing’ (258), as is the case with other negative pronouns.

257.λ’aλ’aqu žik’os t’iri lac’as himon l-eč-un-ay-λo.
 robber man.GEN1 nothing food.GEN1 thing(IV) IV-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR
 ‘The robber had nothing to eat.’ [The man who went to God]

258.heč’č’e atγul nišoho-n ħalla reła-λ’a
 most before evening.AD-AND three.OBL night-SUP
 t’iri židuł himon l-eq-un-ay.
 nothing that.PL(D).INTER thing(IV) IV-happen-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘The first night and during three other nights nothing happened to them.’
 [7Friends]

3.5.5. Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns can be based on demonstrative and personal pronouns. There are complex reflexive pronouns based on reduplication which I call *complex reflexive pronouns*, and there are reflexive pronouns based on a demonstrative pronoun plus the emphatic particle -č. I call these *reflexive-emphatic pronouns* (cf. 4.11.3).

3.5.5.1. Complex reflexive pronouns

Complex reflexives are formed by reduplicating a form of the demonstrative pronoun (cf. Table 3.33). The Absolutive complex reflexive is formed by the reduplication of the demonstrative pronoun in the Absolutive case. In the Absolutive case the particle -č is obligatorily used with the complex reflexive pronoun in its singular form, while the particle -č is optional when used with the Absolutive plural complex reflexive pronoun. In the oblique formation, the first element in the complex reflexive pronoun is in the oblique stem (which is identical to the Ergative form), and the second element is in the appropriate case, and the particle -č being optionally used in the oblique forms. Such complex reflexive pronouns in the Absolutive and Ergative cases are used very often in the emphatic exclusive function (259), but the reflexive function is also not excluded (cf. 4.11.2).

Note that complex reflexive pronouns can have an alternative geminated form, where only the second element can become geminated, e.g. *ise.ise* ‘REFL.OBL’ and *ise.isse* ‘REFL.OBL’.

259.obu-t’-i	ise.ise	x ^w aλ-i.
father-OBL-ERG	REFL.ERG	shave-PST.W
‘The father himself shaved.’		

Table 3.33: Complex reflexives (based on demonstrative pronouns)

	that (male)	that (other)	that.PL (proximal)	that.PL (distal)
ABS	žu.žuč	žu.žuč	izo.izzo(č)	židu.židu(č)
ERG	ise.ise(č)	iše.iše(č)	ize.izze(č)	žide.žide(č)
GEN1	ise.iso(č)	iše.iše(ič)	ize.izzo(č)	žide.žido(č)
GEN2	ise.isu-lo(č)	iše.iše-lo(č)	ize.izzulo(č)	žide.židulo(č)
LAT	ise.isu-l(ič)	iše.iše-l(ič)	ize.izzul(ič)	žide.židul(ič)

The complex reflexives derived from personal pronouns are formed by a reduplication where the first component is a personal pronoun in the Ergative case, and the second pronoun takes the appropriate case (cf. Table 3.34). The complex reflexives that are based on the singular personal pronouns in the Absolutive and Ergative cases cannot be used without the emphatic particle *-č*. When the personal complex reflexive is in some other oblique case the emphatic particle *-č* can be optionally omitted.

The complex reflexive pronouns that are based on the first person plural pronoun do not allow omission of the emphatic particle in the Absolutive case, but in the oblique cases this particle can be optionally omitted. The complex reflexive pronouns based on the second person plural pronoun can be used without the emphatic particle *-č* in all cases including the Absolutive and oblique cases.

Table 3.34: Complex personal reflexive pronouns

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
ABS	do.doč	mo.moč	i ¹ o.i ¹ oč	mižo.mižo(č)
ERG	de.deč	me.meč	i ¹ e.i ¹ e(č)	miže.miže(č)
GEN1	de.diyó(č)	me.dubo(č)	i ¹ e.i ¹ o(č)	miže.mižo(č)
GEN2	de.di ¹ o(č)	me.dublo(č)	i ¹ e.i ¹ o(č)	miže.mi ¹ o(č)
LAT	de.di ¹ i(č)	me.dubuli(č)	i ¹ e.i ¹ uli(č)	miže.mižuli(č)

Personal pronouns can also form other complex reflexives based on reduplication where two components are in the same appropriate case form (cf. Table 3.35).

Table 3.35: Complex personal reflexive pronouns

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
ABS	do.doč	mo.moč	i ¹ o.i ¹ oč	mižo.mižoč
ERG	de.deč	me.meč	i ¹ e.i ¹ eč	mize.mižeč
GEN1	diyó.diyó(č)	dubo.dubo(č)	i ¹ o.i ¹ o(č)	mižo.mižo(č)
GEN2	di ¹ o.di ¹ o(č)	dublo.dublo(č)	i ¹ o.i ¹ o(č)	mi ¹ o.mi ¹ o(č)
LAT	dil.dili(č)	dubul.dubuli(č)	i ¹ ul.i ¹ uli(č)	mižil.mižuli(č)

Both types of complex personal reflexive pronouns are interchangeable.

3.5.5.2. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns are formed with the obligatory particle *-č* which is added to the demonstrative (cf. Table 3.36) and personal pronouns (cf. Table 3.37).

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns can also have the alternative geminated forms, e.g. *isse-č* ‘that.OBL-EMPH’, *ille-č* ‘that.OBL-EMPH’, *izzo-č* ‘that.PL(P)-EMPH’.

Table 3.36: Reflexive-emphatic pronouns (based on demonstrative pronouns)

	that (male)	that (other)	that.PL (proximal)	that.PL (distal)
ABS	žu-č	žu-č	izo-č	židu-č
ERG	ise-č	ite-č	ize-č	žide-č
GEN1	iso-č	iesu-č	izo-č	žido-č
GEN2	isu-lo-č	ite-lo-č	izu-lo-č	židu-lo-č
LAT	isu-lu-č	ite-lo-č	izu-l-ič	židu-l-ič

Table 3.37: Reflexive-emphatic pronouns (based on personal pronouns)

	1SG	2SG	1PL	2PL
ABS	doč	moč	i ^h oč	mižoč
ERG	deč	meč	i ^h eč	mižeč
GEN1	diyoč	duboč	i ^h oč	mižoč
GEN2	di ^h i ^h oč	dubloč	i ^h i ^h oč	mi ^h i ^h oč
LAT	di ^h ič	dubulič	i ^h ulič	mižulič

3.5.6. Reciprocal pronouns

Khwarshi has one reciprocal pronoun *hadiyad-* ‘each other’ (cf. 4.12). Diachronically it is possible to detect that this reciprocal pronoun was formed by combining two forms of the oblique forms of the indefinite pronoun *hos* ‘one’. Two oblique forms of the indefinite pronouns *hadi* plus *hadi* have merged resulting in one truncated form *hadiyad*.

The reciprocal pronoun can have two forms in the oblique declension, one form in the singular and the other form in the plural. The form in the singular is used when

there are two participants involved in the reciprocal action, and the form in the plural is used when the reciprocalization involves more than two participants.³⁹ The reciprocal pronouns can also be used in reduced forms, where the final consonant of the stem is dropped, e.g. *hadiyad-za* and *hadiya-za* (see example in 4.12.1).

	SINGULAR		PLURAL
ABS	hadiyad-ba	‘each other’	
ERG	hadiyad-i		hadiyad-za
GEN1	hadiyad-i-s		hadiyad-za-s
GEN2	hadiyad-la		hadiyad-za-la
LAT	hadiyad-i-l		hadiyad-za-l

3.5.7. Distributive pronouns

The distributive pronouns are *hibalan* ‘each’, which is of Khwarshi origin, and *žib žib* ‘each’, which is an Avar loan. The pronoun *hibalan* is based on the indefinite (interrogative) pronoun *hibo* ‘what, who’ and the ending *-lan* (etymology of *-lan* is not clear). These pronouns follow one-stem inflection, i.e. the Absolutive form is identical to the oblique stem.

The distributive pronouns can be used as substantives (260) attaching one of the inflectional suffixes and as attributives (261), where the oblique form *hibalan* or *žib.žib* is used to modify a noun.

ABS	hibalan	‘each’	žib.žib ‘each’
ERG	hibalan-i		žib.žib-i
GEN1	hibalan-is		žib.žib-is
GEN2	hibalan-la		žib.žib-lo
LAT	hibalan-il		žib.žib-il

³⁹ The younger generation does not perceive such a distinction, and they use the two reciprocal forms inconsistently.

260. diyo ħono azar armic goli, hobote armic-za-l
 1SG.GEN1 three thousand soldier be.PRS that.OBL soldier-PL.OBL-LAT
 manarka-ba l-i-yo hibalan-il hos-t'a γolλ'oli.
 flask-PL.ABS NHPL-do-IMP each-LAT one-DISTR morning.SUP.LAT
 'I have three thousand soldiers; you make one flask for each of the soldiers by
 tomorrow morning.' [3Princes.024]

261. žib.žib kand-i q'^wene-t'a gid y-aⁿq-i.
 each girl.OBL-ERG two-DISTR dress(V) V-sew-PST.W
 'Each girl sewed two dresses.'

3.5.8. Universal quantifier 'all'

The universal quantifier *golluč* 'all' is based on the Present participle *gollu* and the emphatic particle *-č*. The universal quantifier can be used as a substantive, as in (262), and as an attribute, as in (263).

262. c'od-un papruz-bo c'od-un golluč-i
 drink-PFV.CVB cigarette-PL.ABS drink-PFV.CVB all-ERG
 γ^waš-a b-eq-un idu šayt'an.
 choke-INF III-begin-PST.UW this devil(III)
 'When all smoked the cigarettes, this devil began to choke.' [kici.004]

263. golluč hadam isuqol guč'-a b-ot'q'-i.
 all people that.CONT.LAT look-INF HPL-come-PST.W
 'All people came to look at him.'

The form of the collective pronoun is derived from the Present tense auxiliary in the Present participle form *gollu* plus the root *-aha-* 'every', 'all' which has initial and final slots for gender/number agreement affixes.

The collective pronoun can modify a noun in singular and plural and shows gender/number agreement, but there seems to be no semantic difference in the use of the collective pronouns when modifying either singular or plural nouns. This pronoun

follows the one-stem inflectional pattern, and the Absolutive and oblique stems are identical.

Singular		Plural	
gollu <∅> aha-w	žik'o	gollu aha-b	žik'o-ba
be.PRS.PTCP <I> all-I	man(I)	be.PRS.PTCP <HPL> all-HPL	man-PL.ABS
'all men'			
gollu <y> aha-y	γine	gollu aha-b	γinaba
be.PRS.PTCP <II> all-II	woman(II)	be.PRS.PTCP <HPL> all-HPL	woman.PL.ABS
'all women'			
gollu aha-b	γ ^{sw} e	gollu <r> aha-l	γ ^{sw} e-bo
be.PRS.PTCP <III> all-III	dog(III)	be.PRS.PTCP <NHPL> all-NHPL	dog-PL.ABS
'all dogs'			
gollu <r> aha-l	č'ido	gollu <r> aha-l	č'ido-bo
be.PRS.PTCP <IV> all-IV	ground(IV)	be.PRS.PTCP <NHPL> all-NHPL	ground-PL.ABS
'all grounds'			
gollu <y> aha-y	miše	gollu <r> aha-l	miše-bo
be.PRS.PTCP <V> all-V	calf(V)	be.PRS.PTCP <NHPL> all-NHPL	calf-PL.ABS
'all calves'			

The collective pronoun can be used as a substantive (264) and as an attribute (265, 266). When used as a substantive pronoun it receives all inflectional suffixes of the nominal paradigm:

	‘all’ (Human plural and Gender3)		‘all’ (Non-human plural and Gender4)
ABS	gollubahab		gollurahal
ERG	gollubahab-i		gollurahal-i
GEN1	gollubahab-is		gollurahal-is
GEN2	gollubahab-lo		gollurahal-lo
LAT	gollubahab-il		gollurahal-il

When the collective pronoun is used as a modifier of the noun in Absolutive or oblique cases, the form *gollubahab* or *gollurahal* is used:

ABS	gollurahal	zihe-bo	‘all cows’
ERG	gollurahal	zihe-za	
GEN1	gollurahal	zihe-za-s	
GEN2	gollurahal	zihe-za-la	
LAT	gollurahal	zihe-za-l	

264.gollu	aha-b-il	goq-i	Zaynab-is	kad.
	be.PRS.PTCP<HPL>all-HPL	like-PST.W	Zaynab-GEN1	girl
	‘Everybody liked Zaynab’s daughter.’			

265.idu	gollu<r>aha-l	himon	dubλeru	l-eq ^w -i.
	this	be.PRS.PTCP<IV>all-IV	thing(IV)	2SG.CAUSAL
	‘All this happened because of you.’ [Dialog]			

266.hoboλe-λeru	l-i-gu	l-eč-i
that.OBL-CAUSAL	NHPL-do-PST.PTCP	NHPL-be-PST.W
gollu<r>aha-l	l-i-dow	keranu-bo.
be.PRS.PTCP<NHPL>all-NHPL	NHPL-do-GNT.PTCP	game-PL.ABS
	‘And because of it all these games were made.’ [Games.002]	

3.5.9. 'Other'

There are two pronouns *hosunu* 'other' and *hosunun* 'another', where the latter form is built on the particle *-n* and the pronoun *hosunu* 'other'.

267. *hosunu* *om^soq^se-n* *b-ez-un* *ħažiyaw-in*
 other donkey(III)-AND III-buy-PFV.CVB Hadji(I)-AND
ø-o^mk'-un *ise.isulo* *eⁿdu-γul.*
 I-go-PST.UW REFL.GEN2 inside-VERS
 'Hadji bought the other donkey and went home.' [Donkey.032]

268. *hos* *ʔadala-w-in* *hosunu* *c'odora-w-in* *q^swine* *us* *ø-eč-un.*
 one fool-I-AND other clever-I-AND two brother(I) I-be-PST.UW
 'One Fool and the other Clever were both brothers.' [Fool.001]

269. *hosunun* *uⁿč* *b-eč-un* *žido* *nucu-mo-s*
 another jug(III) III-be-PST.UW that.PL.(D)GEN1 honey-OBL-GEN1
b-ec'c'-u.
 III-fill.up-PST.PTCP
 'They had another jug full of honey.' [Fool.073]

3.6. Numerals

3.6.1. Cardinal numerals:

The cardinal numerals from 1 to 10 are as follows:

e.g.	one	hos
	two	q ^{'sw} ene / q ^{'sw} ine
	three	ħono
	four	u ⁿ q'e
	five	ħino / ħuno
	six	e ⁿ ħ
	seven	oλ
	eight	baλ
	nine	o ⁿ če
	ten	o ⁿ c'o

The cardinal numerals from 20 to 40 are based on the vigesimal system. The structure of 30 is 20 + 10, and 40 consists of 2 and 20.

e.g.	20	quno
	30	quno o ⁿ c'o
	40	q ^{'sw} enequ

The numerals from 50 to 90 are borrowings from Andic languages, presumably from Tindi. These numerals are based on the decimal system (5 10, 6 10, etc.). The numerals 50, 70, and 90 can have labialized variants.

e.g.	50	išt'ac'a / išt ^w ac'a
	60	inłac'a
	70	haλ'ac'a / haλ ^w ac'a
	80	biλ'ac'a
	90	hač'ac'a / hač ^w ac'a

The cardinal numeral one thousand is ultimately of Persian origin, and the numeral for one million is borrowed from Russian. The numerals *bešon* ‘hundred’ and *azar* ‘thousand’ are not preceded by the numeral *hos* ‘one’ when indicating ‘one hundred’ and ‘one thousand’, thus *bešon* would mean ‘one hundred’ and *azar* ‘one thousand’. But the numeral *milion* ‘million’ is used with *hos* ‘one’, e.g. *hos milion* ‘one million’.

e.g.	100	bešon	
	300	ħono	bešon
		three	hundred
	1 000	azar	
	3 000	ħono	azar
		three	thousand
	1 000 000	hos	milion
		one	million

270. č'el^l-qo b-eč-in ħino bešon xozyaystva gollu aλ.
 land-CONT III-be-PST.UW five hundred household be.PRS.PTCP village(III)
 ‘There was a village in some land that had five hundred houses.’ [Old man]

271. di^l bešon γuruš y-oq-i.
 1SG.LAT hundred ruble(v) V-catch-PST.W
 ‘I got one hundred rubles.’

But not

272. *di^l hos bešon γuruš y-oq-i.
 1SG.LAT one hundred ruble(v) V-catch-PST.W
 ‘I got one hundred rubles.’

The word *beq'ana* ‘half’ is used to refer to half of an entity and it can be used with numerals. The particle *-n* with allomorphs *-in* and *-un* is obligatorily used on both words:

e.g.	ħono-n three-AND	beq'ana-n half-AND	'three and a half'
------	---------------------	-----------------------	--------------------

The compound cardinal numerals are formed by combining, e.g. 10+2, 50+6, etc. The first number within the compound cardinal numeral is always used with an attached particle *-n*, the exception is the compound cardinal for twenty, which does not receive this particle.

e.g.	eleven	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	hos one	
	twelve	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	q' ^{sw} ene two	
	thirteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	ħono three	
	fourteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	u ⁿ q'e four	
	fifteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	ħino five	
	sixteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	e ⁿ ġ six	
	seventeen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	oλ seven	
	eighteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	baλ eight	
	nineteen	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	o ⁿ ċe nine	
	thirty eight	quno twenty	o ⁿ c'o-n ten-AND	baλ eight
	forty six	q' ^{sw} enequ-n forty-AND	e ⁿ ġ six	

In complex numerals, all components except the last one (and except the numeral *quno* ‘twenty’) receive the particle *-n*.

e.g.	quno	oλ							
	twenty	seven							‘27’
	ħino	bešon-un	q’ ^{sw} enequ-n	ħino					
	five	hundred-AND	forty-AND	five					
	‘545’								
	ħino	bešon-un	quno	ħino					
	five	hundred-AND	twenty	five					
	‘525’								
	oλ	azar-in	o ⁿ če	bešon-un	o ⁿ co-n	q’ ^{sw} ene			
	seven	thousand-AND	nine	hundred-AND	ten-AND	two			
	‘7912’								
	išt’ ^w ac’a	azar-in	e ⁿ ĭ	bešon-un	q’ ^{sw} enequ-n	baλ			
	fifty	thousand-AND	six	hundred-AND	forty-AND	eight			
	‘50 648’								

3.6.1.1. Attributive use of cardinal numerals

When the numeral is used attributively it distinguishes two forms: Absolute and oblique. The oblique form is formed by adding the oblique suffix *-la* to the numerals, except for the numeral *one* and *two* which have irregular oblique forms. The addition of the oblique suffix *-la* triggers assimilation in some numerals, e.g. *ħono* ‘three’ – *ħalla* ‘three.OBL’, *ħuno* ‘five’ – *ħulla* ‘five.OBL’, *quno* ‘twenty’ – *qulla* ‘twenty.OBL’. Note that the oblique forms from 3 to 10 are preferably used with geminated consonants.

1 - hada
 2 - q^{ʰw}ana
 3 - ħalla
 4 - uⁿq^ʰq^ʰela
 5 - ħulla
 6 - eⁿħela
 7 - oλλela
 8 - baλλela
 9 - oⁿččela
 10 - oⁿc^ʰc^ʰola
 13 – oⁿc^ʰon ħalla
 20 - qulla
 30 - qulla oⁿc^ʰola
 40 - q^{ʰw}enequlla
 50 - išt^wac^ʰala
 55 - išt^wac^ʰan ħulla
 60 - inħac^ʰala
 70 - haλ^wac^ʰala
 80 - biλ^wac^ʰala
 90 - hac^wacala
 100 – bešonla
 124 - bešonun quno uⁿq^ʰq^ʰela
 1000 - azarla
 1000000 - milionla

ABS	hos kad	‘one girl’	q ^{ʰw} ene kad	‘two girls’
ERG	hada kandi		q ^{ʰw} ana kandi	
GEN1	hada kandis		q ^{ʰw} ana kandis	
GEN2	hada kandilo		q ^{ʰw} ana kandilo	
LAT	hada kandil		q ^{ʰw} ana kandil	

Note that when a numeral modifies a noun, the latter is always in the singular form (e.g. *q'ʃwene kad* 'two girls' – **q'ʃwene kandaba*).

3.6.1.2. Substantivized use of cardinal numerals

Substantivized numerals are inflected for case. They distinguish between Absolutive and other oblique forms. Note that substantivized oblique forms from 3 to 10 also have geminated consonants.

Absolutive	Oblique	Ergative	Genitive1	Genitive2
1 – hos	had-	had-i	had-is	had-la
2 – q'ʃwene	q'ʃwan-	q'ʃwan-i	q'ʃwan-is	q'ʃwan-la
3 – ħono	ħall-	ħall-i	ħall-is	ħal-la ⁴⁰
4 – u ⁿ q'e	u ⁿ q'q'el-	u ⁿ q'q'el-i	u ⁿ q'q'el-is	u ⁿ q'q'el-lo
5 – ħino	ħill- / ħull-	ħull-i	ħull-is	ħul-lo
6 – e ⁿ ɬ	e ⁿ ħel-	e ⁿ ħel-i	e ⁿ ħel-is	e ⁿ ħel-lo
7 – oλ	oλλel-	oλλel-i	oλλel-is	oλλel-lo
8 – baλ	baλλel-	baλλel-i	baλλel-is	baλλel-lo
9 – o ⁿ če	o ⁿ ččel-	o ⁿ ččel-i	o ⁿ ččel-is	o ⁿ ččel-lo
10 – o ⁿ c'o	o ⁿ c'c'ol-	o ⁿ c'c'ol-i	o ⁿ c'c'ol-is	o ⁿ c'c'ol-lo

The example of the substantive numeral declination is given below:

ABS	q'ʃwene'two'	q'ʃwenequ-n oλ	'forty seven'
ERG	q'ʃwan-i	q'ʃwenequn oλλe-li	
GEN1	q'ʃwan-is	q'ʃwenequn oλλel-is	
GEN2	q'ʃwan-la	q'ʃwenequn oλλel-lo	
LAT	q'ʃwan-il	q'ʃwenequn oλλel-il	

⁴⁰ Since the oblique stems of the numeral *ħall-* 'three' and *ħull-* 'five' end in a geminated *l*, adding the Genitive 2 suffix *-lo/-la* results in deletion of one of the consonants.

3.6.2. Ordinal numerals

The ordinal numerals are formed with the help of *iλλu*, which is a Past participle form of the verb *ila* ‘to say’ added to the Absolutive form of a cardinal numeral. The ordinal numerals from 1 to 6 can also refer to the days of the week (also cf. 3.3.1.2.1.3).

e.g.	1 st	hos-iλλu		
		one-ORD		
	2 nd	q ^{’sw} ene-iλλu		
		two-ORD		
	3 rd	ħono-iλλu		
		three-ORD		
	4 th	u ⁿ q ^{’e} -iλλu		
		four-ORD		
	21 th	quno hos-iλλu		
		twenty one-ORD		
	50 th	išt ^{’w} ac’a-iλλu		
		fifty-ORD		
	60 th	infac’a-iλλu		
		sixty-ORD		
	70 th	haλ ^{’w} ac’a-iλλu		
		seventy-ORD		
	80 th	biλac’a-iλλu		
		eighty-ORD		
	100 th	bešon-iλλu		
		hundred-ORD		
	325 th	ħono bešon-un	quno	ħino-iλλu
		three hundred-AND	twenty	five-ORD
	1018 th	azarun o ⁿ c’o-n	baλ-iλλu	
		thousand ten-AND	eight-ORD	
	100000 th	milion-iλλu		
		million-ORD		

The ordinal numerals can be used both as attributes and as substantives. As substantives, they take nominal inflections. As attributes, they stand in the Absolutive with an Absolutive head noun, in the oblique with a head noun in an oblique case. The oblique form replaces the final *-u* with *-o* and can optionally add the suffix *-lo/-la*.

ABS	ħulla-iħħu can ‘the fifth she-goat’	ħulla-iħħu can ‘the fifth she-goat’
ERG	ħulla-iħħo can-i	ħulla-iħħo-lo can-i
GEN1	ħulla-iħħo can-is	ħulla-iħħo-lo can-is
GEN2	ħulla-iħħo can-la	ħulla-iħħo-lo can-la
LAT	ħulla-iħħo can-il	ħulla-iħħo-lo can-il

273. u ⁿ q’e-iħħo	reħa-ħ’a	γoħħ’o	ħidu
four-ORD.OBL	night-SUP	mornign.SUP	that.PL(D).ABS
b-aš-šehol	hos	ø-us-un-ay.	
HPL-stand-POSTR	one	I-find-PST.UW-NEG	

‘On the fourth day, when they got up in the morning, (they) did not find one (man).’ [7Friends]

When used substantively, the ordinal numeral can form the oblique either by a final vowel change or by a final vowel change and by attaching the oblique suffix *-lo/-la*.

ABS	ħulla-iħħu ‘fifth’	
ERG	ħulla-iħħo	ħulla-iħħo-la
GEN1	ħulla-iħħo-s	ħulla-iħħo-la-s
GEN2	ħulla-iħħo-lo	ħulla-iħħo-la-la
LAT	ħulla-iħħo-l	ħulla-iħħo-la-l

274. ħono-iħħo-l	yašk’a	y-us-un.
three-ORD.OBL-LAT	box(V)	V-find-PST.UW
‘The third one got a box.’ [3Princes.007]		

Note that the ordinal numeral *hos-iλλu* ‘first’, unlike other ordinal numerals, is not used to modify an animate object, e.g. **hos-iλλu žik’o* ‘the first man’, but *hos-iλλu kanal* ‘the first channel’. For animates, it is necessary to use the periphrastic construction with the adverbs *heč’č’e* ‘most’ and *atyža* ‘in front’, e.g. *heč’č’e atyžasa žik’o* ‘the first man’, meaning e.g. ‘first in the line’. The meaning ‘first, prominent’ is conveyed by another periphrastic construction:

e.g. *heč’č’e atyul-so co n-eλ’λ’-u keč’iqan*
 most before-DEF name(IV) IV-go-PST.PTCP poet
 ‘the prominent poet’

3.6.3. Collective numerals

Collective numerals are formed by adding the suffix *-č⁴¹* to the Absolutive or oblique form of the cardinal numerals. The collective numerals express groups of units, i.e. they indicate groups of definite numbers of individuals. Like cardinal numerals, the collective numerals can be used attributively (275) and substantively (276), and in the last example the substantive numeral *q^{’sw}anič* ‘both.ERG’ is used together with distributive numerals.

275. *žohoq^femul-un y-o’ok²-un izze ħala-č*
 backwards-AND II-carry-PST.UW that.PL(P).OBL three.OBL-COLL
žik’ó idu kad, hobože žu y-oⁿk²-zaha-li.
 man.OBL.ERG this girl(II) now that.ABS II-go-LOC.CVB-LAT
 ‘These three men took that girl back to the place from where she was going.’
 [Princes.107]

⁴¹ This suffix *-č* is a polyfunctional suffix. It is an emphatic suffix, which can also be used in the formation of reflexive pronouns (cf. 3.5.5).

276. *hos-t'a* *žib.žib-i* *b-ac'-un,* *hos* *b-it'-in*
 one-DIST each-ERG HPL-eat-PFV.CVB one III-divide-PFV.CVB
b-ac'-un *q'^{sw}ani-č.*
 HPL-eat-PST.UW two.ERG-COLL
 'Each ate one apple; they both divided and ate another apple.' [3Feats.011]

3.6.4. Distributive numerals

Distributive numerals are formed by adding the plural suffix *-t'a* to the cardinal stem, and distributive numerals can also be formed by reduplication (cf. Table 3.38). The reduplicated distributive numeral can optionally use the suffix *-t'a*.

The meaning of distributive numerals used pronominally refers to a situation in which two or more individuals act on their own, i.e. individually and carry out one or more events with the same results (Gil 2003: 25).

277. *žide* *ħon-ħono-(t'a)* *kayət* *q^wa-yi.*
 that.PL.(D)ERG three-(DISTR) letter write-PST.W
 'They wrote three letters each.'

Table 3.38: Distributive numerals

	cardinal	non-reduplicated form	reduplicated form
one each	<i>hos</i>	<i>hos-t'a</i>	<i>hos-hos(t'a)</i>
two each	<i>q'^{sw}ene</i>	<i>q'^{sw}ene-t'a</i>	<i>q'^{sw}en-q'^{sw}ene(t'a)</i>
three each	<i>ħono</i>	<i>ħono-t'a</i>	<i>ħon-ħono(t'a)</i>
four each	<i>uⁿq'e</i>	<i>uⁿq'e-t'a</i>	<i>uⁿq'-uⁿq'e(t'a)</i>
five each	<i>ħuno</i>	<i>ħuno-t'a</i>	<i>ħun-ħuno(t'a)</i>

There is also another reduplicated form of the distributive pronoun which is more emphatic and which is formed by adding the suffix *-t'a* to each reduplicant, e.g. *hos-t'a-hos-t'a* 'one each'. In complex numerals, only the last component is reduplicated or receives the distributive suffix *-t'a*:

e.g.	o ⁿ c'o-n	q' ^{sw} ene-t'a			
	ten-AND	two-DISTR			
	o ⁿ c'o-n	q' ^{sw} en-q' ^{sw} ene-t'a			
	ten-AND	RED-two-DISTR			
		'12 each'			
	q' ^{sw} ene	bešon-un	quno	o ⁿ c'o-n	u ⁿ q'e-t'a
	two	hundred-AND	twenty	ten-AND	four-DISTR
		'234 each'			

When the numeral ends in *azar* 'thousand' or *milion* 'million', the component that precedes this numeral is reduplicated or receives the distributive suffix *-t'a*.

e.g.	hono-t'a azar
	hon-hono-t'a azar
	'3000 each'
	o ⁿ c'on hos-t'a milion
	o ⁿ c'on hos hos-t'a milion
	'11 million each'

The distributive numerals 'one thousand' and 'one million' are formed either by attaching the distributive suffix *-t'a* directly to nouns *azar* 'thousand' and *milion* 'million' when the numeral *hos* 'one' is omitted, the distributive suffix *-t'a* is added to the numeral *hos* 'one' followed by the numeral 'thousand' or 'million'.

e.g.	azar-t'a	/	milion-t'a
	hos-t'a azar	/	hos-t'a milion
	'1000 each'		'1000000 each'

3.6.5. Repetitive numerals

Repetitive numerals are formed with the suffix *-lux* which is added to the Absolutive form of the cardinal numeral.

e.g.	once	hosso-lux
	twice	q' ^{sw} ene-lux
	three times	ħono-lux
	nine times	o ⁿ če-lux
	twenty times	quno-lux
	sixty times	inłac'a-lux
	hundred times	bešon-lux
	thousand times	azar-lux
	million times	milion-lux

278.žen	q' ^{sw} ene-lux	om ^s oq' ^{se}	ʰo ⁿ ʰo ⁿ λ-aλa,	ø-aq ^s -un	žu,
more	two-REPET	donkey	bray-ANTR	I-lie-PST.UW	that.ABS
ø-uh-i	do	λin	iλ-in.		
I-die-PST.W	1SG.ABS	QUOT	say-PFV.CVB		

'When the donkey brayed again twice, he laid himself down, saying that he died.'

[Malla rasan]

There is also the repetitive adverb *hoⁿq'oso* 'once':

279.ho ⁿ q'oso	do	Masku-λ'o-l	y-ot'q'-i.
once	1SG.ABS	Moscow-SUP-LAT	II-go-PST.W

'I (female) went to Moscow only once.'

3.7. Verb

The Khwarshi verb consists of the stem, which can be preceded by a gender/number prefix and followed by an ending. There are two classes of verbs, those that start with a vowel and therefore have an initial slot for a gender/number agreement marker (about 23%), such as *-o^wk-* ‘go’, *-eq-* ‘happen’, etc., and the class of verbs that begin with a consonant and cannot take agreement affixes (about 70%) (e.g. *g^han-* ‘pull’, *q^wa-* ‘read’, etc.).

e.g.	-i- ‘do’	kok- ‘eat’
	-ot ^h q’- ‘come’	lux- ‘remain’
	-it’- ‘divide’	puλ- ‘blow’
	-ac’- ‘eat’	zo- ‘slip’
	-iq’- ‘know’	q ^h uq’- ‘press’

However, there are a number of verbs (about 7%) that do start with a vowel but do not take gender/number agreement prefixes:

e.g.	ačqa- ‘be thirsty’	ihday- ‘moan’
	akal- ‘be tired’	iγid- ‘be obstinate’
	al- ‘connect’	ičk ^w - ‘prevent’
	asax- ‘become gloomy’	ihoλ- ‘pasture’
	azala- ‘freeze’	iλ- ‘say, give’
	azk- ‘reap’	iλaq- ‘cough’
	et ^w - ‘fly’	is- ‘say’
	e ⁿ x ^w - ‘manage’	isan- ‘bathe’
	ogl- ‘feel good’	išan- ‘fry’
	onox- ‘get close’	iyay- ‘cry’

Verbal stems of native origin are usually monosyllabic in structure, (C)V(C). Most polysyllabic verbs are of loan origin, e.g. *qeburdaya* ‘to lame’, *kakida* ‘to blame’, etc.

Verbal stems, either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, can have a consonant or a vowel in final position. Verbal stems with a single final consonant do not undergo any changes other than assimilation (cf. 2.3.1) and attach inflectional suffixes directly: e.g. *kok-* ‘eat’, *kok-a* ‘eat-INF’, *kok-i* ‘eat-PST.W’, *kok-še* ‘eat-PRS’. Verbal stems with a final vowel take the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* if the inflected suffix starts with a vowel: e.g. *zo-* ‘skate’, *zo-y-a* ‘skate-INF’, *zo-y-i* ‘skate-PST.W’; *q^wa-* ‘read’, *q^wa-y-a* ‘read-INF’, *q^wa-y-i* ‘read-PST.W’. If the inflected suffix has a syllable-initial consonant then there is no change in the stem: e.g. *-i-* ‘do’, *-i-še* ‘do-PRS’; *t’a-* ‘drop’, *t’a-še* ‘drop-PRS’. When the verbal stem ends in CC, an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two consonants before adding an inflectional suffix of CV structure, e.g. *xosλ’-a* ‘scratch-INF’ and *xosiλ’-še* ‘scratch-PRS’ (also cf. 2.6.2).

Auxiliary verb

There are no irregular verbs except for one, which is the auxiliary verb ‘to be’. The Present tense form is *goli*, which is an affirmative form, and the Present negative form is *gobi*. This verb does not show gender/number agreement since it starts with a consonant, nor does it show any finite inflections. It has several non-finite forms: e.g. the masdar *golnu*, the Present participle affirmative form *gollu* and the negative form *gobiso*, the negative converb *gobič*, the Anterior I converb affirmative *golaλa* and negative *gobizaλa*, the Locative converb affirmative *golzaha* and negative *gobizaha*, the Temporal converb *golluq’arλ’a*, the Conditional converb affirmative *gollo* and negative *gobilo*, and the Concessive converb affirmative *gollon* and negative *gobilon* (cf. Table 3.39).

For the past and future tense forms, the verb *-eč-* ‘be’ ‘be situated’ is used – it has a slot for gender/number agreement and all the finite/non-finite inflections of the verbal paradigm.

Table 3.39: Finite and non-finite forms of the verb ‘to be’

	Affirmative	Negative
Present tense	goli	gobi
Present participle	gollu	gobiso
Masdar	golnu	-
Negative converb	-	gobič
Anterior I converb	golaλ'a	gobizaλ'a
Locative converb	golzaha	gobizaha
Temporal converb	golluq'arλ'a	-
Conditional converb	gol-ło	gobi-ło
Concessive converb	gol-łon	gobi-łon

There are both synthetic and analytical, or periphrastic, tenses. The synthetic tenses are the Past witnessed, the Past unwitnessed, the Present simple, the General tense, and the General future. The analytical tenses are the Resultative, the Pluperfect, the Present progressive, and others.

3.7.1. Tense-Aspect-Mood

3.7.1.1. Finite forms

3.7.1.1.1 Synthetic categories

3.7.1.1.1.1 Present simple tense

The Present simple is formed with the suffix *-še*, which is added to the bare verbal stem. The Present simple can be used with such adverbs as *hed* ‘then’ and *hobože* ‘now’. The Present simple can refer to an event happening at the very moment of the reference, like the Present progressive tense, and it can also indicate a future event, similar to the Future indefinite tense. The use of time adverbs and adverbial constructions with the Present simple can specify the time reference, e.g. sentence (280) has only future time reference, while the time reference in sentences (281) and (282) can be either present or future.

280.do c'oxu-n y-eč-un, hed y-o^{nk}'-še λin
 1SG.ABS few-AND II-be-PFV.CVB then II-go-PRS QUOT
 iλ-in γiná.
 say-PST.UW woman.OBL.ERG
 'I'll stay for a while, and then I'll go, the woman said.'

281.išet'-i hobože čaj xuλ-še.
 mother.OBL-ERG now tea drink-PRS
 'The mother is drinking tea now.' / 'The mother is going to drink tea now.'

282.- c'oxu nucu iλ-še-k λin iλ-in.
 few honey give-PRS-QUES QUOT say-PST.UW
 -iλ-še λin iλ-in.
 give-PRS QUOT say-PST.UW
 '(He) said, "Will (you) give (me) some honey?"' '(He) said, "(I) will give."
 [Fool.072]

3.7.1.1.1.2 Past witnessed tense

The Past witnessed tense is formed with the suffix *-i* added to the consonant final verbal stems; when the verbal stem ends in a vowel, the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* is used before the suffix *-i*. The Past witnessed tense refers to a past event that was directly seen by the speaker, i.e. the speaker was an eyewitness of the event that he/she is talking about.

283.kand-i obut'u-l os tíλ-i.
 girl.OBL-ERG father.OBL-LAT money give-PST.W
 'The girl gave money to the father.'

3.7.1.1.1.3 Past unwitnessed tense

The Past unwitnessed is formed with the suffix *-un/-in/-in*. The Past unwitnessed tense refers to an event that was not actually seen by the speaker, i.e. the speaker did not really eyewitness the event. The Past unwitnessed form is the most common form

used in narratives such as fiction stories (cf. 3.7.3.1.1.1). The form of the Past unwitnessed is identical to the form of the Perfective converb (cf. 4.10.1.1.1).

284.isx-in	obu-t'-i	q' ^{sw} ene-iλλo	kandu-qo.
ask-PST.UW	father-OBL-ERG	two-ORD.OBL	girl.OBL-CONT
'The father asked the second girl.' [Sisters.005]			

The choice of suffixes in the Past unwitnessed tense depends on vowel assimilation. When the final syllable of the verb has the vowel /i/, then the Past unwitnessed suffix is *-in*, e.g. *iλ-a* 'say-INF' and *iλ-in* 'say-PST.UW'. When the final verbal syllable is /o/ or /u/, the suffix *-un* is used, e.g. *m-ok'-a* 'HPL-go-INF' and *m-ok'-un* 'HPL-go-PST.UW', *gul-a* 'put-INF' and *gul-un* 'put-PST.UW'. When the final verbal syllable has /e/ or /a/, the suffix *-in* or *-un* is used, the former is used mostly by older speakers and the latter is mostly used by younger speakers, e.g. *b-eč-a* 'HPL-be-INF' and *b-eč-un* / *b-eč-in* 'HPL-be-PST.UW'.

3.7.1.1.1.4 General tense

The General tense is used to express events that happen quite regularly or events that are very typical.

The General tense formation depends on the syllabic structure of the verb.

Type 1 – monosyllabic verbs in C

Monosyllabic verbs ending in uC form the General tense with the insertion of *-wō-*:

e.g.	gul-a 'put-INF'	guwōl 'put.GNT'
	buž-a 'believe-INF'	buwōž 'believe.GNT'
	guc-a 'look-INF'	guwōc 'look.GNT'

Monosyllabic verbs and some polysyllabic verbs ending in *-a/-e/-o* C form the General tense by lengthening the root vowel:

e.g.	m-eλ'-a 'HPL-go-INF'	m-ēλ' 'HPL-go.GNT'
	lok'ol-a 'seem-INF'	lok'ōl 'seem.GNT'
	l-ak ^w -a 'IV-see-INF'	l-āk ^w 'IV-see.GNT'
	goq-a 'like-INF'	gōq 'like.GNT'

Monosyllabic verbs ending in VCC derive the General tense by insertion of the long vowel -ō-:

e.g.	is-x-a 'tell-CAUS-INF'	isōx 'ask.GNT'
	l-ešt'-a 'IV-let-INF'	l-ešōt' 'IV-let.GNT'
	l-ek'l-a 'IV-fall-INF'	l-ek'ōl 'IV-fall.GNT'
	l-ot'q'-a 'IV-come-INF'	l-ot'ōq' 'IV-come.GNT'

Monosyllabic verbs ending in iC / iC form the General tense by insertion of the suffix -yō̄:

e.g.	is-a 'tell-INF'	iyōs 'tell.GNT'
	l-iq'-a 'IV-know-INF'	l-iyōq' 'IV-know.GNT'
	c'ic'-a 'sharpen-INF'	c'iyōc' 'sharpen.GNT'

Type 2 – mono- and polysyllabic verbs in V final

Monosyllabic and polysyllabic verbs with final V derive the General tense by adding the suffix -yō̄y to the verbal stem:

e.g.	l-i-ya 'IV-do-INF'	l-i-yōy 'IV-do-GNT'
	kere-ya 'play-INF'	kere-yōy 'play-GNT'
	q ^w i-ya 'count-INF'	q ^w i-yōy 'count-GNT'

Type 3 – polysyllabic verbs ending in V

Polysyllabic verbs, which are all or nearly all of loan origin, form the General tense by adding the suffix -āy / -ōy, the choice of forms depends on vowel harmony:

e.g.	c'alid-a 'read-INF'	c'alid-ōy 'read-GNT'
	durid-a 'run-INF'	durid-ōy 'run-GNT'
	raził-a 'agree-INF'	raził-ōy 'agree-GNT'
	dandił-a 'meet-INF'	dandił-ōy 'meet-GNT'
	batał-a 'separate-INF'	batał-āy 'separate-GNT'

The term 'General tense' is used to cover several meanings of this tense. The primary use of the General tense is to indicate a habitual event (285-287).

285. γοιλ'ο	obu-t'-i	čaj	xuwōλ.
morning.SUP	father-OBL-ERG	tea	drink.GNT
'The father usually drinks tea in the morning.'			

286. žahaλ'a-sλa	b-ez-a	gobi	de	mo,
again-PART	III-take-INF	be.PRS.NEG	1SG.ERG	2SG.ABS
dil'	mo	b-iyōq'.		
1SG.LAT	2SG.ABS	III-know.GNT		

'I won't buy you (a donkey) again, I know you.' [Donkey.029] (lit. I know what kind you are.)

287. il'p'o	ø-uq's'o	obu-t'-i	ʔezeʃan	gaziyat-ba	c'alid-ōy.
1PL.GEN2	I-big.OBL	father-OBL-ERG	much	newspaper-PL.ABS	read-GNT
'Our grandfather reads a lot of newspapers.'					

The other meaning of the General tense is to refer to an event that happened in the past in narration, rather like the historic present in English or Russian.

288. homone-zi y-eⁿλ'-an y-ēⁿλ' ite kand-i
 there-ABL II-go-RED II-go.GNT.CVB that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG
 idu k'uca x^wasar y-iyōy.
 this bird(V) rescue(III) V-do.GNT
 'Having gone from there, this girl rescued the bird.' [Orphans.048] (lit. Going from there, the girl rescues the bird.)

3.7.1.1.1.5 General future

The General future tense is derived from the General tense by adding the particle *-da*. This tense refers to an event that will take place in the future.

289. l-ogu hed, γode-n b-ot'ōq'-da.
 IV-good then tomorrow-AND III-come.GNT-PART
 'Ok, (bear) will also come tomorrow.' [Fool.060]

3.7.1.1.2 Analytical (periphrastic) categories

3.7.1.1.2.1 Present progressive tense

The Present progressive tense is formed by adding the suffix *-še* to the bare verbal stem of the lexical verb combined with the Present tense auxiliary *goli* 'to be'. The Present progressive tense expresses an action that is happening at the very moment of the speech act.

290. í^lo b-odo-še goli.
 1PL.ABS HPL-work-PRS be.PRS
 'We are working.'

291. do ečq'-še goli, ø-eⁿxo-yo λin goλ'-un
 1SG.ABS be.late-PRS be.PRS I-come-IMP QUOT call-PST.UW
 obu-t'-i, do ø-oⁿk'-še goli λin.
 father-OBL-ERG 1SG.ABS I-go-PRS be.PRS QUOT
 'The father was calling, I am getting late, come, I am leaving.' [Mesedo.025]

3.7.1.1.2.2 Habitual tense

The Habitual tense is formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ in the General tense form. The Habitual tense refers to a habitual event that happens quite regularly.

292.	iłó	ałas	γ ^{sw} e-bo	koλ-še	l-ēč,
	1PL.GEN1	village.GEN1	dog-PL.ABS	bark-IPFV.CVB	NHPL-be.GNT
	zik’os	hadam	b-ot’q’-ała.		
	man.GEN1	people	HPL-come-ANTR		

‘Our village dogs usually bark when the strangers come.’

293.	q’alá	γ ^e e	xuλ-še	y-ēč.
	children.OBL.ERG	milk(V)	drink-IPFV.CVB	V-be.GNT

‘Children usually drink milk.’

294.	ise	iλ-i,	obu	iłul	l̥-uq’ ^s u-t’a
	that.OBL.ERG	say-PST.W	father(I)	1PL.LAT	IV-strong-PL
	l-i-yin	q’urʕan	c’ališ-še	ø-ēč	λin.
	IV-do-PFV.CVB	Koran	read-IPFV.CVB	I-be.GNT	QUOT

‘He said my father usually reads the Koran aloud to us.’

3.7.1.1.2.3 Past time reference within the Imperfective aspect

The Past progressive refers to an event that was happening at a past time. The Past progressive (un)witnessed tense is formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the Past (un)witnessed of the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’.

295.	de	maxsara-ba	l-i-še	l-eč-i	λin	iλ-in
	1SG.ERG	joke-PL.ABS	NHPL-do-IPFV.CVB	NHPL-be-PST.W	QUOT	say-PST.UW
	kul-o	hos	e ⁿ š	λin	kul-un.	
	throw-IMP	one	apple	QUOT	throw-PST.UW	

‘‘I was making jokes,’’ she said, ‘‘throw one more apple,’’ she said, and he threw (an apple).’ [Mesedo.050]

296. bat'a b-i-še b-eč-i židułsi
 separation(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.W that.PL.(D).INTER.ABL
 yañ, q'wak'i, namus gollu
 consciousness firmness honesty be.PRS.PTCP
 ungo.ungoya-b ʔoloqan-ba.
 real.RED-HPL young.man-PL.ABS
 'They were choosing young men who were conscious, honest and strong.'

[Games.003]

297. hobołe zamana-ł'a, hobołe mok'o-ł'o-γužaz ø-oⁿk'-še
 that.OBL time.OBL-SUP that.OBL place-SUP-TRANSL I-go-PRS
 ø-eč-un hos žik'o.
 I-be-PST.UW one man(I)

'At that time one man was going near (through) that place.' [Malla rasan]

298. ono ʔ-uq^su-t'a aq-ba-n l-i-yin
 there NHPL-big-PL house-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-do-PFV.CVB
 paraq'at-ł'a-n b-eč-če b-eč-un izzu.
 quiet-SUP-AND HPL-be-IPFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW that.PL.(P)ABS

'They built many houses there and were living in peace.'

299. ise uža-l tuq-še b-eč-in izzo
 that.OBL boy.OBL-LAT hear-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW that.PL.(P)GEN1
 xabar.
 talk(III)

'The boy happened to hear their talk. [Mesedo.070]

3.7.1.1.2.4 Pluperfect

The Pluperfect (un)witnessed tense is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb -eč- 'be' in the Past (un)witnessed form.

300. išu y-ot'uq'-šehol kand-i bataxu išan-un
 mother(II) II-come-POSTR girl.OBL-ERG bread(V) fry-PFV.CVB
 y-eč-i
 V-be-PST.W
 'Before mother came, the girl had made bread.'

301. Pīlandiyaλ'a židu b-ōx-še⁴² b-akk-uq'arλ'a,
 Finland.SUP that.PL.(D)ABS HPL-kill-IPFV.CVB HPL-see-TEMP
 dagawur-in b-ečč-uq'arλ'a židuł, tiλ-in
 treaty-AND III-be-TEMP that.PL.(D)INTER give-PFV.CVB
 b-eč-i kumak armis.
 III-be-PST.W help(III) army.GEN1
 'When they were killed in Finland, and when there was a treaty with them, (they)
 helped with their army.' [Old man]

302. ise diyo murad t'ubayd-in b-eč-un.
 that.OBL.ERG 1SG.GEN1 wish(III) finish-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'He had carried out my order.'

3.7.1.1.2.5 Resultative

3.7.1.1.2.5.1 Resultative tense

The Resultative is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary Present tense form *goli*. The Resultative refers to a past event with a result in the present.

303. obu-n išu-n b-ot'q'-un goli.
 father(I)-AND mother(II)-AND HPL-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'The parents have come.'

⁴² This is a reduced verb from *-uwox-* 'kill'.

The main distinction between the Perfect tense and the Resultative tense is that the Perfect tense does not have any restriction on its formations and it can be derived from any verb, whereas the Resultative tense is restricted and it cannot be used with emotional predicates, e.g. to love, to believe (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988: 15).

3.7.1.1.2.5.2 General resultative tense

The General resultative tense is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and an auxiliary verb form in the General tense. The General resultative tense refers to an event that is to be completed before a definite point of time in the future.

304.mo	žo ^h oq ^ʰ emil	ø-ot ^ʰ q ^ʰ -aλa,	de	kayat
2SG.ABS	back	I-come-ANTR	1SG.ERG	letter(III)
	q ^ʷ a-yin-da	b-ěč.		
	write-PFV.CVB-PART	III-be.GNT		

‘By the time you come back, I will have written the letter.’

305.do	e ⁿ dul	y-ot ^ʰ uq ^ʰ -šehol,	Zaynab-i	lac’a
1SG.ABS	inside.LAT	II-come-POSTR	Zaynab-ERG	food(IV)
	l-i-yin	l-ěč.		
	IV-do-PFV.CVB	IV-be.GNT		

‘Before I come home, Zaynab will have already cooked the meal.’

3.7.1.2. Tense

The category of tense distinguishes between past and non-past. The simple tenses have absolute time reference: a situation is located before, at, or after the present moment. In the Pluperfect, the General resultative and Future in the past (see below) the time reference is absolute-relative (Comrie 2000b: 64).

3.7.1.2.1 Present

The most common way to express Present tense is the suffix *-še* added to the bare verbal stem. This form can be used to refer to the present moment of speech as well as to the future event (cf. 3.7.1.1.1.1.).

The suffix *-še* combined with the Present tense auxiliary *goli* expresses the Present progressive tense. This verbal form refers to ongoing situation happening at the present moment of speech (cf. 3.7.1.1.2.1.).

3.7.1.2.2 Future

Periphrastic constructions are used to express future meanings. Future expressions can be definite, indefinite and intentional.

The Future definite is formed with the infinitive of the lexical verb and the auxiliary Present tense form *goli*. The Future definite tense refers to an event that will definitely happen at a certain point in the future.

306. ʒʷarλ'ada-ya ø-eqʷ-aλa il'e mo ø-eγʷ-a goli λin.
 move-INF I-begin-ANTR 1PL.ERG 2SG.ABS I-take-INF be.PRS QUOT
 “‘When you begin to move, we will take you out,’ (they said).” [Anecdote.004]

307. λ'aλ'aquí il-in, me allahisuqo⁴³ isx-o
 thief.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW 2SG.ERG Allah.CONT ask-IMP
 dogu žužahilil do kul-a goli λin.
 which hell.INTER.LAT 1SG.ABS throw-INF be.PRS QUES

‘The thief asked, “You ask God which hell he will throw me in.”’ [The man who went to God.]

The Future definite in the Past (un)witnessed tense is formed with the infinitive of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč* ‘be’ in the Past (un)witnessed tense. This periphrastic form expresses an event immediately posterior to a reference point in the past, as in (308, 309). This tense can also be used in the apodosis clause of conditional constructions (310, 311).

⁴³ This noun is built on combining the noun *Allah* ‘God’ and the demonstrative pronoun *ise* ‘that.OBL.’ It is the demonstrative pronoun that is marked with inflectional suffixes. This noun is used as majestic form (‘He God’).

- 308.ise obu q'udu-l kul-a ø-eč-i.
 that.OBL.ERG father(I) down-LAT throw-INF I-be-PST.W
 'He was about to leave his father.'
- 309.hadam-i žu Nazir-ho y-eγ^w-a y-eč-un.
 people-ERG that.ABS Nazir-AD II-give-INF II-be-PST.UW
 'People were about to marry her to Nazir.'
- 310.kand-i iλλ-u-ło užá burku λunλ'oz
 girl.OBL-ERG say-PST.PTCP-COND boy.OBL.ERG ball(III) roof.SUP.ABL
 kul-a b-eč-i.
 throw-INF III-be-PST.W
 'If the girl had told, the boy would have thrown the ball from the roof.'
- 311.Muhamad-i goλ'-un ø-eč-ło, Aslanbeg žiP'oyul
 Magomed-ERG call-PFV.CVB I-be-COND Aslanbeg(I) that.PL.(D)VERS
 ø-ux-a ø-eč-un.
 I-go-INF I-be-PST.UW
 'If Magomed had called (him), Aslanbeg would have gone to them.'

The Future indefinite tense consists of the General tense participle of the lexical verb and the Present tense auxiliary. The Future indefinite refers to the situation that will happen in the future. The Future indefinite has less degree of probability than the Future definite tense.

- 312.γode diyo is ø-ot'uq'-dow goli.
 tomorrow 1SG.GEN1 sibling(I) I-come-GNT.PTCP be.PRS
 'My brother is coming tomorrow.'

The Future indefinite in the Past (un)witnessed tense is based on the General tense participle of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb -eč- 'be' in the Past (un)witnessed tense. The Future indefinite in the Past (un)witnessed tense denotes an

event posterior to a reference point in the past, and it is also used in conditional constructions:

313.do lac'a l-i-ya eⁿdu-γul y-oⁿk'-dow y-eč-i.
 1SG.ABS food(IV) IV-do-INF inside-VERS II-go-GNT.PTCP II-be-PST.W
 'I (female) was about to go home to cook a meal.'

314.di-γo-l h^sam^say^se ø-ot'uq'-dow ø-eč-i,
 1SG.OBL-APUD-LAT friend(I) I-come-GNT.PTCP I-be-PST.W
 obu-t'-is kayat-in b-oq-un žoholi.
 father-OBL-GEN1 letter(III)-AND III-get-PFV.CVB after
 'My friend was going to come to my place, if (she) got (my) father's letter.'

315.ise žu y-uwox-dow y-eč-in.
 that.OBL.ERG that.ABS II-kill-GNT.PTCP II-be-PST.UW
 'He was going to kill her.'

316.kand-i zihe t'it'-dow b-eč-un
 daughter.OBL-ERG cow(III) milk-GNT.PTCP III-be-PST.UW
 išet'-i issu-ło.
 mother.OBL-ERG say.PST.PTCP-COND
 'If mother had said, the daughter would have milked the cow.'

The Future intentional tense has the suffix *-alaha*, which is the suffix *-laha* added to the infinitive stem. The Future intentional expresses an event which is planned for the future, and it can be translated as 'just on the point of', 'just about to'.

317.di-γo-l us y-ux-alaha goli maršrutka
 1SG.OBL-APUD-LAT sibling(II) II-come-INTENT be.PRS car(III)
 b-oq-un žoholi.
 III-catch-PFV.CVB after
 'My sister is going to come to my place, if (when) she finds a car.'

The use of a quotative particle can also express intention (318b).

318.

a. žu ħalt'i b-i-yalaha goli.
 that.ABS work(III) III-do-INTENT be.PRS
 'He is going to work.'

b. žu ħalt'i b-i-yalaha λin goli.
 that.ABS work(III) III-do-INTENT QUOT be.PRS
 'He is going to work.'

The Future intentional in the Past (un)witnessed tense is formed with the suffix *-alaha* added to the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* 'be' in the Past (un)witnessed tense, as in (319, 320). The Future intentional in the Past (un)witnessed tense can also be used in conditional constructions (321, 322).

319. žu k'iše-λ'o ø-ah-alaha ø-eč-i.
 that.ABS dance-SUP I-stand-INTENT I-be-PST.W
 'He was going to dance.'

320. ise os b-oq-alaha b-eč-un.
 that.OBL.ERG money(III) III-take-INTENT III-be-PST.UW
 'He was going to take money.'

321. ise soyro b-ez-alaha b-eč-i, os
 that.OBL.ERG horse(III) III-buy-INTENT III-be-PST.W money(III)
 m-uⁿ-lo.
 III-be.enough-COND
 'He was going to buy a horse, if there were enough money.'

322. išu xink'e-bo l-i-yalaha y-eč-un, λar ø-ot'uq-ło.
 mother(II) khinkal-PL.ABS NHPL-do-INTENT II-be-PST.UW guest(I) I-come-COND
 'Mother was going to make khinkal, if the guest came.'

3.7.1.2.3 Past

The common way to express a Past simple event is to use the suffix *-i* added to the bare verbal stem. This verbal form, called the Past witnessed tense, refers to an event that was directly seen by the speaker. The Past witnessed tense is often described by informants as referring to the event that happened quite recently, but this is presumably a conversational implicature.

The other way to express a past event is to use the suffix *-um* added to the bare verbal stem. This verbal form, called Past unwitnessed, describes an event that was not seen directly by the speaker. The Past unwitnessed is also described as referring to a remote event, but this is again presumably a conversational implicature.

The Pluperfect refers to an event that has been completed before some other past event. The Pluperfect is a periphrastic construction formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb.

3.7.1.3. Aspect

Analytical constructions express different kinds of aspectual meanings.

3.7.1.3.1 Perfective aspect

Comrie (1976a: 3) defines 'perfectivity' as the view of a situation as a single whole, i.e. the situation is viewed in its totality. The Perfective aspect is most often described as relating to a completed, terminated event. Comrie (1976a: 18) states that perfectivity 'does indeed denote a complete situation, but it does not necessarily put more emphasis on the end of the situation than on any other part.'

In Khwarshi, Perfective aspect is marked only in the past tenses, whereas the Imperfective aspect, on the other hand, can be expressed in both past and non-past tenses.

Most often a perfective context is expressed with the Past simple forms, such as the Past witnessed and the Past unwitnessed. The Past witnessed and Past unwitnessed tenses can also describe progressive events, but the Past simple forms alone do not

indicate that the action is ongoing. For example, the time adverbs *bucoz* ‘in a month’ and *bucod* ‘for a month’ can both be used with the Past witnessed and the Past unwitnessed tenses. This suggests that the Past witnessed and the Past unwitnessed tenses are neutral with respect to the Perfective/Imperfective aspect distinction. Because the Past simple tenses often refer to perfective events, they are considered in the Perfective aspect section.

3.7.1.3.2 Pluperfect

The Pluperfect refers to an event that was completed in the past, before another past event happened, i.e. the Pluperfect can be thought of as the ‘past in the past’ (Comrie 1976a: 65). The Khwarshi Pluperfect is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and an auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ in the Past tense.

3.7.1.3.3 Imperfective aspect

Comrie (1976a: 24) defines the Imperfective aspect as an ‘explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within’.

The Imperfective aspect has two main subcategories, the Habitual and the Progressive.

3.7.1.3.3.1 Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect ‘describes a situation which is characteristic of an extended period of time, so extended that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but a characteristic feature of a whole period’ (Comrie 1976a: 27). Habitual aspect is expressed with the General tense.

3.7.1.3.3.1.1 Past general tense

The Past general tense refers to a habitual event in the past that occurred quite regularly. The Past general tense distinguishes between the Past general witnessed and the Past general unwitnessed.

3.7.1.3.3.1.2 Past general witnessed tense

The Past general witnessed tense is formed with the verb form in the General tense form of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ in the Past witnessed tense:

323. iɫʰo obu-t'-i kici iyōs b-eč-i iɫ'u-li.
 1PL.GEN2 father-OBL-ERG riddle(III) say.GNT III-be-PST.W 1PL.OBL-LAT
 'Our father used to tell us riddles.' [kici.001]

324. hos-so aλa-za-ɫ daɽba-ba l-ēq^w
 one-DEF village.OBL-PL.OBL-INTER quarrel-PL.ABS NHPL-happen.GNT
 l-eč-i, hadiyadɨɫ b-ehe-yōy b-eč-i.
 NHPL-be-PST.W each.other.INTER HPL-fight-GNT HPL-be-PST.W
 'There were quarrels in other villages, (they) were fighting with each other.' [Old man]

3.7.1.3.3.1.3 Past general unwitnessed tense

The Past general unwitnessed tense is formed with the verb form in the General tense of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* 'be' in the Past unwitnessed tense.

325. čamassek-un himon-un azar himon guwōl
 date-AND thing(IV)-AND thousand thing(IV) put.GNT
 l-eč-un iɫe soyro-za-li.
 IV-be-PST.UW that.OBL horse-PL.OBL-LAT
 'There were a lot of things as dates put for these horses.' [Orphans.027]

326. γalat'fi b-ukk-u ɣoloqan žik'o iɫe
 mistake(III) III-happen-PST.PTCP young man(I) that.OBL
 λuro-l kuwōl ø-eč-un hadamiɫ ø-ak^w-a.
 hut-LAT throw.GNT I-be-PST.UW people.LAT I-see-INF
 'When the young man made a mistake, (he) was thrown into this hut so that (all) people would see (him).' [Games.010]

3.7.1.3.4 Non-habitual imperfective aspect

The Non-habitual imperfective aspect or continuous aspect can be either Non-progressive or Progressive.

3.7.1.3.4.1 Non-progressive aspect

Non-progressive aspects includes such tenses as the Present Simple, the Future Indefinite, the Future indefinite in Past witnessed and unwitnessed tenses. Non-progressive aspect does not exclude a progressive interpretation, e.g. the Present simple tense can have Non-progressive and Progressive interpretations (see in the following subsection).

3.7.1.3.4.2 Progressive aspect

The Progressive aspect is not restricted in its use as it is used with motion predicates (e.g. *mok'a* 'to go', *durida* 'to run') as well as with stative predicates (e.g. *leča* 'to be') and other predicates (e.g. phasal predicates, predicates of knowledge, manipulative predicates, achievement predicates, and others). When the Progressive aspect is used with stative verbs it 'imputes a sense of activity' (Timberlake 2007: 287). The Progressive aspect refers to an ongoing situation at the reference time (Bybee 1994: 126).

The Progressive aspect can mark tenses not only with present time reference but also tenses with past time reference, but not future.

3.7.1.3.4.3 Iterative aspect

The Iterative aspect is expressed with the reduplicated Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* 'be' in the Past (un)witnessed tense. This form implies pluractionality, i.e. it indicates an iterative or repeated action. This tense can be used with the following adverbs, e.g. *zam-zamanaλ'a* 'from time to time', *doconlux* 'many times', *žahaλ'a* 'again and again', *harza* 'frequently'.

327. iɫ'ó abaxar libaλ'a lib y-ot'uq'-šeq'a
 1PL.GEN1 neighbor(I) year.SUP year(V) V-come-TERM
 c'od-še-č c'od-še ø-eč-i.
 drink-IPFV.CVB-EMPH drink-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'Our neighbor had been drinking year after year.'

328. q'ala l-eč-bič c'ic'i-bo q'uq'-še-č
 children.ERG IV-be-NEG.CVB flower-PL.ABS press-IPFV.CVB-EMPH
 q'uq'-še l-eč-un.
 press-IPFV.CVB NHPL-be-PST.UW
 'The children had been trampling the flowers incessantly.'

3.7.1.4. Negation of verbal forms

3.7.1.4.1 Negation in synthetic tenses

The Present simple negative is formed with the suffix *-ate* added to the bare verbal stem (329). The reduplicated form of the negative present, which has as first component the infinitive followed by the emphatic particle *-č*, indicates intensification (330).

329. hed žide iyōλ l-eč-i iɫ'u-qo-l,
 then that.PL.(D)ERG say.GNT IV-be-PST.W 1PL.OBL-CONT-LAT
 mižó hiɫ'ɫ'a-k b-ux-ate kandaba, iɫ'o
 2PL.GEN1 why-QUES HPL-go-NEG.PRS girl.PL.ABS 2PL.GEN1
 kandaba b-ux-še mižó b-ux-ate.
 girl.PL.ABS HPL-go-PRS 2PL.GEN1 HPL-go-NEG.PRS

'Then they said to us, "Why aren't your girls coming: our girls are coming and your girls are not."' [Old man]

330. Aminat-is uže kok-a-č kok-ate.
 Aminat-GEN1 boy eat-INF-EMPH eat-NEG.PRS
 'Aminat's son does not eat at all.'

The negative Past witnessed is formed with the suffix *-bi*, which is added to the bare verbal stem.

331. b-eč-e λin iλλ-u, itel-in bič'id-bi.
 III-be-IMP QUOT say-PST.PTCP that.LAT-AND understand-NEG
 'When I said stop, it didn't understand.' [Fool.090]

The negative Past unwitnessed is formed with the suffix *-ay* which is attached directly to the verb in the Past unwitnessed tense.

332. γiná lože-č l-eγ-un-ay, un-un-ay idu.
 woman.OBL.ERG word(IV)-EMPH IV-take-PST.UW-NEG say-PST.UW-NEG this
 'The woman did not say a word, she did not speak.' [Malla-Rasan]

The negative form of the General tense is formed with the suffix *-bi* added directly to the General tense verb.

333. moko-yōy, ačqa-yāy mo, ono lac'a-n l-ōq-bi,
 be.hungry-GNT be.thirsty-GNT 2SG.ABS there food(IV)-AND IV-get.GNT-NEG
 ɫo-n l-ōq-bi λin iλ-in obu-t'-i.
 water(IV)-AND IV-get.GNT-NEG QUOT say-PST.UW father-OBL-ERG
 "You will become hungry and thirsty, you won't get any food or any water there,"
 the father said.' [Mesedo.010]

334. can-a iλ-in de indu q^suba-y λib y-āc'-bi.
 she.goat-OBL.ERG say-PST.UW 1SG.ERG such dirty-v leaf(V) V-eat.GNT-NEG
 'The she-goat said, "I don't eat such dirty leaves."' [Pudi.006]

The negative suffixes of the synthetic tenses are illustrated in Table 3.40.

Table 3.40: Negative forms of synthetic categories

	Affirmative	Negative suffixes
Present Simple	-še	-ate
Past witnessed	-i	-bi
Past unwitnessed	-un	-un-ay
General tense	lengthening of root vowel	lengthening of root vowel plus -bi
General future tense	lengthening of root vowel plus -da	lengthening of root vowel plus -bi plus -da

3.7.1.4.2 Negation in analytic forms

The negation of periphrastic constructions can occur on either the non-finite verb or the auxiliary verb. Negation can also occur on both verbs, which results in an emphatic affirmative meaning. Some periphrastic constructions restrict negation to either the finite or the non-finite verb.

The resultative, which is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the Present negative auxiliary form, allows negation on either the finite or non-finite verb. In resultative constructions the negation is not possible on both verbal components at the same time (337).

335.obu-n išu-n b-ot'q'-un gobi.
 father(I)-AND mother(II)-AND HPL-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS.NEG
 'The parents have not come.'

336.obu-n išu-n b-ot'uq'-bič goli.
 father(I)-AND mother(II)-AND HPL-come-NEG.CVB be.PRS
 'The parents have not come.'

- 337.*obu-n išu-n b-ot'uq'-bič gobi.
 father(I)-AND mother(II)-AND HPL-come-NEG.CVB be.PRS.NEG
 'The parents have come indeed.'

Some other periphrastic tenses do not allow negation on the non-finite form since there is no corresponding negative form. For the Future definite, formed with the infinitive of the lexical verb and the auxiliary Present tense verb *goli*, it is only possible to negate the auxiliary Present tense verb (338) because there is no negative form of the infinitive. Another possibility is to use the negative converb of the lexical verb, the infinitive of the verb *-eč* 'be' and the Present tense auxiliary *goli* (339), but such a construction has an intentional meaning.

- 338.iľo kok-a goli hobože, hed ĥono γodo kok-a
 1SG.ABS eat-INF be.PRS now then three day eat-INF
 gobi λin iλ-in nartaw-i.
 be.PRS.NEG QUOT say-PST.UW giant-ERG
 'We will eat now, then we won't eat for three days, the giant said.' [3Feats.025]

- 339.žu λus-bič ø-eč-a goli.
 that.ABS sleep-NEG.CVB I-be-INF be.PRS
 'He is not going to sleep.'

Negation of the non-finite verb in the Past general witnessed and unwitnessed is also not possible, and in the Past general tense only the finite verb can be negated. In the Past general witnessed the negative suffix *-bi* is used to negate the witnessed form (340), and the negative suffix *-ay* is used with the Past general unwitnessed (341).

340. ił'ó kandaba m-ēλ' b-eč-bi ono žił'ıo
 1PL.GEN1 girl.PL.ABS HPL-go.GNT HPL-be-NEG there that.PL.(D)GEN2
 saq'iriya-za-λ'a-li.
 party-PL.OBL-SUP-LAT
 'Our girls did not go to their parties there.' [Old man]

341. ȳinaza idu baydan λibaha xān b-eč-un-ay.
 woman.PL.OBL.ERG this field(III) year.AD mow.GNT III-be-PST.UW-NEG
 'The women did not mow this field every year.'

The Inferential pluperfect (including the Inferential pluperfect 1st person, the non-first person witnessed, and the non-first person unwitnessed) allow negation on either the finite or the non-finite verb (343, 344), and negation on both verbs simultaneously results in an affirmative meaning (345).

342. užal ȳ^{sw}e-yi liλ l-ac'-un l-us-i.
 boy.LAT dog-ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-PFV.CVB IV-find-PST.W
 'The boy found out that the dog had eaten the meat.'

343. užal ȳ^{sw}e-yi liλ l-ac'-un l-us-bi.
 boy.LAT dog-ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-PFV.CVB IV-find-NEG
 'The boy did not find out that the dog had eaten the meat.'

344. užal ȳ^{sw}e-yi liλ l-ac'-bič l-us-i.
 boy.LAT dog-ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-NEG.CVB IV-find-PST.W
 'The boy did not find out that the dog had eaten the meat.'

345. užal ȳ^{sw}e-yi liλ l-ac'-bič l-us-bi.
 boy.LAT dog-ERG meat(IV) IV-eat-NEG.CVB IV-find-NEG
 'The boy did find out that the dog had eaten the meat.'

3.7.1.4.3 Semantics of negation

Whether the negation in periphrastic constructions appears on the finite or the non-finite verbs can be explained by differences in the scope of negation.

Negation of the finite form extends the scope of negation over the whole sentence, as in (346), whereas the negation of the non-finite verb has negation scope only over the embedded action, as in (347), which has the meaning ‘the children were in the state of not doing something’.

346.huniža q’ala kere-yun b-eč-bi.
 yesterday children play-PFV.CVB HPL-be-NEG
 ‘Yesterday the children did not play.’

347.huniža q’ala kere-bič b-eč-i.
 yesterday children play-NEG.CVB HPL-be-PST.W
 ‘Yesterday the children were not playing.’ [children were in the state of not playing]

3.7.1.4.4 Negation in other periphrastic constructions (dependent on transitive and intransitive predicates)

The majority of periphrastic constructions have constraints on the negation of the finite or the non-finite verbs. Negation can occur on either the finite or the non-finite verbal form when the predicate of the periphrastic construction is an intransitive verb. When the periphrastic predicate is a transitive verb, the negation can only occur on the finite verb and never on the non-finite verb. Such periphrastic constructions include Perfective tenses – the General perfect, the Past pluperfect witnessed and unwitnessed; Non-progressive tenses – the Future indefinite, the Future indefinite in the Past witnessed and unwitnessed; Progressive tenses – the General progressive, the General progressive in the Past witnessed and unwitnessed; Neutral tenses – the Future intentional, the Future intentional in the Past witnessed and unwitnessed.

In the transitive construction the negation of the non-finite verb is possible when the auxiliary verb *hic-* ‘leave’ is used instead of the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’. The following is illustrated in examples of the Past pluperfect tense.

Negation of an intransitive predicate in the Past pluperfect is possible on the finite verb (348) or the non-finite form (349), and negation of both verbs is also allowed (350).

348. žu eⁿxu-ł usan-un y-eč-un-ay.
 that.ABS river-INTER bathe-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘She did not bathe in the river.’ [She never bathed in the river (before)]

349. žu eⁿxu-ł usan-bič y-eč-un.
 that.ABS river-INTER bathe-NEG.CVB II-be-PST.UW
 ‘She did not bathe in the river.’ [Though she was near the river, she did not bathe]

350. žu eⁿxu-ł usan-bič y-eč-un-ay.
 that.ABS river-INTER bathe-NEG.CVB II-be-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘She did bathe in the river.’ [She bathed anyway, though she was told not to bathe]

When the periphrastic predicate is a transitive verb, only the finite verb can be negated. Negation can occur on the non-finite verb only when the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ is replaced by the verb *hic-* ‘leave’ (354).

351. užá heⁿše c’alid-in b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG book(III) read-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 ‘The boy has read the book.’

352. užá heⁿše c’alid-in b-eč-bi.
 boy.OBL.ERG book(III) read-PFV.CVB III-be-NEG
 ‘The boy has not read the book.’

353. *užá heⁿše c’alid-bič b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG book(III) read-NEG.CVB III-be-PST.W
 ‘The boy has not read the book.’

354. užá heⁿše c'alid-bič hic-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG book(III) read-NEG.CVB leave-PST.W
 'The boy has not read the book.'

3.7.1.5. Non-finite forms

The non-finite verbal forms in Khwarshi include the masdar or verbal noun, the infinitive, the participles, and the converbs (cf. Table 3.41).

Table 3.41: Non-finite forms

Non-finite forms		Suffixes
Masdar		-nu
Infinitive		-a
Participle	Past participle	-u/-gu
	Pluperfect participle	-un -u/-gu
	Past imperfective	-še -u/-gu
	Present participle	gollu
		-šeso
	Perfect participle	-un gollu
	Present imperfective participle	-še gollu
	General tense participle	-dow/-dogu
Converb	Contextual	
	Perfective	-un
	Perfective progressive	-še un
	Imperfective	-še
	Negative converb	-bič
	Reduplicated perfective	-an -un
	Reduplicated imperfective	-še -še
	Reduplicated negative	-ač -bič
	Reduplicated general tense converb	-an plus General tense form
	Specialized	
	temporal	

	Anterior I	-aλa
	Anterior II	-unso
	Anterior III	-dowquʃ
	Immediate-anterior	-uč
	Posterior	-šehol
	Terminative	-šeq'a
	Durative	-šezuq'un
	Temporal	-q'arλ'a
	non-temporal	
	Locative	-zaha
	Negative purpose	-aluso
	Comparative	-uhol
	Causal	-aλeru
	Conditional	-ło
	Concessive	-łon

3.7.1.5.1 Masdar

The masdar is formed with the suffix *-nu*, which is added to the bare verbal stem. The masdar is a verbal noun, meaning it has both nominal and verbal properties – as a noun, the masdar can be inflected for case and number, and it is assigned to Gender 4; and as a verb, the masdar has its arguments and shows the appropriate gender/number agreement with it. Masdars refer to abstract nouns, e.g. *uryidnu* ‘thought’ < *uryida* ‘to think’, *leλnu* ‘illness’ < *leλa* ‘to be ill’, *bužnu* ‘belief’ < *buža* ‘to believe’, etc.

355.1-ac'-un č'ido idu kandaza moko-nu
 IV-eat-PST.UW ground(IV) this girl.PL.OBL.ERG be.hungry-MASD
 1-uλ-x-a λin.
 IV-satisfy-CAUS-INF QUOT

‘These girls were eating the ground in order to satisfy their hunger.’

[3Orphans.024]

356. iʔe-s iⁿya-nu-n tuq-un b-ot'q'-un hos
 that.OBL-GEN1 cry-MASD-AND listen-PFV.CVB III-come-PST.UW one
 boc'o.
 wolf(III)
 'Having heard her crying a wolf came.' [Jealous.016]

The masdar is used extensively to form complement clauses with different complement-taking predicates (cf. 4.9.1.2).

3.7.1.5.2 Infinitive

The infinitive form of the verb is used as the citation form. The infinitive is formed with the suffix *-a*, which is attached to the bare verbal stem. When the verbal stem ends in a consonant the suffix *-a* is added and when the verbal stem ends in a vowel, the epenthetic semivowel *-y-* is inserted between the stem and the infinitival suffix:

e.g.	gul- 'put'	gul-a 'put-INF'
	-ez- 'buy'	-ez-a 'take-INF'
	-i- 'do'	-i-ya 'do-INF'
	zo- 'slid'	zo-ya 'slid-INF'

The infinitive is used periphrastically to form the Future tense (cf. 3.7.1.2.2). The infinitive is also used as a verbal argument in complement clauses (cf. 4.9).

3.7.1.5.3 Participles

The main function of participles is an attributive function modifying a head noun, i.e. they are used to build relative clauses. Some participles, namely Past participles, are also used adverbially (cf. 4.10.2). Participles, as well as adjectives, can share the properties of nouns, e.g. case and number, when substantivized (cf. 3.2.1).

Almost all participles indicate relative time reference, where the absolute temporal reference is given by the context, not necessarily the present moment (Comrie 2000b: 56). The Pluperfect participle, however, expresses absolute-relative tense

reference, which ‘combines absolute time location of a reference point with relative time relation of a situation’ (Comrie 2000b: 65).

There are Past, Perfect, Pluperfect, Present, and General tense participles.

3.7.1.5.3.1 Past participle

The Past participle is formed with the suffix *-u/-gu* added to the bare verbal stem. The Past participle suffix *-gu* is added to verbal stems ending in a vowel and the suffix *-u* is added to verbal stems ending in a consonant, which is then geminated. The Past participle refers to an event that happened in the past, i.e. this participle has relative past time reference. The Past participle can be used attributively, as in (357). Like other participles, the Past participle is used to form relative clauses (358).

357. di^l goqq-u kad c’aq’ bercina-y goli.
 1SG.LAT like-PST.PTCP girl(II) much beautiful-II be.PRS
 ‘The girl who I liked is very beautiful.’

358. i^{le} kandi-n ħu-qo-n is-in-ay
 that.OBL girl.OBL.ERG-AND who.OBL-CONT-AND say-PST.UW-NEG
 yono-ĭ žu abaxar-i hic-in y-ečč-u.
 forest.OBL-INTER that.ABS neighbor-ERG leave-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.PTCP
 ‘This girl did not say to anyone that she had been left in the forest by this neighbor.’ [Jealous.029]

Some converbs are based on the Past participle, e.g. the Temporal and the Counterfactual conditional converbs:

359. idu λuss-u-q’arλ’a yašk’a-n y-oq-un y-aⁿγⁱ-un
 this sleep-PST.PTCP-TEMP box(V)-AND V-take-PST.UW V-open-PST.UW
 i^{le}.
 that.OBL.ERG
 ‘When he fell asleep, she took the box and opened it.’ [3Princes.049]

Past participles, like Perfect and Present participles, can be used adverbially, just as converbs are used to form adverbial clauses (cf. 4.10.2). The Past participle does not have a negative form, so a periphrastic construction is used instead which consists of the Past participle of the lexical verb and the negative Present participle form.

e.g. λuss-u gobiso ‘not slept’
 sleep-PST.PTCP be.NEG.PRS.PTCP

Participles share verbal properties in that they have various temporal-aspectual meanings. The Past participle can derive various periphrastic forms, such as the Pluperfect participle and the Past imperfective participle.

3.7.1.5.3.2 Pluperfect participle

The Pluperfect participle is formed by combining the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ in the Past participle form.

360. iło-ho-l ø-ot’q’-un ø-ečč-u is ø-oⁿk’-i.
 1PL.OBL-AD-LAT I-come-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.PTCP brother(I) I-go-PST.W
 ‘The brother, who had come to us, left already.’

3.7.1.5.3.3 Past imperfective participle

The Past imperfective participle is formed by combining the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ in the Past participle form.

361. kere-še y-ečč-u kad y-eⁿg-i.
 play-IPFV.CVB II-be-PST.PTCP girl(II) II-fall-PST.W
 ‘The girl who had been playing fell down.’

3.7.1.5.3.4 Present participle

The Present participle can also be based on the verb in the Present tense form with the suffix *-še* and the definiteness particle *-so*.

362. eⁿxe-γo-l žu ø-oⁿk'-šeso ø-iq'-in
 river.OBL-APUD-LAT that.ABS I-go-PRS.PTCP I-know-PST.UW
 c'odoraw-il, ø-ešt'-un hic-in.
 clever.OBL-LAT I-let-PFV.CVB leave-PST.UW
 'When Clever found out that Fool was going down the river, he let him go.'
 [Fool.102]

The Present participle is used in combination with the Present tense auxiliary *goli* to express future meaning:

363. mo b-ac'-a m-ok'-šeso gobi do, ħež-λ'o-γul
 2SG.ABS III-eat-INF III-go-PRS.PTCP be.PRS.NEG 1SG.ABS hajj-SUP-VERS
 m-ok'-šeso goli λin iλ-in boc'-i.
 III-go-PRS.PTCP be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW wolf.OBL-ERG
 "I am not going to eat you, I am going to the hajj," the wolf said.' [Hajj.017]

The negative of the Present participle is formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the Present participle auxiliary form *gollu* and its negative form *gobiso* (see below).

364. ħalt'i b-i-še gollu hadam b-ah-a
 work(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP people HPL-stand-INF
 b-eč-un goli.
 HPL-be-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'People who are working are standing.'
365. ħalt'i b-i-še gobiso hadam q'udu-n
 work(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB be.NEG.PRS.PTCP people down-AND
 b-eč-un goli.
 HPL-be-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'People who are not working are sitting.'

When the suffix *-u*, which is normally used to derive the Past participle of other verbs, is added to the auxiliary Present tense form *goli*, the Present participle *gollu* is formed:

366.idu uže goli c'aq' řaqlu gollu.
 this boy be.PRS very intelligence be.PRS.PTCP
 'This boy is very clever.'

The negative Present participle *gobiso* is formed by adding the definiteness suffix *-so* to the Present negative tense *gobi*.

The Present participle can be combined with Perfective and Imperfective converbs to form periphrastic participles.

3.7.1.5.3.5 Perfect participle

The Perfect participle is formed by combining the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the Present participle auxiliary *gollu*.

367.i¹o-ho-l ø-ot'q'-un gollu hos kepa-w žik'o goli.
 1PL.OBL-AD-LAT I-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP one cheerful-I man(I) be.PRS
 'There is one cheerful man who has come to us.'

368.i¹o-ho-l ø-ot'q'-un gollu ø-uh-i.
 1PL.OBL-AD-LAT I-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP I-die-PST.W
 'The man who had come to us died.'

3.7.1.5.3.6 Present imperfective participle

The meaning of the Present imperfective participle is conveyed through the combination of the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the Present participle auxiliary *gollu*.

369.i¹o m-ok'-še gollu uškul miq'e goli.
 1PL.ABS HPL-go-IMPV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP school(III) far.away be.PRS
 'The school where we are going now is far away.'

370.kere-še gollu kad y-eⁿg-i.
 play-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP girl(II) II-fall-PST.W
 ‘The girl who was playing fell down.’

3.7.1.5.3.7 General participle

The General participle suffix *-dow/-dogu* is attached to the verbal stem. The General participle can have a habitual or indefinite future meaning. The General participle can be used attributively (371, 372) and substantively (373).

371.hod-dow žik’o-n ø-eq-un ø-ot’q’-un
 beg-GNT.PTCP man(I)-AND I-happen-PFV.CVB I-come-PST.UW
 nartaw idu eⁿš-in is-x-in.
 giant(I) this apple-AND say-CAUS-PFV.CVB
 ‘The giant turned into the beggar and asked for the apple.’ [3Feats.094] lit. ‘...
 turned into the asking man’.

372.yarayi gobič λux-un židu, λ’^wahi-dow
 weapon be.PRS.NEG.CVB stay-PST.UW that.PL.(D)ABS shoot-GNT.PTCP
 himon-uč gobič.
 thing-EMPH be.PRS.NEG.CVB
 ‘They were left without weapons, without shooting things.’ [Old man]

373.ihoλ-dow-il soyro-bo kok-x-a šuλ’-i.
 pasture-GNT.PTCP-LAT horse-PL.ABS feed-CAUS-INF forget-PST.W
 ‘The pasturing (man) forgot to feed the horses.’

As with the finite verb form in the General tense, the General participle also expresses some regular or habitual events:

374. iton bazar b-eč-dow b-^ʕuq' mok'o b-eč-in.
 always market(III) III-be-GNT.PTCP III-big place(III) III-be-PST.UW
 'There was a big square where the market usually took place.' [3Feats.057]

The General participle can be used predicatively in order to express Future meaning.

375. ise iλ-i žu ø-ot'uq'-dow goli.
 that.OBL.ERG say-PST.W that.ABS I-come-GNT.PTCP be.PRS
 'He said that he would come.'

The negative General participle is formed with the suffix *-tew* added to the infinitival stem.

376. goq-atew ø-eč-un žoholi iłel, žu uže,
 like-NEG.GNT.PTCP I-be-PFV.CVB after that.LAT that boy(I)
 gugu-n kul-un isuγoγul inhod I-i-še.
 back-AND throw-PFV.CVB that.APUD.VERS thing(IV) IV-do-PRS
 'If she did not like that boy, she would show him (her) back.' [Old man]

3.7.1.5.4 Converbs

Converbs are non-finite verbal forms used to form adverbial constructions. According to Nedjalkov's classification (1995: 106), converbs can be divided into contextual and specialized converbs.

Contextual converbs are converbs that do not have specific meaning, i.e. the meaning of the converbs depends on the context. There are non-reduplicated contextual converbs: Perfective, Perfective progressive, Imperfective, and Negative converbs; and reduplicated contextual converbs: Reduplicated perfective, Reduplicated imperfective, Reduplicated negative, and Reduplicated general tense converbs.

Specialized converbs express a specific semantic link between the clauses. There are temporal and non-temporal specialized converbs. The temporal specialized converbs are Anterior I, Anterior II, Anterior III, Immediate-anterior, Posterior, Terminative, Durative, and Temporal Proper converbs. The non-temporal specialized

converbs are Locative, Negative purpose, Similative, Causal, Conditional, and Concessive converbs (see Section 4.10 for detailed discussion on the morphology and semantics of converbs).

3.7.2. Modal expressions

Modal verbs express the meaning of possibility, permission, necessity, obligation and desire. The modal verbs are *leqa* ‘to be able’, *eⁿx^wa* ‘to manage’, *behida* ‘to permit’, *luka* ‘must’, *q’oča* ‘to want’. As a rule, modal verbs take an infinitival complement clause: their agent-like arguments are often expressed by means of locative cases (Contessive and Lative). Expressions of possibility refer to the physical or mental ability to do something. Such possibility can include auxiliary constructions with nouns expressing physical possibility and the verbs *leqa* ‘to be able to’ and *eⁿx^wa* ‘to manage’.

The nouns expressing ability are *hunar* ‘feat, talent, ability’ and *bažari* ‘feat, (physical) ability, skill’, which are synonymous (377). Both nouns can take infinitival complements and the agent-like argument in the Genitive case (e.g. the literal translation is ‘there is his ability to do something.’)

377.iso keč’i b-ez-a bažari goli.
 that.GEN1 song(III) III-take-INF ability(III) be.PRS
 ‘He is good at dancing.’ or lit. ‘He has an ability to dance.’

The verb *leq^wa* ‘to be able to’ is a polysemous verb, i.e. it can be used as an intransitive predicate with the meaning ‘happen, begin’ (with the main argument in the Absolutive case), and it can be used as a modal verb ‘to be able to’ with the agent-like argument in the Contessive, as in (378, 379). As a modal verb, it also takes an infinitival complement.

378.heresi c’ik’idd-u is-a luqo-q’ē b-ēq^w?
 lie(III) add-PST.PTCP tell-INF who.CONT-QUES III-be.able.GNT
 ‘Who is able to tell a better lie?’ [Who can better lie]

379.dubul	l-ok'ol-še	l-us-ło,	dubqo	q'urʕan	
2SG.LAT	IV-seem-IPFV.CVB	IV-find-COND	2SG.CONT	Koran(III)	
c'alid-a	b-eq-še	λin,	ø-e"x'e-yo	diʃ	λin
read-INF	III-be.able-PRS	QUOT	I-come-IMP	1SG.INTER	QUOT
iλ-in	iʃe	γiná.			
say-PST.UW	that.OBL	woman.OBL.ERG			

“‘If you think you can read the Koran, you come with me,” the woman said.’
[Zagalawdibir]

The modal verb *e"x"ʔa* ‘to manage’, ‘not to be afraid to do something’, ‘to dare’ marks the agent argument with the Contessive and takes an infinitival complement. This modal verb emphasizes the participant’s ability to do something in spite of certain obstacles.

380.iʃeqo	nišo-ho	γon-o-ł-γul	y-e"λ'-a	ē"x"-i.
that.CONT	night-AD	forest-OBL-INTER-VERS	II-go-INF	manage-PST.W
				‘She was not afraid to go to the forest at night.’

Possibility is also expressed with the verb *behida* ‘can’, ‘permit’, which is a two-place predicate with a Lative agent and an infinitival complement clause, and this verb is used in the General tense form.

381.q'alal	tort	y-ac'-a	behid-ōy.
children.LAT	cake(V)	V-eat-INF	permit-GNT
			‘The children may eat the cake.’ / ‘It is allowed for the children to eat the cake.’

The modal verb *behida* used in the General tense can also express uncertainty and probability. When expressing uncertainty and probability, it is used as an auxiliary since the non-finite lexical verb controls the case frame of the construction.

382. Muslim-i iλ-i izzu i^lʔo bertinoλ'ol
 Muslim-ERG say-PST.W that.PL(P).ABS 1PL.GEN2 wedding.SUP.LAT
 b-ux-a behid-ōy λin.
 HPL-come-INF may-GNT QUOT
 ‘Muslim said that they might come to our wedding.’

383. arxeolog-za-qa b-oq-a behid-ōy xazina
 archaeologist-PL.OBL-CONT III-take-INF may-GNT treasure(III)
 žide gull-u.
 that.PL(D).ERG put-PST.PTCP
 ‘The archaeologists might get the treasures that they (other people) put there.’ [Old man]

The verb *q'oča* ‘to want’ is used to express desire (384, 385). It takes an infinitival complement and encodes its main argument with the Lative.

384. di^l γode h^sam^say^seγol y-oⁿk'-a q'oč-če.
 1SG.LAT tomorrow friend.APUD.LAT II-go-INF want-PRS
 ‘I want to go to visit my friend tomorrow.’

385. x^wasar y-i-yinso, k'ucá iyōλ kanduqol,
 rescue(V) V-do-ANTR bird.OBL.ERG say.GNT girl.CONT.LAT
 me hodd-u himon l-i-ya goli de
 2SG.ERG ask-PST.PTCP thing(IV) IV-do-INF be.PRS 1SG.ERG
 dubul, hibo himon dubul q'oč-če λun.
 2SG.LAT what thing 2SG.LAT want-PRS QUOT
 ‘As (the girl) rescues (the bird), the bird says to her, “I’ll do anything you ask me to do, what do you want?”’ [Orphans.049]

The verb *-uk-* ‘must’ expresses obligation and recommendation. This verb is a polysemous verb, with the meaning ‘to get, to appear, to manage, to be forced to, must’. As a modal verb, it also takes an infinitival complement.

386. γ ode λ o λ 'o m-e λ '-a b-uk-še i β o λ in
 tomorrow war.SUP HPL-go-INF HPL-must-PRS 1PL.ABS QUOT
 i λ -in izzate Xitilbeg-qo-l.
 say-PST.UW that.PL(P).ERG Khitilbeg-CONT-LAT
 ‘‘Tomorrow we should go to the war,’’ they said to Khitilbeg.’ [Xitilbeg.032]

387. y-o β k'-a y-ukk-u y-eč-un γ ono β γ užaz.
 II-go-INF II-must-PST.PTCP II-be-PST.UW forest.INTER.TRANSL
 ‘(She) had to go through the forest.’ [Princes.094]

388. hobot'un \emptyset -o β k'-šeso idu hada- γ a exnu- λ re λ a
 like.this I-go-PRS.PTCP this one.OBL-APUD cave-SUB night(IV)
 I-e γ ^w-a \emptyset -uk-un.
 IV-take-INF I-must-PST.UW
 ‘As he was reaching one cave, he had to overnight there.’ [Zagalawdibir]

The modal verb *-uk-* ‘must’ in the General tense form expresses epistemic necessity, as in (389), (390).

389. had-i i λ -in <...> ise žik'os c'aq'
 one.OBL-ERG say-PST.UW that.OBL man.GEN1 very
 sabru b-eč-a b-uwōk λ in.
 patience(III) III-be-INF III-must.GNT QUOT
 ‘One said that <...> that man must be very patient.’ [Princes.109]

390. žu \emptyset -eč-a \emptyset -uk-še xwadak'ar-is.
 that.ABS I-be-INF I-must-PRS miller-GEN1
 ‘He must be (son) of the miller.’ [Princes.084]

3.7.3. Evidentiality

Khwarshi has a number of devices to express the category of evidentiality. Khwarshi distinguishes four evidential specifications fused with the tense system: witnessed, unwitnessed, inferred and reported.

In the Past simple tense there is a morphological distinction between the Past witnessed and the Past unwitnessed tenses. The Past witnessed expresses an event which was seen by the speaker, and the Past unwitnessed tense refers to an event which was not seen by the speaker – this form is most often used in narrative contexts.

The inferred evidential is expressed with the Perfect, which is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the Present tense auxiliary *goli*. The separate inferential construction, which is unique to Khwarshi among the Tsezic languages, is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us-* ‘find’.

The reported evidential uses the reportative particle *λin* to indicate that the information was learned from someone else. The narrative particle *λo* is exclusively used in narratives.

Evidentiality is a grammatical category, i.e. every past sentence is marked for one of the evidentials to show how the information was obtained.

3.7.3.1. Witnessed /unwitnessed distinction

3.7.3.1.1 Past witnessed and Past unwitnessed in simple tenses

The distinction between witnessed and unwitnessed, or direct and indirect evidence, is made only in the tenses that express a past event. The witnessed and the unwitnessed are markedly contrasted in the Past simple tenses: the Past witnessed has the suffix *-i*, and the Past unwitnessed has the suffix *-un*; and the Past witnessed negative has the suffix *-bi*, and the Past unwitnessed negative has the suffix *-unay*.

The Past witnessed indicates that an event was directly witnessed by the speaker, i.e. the speaker was an eyewitness of this event:

- 391.o <y> nu y-eč-i γine, di^l heč'č'e y-acc-u
 <II>that II-be-PST.W woman(II) 1SG.LAT most II-hate-PST.PTCP
 himon žu y-eč-i.
 thing that II-be-PST.W
 'There was a woman that I hated so much.' [Dialog]

The Past unwitnessed indicates that the described event was not directly witnessed by the speaker (392, 393).

- 392.isx-in obu-t'-i q'^{sw}ene-iλλo kandu-ɣo.
 ask-PST.UW father-OBL-ERG two-ORD.OBL girl.OBL-CONT
 'The father asked the second girl.' [Sisters.005]

- 393.yarayi-n tuλ-un, b-ešt'-un ʔoloqan ahlu aλ c'in-a.
 gun-AND give-PFV.CVB HPL-let-PST.UW young people village secure-INF
 'Giving the guns, (they) sent the young men to secure the village.' [Old man]

There is a *lack of consciousness* effect when the 1st person is used with non-firsthand evidentials or with unwitnessed forms (394). The use of the 1st person with non-firsthand evidential forms often means that the speaker was not aware of or did not have full control of the event.

- 394.diyο λin lok'ol-un, de ifes šiλ'u
 1SG.GEN1 QUOT seem-PFV.CVB 1SG.ERG that.GEN1 garment(IV)
 l-oq-un.
 IV-take-PST.UW
 'Thinking it was mine, apparently I took her garment.'

Both the witnessed and unwitnessed forms can be used when describing emotions and beliefs, and the witnessed and unwitnessed forms can be used with all persons. When the Past unwitnessed is used with the first person, there is a *lack of consciousness* effect.

395.do γυγυ y-ah-i / y-ah-un.
 1SG.ABS glad II-stand-PST.W / II-stand-PST.UW
 ‘I (female) became glad.’

396.žu γυγυ ø-ah-i / ø-ah-un.
 that.ABS glad I-stand-PST.W / I-stand-PST.UW
 ‘He became glad.’

3.7.3.1.1.1 Simple narration and traditional narration

Narrative discourse can be divided into simple narration and traditional narration.

3.7.3.1.1.1.1 Simple narration

Simple narration includes such discourse as memories and biography. In such contexts the Past witnessed tense is mostly used because the speaker participated in the related events, i.e. the speaker is a direct witness to the narrated event.

397.hed oⁿc’o-n uⁿq’e λib y-eⁿλ’-aλa, čačanza
 then ten-AND four year(v) V-go-ANTR Chechen.PL
 b-ot’q’-i žohoq’^semil ži^l’o č’ido-λ’o-li.
 HPL-come-PST.W backwards that.PL.(D)GEN2 territory-SUP-LAT
 ‘Then when fourteen years passed, the Chechens came back to their place.’ [Old man]

398.hed ide-zi Vedenaya-zi ø-eⁿλ’λ’-u do, ono
 then here-ABL Vedeno-ABL I-go-PST.PTCP 1SG.ABS there
 rayoncentriλ’o, ono ø-us-i žu Sultan,
 district.center.SUP there I-find-PST.W that Sultan(t)
 milicis forma-n šiλ’-un.
 police.GEN1 uniform-AND put.on-PFV.CVB

‘And then when I went from Vedeno to the district center, there I met Sultan wearing a policeman uniform.’ [Old man]

A sentence like ‘I was born in ...’ (399) is usually used with witnessed forms, but the unwitnessed form is also possible when the speaker is not sure when he/she was born, e.g. older people often use unwitnessed forms in such a context.

399.do y-i-yi azar-un oⁿče bešon-un q^{wf}enequn
 1SG.ABS II-born-PST.W thousand-AND nine hundred-AND forty
 ʎuno-iʎʎu ʎiba-ʎ K’oʎoqo aʎaʎ.
 five-ORD year.OBL-INTER Kwantlada.CONT village.INTER
 ‘I was born in 1945 in Kwantlada village.’

Simple narration also includes unwitnessed forms when the narrated event was not directly witnessed by the speaker:

400.hed žu I Stalin ø-ižž-o-q’arʎ’a, mašta-ba-n
 then that.ABS Stalin(I) I-win-OBL.PST.PTCP-TEMP mosque-PL.ABS-AND
 n-uq-un ʎ-eč-aʎa, hed I Stalin-i iʎ-in
 NHPL-close-PFV.CVB NHPL-be-ANTR then Stalin-ERG say-PST.UW
 hibo-k goli mižuli q’očč-u himon ʎin.
 what-QUES be.PRS 2PL.LAT want-PST.PTCP thing QUOT
 ‘When Stalin won and when the mosques were closed, then Stalin said, “What do you want?”’ [Old man]

The Past witnessed can also be used in contexts where the speaker was not a direct witness to the event in order to add vividness to the description of past events. The Past witnessed, like the General tense, which is also used to describe past events, can function as a historic present. This use, which is shared by the General tense, is similar to the historic present in English and Russian.

401.iʎo.iʎo-n ažnaza-n q^wine aʎ b-eč-i.
 REFL.GEN1-AND Aknada-AND two village(III) III-be-PST.W
 ‘There were two villages of us and of Aknada people.’ [Old man]

402. axirgi Xrušow-i židu-n b-ešt'-i,
 at.last Khrushow-ERG that.PL.(D)ABS-AND HPL-let-PST.W
 čačanza-n b-ešt'-i.
 Chechen.PL-AND HPL-let-PST.W
 'Finally Khrushow let them go (back), let the Chechens go (back).' [Old man]

The Past witnessed forms are also used for telling dreams (403).

403. nišoho moʎa-ʎ diʎ ʎ-ak-še, do-n Musa-n
 night.AD dream.INTER 1SG.LAT IV-see-PRS 1SG.ABS-AND Musa-AND
 Saydula-n, y-ah-an y-eč-in izzo Xadi-n,
 Saydula-AND II-stand-RED II-be-PFV.CVB that.PL.(P)GEN1 Khadi(II)-AND
 gamušos buɣa-ba ʎ-uʎux-še b-eč-i.
 buffalo.GEN buffalo.calf-PL.ABS NHPL-gather.CAUS-IMPF.CVB HPL-be-PST.W
 'At night I had a dream that I and Musa, Saydula and their Xadi, who was
 standing, were trying to pen (drive in) the buffalo calves.'

Xadi y-ixiš-še y-ak-še diʎi, ʎ-uʎoxbo ʎin.
 Khadi II-scold-PRS II-se-PRS 1SG.LAT NHPL-gather.CAUS.PROH QUOT
 'I saw that Khadi was scolding, saying 'Don't pen them.'

ʎ-uʎx-i iʎe izzu, rač'i-bo-n n-oc-i.
 NHPL-gather-PST.W 1PL.ERG that.PL.(P)ABS rope-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-tie-PST.W
 'We drove them in and tied them with ropes.'

izzu n-oc-ce-č, y-ik'-i do.
 that.PL.(P)ABS NHPL-tie-IMPF.CVB-EMPH II-wake.up-PST.W 1SG.ABS
 'While tying them, I woke up.'

3.7.3.1.1.1.2 Traditional narration – Fiction

Traditional narrative discourse is mostly expressed with the Past unwitnessed. The Past unwitnessed is used with legends, fairy-tales and other similar discourses. Traditional narratives usually start with phrases like ‘once upon a time’, which are marked with Past unwitnessed forms. The story-teller narrates in the Past unwitnessed tense throughout the story because he was not witness to the events that are being narrated (404, 405).

404. y-eč-un-λo y-eč-un-ay-λo hos ħiʔuk’a.
 II-be-PST.UW-NARR II-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR one witch(II)
 ‘Once upon a time there was a witch.’ [Witch.001]

405. a <w>se ħalli ħukmu b-i-yin žequʔ
 <I>that.OBL three.ERG decision(III) III-do-PST.UW today
 reʔa-λ’a b-aq^s-bič b-eč-a.
 night-SUP HPL-lie-NEG.CVB HPL-be-INF
 ‘The three decided not to sleep that night.’ [7Friends]

In fictional stories the Past unwitnessed forms are almost always used. When informants are pressured to use the Past witnessed, they refuse by saying that it is not possible to use it for the events that you did not see.

3.7.3.1.2 Witnessed and unwitnessed in periphrastic tenses

All past, finite, periphrastic verbal forms have the opposition of witnessed and unwitnessed forms (the Pluperfect witnessed, the Pluperfect unwitnessed, the Past progressive witnessed, and the Past progressive unwitnessed). The following section takes the Pluperfect witnessed and unwitnessed forms as an example as the generalizations apply to other periphrastic forms.

3.7.3.1.2.1 Pluperfect witnessed and unwitnessed

The Pluperfect witnessed is formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ with the Past witnessed suffix *-i*. This form is not restricted to any persons and indicates that the speaker witnessed the event directly.

406.do ono-γul hoⁿq'oso y-oⁿk'-un y-eč-i.
 1SG.ABS there-VERS once II-go-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.W
 'I (female) had been there once.'

The Pluperfect unwitnessed is formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-eč-* 'be' with the Past unwitnessed suffix *-un*. This form denotes that the speaker did not witness the event directly.

407.c'aq' q'^warił-in b-eč-un haq'u.
 very become.sad-PFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW family
 'The family had become quite upset.' [Jealous.013]

This form shows restrictions in meaning, depending on the grammatical person. There is a lack of consciousness effect in sentence (408), which indicates that the speaker did not remember the event for whatever reason (maybe the event took place long ago, or the speaker was unconscious or drunk, etc.), but the speaker supposes he has been there.

408.do ono-γul hoⁿq'oso y-oⁿk'-un y-eč-un.
 1SG.ABS there-VERS once II-go-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.UW
 'I had happened to be there once.' or 'Apparently I had been there once.'
 [But maybe the speaker does not remember about it now]

3.7.3.1.3 Negation (of witnessed and unwitnessed)

The contrast between witnessed and unwitnessed evidentials is also the same in negative clauses, which means that negative evidentials also specify the source of the information.

Witnessed and unwitnessed forms have corresponding negative markers: the negative suffix *-bi* is used to negate the Past witnessed tense (409, 410), and the negative suffix *-ay*, attached directly to the suffix of the Past unwitnessed, is used to negate with the Past unwitnessed tense (411, 412) (also cf. Table 3.42).

Table 3.42: Past (un)witnessed suffixes

	Past witnessed	Past unwitnessed
affirmative	-i	-un
negative	-bi	-un-ay

409. diyo lok'o l-eč-bi dudu-n bit'ura-l is-bič.
 1SG.GEN1 heart(IV) IV-be-NEG how-AND right-IV say-NEG.CVB
 'My heart didn't stop (beating) to tell the wrong thing.' [Fool.058]

410. ø-ixxid-in obu užaqał, de iλ-bi-k
 I-scold-PST.UW father(I) boy.CONT.LAT 1SG.ERG say-NEG-QUES
 dubqol ø-uwōxbo λin.
 2SG.CONT.LAT I-come.PROH QUOT
 'The father scolded the boy, "Have not I told you not to come?"' [Mesedo.016]

411. obu-t'-i q'ala šuk'-un-ay.
 father-OBL-ERG children beat-PST.UW-NEG
 'Apparently, the father did not beat (his) children.'

412. is-aλa dubo-n diyo-n himon žequł-so
 say-ANTR 2SG.GEN1-AND 1SG.GEN1-AND thing today-DEF
 žoho ħiq'-i λin iλ-in y-o"k'-un idu
 behind finish-PST.W QUOT say-PST.UW II-go-PFV.CVB this
 yine-n, t'ok'a-y y-ot'q'-an y-ot'q'-un-ay
 woman(II)-AND not.any.more-II II-come-RED II-come-PST.UW-NEG
 isuyol.
 that.APUD.LAT
 'Saying that now they did not have anything in common, she left and did not come back to him any more.' [Woman.054]

The Pluperfect unwitnessed can also be used with the 1st person. This refers to a situation where the speaker is not conscious or the speaker suddenly realizes something as a surprise.

413. *layλ'ol* *ø-ot'q'-aλa,* *ise* *iλ-i* *do*
 consciousness.SUP.LAT I-come-ANTR that.OBL.ERG say-PST.W 1SG.ABS
λus-un *ø-eč-un-ay,* *gollu-r-aha-l* *bit'ura-l l-eč-un.*
 sleep-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW-NEG be.PRS.PTCP <IV> all-IV right-IV IV-be-PST.UW
 'When he regained consciousness, he said, "Apparently I had not been sleeping, and everything was true."'

414. *Malla.rasan* *ø-ah-un* *hoboŋe* *mok'o-λ'o-zi,* *žu*
 Malla.rasan(I) I-stand-PFV.CVB that.OBL place-SUP-ABL that.ABS
ø-ečč-u, *uryiš-šeč* *ø-uh-un* *λin,* *hed*
 I-be-PST.PTCP think-IPFV.CVB I-die-PFV.CVB QUOT then
iλ-in *do* *ø-uh-un* *ø-eč-un-ay-ko.*
 say-PST.UW 1SG.ABS I-die-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW-NEG-INTS
 'Malla-rasan got up from the place where he was, thinking that he had died and then said, "Apparently I had not died!"' [Malla rasan]

So, the Pluperfect unwitnessed can have mirative overtones in certain contexts, which indicates that the speaker was surprised by something or that the speaker suddenly realized something.

3.7.3.2. Inferred evidential

The category of evidentiality has two main subcategories, which are witnessed and unwitnessed evidentials. The witnessed evidential denotes visual evidence for an event, whereas the unwitnessed evidential indicates the absence of visual evidence for the described event.

Another kind of evidentiality is the inferred evidential. The inferred evidential indicates that the speaker infers that an event has occurred based on direct visual evidence.

3.7.3.2.1 Inferential implication of resultative

The resultative construction is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary Present tense form *goli*. Use of the 3rd person conveys inferential meaning. Sentence (415) indicates that though the speaker did not directly witness the event, i.e. the coming of the brothers, the speaker inferred the event based on facts or results of the event, i.e. seeing the shoes of the brothers in the corridor.

415. is-na-ba b-ot'q'-un goli.
 sibling-PL-PL.ABS HPL-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'The brothers have come.' [The speaker sees his brothers' shoes in the corridor, but has not seen his brothers yet.]

Use of the 1st person in the resultative construction is possible, but the evidentiality distinction is lost.

416. [xuy-bo l-i-yobo] do y-aq⁵-un goli.
 noise-PL.ABS NHPL-do.PROH 1SG.ABS II-lie-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 [Be quiet] I (female) am lying (in bed).

Use of the 2nd person in such constructions is not straightforward. The second person can be used in a context where the speaker does not see the hearer, e.g. on the phone, as in the following example:

417. mo eⁿdu-l ø-ot'q'-un goli?
 2SG.ABS inside-LAT I-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'Did you come home?' [The speaker is on the phone and cannot see the addressee, so he is asking whether he is at home or not.]

The other context is when the speaker sees the hearer and tells him that he really did something or reached some point because the hearer does not know himself.

418.hoboŋe mok'ol'ol mo ø-ot'q'-un goli, ø-ah-a ø-eč-e.
 that.OBL place.SUP.LAT 2SG.ABS I-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS I-stand-INF I-be-IMP
 'You have reached that place, stop!'

419.me l-ukk-u himon l-i-yin goli,
 2SG.ERG IV-must-PST.PTCP thing(IV) IV-do-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 c'õx-da.
 be.enough.GNT-PART
 'You have done the needed thing, that's enough.'

420. mo Xasayurtil ø-ot'q'-un goli.
 2SG.ABS Khasavyurt.LAT I-come-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'You have arrived to Khasavyurt.' [The speaker tells the hearer this because the hearer is not aware or does not know the area.]

3.7.3.2.2 Inferential pluperfect

The Inferential pluperfect distinguishes between the Inferential pluperfect 1st person, the Inferential pluperfect non-first person witnessed, and the Inferential pluperfect non-first person unwitnessed.

3.7.3.2.2.1 Inferential pluperfect 1st person

The Inferential pluperfect 1st person is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us/-is-* 'find' with the Past witnessed suffix *-i*. It is important to note that the 1st person (singular or plural) in the Inferential pluperfect refers to the *inferer* of the situation but not to the subject as one of the verbal arguments.

421.do ono-li-n ø-ot'q'-un guc'-aŋa, b-us-i
 1SG.ABS there-LAT-AND I-come-PFV.CVB look-ANTR III-find-PST.W
 hos qarpuz b-oqol-un.
 one watermelon(III) III-appear-PFV.CVB
 'When I came and looked there, I found out that one watermelon had grown.'
 [Who can lie better?]

422. žu, c'oxu minuta-ba atγul ɪʎo b-ot'uq'-šehol,
 that.ABS few minute-PL.ABS before 1PL.ABS HPL-come-POSTR
 ø-oⁿk'-un ø-us-i.
 I-go-PFV.CVB I-find-PST.W
 'He left a few minutes before we arrived.'

The inferential pluperfect 1st person is only used with the witnessed form. The Past unwitnessed is ungrammatical (423, 424).

423. *do ono-li-n ø-ot'q'-un guc'-aλa, b-us-un
 1SG.ABS there-LAT-AND I-come-PFV.CVB look-ANTR III-find-PST.UW
 hos qarpuz b-oqoλ-un.
 one watermelon(III) III-appear-PFV.CVB
 'When I came and looked there, I found out that one watermelon had grown.'
 [Who can lie better?]

424. *žu, c'oxu minuta-ba atγul ɪʎo b-ot'uq'-šehol,
 that.ABS few minute-PL.ABS before 1PL.ABS HPL-come-POSTR
 ø-oⁿk'-un ø-us-un.
 I-go-PFV.CVB I-find-PST.UW
 'He left a few minutes before we arrived.'

3.7.3.2.2.2 Inferential pluperfect non-first person

An inference made by the 2nd or 3rd person can be direct or indirect, witnessed or unwitnessed. The speaker can be a direct or indirect witness to the inferred situation.

425. γοιλ'ο ø-ah-aλa, žu guc'-šehol, isul
 morning.SUP I-stand-ANTR that.ABS look-POSTR that.LAT
 kakba b-i-yacew lo l-is-in l-eq-un.
 prayer(III) III-do-EQ water(IV) IV-find-PST.UW IV-happen-PFV.CVB
 'In the morning when he woke up and looked there, he found just enough gathered
 water to make the prayer.' [Zagalawdibir]

3.7.3.2.2.2.1 Inferential pluperfect non-first person witnessed

The Inferential pluperfect non-first person witnessed is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us-* 'find' with the Past witnessed suffix *-i*. Use of this form indicates that the speaker actually witnessed the 2nd or 3rd person's inference.

426. Muḥamadil is eⁿdu-γul ø-oⁿk'-un ø-us-i
 Magomed.LAT sibling(I) inside-VERS I-go-PFV.CVB I-find-PST.W
 balnic-λ'o-zi.
 hospital.OBL-SUP-ABL

'Magomed found out that (his) brother has left hospital.' [When Magomed came to visit his brother in the hospital, he found that the bed was made and the room was empty; and the speaker saw this take place]

3.7.3.2.2.2.2 Inferential pluperfect non-first person unwitnessed

The Inferential pluperfect non-first person unwitnessed is formed with the Perfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us-* 'find' with the Past unwitnessed suffix *-un*. The meaning of this form is that the speaker did not witness the event of the inference made by the 2nd or 3rd person.

427. Muḥamadīl is eⁿdu-γul ø-oⁿk'-un ø-us-un
 Magomed.LAT sibling(I) inside-VERS I-go-PFV.CVB I-find-PST.UW
 balnic-λ'o-zi.
 hospital.OBL-SUP-ABL

'Magomed found out that (his) brother has left hospital.' [When Magomed came to visit his brother in the hospital, he found that the bed was made and the room was empty; and the speaker did not see it]

3.7.3.2.3 Presumptive inference

An inference can be made not only with evidence of an event, but also on the basis of the speaker's own knowledge. Such inferences are called *presumptive inference* (Plungyan 2000: 324). The Presumptive inference form uses the verb *-us-* 'find' in the General tense *-uwōs*, the tense which is used to express future and habitual meanings. The Presumptive inferential *-uwōs* indicates that an event is probable, thus this form expresses the hypothetical epistemic modality. The intensifier particle *da* can be optionally used on one of the constituents of a sentence.

428. mīžo gollu aha-b⁴⁴ b-eč-i b-uwōs ono
 2PL.ABS be.PRS.PTCP <HPL> all-HPL HPL-be-PST.W HPL-find.GNT there
 lił-in, di^ll'ō pikru-λ'o.
 drink-PFV.CVB 1SG.GEN2 thought-SUP
 'You all probably got drunk there, I see.' [Dialog]

429. ūrusa-b-že-s-da b-eč-un b-uwōs, di^l
 Russian-HPL-OBL-GEN1-PART HPL-be-PST.UW HPL-find.GNT 1SG.LAT
 I-iyōq'-bi.
 IV-know.GNT-NEG
 'Probably they were Russians, I do not know.' [Dialog]

⁴⁴ The word part *-aha-* is a bound morpheme; it has slots for prefixal and suffixal gender/number agreement. It is used with the adjectives meaning 'all'.

430. b-og b-odo-xk'-un iλλ-u moł-u b-i-dow
 III-well III-work-CAUS-PFV.CVB say-PST.PTCP teach-PST.PTCP III-do-GNT.PTCP
 me b-i-yaλa, lok'o-da išet'is gurhid-in l-uwōs.
 2SG.ERG III-do-ANTR heart(IV)-PART mother.GEN1 feel.pity-PST.UW IV-find.GNT
 'When you worked hard and did what you had been told and taught, probably the
 mother's heart felt pity.' [Donkey.017]

Use of the 1st person with the Presumptive inferential form also triggers the lack of consciousness effect.

431. de žu ħalt'i q^wa-in-da b-uwōs.
 1SG.ERG that work(III) write-PST.UW-PART III-find.GNT
 'Probably I had done this work.'

432. do λus-un-da y-eč-un y-uwōs.
 1SG.ABS sleep-PFV.CVB-PART II-be-PST.UW II-find.GNT
 [I have not heard any noise] 'Probably I had fallen asleep.'

3.7.3.2.3.1 Negative presumptive inferential

Negation of the Presumptive inferential can be expressed either on the lexical verb (433) or on the auxiliary verb *-us-* 'find' (434), or negation can be on both verbal forms (435), implying affirmative meaning.

433. ḡurusa-že-s b-eč-bi-da b-uwōs izzu.
 Russian-OBL-GEN1 HPL-be-NEG-PART HPL-find.GNT that.PL.(P)ABS
 'Probably they were not Russians.'

434. ḡurusa-že-s b-eč-i b-uwōs-bi-da izzu.
 Russian-OBL-GEN1 HPL-be-PST.W HPL-find.GNT-NEG-PART that.PL.(P)ABS
 'Probably they were not Russians.'

435. *ʃurusa-ʒe-s* *b-eč-bi* *b-uwōs-bi-da* *izzu.*
 Russian-OBL-GEN1 HPL-be-NEG HPL-find.GNT-NEG-PART that.(P)PL.ABS
 ‘Probably they were Russians.’

3.7.3.2.3.2 Presumptive inferential future

The Presumptive inferential can also refer to future events. The Presumptive inferential future is formed with the General tense participle of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us-* ‘find’ in the General tense. The Presumptive inferential future indicates that the described event is probable in the future. The speaker bases the inference of an event on some evidence. For instance, in sentence (436) the speaker sees the suitcase and presupposes that the father might travel to the city.

The main distinction between the Presumptive inferential and the Presumptive inferential future is that the former is combined with a finite verb and the latter is used with a non-finite verb, i.e. the General tense participle.

436. *obu* *ɣode* *šahar-λ’a-ɣul* *ø-oⁿk’-dow-da* *ø-uwōs.*
 father(I) tomorrow town-SUP-VERS I-go-GNT.PTCP-PART I-find.GNT
 ‘Probably the father will go to the city tomorrow.’ [e.g. seeing the suitcase]

The Presumptive inferential future can also be used with the 1st person, but the meaning is slightly different. This construction indicates that the speaker does not have full control over the situation, and there is a lack of consciousness effect.

437. *do* *ɣode* *šahar-λ’a-ɣul* *y-oⁿk’-dow-da* *y-uwōs.*
 1SG.ABS tomorrow town-SUP-VERS II-go-GNT.PTCP-PART II-find.GNT
 ‘Probably I (female) will go to the city tomorrow.’

The Presumptive inferential future can be used with the second person, and it conveys a supposition that requires confirmation by the hearer.

438.mo hobože ħalt'i-λ'o-l y-ux-dow-da y-uwōs.
 2SG.ABS now work-SUP-LAT II-go-GNT.PTCP-PART II-find.GNT
 'Probably you will go now to work.'

3.7.3.2.3.3 Negative presumptive inferential future

In the Presumptive inferential future the negation occurs only on the auxiliary verb 'to find' (439), negation of the lexical verb is ungrammatical (440).

439.obu γode šahar-λ'a-γul ø-oⁿk'-dow ø-uwōs-bi-da.
 father(I) tomorrow town-SUP-VERS I-go-GNT.PTCP I-find.GNT-NEG-PART
 'The father probably will not go to the city tomorrow.'

440.*obu γode šahar-λ'a-γul ø-oⁿk'-atew ø-uwōs.
 father(I) tomorrow town-SUP-VERS I-go-NEG.GNT.PTCP I-find.GNT
 'The father probably will not go to the city tomorrow.'

3.7.3.3. Quoting

The particle *λo* is only used in narratives, whereas the particle *λin* is used to refer to the information acquired from someone else. Thus, it is possible to distinguish a narrative particle *λo* and a quotative particle *λin*.

3.7.3.3.1 Narrative particle

The narrative particle *λo* is used in stories which usually start as *bečun-λo bečunay-λo* 'Once upon a time...', literally 'there was, there was not'. In such a context the quotative particle *λin* is never used. The narrative particle *λo* is used in simple narration and fictional stories.

441.ø-eč-un-λo ø-eč-un-ay-λo hos mičaha-w žik'o.
 I-be-PST.UW-NARR I-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR one rich-I man(I)
 'Once upon a time there was one rich man.' [Sisters.001]

442.iso y-eč-un-λo ĥono kad.
 that.GEN1 II-be-PST.UW-NARR three girl(II)
 ‘He had three daughters.’ [Sisters.002]

The narrative particle *λo* occurs throughout the narrative story, i.e. in every sentence. In one sentence the particle occurs only once. The particle *λo* can be attached to any constituent in the sentence.

443.heč’č’e atγuli huⁿne-ma b-us-i-λo isul boc’o
 most in.front road-IN III-find-PST.W-NARR that.LAT wolf(III)
 q^ʼem-in l-eλ-in.
 head(IV)-AND IV-be.ill-PFV.CVB
 ‘First he met a wolf who had a headache.’ [The man who went to God]

3.7.3.3.2 Quotative particle

The quotative particle *λin* is used to indicate reported speech and also to denote that the information was acquired from someone else. The quotative particle *λin* comes from the grammaticalized Perfective converb ‘having said’ (also cf. 4.14.).

444.hed iλ-in ise žik’ó, dubo om^ʼoq^ʼe
 then say-PST.UW that.OBL man.OBL.ERG 2SG.GEN1 donkey
 ĥono-lux ʼσ^{nʼ}σ^{nʼ}λ-aλa, mo ø-uh-a goli λin.
 three-REPET bray-ANTR 2SG.ABS I-die-INF be.PRS QUOT
 ‘Then that man said, “You will die, when your donkey brays three times.”’ [Malla rasan]

The quotative particle *λin* is an evidential particle, and it can be combined almost with all utterance or propositional predicates, but it cannot be used with the verb of knowledge *liq’a* ‘to know’, which always requires that the speaker has witnessed the event.

3.7.3.3.3 Hearsay construction

The hearsay construction (or reported evidential) uses the fossilized verb *č'āl* in the General tense, derived from the affective verb *č'ala* 'to inform, to hear'. Constructions with *č'āl* mean 'they say'. The quotative particle *λin* can be optionally used within the hearsay construction (445). The word *č'āl* cannot be combined with the Past witnessed or the Future definite tenses but can be used with other tenses (445, 446).

445. *žequł os iλ-še (λin) č'āl.*
 today money give-PRS QUOT inform.GNT
 'They say that today (they) will give (us) money.'

446. *ise mašina b-ez-un č'āl.*
 that.OBL.ERG car(III) III-buy-PST.UW inform.GNT
 'They say he bought a car.'

In affective constructions the verb *č'ala* 'to inform' can also indicate hearsay, i.e. the knowledge is based on what was heard, e.g. heard from a well-known legend or popular belief.

447. *isul č'al-un l-eč-un, aq'^szas*
 that.LAT hear-PFV.CVB IV-be-PST.UW mouse.PL.OBL.GEN I
t'alaqasa-n idu yašk'a-n goli dunnal-λ'a řažaiba-r
 ring(IV)-AND this box(V)-AND be.PRS world-SUP magic-IV
himon λin.
 thing(IV) QUOT

'He had heard that the ring of mice and this box are the magic things in the world.' [3Princes.054]

3.7.3.4. Questioning witnessed and unwitnessed forms

Interrogative clauses have the same set of evidential forms as declarative clauses, i.e. firsthand and non-firsthand evidentials can be used in questions. The firsthand evidential can be used in questions where the addressee is the indicated source of information, i.e. he or she is a direct witness to the event in question (448, 449). Sentence (448) indicates the following situation: speaker A knows that speaker B was at the wedding, i.e. speaker A's information source is the addressee (or speaker B)'.

448.

- A: hibo bertin-q'e b-eč-i ?
 what wedding(III)-QUES III-be-PST.W
 'How was the wedding?'
- B: y-eč-e, diyo sebaha-y, mo
 II-be-IMP 1SG.GEN1 second.cousin-II 2SG.ABS
 y-eč-bi-ko bertinoλ'o?
 II-be-NEG-INTS wedding.SUP
 'Wait, my sister, haven't you been to the wedding?' [Dialog]

449.

- A: y-eč-e, dił' bič'id-bi, žu doco
 II-be-IMP 1SG.LAT understand-NEG this much
 os-q'é ise Ĥaži-Ĥali b-eγ^w-i?
 money(III)-QUES that.OBL Hadji-Ali.ERG III-take-PST.W
 'Wait, I did not understand, how much money Hadji-Ali took?'
- B: γebil'a b-ec'c'-u b-eγ^w-i.
 hat(III) III-full-PST.PTCP III-take-PST.W
 '(He) took a hat full of money.' [Dialog]

The non-firsthand evidential form in questions also corresponds to the information source of the addressee. The use of the non-firsthand evidential is based on the speaker's assumption that the questionee himself witnessed the event indirectly. It

is interesting that speaker B in example (450) does not reply directly to the question but gives information about something else using a witnessed form.

450.

- A: hobondu-t'a γina-ba-n b-eč-un ono?
 what-PL woman.OBL-PL.ABS-AND HPL-be-PST.UW there
 ‘What women were there?’
- B: xunda b-eč-bi ono.
 male HPL-be-NEG there
 ‘There were no men.’ [Dialog]

The information source in questions can be complex, as in the following example (451). Speaker A tells the story using the non-firsthand form, but speaker B, assuming that speaker A was a direct witness to the event, asks a question with a witnessed form based on the addressee as information source. Speaker A, however, replies using the unwitnessed form.

451.

- A: hobože-sλa γine-n y-ot'q'-un-λo.
 now-PART wife-AND II-come-PST.UW-NARR
 ‘And now the wife came.’
- B: roq'-i-q'e?
 make.up-PST.W-QUES
 ‘Did (they) make up?’
- A: he, roq'-un.
 yes make.up-PST.UW
 ‘Yes, (they) made up.’ [Dialog]

3.7.4. Non-indicative forms

The non-indicative mood includes the imperative, prohibitive, hortative, and deliberative moods.

3.7.4.1. Imperative

The imperative mood is used with the second person singular and plural to express an order, demand or request. The suffix *-o/-a/-e* is used to express the imperative mood.

The imperative suffix *-o* is basic, i.e. it is used when the final verbal syllable ends with any vowel except *-a*. When the final verbal syllable ends in *-a*, the imperative suffix *-a* is used. This imperative suffix *-o* is used with all verbs, intransitive, transitive, affective, and potential (cf. Table 3.43).

In addition to the imperative suffix *-o*, the imperative suffix *-e* can be used with transitive, intransitive, affective and potential verbs. In some verbs imperative suffixes *-o* and *-e* are in free variation, whereas in some other verbs only one of the imperative suffixes is used. The distribution of the imperative suffix *-e* is still not clear and this requires further research.

There are two idiosyncratic imperative forms which are formed with the imperative suffixes *-le* and *-lo*. The verb *-eq-* is a light verb with several meanings, e.g. ‘happen, become, begin, go away’. When the imperative is derived from this verb, the meaning is ‘go away’ (452); it is not possible to derive an imperative for the other meanings.

e.g.	<i>-ux-</i> ‘come’	<i>-ux-le</i> ‘come-IMP’
	<i>-eq-</i> ‘happen’	<i>-eq-lo</i> ‘go.away-IMP’

452.b- <i>eq-lo</i>	<i>dil^l</i>	<i>b-ak-zaha-sa.</i>
HPL-go.away-IMP	1SG.LAT	HPL-see-LOC.CVB-DEF
‘Go out of sight!’ (lit. ‘go away from the place where I see’)		

Table 3.43: Imperative forms

	Imperative forms
transitive verbs	
l-i-ya 'IV-do-INF'	l-i-yo ⁴⁵ 'IV-do-IMP'
l-ac'-a 'IV-eat-INF'	l-ac'-a 'IV-eat-IMP'
šiλ'-a 'put.on-INF'	šiλ'-o / šiλ'-e 'put.on-IMP'
xan-a 'mow-INF'	xan-a / xan-e 'mow-IMP'
puλ-a 'blow-INF'	puλ-o / puλ-e 'blow-IMP'
intransitive verbs	
durid-a 'run-INF'	durid-o / durid-e 'run-IMP'
kok-a 'eat-INF'	kok-o / kok-e 'eat-IMP'
ø-ah-a 'I-stand-INF'	ø-ah-a / ah-e 'I-stand-IMP'
l-eč-a 'IV-be-INF'	b-eč-e 'HPL-be-IMP'
λus-a 'sleep-INF'	λus-o / λus-e 'sleep-IMP'
affective verbs	
tuq-a 'listen-INF'	tuq-o / tuq-e 'listen-IMP'
goq-a 'love-INF'	goq-o 'love-IMP'
q'oč-a 'want-INF'	q'oč-o / q'oč-e 'want-IMP'
l-iq'-a 'IV-know-INF'	l-iq'-e 'IV-know-IMP'
labile verbs	
c'alid-a 'read-INF'	c'alid-o / c'alid-e 'read-IMP'
usan-a 'wash-INF'	usan-a 'wash-IMP'
l-ok'-a 'IV-burn-INF'	l-ok'-o / l-ok'-e 'IV-burn-IMP'
λix-a 'tear-INF'	λix-o / λix-e 'tear-IMP'
potential verbs	
xeš-l-a 'close-POT-INF'	xeš-l-o / xeš-l-e 'close-POT-IMP'
quq-l-a 'dry-POT-INF'	quq-l-o / quq-l-e 'dry-POT-IMP'

⁴⁵ The imperative suffix includes the epenthetic semivowel *-y-*, which occurs at the boundary of two vowels.

3.7.4.1.1 Imperatives from intransitives and transitives

Imperative constructions can be formed from intransitive (453) and transitive (454) verbs. The addressee can be overtly expressed by a second person singular or plural pronoun (455, 456), or the pronoun can be omitted (453, 454).

453. \emptyset -oⁿk'-o obu, do \emptyset -oⁿk'-še gobi λin
 I-go-IMP father(I) 1SG.ABS I-go-PRS be.PRS.NEG QUOT
 goλ'-un Muḥamá.
 call-PST.UW Magomed.OBL.ERG
 ‘‘Go father, I am not coming,’’ Magomed called.’ [Mesedo.026]

454. hoboḷe ašemλ'o λar-i iλ-in iḷe.iḷelo γinaqal,
 that.OBL time.SUP kunak-ERG say-PST.UW REFL.GEN2 wife.CONT.LAT
 l-i-yo lac'a λin.
 IV-do-IMP food(IV) QUOT
 ‘At that time the kunak said to his wife to make the meal.’ [Malla-rasan]

455. me diḷ c'oxu qarpuz hic-o.
 2SG.ERG 1SG.LAT few watermelon leave-IMP
 ‘You leave me some watermelon!’

456. miže l-i-yo.
 2PL.ERG IV-do-IMP
 ‘You do (it)!’

There is no marker for the plural imperative. If the verb has a slot for gender/number agreement, it can show singular vs. plural distinction in the imperative form (457); if there is no slot for gender/number agreement, then this difference is not marked (458).

466. žu himon goq-o dubul.
 that.ABS thing love-IMP 2SG.LAT
 ‘You like this thing!’

The verb ‘to want’ has two variants, *q’^weč-*, which is mostly used by elderly speakers and *qoč-*, used by younger speakers. Both forms allow both imperative suffixes *-o* and *-e*.

467. do q’^weč-o / q’^weč-e / q’oč-o / q’oč-e dubul.
 1SG.ABS want-IMP want-IMP want-IMP want-IMP 2SG.LAT
 ‘You want me!’

Two affective verbs do not have the imperative forms, *lusa* ‘find’ and *lak^wa* ‘see’. The imperative can only be formed from the corresponding causative verbs *l-us-x-a* ‘IV-find-CAUS-IMP’, which means ‘to find (transitive)’ and *l-ak-x^w-a* ‘IV-see-CAUS-IMP’ ‘to show’.

468. me k’ilik’a l-us-x-o.
 2SG.ERG ear.ring(IV) IV-find-CAUS-IMP
 ‘You find the ear-ring!’

469. me l-ak-x^w-a di^l.
 2SG.ERG IV-see-CAUS-IMP 1SG.LAT
 ‘You show me!’

3.7.4.2. Prohibitive

The prohibitive mood (or negative imperative) is formed with the suffix *-bo* and the lengthening of the root vowel. The prohibitive expresses negative inducement.

470. tuwōλbo isul heⁿše.
 give.PROH that.LAT book
 ‘Do not give him a book!’

471. \emptyset - \bar{e}^nq 'bo ide-l Muḥamad.
 I-bring.PROH here-LAT Magomed(I)
 'Do not bring Magomed here!'

472. b-eč-e, b-uwōλ'bo λurowōdbo.
 III-stay-IMP III-be.afraid.PROH shudder.PROH
 "‘Wait, don't be afraid, don't tremble,’ (he said).’ [Hajj.004]

473. moko-yōy, ačqa-yāy mo \emptyset - \bar{o}^nk 'bo λin iλ-in.
 get.hungry-GNT get.thirsty-GNT 2SG.ABS I-go.PROH QUOT say-PST.UW
 "‘You will get hungry and thirsty, don't come,’ (he said).’ [Mesedo.007]

3.7.4.3. Hortative (Inducement in the 1st person plural)

The hortative mood is expressed with the particle *hobo* 'come' and the finite verb in the Present simple tense. The particle *hobo* 'come' is obligatorily used in order to express hortative meaning.

474. hobo í^lo kere-še.
 come 1PL.ABS play-PRS
 'Let's play!'

475. hobo k'iše-λ'o b-aš-še.
 come dance-SUP HPL-stand-PRS
 'Let's dance!'

476. hobo miq'e-so baydan xan-še.
 come far.away-DEF field mow-PRS
 'Let's mow the farthest field!'

This form can also be used as a proposition with the 1st person singular pronoun.

477.hobo, de lac'a I-i-še.
 come 1SG.ERG food(IV) IV-do-PRS
 'Let me cook some food.'

The particle *hobo* can also be combined with the imperative (478) or the optative (479) to express inducement.

478.hobo, me goλ'-o Pat'imat.
 come 2SG.ERG call-IMP Patimat
 'Let you call Patimat!' or 'Call Patimat!'

479.hobo, Muḥamad-i goλ'-oλo Pat'imat.
 come Magome-ERG call-OPT Patimat
 'Let Magomed call Patimat!'

3.7.4.4. Optative

The optative suffix is formed with the suffix *-λo* attached to the imperative stem. The optative is used with all personal pronouns, and it can express a desire, a wish, or damnation.

480.de γine y-ez-oλo, me γine y-ez-oλo,
 1SG.ERG woman(II) II-take-OPT 2SG.ERG woman(II) II-take-OPT
 bat'ali hibo.
 difference what
 'I get married, or you get married, what is the difference?'

481.y-uh-oλo do, heresi is-se b-us-λo.
 II-die-OPT 1SG.ABS lie(III) say-IPFV.CVB III-find-COND
 'May I die if I lie!'

482. Pat'imat-i y-ez-oλo bataxu.
 Patimat-ERG V-buy-OPT bread(v)
 'Let Patimat buy bread.'

The optative suffix *-oλo* has an alternative semantic reading: it can express permission (483) or express indifference (484).

483. Muḥamadul eⁿxeyol ø-oⁿk'-a behid-ōy.
 Magomed.LAT river.APUD.LAT I-go-INF permit-GNT
 -'Can Magomed go to the river?'
 ø-oⁿk'-oλo.
 I-go-OPT
 - 'Let him go.'

484. Muḥamad-i Pat'imat y-es-se goli.
 Magomed-ERG Patimat(II) II-take-PRS be.PRS
 -'Magomed is marrying Patimat.'
 y-ez-oλo, di^l urye^l gobi.
 II-take-OPT 1SG.LAT concern be.PRS.NEG
 -'Let him marry, I don't care.'

The optative can be formed with all verbs, including the small group of verbs that do not form the imperative:

e.g. I-ak^w-aλa 'IV-see-OPT'
 I-us-oλo 'IV-find-OPT'

The optative suffix *-oλo* is used to express a wish or damnation. The following are the most common traditional wishing phrases and damnation or curse phrases:

485. huⁿne rit'if-oλo dubul.
road be.straight-OPT 2SG.LAT
'Have a good trip!'
486. eļ^j q'abula-y y-us-oλo.
fasting(V) acceptable-V V-find-OPT
'May your fasting be accepted!' (it is a common expression after the fasting month of Ramadan)
487. ruḥ iman-λ'a b-eγ-un b-us-oλo.
sigh(III) consciousness-SUP III-take-PFV.CVB III-find-OPT
'May you go to heaven!' (about dying people)
488. quq-a šeš-oλo dublo.
throat-IN stick-OPT 2SG.GEN2
'May you have something stuck in your throat!'
489. barkat gollu b-us-oλo.
luck(III) be.PRS.PTCP III-find-OPT
'May you have good luck!' (about trading)
490. b-uxala ğumru gollu b-us-oλo.
III-long life(III) be.PRS.PTCP III-find-OPT
'May he live a long life!' (about a newborn)
491. l-iy-oλo mižul saxfi.
IV-do-OPT 2PL.LAT health(IV)
'Bless you!'
492. žužah-ma-l b-ek'l-oλo mízo.
hell-IN-LAT HPL-fall-OPT 2PL.ABS
'May you go to hell!'

3.7.4.4.1 Negative optative

The negative optative is formed from the prohibitive by adding the suffix *-λo* to the prohibitive verb.

493.diyο	kampot	xuwōλboλo	ise.
1SG.GEN1	juice.ABS	drink.OPT.NEG	that.OBL.ERG

‘Don’t let him drink my juice.’

3.7.4.4.2 Subjunctive (Wishes)

The conditional converb with the suffix *-lo* is used to express the irrealis in wishes.

494.mičahał-še	golfo	do.
become.rich-PRS	be.PRS.COND	1SG.ABS

‘If only I were rich.’

495.iso	mašina	b-eč-lo.
that.GEN1	house(III)	III-be-COND

‘If only he had a car.’

496.xexiřin	Muħamad	ø-ot’uq’-še	golfo.
fast	Magomed(I)	I-come-PRS	be.PRS.COND

‘If only Magomed would come quickly.’

3.7.4.4.3 Optative in polypredicative clauses

The optative form is only used in manipulative clauses.

497.isuqol	e ⁿ du-γul	ø-ux-leλo ⁴⁷	λin	iλ-o.
that.CONT.LAT	inside-VERS	I-come-OPT	QUOT	say-IMP

‘Tell him to come home.’

⁴⁷ The optative form is *-leλo* (not *-eλo*) as this verb’s imperative form includes the suffix *-le*.

498.xan-i amru b-i-yi ise.isulo soldatza-qa
 khan-ERG order(III) III-do-PST.W REFL.GEN2 soldier.PL.OBL-CONT
 žohoq'^semil m-ok'-oλo λin.
 backwards HPL-go-OPT QUOT
 'Khan made an order to his soldiers to retreat.'

499.obu-t'-i wasiyat b-i-yi aq užal hic-oλo λin.
 father-OBL-ERG will(III) III-do-PST.W house boy.LAT leave-OPT QUOT
 'The father made a will that the house would be left to the son.'

The optative is used in manipulative clauses with utterance predicates.

500.diqol iλ-i me goλ'-oλo Pat'imat.
 1SG.CONT.LAT say-PST.W 2SG.ERG call-OPT Patimat
 'I was told that you should call Patimat.'

501.hoboŋe ašemλ'o λar-i iλ-in iŋe.iŋelo γinaqal,
 that.OBL time.SUP guest-ERG say-PST.UW REFL.GEN2 wife.CONT.LAT
 I-i-yo lac'a λin.
 IV-do-IMP food(IV) QUOT
 'At that time the guest said to his wife to make the meal.'

3.7.4.4.4 Other expressions

3.7.4.4.4.1 Polite requests

The particle *-oγo*, which has an initial slot for gender/number agreement, is used with the second person singular or plural pronoun to form imperatives that express a polite request.

502.hobo, y-oγo mo. / hobo, b-oγo mίžo.
 come II-hey 2SG.ABS come HPL-hey 2PL.ABS
 'Hey (singular), come on!' 'Hey (plural), come on!'

503.1-i-yo, y-oγo mo, Ayšat.
 IV-do-IMP II-hey 2SG.ABS Ayshat
 ‘Ayshat, please, do (it)!’ / ‘Ayshat, come on, do (it)!’

504.1-i-yo, y-oγo mo, kandi-yu.
 IV-do-IMP II-hey 2SG.ABS girl.OBL-VOC
 ‘Girl, please, do (it)!’ / ‘Girl, come on, do (it)!’

3.7.4.4.4.2 Apprehensive interpretation of the prohibitive

Apprehensive meaning can be expressed in several ways. First, the prohibitive can be used to convey a warning (505, 507). Warnings can also be given with the General tense verbs, as in (506, 508). The apprehensive particle *wole* can be combined with the prohibitive verb or the verb in the General tense.

505.zoxuk'-dow goli, q'udu ø-ēⁿgbo.
 slide-GNT.PTCP be.PRS down I-fall.PROH
 ‘It is slippery, don't fall!’

506.zoxuk'-dow goli, wole q'udu-da ø-ēⁿg.
 slide-GNT.PTCP be.PRS APPR down-PART I-fall.GNT
 ‘It is slippery, you can fall!’

507.k'oc bobolu-da goli, wole l-ok'ōxbo.
 pan hot-PART be.PRS APPR IV-burn.PROH
 ‘The pan is hot, don't burn yourself!’

508.k'oc bobolu goli, l-ok'ōx.
 pan hot be.PRS IV-burn.GNT
 ‘The pan is hot, you can burn yourself!’

The apprehensive particle *wole* can also be combined with imperative verbs.

509. wole, y-eⁿq'-o λun iλ-in.
 APPR. II-bring-IMP QUOT say-PST.UW
 'Hey, bring her, he said.' [Orphans.069]

The negative conditional marker *-bito* is also used to convey apprehensive meaning.

510. leλ-bi-ło Pat'imat.
 be.ill-NEG-COND Patimat
 'Lest Patimat falls ill.'

511. unōx.bo γ^{sw}e, ite dubo haⁿn-bi-ło.
 tease.PROH dog that.OBL.ERG 2SG.GEN1 bite-NEG-COND
 'Don't tease a dog lest it bites you.'

512. dił^l huⁿne lok'o-λ'o-čun gobi, ono-ide-l uk-bi-ło
 1SG.LAT road heart-SUP-PART be.PRS.NEG there-here-LAT run-NEG-COND
 do.
 1SG.ABS
 'I don't remember the way – I am afraid I might get lost.'

3.7.4.5. Conditional mood

The conditional mood is used in conditional clauses (cf. 4.10.3.2). There are three types of conditionals: high-probability conditionals, middle-probability conditionals, and low-probability conditionals.

3.7.4.6. Deliberative mood

The deliberative mood is formed with the suffix *-lu*, which is added to the infinitival stem. The deliberative mood is used only in questions. The deliberative mood indicates the speaker's request for further instructions. Such questions are emphatic unlike simple questions (cf. 4.13.4).

513. hibo-q'e l-i-yalu, na-li-č na-l-k-q'e
 what-QUES IV-do-DELIB where-LAT-EMPH where-LAT-QUES-QUES
 b-ot'ok'-alu λin ø-eč-un kandaza-s obu
 III-carry-DELIB QUOT I-be-PST.UW girl.PL.OBL-GEN1 father(I)
 urγi-še.
 think-IPFV.CVB
 'The father of these girls was thinking, "What to do now, where to bring them."' [Orphans.009]

514. hobože dibir-γo-li y-e"λ'-un hibo.čibo-k l-i-yalu
 now mullah-APUD-LAT II-go-PST.UW what.RED-QUES IV-do-DELIB
 homonu xol mada-ha-l ø-eq^w-ate λin.
 such husband(I) outside-AD-LAT I-happen-NEG QUOT
 'Now she went to the mullah, "What to do with such a husband who does not want to go outside."' [Xitilbeg.002]

3.8. Particles

Khwarshi has a number of particles, which have different communicative functions; most of them occur as clitics, i.e. they can attach to any part of speech.

The most frequent particle is an additive particle *-n* corresponding to the English conjunctions 'and' and adverb 'also'. This particle is used to coordinate noun phrase and clauses (cf. 4.5). This particle is also used to form negative interrogative pronouns (also cf. 3.5.4).

The particle *-č* is an emphatic particle corresponding to the Russian particle *же* or English adverb 'even'. This particle is also used to form reflexive pronouns (cf. 3.5.5).

The particle *-so* is a definiteness particle. The main function of this particle is to specify the meaning of an object, i.e. to define one specific object from a group of similar objects. This particle is used with nouns, numerals, and adjectives, functioning as a definiteness particle (515, 516, 517). This suffix is used to form attributive and

substantive adverbs (cf. 3.3.5). This particle is also used in the formation of the Anterior converb and Present participle (cf. 3.7.1.5).

515. kad-so y-ot'q'-i.
 girl(II)-DEF II-come-PST.W
 'It is namely the girl who came.'

516. om^ooq^oe-n b-ez-un hos-so ø-oⁿk'-un hadaγayul.
 donkey(III)-AND III-take-PFV.CVB one-DEF I-go-PST.UW one.APUD.VERS
 'One (of them) took the donkey and went the other way.' [Donkey.006]

517. ø-uq'^ou-(so) uže ø-ot'q'-i.
 I-big-DEF boy(II) I-come-PST.W
 'The big boy came.'

The particle *-čun* is an emphatic particle corresponding to the English adverb 'even'. This particle when combined with the indefinite pronoun *hos* 'one' forms the negative indefinite pronoun (cf. 3.5.4).

The particle *-gon* is an emphatic particle with the meaning 'even', and it is also used to express surprise.

518. mo-gon y-oⁿk'-un y-eč-i ono-l.
 2SG.ABS-PART II-go-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.W there-LAT
 'Even you went there.'

The particle *-λun* is a quotative particle used in reported speech. This particle always occurs at the end of the quoted phrase (cf. 4.14).

The particle *-lun* corresponds to English 'as' and it is often used in expressions such as 'to have a profession as' or 'to think about someone as':

519. žu ħalt'i-še y-eč-i dayarka-łun.
 that.ABS work-IPFV.CVB II-be-PST.W milkmaid-AS
 'She worked as a milkmaid.'

520. iłe ił'ó abaxar ø-ogu-łun q^wi-še.
 that.OBL.ERG 1PL.GEN1 neighbor(I) I-good-AS consider-PST.W
 'She thinks our neighbor is good.'

The particle *-cew/-cegu* is an equative particle used in the equative constructions (cf. 4.2.1.3).

Free particles are the affirmative particle *he* 'yes' and negative particle *ayi* 'no'.

3.9. Word derivation

3.9.1. Noun derivation

The suffix *-li* is a loan morpheme from Avar used to form abstract nouns from nouns and adjectives, which are then borrowed into Khwarshi:

e.g.	hadam 'people'	hadamli 'humanity'
	ħadur 'ready'	ħadurli 'preparation'
	q'adar 'bad'	q'adarli 'meanness'

This suffix is never used to form abstract nouns from words of Khwarshi origin, except for one word *q'^εem-li* 'relatives' which consists of the noun *q'^εem* 'head' plus the suffix *-li* where the meaning of this noun is lexicalized. The suffix *-li* is also used to form nouns from Russian nouns which refer to professional duties:

e.g.	učitel 'teacher'	učitelli 'duty of a teacher'
	šofer 'driver'	šoferli 'duty of a driver'
	director 'director'	direktorli 'duty of a director'
	sekretar 'secretary'	sekretarli 'duty of a secretary'
	axrana 'guards'	axranli 'duty of guards'

The suffix *-lar* is mostly used with words of native origin to derive abstract nouns from adjectives, adverbs, participles, or nouns:

e.g.	žik'o 'man'	žik'o-lar 'courage'
	hadam 'people'	hadam-lar 'humanity'
	žuka 'bad'	žuka-lar 'maliciousness'
	log /logu 'good'	log-lar/logu-lar 'kindness'
	luc'c'u 'cold'	luc'c'u-lar 'coldness'
	q'očč-u 'want-PST.PTCP'	q'očču-lar 'wanting'
	ot'uq'-dow 'come-GNT.PTCP'	ot'uq'-dow-lar 'coming'
	gobi-nu 'be.PRS.NEG-MASD'	gobinu-lar 'absence, lack'

The masdar suffix *-nu* is used to form abstract nouns from verbs. Derived nouns with the masdar suffix *-nu* and the suffix *-lar* are assigned to Gender 4.

e.g.	azalaya 'to become freeze'	azala-nu 'freezing'
	buλ'a 'to fear'	buλ'-nu 'fear'
	buwoxa 'to kill'	buwox-nu 'murder'
	i ⁿ ya 'to cry'	i ⁿ ya-nu 'crying'

The loan morpheme *-qan* is used to derive nouns related to professions:

e.g.	keč'i 'song'	keč'i-qan 'singer'
	k'iše 'dance'	k'iše-qan 'dancer'

Several productive suffixes *-qale/-xale/-mare/-xe/-qe* are used to form nouns denoting evaluative names of persons. The suffixes *-qale/-xale* are attached to the oblique noun stem, and the suffixes *-xe/-qe* are attached to the Absolutive stem.

e.g.	a ⁿ x ^ʕ ‘stomach’	a ⁿ x ^ʕ a-qale ‘glutton’
	yo ⁿ cu ‘saliva’	yo ⁿ ca-xale ‘sloppy’
	muše ‘smell’	muša-xale ‘stinky’
	xeλ’ ‘snivel’	xeλ’-mare ‘sniveler, snotty’

e.g.	kuta ‘sore’	kuta-xe ‘sore man’
	qirisa ‘snivel’	qirisa-xe ‘snotty’
	bul ^ʕ a ‘bald patch’	bul ^ʕ a-x ^ʕ e ‘baldy’
	muše ‘smell’	muša-xe ‘stinky’
	beta ‘bald patch with some hair’	beta-xe ‘baldy’
	xuta ‘fart’	xuta-qe ‘farther’

521.ø-eč-un-λo	ø-eč-un-ay-λo	ħono	h ^ʕ am ^ʕ ay ^ʕ e,
I-be-PST.UW-NARR	I-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR	three	friend(I)
kuta-xe,	qirisa-xe	x ^ʕ eλ’-mare.	
sore-NZ	snivel-NZ	snivel-NZ	
‘There were three friends: Sore, Snivel and Snot.’ [3Friends. 001]			

The suffix *-aqa* is added to the oblique noun stems to derive the names of the workplace:

e.g.	exun ‘smith’	exun-aqa ‘smithy’
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The suffix *-dale/-ale* derives nouns from verbs to give evaluative names of the persons:

e.g.	hoda ‘to ask’	hod-dale ‘beggar’
	i ⁿ ya ‘to cry’	i ⁿ ya-dale ‘cry-baby’
	hik’ ‘hiccup’	hik’-dale ‘hiccup person’
	λ’al’aq’a ‘to rob’	λ’al’aq-ale ‘thief’

The suffix *-nak'u* derives nouns from verbs to give evaluative names of the persons:

e.g. uλ'a 'to be afraid' uλ'a-nak'u 'coward'

The suffix *-č'e* is used to derive kinship nouns from the indigenous adjective *-uq'^su* 'big', which has a slot for gender/number prefix: *ø-uq'^suč'e* 'grandfather', 'old man' and *y-uq'^suc'e* 'grandmother', 'old woman'.

The following processes of noun derivation exist:

(i) compounding

Dvandva (coordinate) nouns are formed by combining two lexical nouns, which can be either of similar or opposite meaning:

e.g. reła-zebu 'day and night'
 uže-kad 'children' (lit. boy-girl)
 išu-obu 'parents' (lit. mother-father)
 lamus-yaħ 'conscience' (lit. conscience-dignity)
 laca-c'o 'food' (lit. food-fire)
 c'od-koknu 'meal' (lit. drink-eat)
 γur-γon 'garden' (lit. stone-tree)
 γolo-posu 'cattle' (lit. cattle-cattle)

(ii) reduplication

Khwarshi nouns, like those of other Daghestanian languages, can be reduplicated. Reduplication is formed by changing the initial consonant. The primary use of reduplication is to indicate either diversity (plurality) or resemblance among the entities, i.e. 'different things like this', e.g. *piwo* 'beer' and *piwo-miwo* 'beer and drinks like it'.

e.g. čay 'tea' čay-may 'tea and things like it'
 q'arp'uz 'watermelon' q'arp'uz-marp'uz 'watermelon and things like it'

(iii) onomatopoeic nouns

Onomatopoeic words refer to the sounds of nature or animals, among other things.

e.g. z^warγi ‘ringing, clank’
up’p’a ‘kiss’

Onomatopoeic words are usually formed by reduplication.

e.g. d^war-d^wali ‘sound’ (e.g. from steps, knocking)
γ^war-γ^wali ‘sound’ (e.g. from thunder, dishes)
bur-bur ‘sound’ (e.g. from animal step)

The following onomatopoeic reduplicated words are used to get the animals to come:

e.g.	cat	isis isis
	dog	mah mah
	chicks	c’ip c’ip
	chickens	giš giš (for calling) and k’iš k’iš (for driving away)
	sheep	maʕis maʕis
	young of buffalo	k’oni k’oni
	buffalo	meni meni / meli meli / mani mani

3.9.2. Adjective derivation

Formally, adjectives can be divided into non-derived (plain) and derived. The majority of adjectives are derived. These adjectives are formed with the help of suffixes. Participles are also considered to be derived adjectives:

e.g.	mok’k’-u ‘gone’	past participle
	mok’-šeso ‘going’	present participle
	mok’-dow ‘going’	general participle

There are several suffixes that form adjectives:

(i) the most productive derivative suffix *-xu*, used with polysyllabic stems, and *-xxu*, used with monosyllabic stems, has the meaning ‘having something’, and this suffix is added to the oblique stem of nouns:

e.g.	ciyo ⁿ ‘salt’	ciyo ⁿ -xu ‘salty’
	hírša ‘rust’	hírša-xu ‘rusty’
	q’ala ‘child’	q’ala-xu ‘pregnant’ (‘lit. with a child’)
	loł ‘oil’	loło-xu ‘oily’
	ło ‘water’	łe-xxu ‘watery’
	bišandu ‘beard’	bišanda-xu ‘bearded man’
	ko ‘hair’	kolaza-xu ‘hairy’
	puč ‘pepper’	puču-xu ‘with pepper’

(ii) the suffix *-t’u* with the meaning ‘not having’ is less productive, and there are only a few instances of this suffix. The suffix *-t’u* is also added to the oblique noun stem.

e.g.	ciyo ⁿ ‘salt’	ciyo ⁿ -t’u ‘not salty’
	puč ‘pepper’	puču-t’u ‘without pepper’
	loł ‘oil’	loło-t’u ‘not oily’
	lok’o ‘heart’	lok’o-t’u ‘heartless’

There is one adjective *č’amat’u* ‘naked’ where the etymology is not clear.

(iii) the suffix *-gu* is unproductive, and the only examples with this suffix are derived from a noun and an adjective:

e.g.	nucu ‘honey’ (noun)	nuca-gu ‘sweet’
	muq’a-r ‘bitter-IV’ (adjective)	muq’a-gu ‘bitter’

(iv) adjectives can be reduplicated to imply emphasis:

e.g. *ungoya-w* ‘real-I’ *ungo-ungoya-w*

3.9.3. **Adverb derivation**

There is no productive way to form adverbs, the only instance known is the change of suffix *-u* to *-o* when the adverb is formed:

e.g.	<i>l-uλλλ-u</i> ‘strong, loud’	<i>l-uλλλ-o</i> ‘strongly, loudly’
	<i>l-oł-u</i> ‘alike’	<i>l-oł-o</i> ‘alike’
	<i>doccu</i> ‘much’	<i>docco</i> ‘much’

The adjective *l-ogu* ‘IV-good’ shows an idiosyncratic process when the adverb is formed, i.e. by vowel deletion, *l-og* ‘IV-well’:

3.9.4. **Verb derivation including causative morphology**

3.9.4.1. **Verbs derived from nouns**

There is no special morpheme that derives verbs from nouns, but the following idiosyncratic processes are found.

Verbs can be formed by root extension, e.g. *γ^εel^l* ‘sieve’ and *γ^εel^l-a-ya* ‘sift-VZ-INF’ (maybe, *šud* ‘grave’ and *šuš-a* ‘bury-INF’).

The suffix *-λ* is used to derive verbs from nouns, e.g. *iho* ‘herdsman’ and *iho-λ-a* ‘pasture-VZ-INF’.

The suffix *-al-* forms intransitive verbs, e.g. *γur* ‘stone’ and *γur-al-a* ‘crumple.up-VZ-INF’, *nuco* ‘honey’ – *nuc-al-a* ‘become.sweet-VZ-INF’. There is one example where this suffix forms an intransitive verb from an adjective, namely *muq^a-r* ‘bitter-IV’ and *muq^a-al-a* ‘become.bitter-VZ-INF’.

There is only one example where the suffix *-l* derives a verb from an adjective, *ogu* ‘good’ and *og-l-a* ‘feel.better-VZ-INF’.

3.9.4.2. Verbs derived from adverbs and adjectives with the suffix *-x-*

The suffix *-x-* is used to derive inchoative verbs from indigenous adverbs and adjectives. The suffix *-x-* is also a causative suffix (cf. 3.9.4.8).

e.g. Adverbs

oge ‘near’	ogexa ‘to come near’
gił ‘down’	giłxa ‘to deepen (intr.)’
λ’iho ⁿ ‘away’	λ’iho ⁿ xa ‘to move aside’
ono ‘there’	onoxa ‘to move aside’

Adjectives

ičla ‘old’	ičlaxa ‘to become old’
k’ottu ‘low’	k’ottuxa ‘to become low’

The suffix *-dax-* derives inchoative verbs from adjectives, when added to the adjectival stem with an omitted final vowel. The derived verbs essentially mean ‘to become something partially’ or ‘to become something in a distributive manner’. This suffix only attaches to color and texture adjectives, e.g. ‘to become white’, ‘to become soft’, etc. For example, *ut’anaxa* means ‘to become red to a full degree’ and *ut’andaxa* means ‘to become red here and there, not to a full degree’.

e.g. ut’ana ‘red’	ut’andaxa ‘to become red partially’
aluk’a ‘white’	aluk’daxa ‘to become white partially’
ečuk’a’ ‘yellow’	ečuk’daxa ‘to become yellow partially’
k ^ʃ aba ‘black’	k ^ʃ abdaxa ‘to become black partially’
tutenu ‘soft, warm’	tutendaxa ‘to become soft partially’

522.asλ’asa mok’o k^ʃab-dax-i.
 cloud.SUP.DEF place black.OBL-VZ-PST.W
 ‘The sky became black here and there.’

The suffix *-dax-* has some other meanings, e.g. the verb *luxalaxa* means ‘to become long, to grow up (from below to above)’, and the verb *luxaldaxa* means ‘to become long, to hang (from above to below)’.

There are a few verbs that do not have a form with the suffix *-x-* but have only the derived form with the suffix *-dax-*:

e.g. *sassu* ‘cloudy’ - *sasdaxa* ‘to become cloudy (here and there)’
 boč’č’u ‘light’ - *boč’daxa* ‘to become light (here and there)’

3.9.4.3. Verbs derived from adjectives with the suffix *-t-*

The suffix *-t-* derives inchoative verbs from adjectives and adverbs which are loanwords from Avar, and it is never used to derive new verbs from words of Khwarshi origin.

When the adjective ends in a sonorant or the consonant *-ɣ*, the suffix *-t-* is added to the stem, which undergoes a truncation of the ending including the corresponding gender/number suffix and the vowel *-a-*:

e.g. *c’odora-w* ‘clever-I’ *c’odor-t-* ‘become clever’
 ħayrana-w ‘surprised-I’ *ħayran-t-* ‘be surprised’
 ruhuna-w ‘trained-I’ *ruhun-t-* ‘become trained’
 saɣa-w ‘healthy-I’ *saɣ-t-* ‘become healthy’

When the adjectival stem ends in other consonants, the suffix *-t-* is added to the stem and only the final gender/number suffix is truncated:

e.g. *bac’ada-w* ‘clean-I’ *bac’ada-t-* ‘become clean’
 tamaša-w ‘amazed-I’ *tamaša-t-* ‘become amazed’
 mičaha-w ‘rich-I’ *mičaha-t-* ‘become rich’

The suffix *-t-* is always added directly to the stem when used with adverbs:

e.g.	bat'a 'separately'	bat'a-ł- 'become separate'
	dandi 'in front'	dandi-ł- 'meet (intr.)'
	dah 'few'	dah-ł- 'become few'

3.9.4.4. Onomatopoeic verbs

Onomatopoeic verbs are used for the sounds animals make. Diachronically the onomatopoeic verbs are built by combining the verb *-il-* 'say' with an onomatopoeic sound. Originally the onomatopoeic verbs were transitive constructions, but in Khwarshi, as well as in the two other West Tsezic languages, they were reanalyzed as intransitives, while in the East Tsezic languages they preserved their transitive morphology.⁴⁸

e.g.	baʃaʎa 'to bleat'
	mōōʎa 'to moo'
	p'ʃawʎa / p'ʃiaʎa 'to meow', 'to quack (about ducks)'
	ħeħeʎa / ħiħiʎa 'to neigh'
	q'ut'aʎa 'to cackle'
	ʃōʃōʎa 'to bray', 'to crow (about roosters)'
	q'ʷauʎa 'to croak (about ravens)', 'to cackle (about geese)'
	miniʎa 'to bleat' (about calves)

3.9.4.5. Potential (accidental) verbs

Potential (accidental) verbs indicate that the agent does some action accidentally, and the involuntary agent is marked with the Contessive case. Potential (accidental) verbs are derived with the suffix *-l-*, which is added to the bare verbal stem. The suffix *-l-* can be attached to intransitive, transitive, and affective verbs, e.g. *puʎ-a* 'blow-INF' and *puʎ-l-a* 'blow-POT-INF'.

⁴⁸ p.c. with Bernard Comrie.

3.9.4.6. Compound verbs

Compound verbs are formed by using a notional word and a light verb either *l-i-ya* ‘to do’ or *l-eq-a* ‘to happen, begin’, both of which have gender/number agreement slots. Compounding with the verb *liya* ‘to do’ forms transitive verbs and the verb *leqa* ‘to happen’ forms intransitive verbs.

The notional word can be expressed by a noun or an infinitive, which are most often borrowed words, e.g. from Russian, Avar. The light verb *liya* ‘to do’ combines with nouns and verbs, while the light verb *leqa* ‘to happen’ combines only with nouns. The light verbs show agreement with their notional parts, i.e. they agree with nouns in gender/number, and with verbs the light verbs agree with the Absolutive argument of the clause.

e.g.	x ^w asar	b-i-ya	‘to rescue’ ‘rescue + do’
	rescue(III)	III-do-INF	
	xabar	b-i-ya	‘to tell a story’, ‘to gossip’ ‘story + do’
	story(III)	III-do-INF	
	inkar	b-i-ya	‘to refuse’ ‘refusal + do’
	refusal(III)	III-do-INF	
	razoblačit’	l-i-ya	‘to disclose’ ‘to disclose + do’
	disclose.INF	IV-do-INF	
	nuše	l-eq-a	‘to be ashamed’
	shame(IV)	IV-happen-INF	

523.ono-z	Abumuslim	šayx	ø-ot’uq’q’-uq’arλ’a,
there-ABL	Abumuslim	sheikh(I)	I-come-TEMP
razoblačit ^l	b-i-yin	židu.	
disclose.INF	HPL-do-PST.UW	that.PL.(D)ABS	

‘When sheikh Abumuslim came from there, (he) disclosed them.’ [Old man]

The compound verb can be a combination of an adverb and a verb.⁴⁹

e.g. λ'oloq'ayda 'to charge, to entrust' λ'olo 'above' plus q'ayda 'close'

A few verbs are made by compounding two lexical stems which can be either of similar or different meaning.

e.g. l-ič.t'ot'-a 'chop-INF' l-ič-a 'cut-INF' plus t'ot'-a 'divide-INF'
 n-aq.ɫuq'-a 'finish-INF' n-aq-a 'sew-INF' plus ɫuq'-a 'finish-INF'

524.l-ič.t'ot'-un λuxx-o dabayas himonaba
 NHPL-chop-PFV.CVB remain-OBL.PST.PTCP shoe.leather.GEN1 thing.PL.ABS
 ise xan-la madaλɣul ɫ-uλ-x-un.
 that.OBL.ERG khan-GEN2 threshold.SUB.VERS NHPL-gather-CAUS-PST.UW
 'He took all the things that remained from the material and gathered them in the
 king's yard.' [3Princes.035]

Some verbs can take the nonsense stem *rek'*- attached to the verbal stem, which does not apply any additional meaning to the verb.

e.g. ɫuq-a 'finish-INF' ɫuq-*rek'*-a 'finish-INF'
 šuk'a 'hit-INF' šuk'-*rek'*-a 'hit-INF'

When the stem *rek'*- is used, a new verb can narrow its meaning, e.g. *tuλ-a* 'give-INF', 'sell-INF', and *tuλ-*rek'*-a* 'sell-INF', or sometimes it can obtain additional meaning, e.g. *lik'-a* 'stir-INF' and *lik'-*rek'*-a* 'stir-INF', 'socialize-INF'.

⁴⁹ In Avar, the verb 'to charge, to entrust' has the same pattern of formation.

3.9.4.7. Reduplication

Reduplication is very productive within the verbal morphology of Khwarshi. It forms durative and iterative verbs.⁵⁰ The main candidates for verbal reduplication are usually monosyllabic or bi-syllabic stems. Trisyllabic verbs do not have reduplicated durative forms. Almost all verbs can undergo reduplication and can have a durative form or an iterative form, or both forms. Verbs that denote a state of being, such as ‘to be thirsty’, ‘to be tired’, etc., do not have durative forms, but they have base and iterative forms, e.g. *ačqaya* ‘to be thirsty’ and *ač-ačqaya*.

Durative verbs are formed by the reduplication of the final VC of the verb stem.

	DURATIVE	
e.g.	k’oλ-a ‘jump-INF’	k’oλ-oλ-a ‘jump-RED-INF’
	λos-a ‘drag-INF’	λos-os-a ‘drag-RED-INF’
	l-ak ^w -a ‘IV-see-INF’	l-ak ^w -ak ^w -a ‘IV-see-RED-INF’
	l-ik-a ‘IV-run-INF’	l-ik-ik-a ‘IV-run-RED-INF’
	l-uc-x-a ‘IV-break-CAUS-INF’	l-uc-uc-x-a ‘IV-break-RED-CAUS-INF’
	l-it’-x-a ‘IV-divide-CAUS-INF’	l-it’-it’-x-a ‘IV-divide-RED-CAUS-INF’

525.hibo l-i-ya-n l-iq’-bič, ø-eq^w-i do
 what IV-do-INF-AND IV-know-NEG.CVB I-begin-PST.W 1SG.ABS
 guc’uc’-a.
 look.DUR-INF
 ‘Having no idea what to do, I began to watch.’ [Who can lie better?]

Some verbs, however, allow reduplication of the initial CV.

e.g.	gul-a ‘put-INF’	gugul-a / gulul-a
	kul-a ‘throw-INF’	kukul-a / kulul-a

⁵⁰ Iterativity is typical for Avar-Andic languages but not for Tsezic languages. Iterativity is present in Khwarshi due to the influence of neighboring Andic languages.

Iterative verbs add the initial (C)VC of the verb stem to the durative form:

	ITERATIVE
e.g. k'ol-a 'jump-INF'	k'ol-k'olol-a
λos-a 'drag-INF'	λos-λosos-a

When a verb with an agreement slot is reduplicated, the agreement prefixes are retained in the reduplication, i.e. both components of the reduplication can show agreement.

e.g. l-ucx-a 'IV-break-INF'	l-uc-l-ucucx-a
l-ak-a 'IV-see-INF'	l-ak-l-akak-a
l-it'-x-a 'IV-divide-CAUS-INF'	l-it'-l-ititx-a
l-ik-a 'IV-run-INF'	l-ik-l-ikik-a

Polysyllabic verbs usually do not have durative forms, but they have iterative forms.

e.g. l-uxala-k'-a 'IV-long-CAUS-INF'	l-ux-l-uxalak'-a
k'erek'-a 'drive.away-INF'	k'er-k'erek'-a
šakił-a 'suspect-INF'	šak-šakił-a
durid-a 'run-INF'	dur-durid-a
š ^w ard-a 'jump-INF'	š ^w ar-š ^w ard-a

Some polysyllabic verbs have neither durative forms nor iterative forms.

e.g. qeburdaya 'limp'

3.9.4.8. Causative verbs

Causative verbs are formed with two suffixes *-k'* and *-x*, which can have other allomorphs. The usage of these suffixes depends on the syllabic structure, intransitivity and transitivity of the verbs.

The suffix *-kʼ* is consistently used with polysyllabic verbal stems ending in vowels and with monosyllabic verbal stems with (C)VC structure having final fricative consonants such as *ɣ*, *x*, *h*.

e.g.	qʼeburda- ‘lame’	qʼeburda-kʼ- ‘lame-CAUS1’
	žʷarλʼada- ‘move’	žʷarλʼada-kʼ- ‘move-CAUS1’
	-uɣ- ‘lose’	-uɣ-kʼ- ‘lose-CAUS1’
	ɦuɣ- ‘stick’	ɦuɣ-kʼ- ‘stick-CAUS1’
	ox- ‘get.offended’	ox-kʼ- ‘get.offended-CAUS1’

The suffix *-x* occurs with monosyllabic verbal stems of (C)VC structure ending in *d*, *t*, *tʼ*, *c*, *cʼ*, *č*, *čʼ*, *λ*, *λʼ*, *q*, *qʼ*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *r*, *l*, *lʼ*⁵¹. Thus, the causative suffix *-x* occurs with all consonants except for the fricatives *ɣ*, *x*, and *h*.

e.g.	ɦikʼ ‘stir’	ɦikʼ-x- ‘stir-CAUS1’
	-ekʷ ‘hit’	-ekʷ-x ^{w52} - ‘hit-CAUS1’
	tuq- ‘hear’	tuq-x- ‘hear-CAUS1’
	puλ- ‘blow’	puλ-x- ‘blow-CAUS1’
	cʼicʼ- ‘sharpen’	cʼicʼ-x- ‘sharpen-CAUS1’

However, there are also instances where both causative suffixes, *-kʼ* and *-x*, are used, i.e. after the fricatives *s* and *š*, after the dental plosive *d*, and after the nasal *n*.

e.g.	hod-kʼ- / hod-x- ‘ask-CAUS1’
	šʷan-kʼ- / šʷan-x- ‘roll-CAUS1’
	-os-kʼ- / -os-x- ‘take-CAUS1’
	šuš-kʼ- / šuš-x- ‘bury-CAUS1’

⁵¹ Note that there are no monosyllabic verbs ending in *m*, *b*.

⁵² The labialization of the final verbal consonant moves to the causative suffix.

The suffix *-okʹ/-akʹ*⁵³ is used with the following verbs: 1) this suffix is used with polysyllabic verbal stems ending in *-d*, which are intransitive verbs (verbs ending in *-d* are borrowed verbs from Avar); 2) this suffix is also used with inchoative verbs being formed with the suffix *-t*; 3) this causative suffix is also used with polysyllabic verbs with the final consonant *-λ*, which are all onomatopoeic verbs and therefore by nature intransitive (note that monosyllabic verbs with final *-λ* are formed with the causative suffix *-x*, e.g. *leλ-* ‘be.ill’ and *leλ-x-* ‘be.ill-CAUS1’).

e.g.	urγid- ‘think’	urγid-okʹ- ‘think-CAUS1’
	durid- ‘run’	durid-okʹ- ‘run-CAUS1’
	ruhunł- ‘train’	ruhunł-okʹ- ‘train-CAUS1’
	cʹodorł- ‘get.clever’	cʹodorł-okʹ- ‘get.clever-CAUS1’
	hahaλ- ‘yawn’	hahaλ-akʹ- ‘yawn-CAUS1’
	baʃaλ- ‘bleat’	baʃaλ-akʹ- ‘bleat-CAUS1’

The suffix *-xkʹ* is attached to mono- and bi-syllabic verbal stems with final vowels, irrespective of (in)transitivity:

e.g.	zo- ‘skate’	zo-xkʹ ‘skate-CAUS1’
	-i- ‘do’	-i-xkʹ- ‘do-CAUS1’
	i ⁿ ya- ‘cry’	i ⁿ ya-xkʹ- ‘cry-CAUS1’
	q ^w a- ‘write’	q ^w a-xkʹ- ‘write-CAUS1’
	odo- ‘work’	odo-xkʹ- ‘work-CAUS1’

The simple causative suffixes derive simple causative verbs with the meaning ‘A causes B do something’.

There are also possible complex causative suffixes which have the meaning ‘A causes B causes C do something’. The suffix *-oxkʹ/-axkʹ* is a suffix for the formation

⁵³ The choice of suffixes depends on the vowel harmony, i.e. the causative suffix *-akʹ* comes when the verbal stem ends with the vowel *-a*, and the causative suffix *-okʹ* is used when the verbal stem ends with any other vowel.

of the second causative, and it is used with verbal stems whose initial causative forms are built with the suffix *-k'*, i.e. the causative suffix *-k'* is replaced by the second causative suffix *-oxk'/-axk'*. The second causative suffix *-xk'* is used with verbal stems having final vowels, where the initial causative form has the suffix *-k'*, i.e. the suffix *-k'* is replaced by the suffix *-xk'*.

e.g.	xexiŋ-ok'- 'hurry-CAUS1'	xexiŋ-oxk'- 'hurry-CAUS2'
	ux ^ɛ ad-ak'- 'slaughter-CAUS1'	ux ^ɛ ad-axk'- 'slaughter-CAUS2'
	-uɣ-k'- 'lose-CAUS1'	-uɣ-oxk'- 'lose-CAUS2'
	q ^ɛ eburda-k'- 'lame-CAUS1'	q ^ɛ eburda-xk'- 'lame-CAUS2'
	ʒ ^w arλ'ada-k'- 'move-CAUS1'	ʒ ^w arλ'ada-xk'- 'move-CAUS2'

The suffix *-xoxk'*⁵⁴, a suffix for second causative formation, is used with the verbal stems that take the first causative suffix *-x-* or *-xk'*, i.e. the causative suffix *-x-* or *-xk'* is replaced by the suffix *-xoxk'*.

e.g.	-it'-x- 'divide-CAUS1'	-it'-xoxk' 'divide-CAUS2'
	-uk-x- 'get-CAUS1'	-uk-xoxk'- 'get-CAUS2'
	-uc-x- 'break-CAUS1'	-uc-xoxk'- 'break-CAUS2'
	-e ⁿ he-xk'- 'fight-CAUS1'	-e ⁿ he-xoxk'- 'fight-CAUS2'

Other complex causative suffixes are used to derive a meaning such as 'A causes B causes C causes D to do something'. The suffix *-oxoxk'*⁵⁶ is a suffix for forming the third causative, and it is used with verbal stems initially formed with the causative suffix *-k'* or *-ok'/-ak'*. The third causative suffix *-xoxoxk'*⁵⁶ is used with verbal stems that take the initial causative suffix *-x-* or *xk'*:

⁵⁴ The causative suffix *-xoxk'* is preferably used unchanged when the preceding vowel of the verbal stem is *-a*, i.e. this suffix usually does not undergo vowel harmony.

e.g.

lux-k'- 'stay-CAUS1'	lux-ok'- 'stay-CAUS2'	lux-oxok'- 'stay-CAUS3'
-ok'-x- 'burn-CAUS1'	-ok'-xok'- 'burn-CAUS2'	-ok'-xoxok'- 'burn-CAUS3'
nizda-xk'- 'morn-CAUS1'	nizda-xok'- 'morn-CAUS2'	nizda-xoxok'- 'morn-CAUS3'

4. Syntax

4.1. Word order

In Khwarshi, the predominant word order is dependent-head, i.e. SOV word order, Genitive noun, adjective noun, numeral noun, noun postposition. The order of constituents in clauses with several noun phrases is quite free, with the following neutral order: first the agent or experiencer, second the recipient or beneficiary or goal, third the patient, fourth the locative noun phrase or instrument. The neutral order for the predicate is to be used clause-finally, but in narratives the predicate may be used clause-initially.

In Daghestanian languages, word order is used to mark different pragmatic functions, such as topic, focus, contrastiveness. Preverbal material is always in focus, i.e. OVS may be used to put the object in focus, whereas OSV puts the subject in focus. Postverbal material is usually topicalized (van den Berg 2005: 171). At the noun phrase level, postposed modifiers also denote focus, contrast or restrictiveness. In Khwarshi, the focus/topic constructions have not yet been studied and this still needs further research.

4.2. Phrase structure

4.2.1. Noun phrase

4.2.1.1. General characteristics of NPs

In this section some general remarks are made on the structure and composition of the NPs in Khwarshi with special reference to the order of words within the NP.

An NP can consist of a noun with different modifiers (adjectives (526), numerals (527), quantifiers (528), attributive interrogative pronouns (529), Genitive NPs (530), or relative clauses (531)). It can also consist of a pronoun (532) or a nominalized clause (an infinitive, masdar, or substantivized participle clause) (533).

NPs as nouns with modifiers

Adjectives

526. b-uq^su haq'u 'big family'
 HPL-big family

Numerals

527. ĩuno kad 'five girls'
 five girl

Quantifiers

528. golluč heⁿše-bo 'all books'
 all book-PL.ABS

Attributive interrogative pronouns

529. dow gıd 'what dress'
 which dress

Genitive NPs

530. **mižo** **išu** dow y-eč-i λ.in isx-in boc'-i.
 2PL.GEN1 mother(II) which II-be-PST.W QUOT ask-PST.UW wolf.OBL-ERG
 'The wolf asked what their mother looked like.' [Witch.014]

Relative clauses

531. išet'-i huniža b-ezz-u heⁿše
 mother.OBL-ERG yesterday III-take-PST.PTCP book(III)
 'the book that the mother bought yesterday'

NPs as pronouns

532. **ise** q'ut'i b-i-yin b-eč-un.
 that.OBL.ERG deal(III) III-do-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'He had made a decision.' [Princes.003]

NPs as nominalized clauses

Masdar

533. *iŋes* *iya-nu-n* *tuq-un* *b-ot'q'-un* *hos* *boc'o.*
 that.GEN1 cry-MASD-AND hear-PFV.CVB III-come-PST.UW one wolf(III)
 'Having heard her crying the wolf came.' [Jealous.016]

4.2.1.1.1 Word order of modifiers within NPs

In Khwarshi, the common, unmarked word order has the modifier preceding the head. When adjectives, numerals or demonstratives are postposed they are usually used in a contrastive sense. However, the postposing does not indicate contrast when relative clauses are postposed.

4.2.1.1.2 Adjectives, numerals, demonstratives

The unmarked word order of modifiers within noun phrases is [adjective noun], [numeral noun], [demonstrative noun].

Adj N

534. *q'abula-b* *sadaq'a* *b-eq-loλo*
 acceptable-III charity(III) III-happen-OPT
 'May your charity be acceptable (by God)!' [Dialog]

Num N

535. *isx-in* *obu-t'-i* *q'^{sw}ine-iλλo* *kandu-qo.*
 ask-PST.UW father-OBL-ERG two.OBL-ORD.OBL girl.OBL-CONT
 'The father asked the second girl.' [Sisters.005]

Dem N

536. *b-ot'q'-un* *hos* *b-uq'^su* *ze,* *b-oq-un*
 III-come-PFV.CVB one III-big bear(III) III-catch-PST.UW
homonu *gamuš.*
 that buffalo(III)
 'One big bear came and caught that buffalo.' [Jokes2]

The reversed word order within the NP, i.e. with the modifier following the head noun, is also possible.

N adj

537.b-eč-un	hos	gamuš	o ⁿ c'o-n	ħono
III-be-PST.UW	one	buffalo(III)	ten-AND	three
kilometra	b-ux ^ʰ ala.			
kilometer	III-long			

‘There was one buffalo thirteen kilometers long.’ [Who is the longest thing?]

N num

538.de	istakan	u ⁿ q ^ʰ e	y-ez-i,	me	ħono
1SG.ERG	glass(V)	four	V-buy-PST.W	2SG.ERG	three
y-ez-un	y-us-ło.				
V-buy-PFV.CVB	V-find-COND				

‘I bought four glasses when you bought three.’

N Dem

539.zor	a edu	b-ik-i	huniža.
fox(III)	< III > this	III-run-PST.W	yesterday

‘This fox ran away yesterday.’

4.2.1.1.3 Genitive NPs

Genitives usually precede the head noun (540), but the reverse word order is also possible (541). Note that Genitive 1 is used when the head noun is in the Absolutive case, and the Genitive 2 is used when the head noun is oblique.

540.b-oq-un	tegela-s	bala-n,	ezalaba-n	n-uq-un,
III-take-PFV.CVB	coat-GEN1	lap(III)-AND	eye.PL-AND	NHPL-close-PFV.CVB
m-ok'-še	b-eč-un.			
HPL-go-IPFV.CVB	HPL-be-PST.UW			

‘(He) took the lap of the coat, closed (his) eyes, and (they) went.’ [Zagalawdibir]

541. homone-zi ø-ah-un γon-o-λ'o-l e^{nš}-mo-lo.
 there-ABL I-climb-PST.UW tree-OBL-SUP-LAT apple-OBL-GEN2
 '(He) climbed up the apple tree'. [Mesedo.022]

4.2.1.1.4 Relative clause

Relative clauses usually precede the head noun, as in (542, 543). It is also possible for the head noun to follow the relative clause, then the relative clause has a non-restrictive meaning, as in (544). In addition, the relative clause can also be postposed to its head noun, as in (545).

542. ono goli hed, diyo kad, žido
 there be.PRS then 1SG.GEN1 daughter that.PL.(D)GEN1
 [xristan-za-s b-ečč-u] aλ, [qon-no-bo
 Christian-PL.OBL-GEN1 III-be-PST.PTCP village(III) garden.house-OBL-PL
 l-ečč-u] mok'o, [γudula-ba l-ečč-u] mok'o.
 NHPL-be-PST.PTCP place garden.OBL-PL NHPL-be-PST.PTCP place
 'Then, my daughter, there was a village of Christians, a place with house gardens,
 a place with gardens.' [Old man]

543. ide-zi [ø-oⁿk'k'-u] [ø-ot'uq'q'-u] žik'o goli
 here-ABL I-go-PST.PTCP I-come-PST.PTCP man(I) be.PRS
 quno žik'o, quno uⁿq'e žik'o.
 twenty man(I) twenty four man(I)
 'The men that went from here and came back were twenty... twenty four men.'
 [Old man]

544. a <w>t'un, idu [ezol gobiso] ono-l
 <I> like.this this.ABS eye be.NEG.PRS.PTCP there-LAT
 ø-ek'^wl-un, ide-l ø-ek'^wl-un ø-eč-i
 I-fall-PFV.CVB here-LAT I-fall-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'So this (giant), who did not have one eye, fell there and here.' [7Friends]

545. i^ll^o Xwarši k'al-ma ø-eq-un ø-eč-un
 1PL.GEN2 Khwarshi ravine-IN I-happen-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW
 hos řalim.řik'o [Zagalaw-lun co gollu].
 one scientist.man(I) Zagalaw-AS name be.PRS.PTCP
 'There was one scientist, who grew up in a Khwarshi ravine, who was called
 Zagalaw.' [Zagalawdibir]

4.2.1.1.5 Word order of several modifiers in an NP

The order of modifiers with respect to each other is relatively free, i.e. adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and quantifiers can either be preposed or postposed with respect to each other.

546. idu řaq'luya-y q'imaku kad
 this clever-II young girl(II)
 'this smart young girl'

Below are examples of NPs with multiple modifiers: demonstrative and numeral (547), numeral and adjective (548), and quantifier and demonstrative (549).

547. idu q'^swene k'uč'e 'these two puppies'
 this two puppy

548. b-eč-un hos biskina-w uže-n obu-n.
 HPL-be-PST.UW one poor-I boy(I)-AND father(I)-AND
 'There were a poor son and father.' [3Feats.001]

549. hobože idu g^řo^řl^uč aq'^ř-ba l-ux-un
 now this all mouse-PL.ABS NHPL-come-PST.UW
 isu-λ'o-l.
 that.OBL-SUP-LAT
 'Now all these mice came to him.' [3Princes.057]

Like other modifiers, the Genitive modifier can either precede or follow other modifiers. When other modifiers precede the Genitive, they usually modify the Genitive, but it is also possible that they modify the head noun. This can result in ambiguity, as in (550a), where the quantifier precedes the Genitive and could modify either the Genitive or the head noun. When the quantifier follows the Genitive it modifies only the head noun (550b). If the quantifier has a slot for gender/number agreement there is no ambiguous interpretation (551a, 551b).

550.

- a. docon aλaza-s dibir-bo
 many village.PL.OBL-GEN1 mullah-PL.ABS
 ‘many mullahs from villages’ / ‘mullahs from many villages’
- b. aλaza-s docon dibir-bo
 village.PL.OBL-GEN1 many mullah-PL.ABS
 ‘many mullahs from villages’

551.

- a. g^oo^lu-b-aha-b aλa-za-s-sa hadam
 be.PRS.PTCP <HPL> all-HPL village.OBL-PL.OBL-GEN1-DEF people
 ‘all people of villages’
- b. g^oo^lu-r-aha-l aλa-za-s-sa hadam
 be.PRS.PTCP <NHPL> all-NHPL village.OBL-PL.OBL-GEN1-DEF people
 ‘people of all villages’

The non-referential Genitive is better positioned closer to the head noun. This corresponds to Russian relational adjectives, which are derived from nouns and express the relation between the entity denoted by the noun they are derived from and the modified noun. The word order with the non-referential Genitive preceding the modifier is unlikely (552), i.e. the interpretation ‘fool brain of a man’ is unlikely.

552. iλ-i-λo ise boc'qol, dubul allahise
 say-PST.W-NARR that.OBL.ERG wolf.CONT.LAT 2SG.LAT Allah.ERG
 b-ak-x^w-i daru ʔadala-w žik'o-s aⁿt'a λin.
 III-see-CAUS-PST.W medicine(III) fool-I man-GEN1 brain QUOT
 'He said to the wolf that God showed him the medicine which was the brain of the
 fool man.' [The man who went to God.]

When the Genitive is a personal pronoun, other modifiers can either precede or follow it without any change in meaning, since personal pronouns are hardly ever modified.

553.

- a. iŕes bercina-l tarpa
 that.GEN1 beautiful-IV bag(IV)
 'her nice bag'
- b. bercina-l iŕes tarpa
 beautiful-IV that.GEN1 bag(IV)
 'her nice bag'

The Genitive 1 can also be modified by the Genitive 2, which is used to modify nouns in the oblique cases while the Genitive 1 modifies nouns in the Absolutive case (554a, 554b). The Genitive 1 noun can never precede the Genitive 2 noun (554c).

554.

- a. išet'-lo wacahaw-us kad
 mother.OBL-GEN2 cousin.brother-GEN1 daughter
 'my mother's cousin's daughter'
- b. kad išet'-lo wacahaw-us
 daughter mother.OBL-GEN2 cousin.brother-GEN1

- c. *kad wacahaw-us išet'-lo
 daughter cousin.brother-GEN1 mother.OBL-GEN2

4.2.1.1.6 Discontinuous NPs

The order of modifiers in an NP can be discontinuous, which means that the modifier can be separated from its head noun and can float in the sentence, as in (561), where the Russian loan adjective *osenniy* 'autumnal' is separated from its head noun *šil'u* 'cloth' by the verb, or in the same example where the Genitive modifier *iso* 'his' is separated from its head noun *bertin* 'wedding'.

A noun phrase with several modifiers can also have discontinuous word order, as in (556), where the Genitive modifier *izzo* 'their' is separated from the noun phrase *q'uq'lezas exen* 'nuts' sack'.

Such discontinuous NPs are used to mark pragmatic salience in a sentence.

- 555.me hed tuq-o, me hobože osenniy l-ez-o
 2SG.ERG then listen-IMP 2SG.ERG now autumnal IV-buy-IMP
 šil'u, iso u lumho b-i-dow goli bertin.
 cloth(IV) that.GEN1 winter.AD III-do-GNT.PTCP be.PRS wedding(III)
 'Now you listen, you buy autumn cloth, as his wedding is going to be in winter!'
 [Dialog]

- 556.q'uq'le-za-s exen-un luqq-un izzo
 nut-PL.OBL-GEN1 sack-AND finish.CAUS-PST.UW that.PL(P).GEN1
 aq'^w-i l-ac'-an l-ac'-in.
 mouse-ERG IV-eat-RED IV-eat-PFV.CVB
 'Having eaten, the mouse finished their sack of nuts.' [Bulatan&Bariyan]

4.2.1.2. Comparative constructions

Comparative constructions consist of two objects that are being compared to each other and a comparative predicate (Stassen 85: 26). The yardstick for comparison is called the standard NP (or standard of comparison) and is marked with the Superlative, as in (557), where the standard NP is *Aħmad*. The other object in the

comparative construction, here *Musa*, is called the comparee NP, or the target of comparison. An adjective plus the Present tense of the copula ‘to be’ *ø-uxala goli* constitutes the comparative predicate, which expresses the parameter of comparison (557).

COMPAREE NP	STANDARD NP	COMPARATIVE PREDICATE	
557. <i>Musa</i>	<i>Aħmad-λ'a-zi</i>	<i>ø-uxala</i>	<i>goli.</i>
<i>Musa(I)</i>	<i>Axmed-SUP-ABL</i>	<i>I-tall</i>	<i>be.PRS</i>
‘Musa is taller than Axmed.’			

Comparative predicates usually consist of an adjective used predicatively (558, 559), but they may also consist of a verbal predicate (560).

558. <i>dubλ'ozi</i>	<i>mičaha-w</i>	<i>žik'o</i>	<i>ø-eč-a</i>	<i>gobi</i>	<i>ide</i>
<i>2SG.SUP.ABL</i>	<i>rich-I</i>	<i>man(I)</i>	<i>I-be-INF</i>	<i>be.PRS.NEG</i>	<i>here</i>
<i>aλ-a,</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>y-ez-o</i>	<i>λin</i>	<i>iλ-in.</i>
<i>village-IN</i>	<i>2SG.ERG</i>	<i>1SG.ABS</i>	<i>II-take-IMP</i>	<i>QUOT</i>	<i>say-PST.UW</i>
‘‘There won’t be richer man than you in the village, you marry me,’’ (she) said.’					
[Woman.014]					

559. <i>pisuk-čakar-λ'a-zi-n</i>	<i>gōq</i>	<i>λun</i>	<i>iλ-in</i>	<i>ife.</i>
<i>sand-sugar-SUP-ABL-AND</i>	<i>love.GNT</i>	<i>QUOT</i>	<i>say-PST.UW</i>	<i>that.OBL.ERG</i>
‘‘(I) love you (more) than sugar,’’ she said.’ [Sisters.006]				

560. <i>Muħamad</i>	<i>Pat'imati-λ'o-zi-n</i>	<i>ø-og</i>	<i>durid-ōy.</i>
<i>Magomed(I)</i>	<i>Patimat.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND</i>	<i>I-well</i>	<i>run-GNT</i>
‘Magomed runs faster than Patimat.’ (lit. runs better)			

The Superablative is also used with participles, as in (561).

561.y-uq ^ʔ u-n	y-eq-un,	y-ečču-λ'o-zi-n		
II-big-AND	II-become-PFV.CVB	II-be.PST.PTCP-SUP-ABL-AND		
bercina-y-in	y-eq-un,	žu	kad	y-oťq ^ʔ -aλa
beautiful-II-AND	II-become-PFV.CVB	that.ABS	girl(II)	II-come-ANTR
c'aq ^ʔ -ič	ʃadalit ^ʔ -še	y-eč-un	abaxar.	
very-PART	get.crazy-IPFV.CVB	II-be-PST.UW	neighbor(II)	

‘(She) grew up, and became more beautiful than (she) was, and when this girl came, the neighbor was going crazy.’ [Jealous.028]

4.2.1.2.1 Positions for comparison

4.2.1.2.1.1 Comparee NPs as subject of intransitives

When the target of comparison is the Absolutive subject of an intransitive clause, the Superablative is added to the oblique stem of the standard NP.

562.idu	uže	kandi-λ'o-zi	toxa-w	goli.
this	boy(I)	girl.OBL-SUP-ABL	lazy-I	be.PRS

‘This boy is lazier than the girl.’

4.2.1.2.1.2 Comparee NPs as subject of transitives

When the target of comparison is the Ergative subject of a transitive clause, the Superablative is added to the oblique stem of the standard NP. Note that for many nouns the Ergative is identical to the oblique stem. The Superablative is attached to the oblique stem irrespective of whether the Ergative is identical to the oblique stem.

563.isulo	γina-λ'a-zi-n	b-iže	b-iyōy
that.OBL.GEN2	wife.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND	III-more	III-do.GNT
Muslim-i	ħalt ^ʔ i.		
Muslim-ERG	work(III)		

‘Muslim works more than his wife.’

When the comparee NP is in an oblique case, the verb in the Past participle can be optionally used marked with the Superablative. Note that the Past participle verb

and the finite verb are the same lexical verbs. The two comparative constructions with and without the Past participle are possible, similar to the English translation with or without the lexical verb or auxiliary *do*.

564. isulo γινά b-i-gu-λ'ο-zi-n b-iže
 that.OBL.GEN2 wife.OBL.ERG III-do-PST.PTCP-SUP-ABL-AND III-more
 b-iyōy Muslim-i ħalt'i.
 III-do.GNT Muslim-ERG work(III)
 'Muslim works more than his wife does.'

4.2.1.2.1.3 Comparee NPs as recipients

565.

a. dubul-λ'ο-zi-n b-iže iλ-i de
 2SG.LAT-SUP-ABL-AND III-more give-PST.W 1SG.ERG
 iše-l os.
 that.OBL-LAT money(III)
 'I gave more money to her than to you.'

b. de iše-l os b-iže iλ-i
 1SG.ERG that.OBL-LAT money(III) III-more give-PST.W
 dubul iλλu-λ'ο-zi.
 2SG.LAT give.PST.PTCP-SUP-ABL
 'I gave more money to her than I gave to you.'

4.2.1.2.1.4 Comparee NPs as oblique arguments

566.

a. de rexne-z-λ'ο-zi-n l-iže
 1SG.ERG spade-INSTR-SUP-ABL-AND IV-more
 ešeno-z č'ido l'-uλ-x-i.
 mattock.OBL-INSTR ground(IV) IV-gather-CAUS-PST.W
 'I gathered more ground with a mattock than with a spade.'

- b. de rexne-z l̥-uλuxxu-λ'o-zi-n l-iže
 1SG.ERG spade-INSTR IV-gather-PST.PTCP-SUP-ABL-AND IV-more
 l̥-uλ-x-i č'ido ešeno-z.
 IV-gather-CAUS-PST.W ground(IV) mattock.OBL-INSTR
 'I gathered more ground with a mattock than I gathered with a spade.'

4.2.1.2.1.5 Comparee NPs as possessors

567.

- a. diyo tarpa dublo tarpa-λ'a-zi l̥-uq'^su goli.
 1SG.GEN1 bag(IV) 2SG.GEN2 bag-SUP-ABL IV-big be.PRS
 'My bag is bigger than your bag.'
- b. diyo tarpa dublo-λ'o-zi l̥-uq'^su goli.
 1SG.GEN1 bag(IV) 2SG.GEN2-SUP-ABL IV-big be.PRS
 'My bag is bigger than yours.'

4.2.1.2.1.6 Comparee NPs as addressees

568.

- a. obu-t'-i uža-qa-l xabar b-iže
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT-LAT story(III) III-more
 b-ešt'-i kandu-qo-l-λ'o-zi.
 III-tell-PST.W girl.OBL-CONT-LAT-SUP-ABL
 'The father told more stories to the boy than to the girl.'
- b. obu-t'-i uža-qa-l xabar b-iže
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT-LAT story(III) III-more
 b-ešt'-i kandu-qo-l b-ešut't'u-λ'o-zi.
 III-tell-PST.W girl.OBL-CONT-LAT III-tell.PST.PTCP-SUP-ABL
 'The father told more stories to the boy than he told to the girl.'

4.2.1.2.2 Comparison in ditransitive constructions

In ditransitive constructions all arguments, e.g. the agent, the theme, or the recipient, can be compared. The Superablative suffix is attached to the theme argument, which is in the Absolutive case, to compare theme arguments, as in (569). When the Superablative suffix is attached to the oblique stem of the standard NP, it shows the comparison with the subject (570). When the comparative suffix is attached to standard NPs in the Lative, it expresses the comparison of recipients (571).

569.de iɬel mesedi-λ'o-zi-n os b-iže tuλ-i.
 1SG.ABS that.LAT gold-SUP-ABL-AND silver(III) III-more give-PST.W
 'I gave her more silver than gold.'

570.dub-λ'o-zi-n b-iže iλ-i de iɬe-l os.
 2SG.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND III-more give-PST.W 1SG.ERG that.OBL-LAT money(III)
 'I gave her more money than you (gave her).'

571.dubul-λ'o-zi-n b-iže iλ-i de iɬe-l
 2SG.LAT-SUP-ABL-AND III-more give-PST.W 1SG.ERG that.OBL-LAT
 os.
 money(III)
 'I gave her more money than (I gave) you.'

4.2.1.2.3 Comparison in affective constructions

In affective constructions when the experiencer is compared, the standard NP does not take the same case marking as the comparee NP, i.e. it does not occur in the Lative, rather the Superablative is attached to the oblique stem of the standard NP. Note that the standard NP can be in the Lative when the comparee NP functions as a recipient (571). Strikingly, there is ambiguity within affective constructions, as the standard NP can refer to the comparison of the experiencer as well as of the stimulus (572, 573).

572. *isu-λ'o-zi-n* *ø-iže* *gōq* *di^l* *is.*
 that.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND I-more love.GNT 1SG.LAT sibling(I)
 'I love (my) brother more than (I love) him.' / 'I love (my) brother more than he (loves him).'

573. *dub-λ'o-zi-n* *ø-iže* *di^l* *žu* *ø-acc-u*
 2SG.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND I-more 1SG.LAT that.ABS I-hate-PST.PTCP
goli.
 be.PRS
 'I hate him more than (I hate) you.' / 'I hate him more than you (hate him).'

4.2.1.2.4 Superlative meaning

The adverb *heč'č'e* 'most' is used to convey a superlative degree of comparison (574). Universal quantifiers are also used in comparative constructions to convey a superlative degree of comparison. The universal quantifier *g^oo^luč* 'all' is used as a standard NP in the Superablative as well as in the Interablative, where the latter marks a partitive phrase (575, 576). The adverb *heč'č'e* 'most, very' can optionally be used.

574. *zor* *heč'č'e* *sihira-b* *goli.*
 fox(III) most sly-III be.PRS
 'The fox is the sliest (animal).'

575. *Ahmad* *g^oo^loč-λ'o-zi-n* *heč'č'e* *ø-uxala* *goli.*
 Axmad(I) all.OBL-SUP-ABL-AND most I-tall be.PRS
 'Axmad is the tallest of all.'

576. *klas-ma* *Batuli* *g^oo^loču-I-si* *heč'č'e* *bercina-y* *goli.*
 class-IN Batuli(II) all.OBL-INTER-ABL most beautiful-II be.PRS
 'Batuli is the most beautiful in the class.' (lit. 'Batuli is the most beautiful among everyone in the class.')

4.2.1.3. Equative constructions

There are several ways to form equative constructions, e.g. using a dedicated suffix or using different kinds of adverbs.

4.2.1.3.1 Equative constructions with the equative particle *-cew/-cegu*

The equative construction is formed with the equative particles *-cew/-cegu* (the forms occur in free variation). This particle is used to refer to comparisons of size, weight, and height. It also can indicate a comparison of price, i.e. it denotes some comparison of quantity.

e.g. ōⁿču-cew ‘small as a hen, i.e. same weight or size’, ‘price as a hen’
 eⁿš-cew ‘small as an apple, i.e. same weight or size’, ‘price as an apple’,

The equative particle *-cew/-cegu* is attached to the standard NP, which takes the same case as the comparee NP.

577. at’amaha-cew ħalt’i uλumoho b-ēq-bi.
 summer.AD-EQ work(III) winter.AD III-happen.GNT-NEG
 ‘It is not possible to do as much work in winter as in summer.’

578. išu-cew goli idu kad.
 mother-EQ be.PRS this girl
 ‘The daughter is like her mother.’

When the equative particle is added to numerals or to terms of currency, it expresses an approximate quality.

579. i^le aq-iλ oⁿc’o azar dolar-cew os isx-i.
 1PL.ERG house-SUB ten thousand dollar-EQ money ask-PST.W
 ‘We asked for about ten thousand dollars for the house.’

580. quno-cew žik'o ø-ot'q'-i il'o-γul.
 twenty-EQ man(I) I-come-PST.W IPL.OBL-VERS
 'About twenty men came to our place.'

The equative particle *-cew/-cegu* is also used with participles to express quantitative or qualitative comparison.

581. isu-qo l-ahul-dow-cegu řadalaw-i-n
 that.OBL-CONT IV-rise.POT-GNT.PTCP-EQ fool-ERG-AND
 l-oq-un.
 IV-take-PST.UW
 'And the Fool took as much as he could (take) <...>.' [Fool.098]

Equative constructions can be complex, including two different clauses, where one of the clauses is the target of comparison and the other is the standard NP. In example (582), 'father does not plant carrots' is the target clause, and 'as well as mother plants the potatoes' is the standard of comparison.

582. dadá hoⁿk'o b-og m-ěž-bi babá
 father.OBL.ERG carrot(III) III-well III-plant.GNT-NEG mother.OBL.ERG
 kartuška n-ež-dow-cew.
 potato(IV) IV-plant-GNT.PTCP-EQ
 'The father does not plant carrots as well as the mother plants potatoes.'

4.2.1.3.2 Equative constructions with the adverb *-otu* 'as, equal'

Equative constructions can be formed with the adverb *-otu* 'as, like' expressing the meaning of identity. The adverb *-otu* 'as' always follows the standard of comparison which takes the same case marking as the comparee NP. This adverb *-otu* 'as, like' always agrees in gender and number with the comparee NP.

583.dubo is ø-oʃu ø-uʎʎu goli diyo is.
 2SG.GEN1 sibling(I) I-like I-strong be.PRS 1SG.GEN1 sibling(I)
 ‘My brother is as strong as your brother.’

584.dubo ø-oʃu goli diyo is.
 2SG.GEN1 I-like be.PRS 1SG.GEN1 sibling(I)
 ‘My brother is like your brother.’

4.2.1.3.3 Equative constructions with the adverb *-aʎaqʻu* ‘alike’

There is another adverb *-aʎaqʻu* ‘alike’, which is used to form equative constructions, and it expresses similarity. This adverb immediately follows the standard NP, which is always marked with the Apudessive *-ʎo/-ʎa*. The adverb *-aʎaqʻu* ‘alike’ is a derived Past participle form from the verb *-aʎaqʻ* ‘be alike’. This adverb always agrees in gender and number with the comparee NP.

585.ise.iso isti-ʎo ø-aʎaqʻ-un uwōn Aħmad.
 REFL.GEN2 sibling.OBL-APUD I-be.alike-PFV.CVB speak.GNT Axmed(I)
 ‘Axmed speaks like his brother.’

586.dublo istiʎo kurtka-ʎa y-aʎaqʻu kurtka goli
 2SG.GEN2 sibling.GEN2 jacket-APUD V-alike jacket(V) be.PRS
 diʎʎo isti-s.
 1SG.GEN2 sibling.OBL-GEN1
 ‘My brother has a similar jacket to your brother’s jacket.’

4.2.1.4. Partitive constructions

Partitive phrases are noun phrases in the Interablative, which express the quantity of the head noun. Partitive phrases always precede the modified head noun. The partitive phrase can consist of a noun or pronoun in the plural form marked with the Interablative (587, 588). Partitive phrases can also consist of a modifying word, usually expressed as a numeral or a personal pronoun in the Genitive 2 case, and the partitive noun itself in the Interablative case (589, 590).

587. *zihe-za-ł-si* *hos-so* *zihe* *λuλ-i*.
 cow-PL.OBL-INTER-ABL one-DEF cow calve-PST.W
 ‘One of the cows calved.’

588. *ił'u-ł-si* *had-i* *dac-ba* *l-i-yi*.
 1PL.OBL-INTER-ABL one.OBL-ERG lesson-PL.ABS NHPL-do-PST.W
 ‘One of us did the homework.’

589. *łulla* *kandu-ł-si* *hos-so* *kad* *xol-ho*
 five.GEN2 girl.OBL-INTER-ABL one-DEF girl(II) husband-AD
y-o"k'-un.
 II-go-PST.UW
 ‘One of the five girls got married.’

590. *ił'ł'o* *q'^{sw}anu-ł-si* *hadi* *dac-ba* *l-i-yi*.
 1PL.GEN2 two.OBL-INTER-ABL one.OBL-ERG lesson-PL.ABS NHPL-do-PST.W
 ‘One of the two of us did the homework.’

4.2.1.5. Substitutive constructions

The substitutive phrase consists of a noun in the Genitive 2 case, which is being substituted for something else, and a noun *mok'o* ‘place’ in the Superessive. The combination with the Superessive can be translated as ‘instead’. This construction is used to refer to the substitution of the participant (591, 592). To substitute actions, the infinitive of the substitutive action and the participle of the modal verb *-uk-* ‘must’ are used with the word *mok'o*, as in (593, 594).

Substitution of participants

591. *išet'-i* *xink'eza-la* *mok'o-λ'o* *bušne-bo* *l-i-yi*.
 mother.OBL-ERG khinkal.OBL.PL-GEN2 place-SUP pie-PL.ABS NHPL-do-PST.W
 ‘The mother made pie instead of khinkal.’

592. *kand-i* *bataxu-lo* *mok'o-λ'o* *kampita-ba* *l-ez-i*.
 girl.OBL-ERG bread-GEN2 place-SUP sweets-PL.ABS NHPL-buy-PST.W
 'The girl bought sweets instead of bread.'

Substitution of actions

593. *klas-uč* *b-ecic-a* *b-ukk-u* *mok'o-λ'o*
 classroom-EMPH HPL-praise-INF HPL-must-PST.PTCP place-SUP
učitel-i *Ayšat* *y-ecic-i*.
 teacher-ERG *Ayšat*(II) II-praise-PST.W
 'The teacher praised *Ayšat* instead of praising the whole class.'

594. *ɬux^ɕ-dow-lo* *mok'o-λ'o* *užá* *c'ic'i-bo* *ɬe-yi*.
 dig-GNT.PTCP-GEN2 place-SUP boy.OBL.ERG flower-PL.ABS water-PST.W
 'The boy watered the plants instead of digging them up.'

When the noun *mok'o* 'place' is omitted, the standard noun phrase takes the case marking of the noun *mok'o*, i.e. the standard NP *karim-λ'o-so* is marked for the Superessive and for definiteness with the marker *-so/-sa* (595b).

595.

- a. *Karim-lo* *mok'o-λ'o* *ħalt'i* *b-i-yin* *Muħamad-i*.
 Karim-GEN2 place-SUP work(III) III-do-PST.UW Magomed-ERG
 'Magomed did the work instead of Karim.'
- b. *Karim-λ'o-so* *ħalt'i* *b-i-yin* *Muħamad-i*.
 Karim-SUP-DEF work(III) III-do-PST.UW Magomed-ERG
 'Magomed did the work instead of Karim.'

The Locative converb of the modal verb *-uk-* 'must' can be used in the substitution of verbs. The Locative converb generally corresponds to the headless relative clause where the zero head noun could be the noun *mok'o* 'place'. Thus it is possible to use periphrastic constructions which mean 'at the place where one should'.

596. žurnal iλ-a l-uk-zaha di^l heⁿše iλ-i.
 journal(IV) give-INF IV-must-LOC.CVB 1SG.LAT book give-PST.W
 ‘(They) gave me a book instead of giving a journal.’ lit. ‘At the place where they
 should have given (me) a journal, they gave me a book.’

4.2.1.6. Appositive constructions

Apposition involves a noun phrase immediately following another noun phrase of identical reference, the whole sequence behaves like a single noun phrase with respect to the rest of the sentence (Trask 1993: 19). There are two types of case marking in appositive constructions: (i) one of the nouns in the appositive construction is in the Absolutive case and the other noun has the appropriate case; (ii) both nouns in the appositive construction have the same case marking. Appositive nouns can express kinship terms (597), or they can express different kinds of professions, or titles (598).

597. ŕezeŕan ŕaq’lu gollu ŕine y-eč-un
 much intellect be.PRS.PTCP woman(II) II-be-PST.UW
 iŕe-lo išet’i-s išu Šunda.
 that.OBL-GEN2 mother.OBL-GEN1 grandmother(II) Shunda(II).
 ‘There was a very clever woman, grandmother Shunda, the mother of her mother.’
 [Wedding.004]

598. iho Muħamad-il idu kad goq-še.
 shepherd.ABS Magomed-LAT this girl like-PRS
 ‘Magomed, the shepherd, likes this girl.’

In appositive phrases the initially placed appositive noun is in the Absolutive form while the other appositive element is inflected for case. The order of the elements can vary, but the final element of the appositive construction gets the case marking, as in (599).

599.

- a. išu Ayšat-i beq'e-s tošu l-i-yi.
 mother.ABS Ayshat-ERG dried.apricot-GEN1 kasha(IV) IV-do-PST.W
 'Mother Ayshat cooked apricot kasha.'
- b. Ayšat išet'-i beq'e-s tošu l-i-yi.
 Ayshat.ABS mother.OBL-ERG dried.apricot-GEN1 kasha(IV) IV-do-PST.W
 'Ayshat, the mother, cooked apricot kasha.'

Two appositive nouns can also appear in the same case. The majority of such examples are found with place names, such as the names of villages that do not have an Absolutive form and are already in the locative case (600). This pattern of case marking is also possible with other terms, e.g. kinship terms (601).

600.

- a. Iq'q'o aλ-a dah hadam goli.
 Inkhokwari.CONT village-IN few people be.PRS
 'There are few people in Inkhokwari village.'
- b. aλ-a Iq'q'o dah hadam goli.
 village-IN Inkhokwari.CONT few people be.PRS
 'There are few people in the village, in Inkhokwari.'

- 601.obu Hasan-γa-l kaγat b-ot'q'-i isu-lo
 father.ABS Hasan-APUD-LAT letter(III) III-come-PST.W that.OBL-GEN2
uža-s **Muḥamad-is.**
 boy.OBL-GEN1 Magomed-GEN1
 'The father Hasan has received his son Magomed's letter.'

4.2.2. Adjectival Phrase

In adjectival phrase adverbs always precede adjectives (602, 603a): the opposite word order is ungrammatical (603b).

602.idu uže ø-eq-un ø-eč-un saya-w, ø-uxala,
 this boy(I) I-happen-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW healthy-I I-tall
 c'aq' haybata-w.
 very handsome-I
 'This boy was healthy, tall, and very handsome.' [Orphans.061]

603.

a. c'aq' haybata-b-t'a b-eč-un idu kanda-ba.
 very attractive-HPL-PL HPL-be-PST.UW this girl.OBL-PL.ABS
 'These girls were very beautiful.' [Orphans.035]

b. * haybata-b-t'a c'aq' b-eč-un idu kanda-ba.
 attractive-HPL-PL very HPL-be-PST.UW this girl.OBL-PL.ABS
 'These girls were very beautiful.'

When the adverb precedes a string of adjectives, it can modify each adjective if they constitute the same class of adjectives (604). But when the adjectives belong to different classes, only the immediately following adjective is modified (605, 606).

604.žu fezeʃan sihira-w-in žuka-n goli.
 that.ABS very sly-I-AND bad-AND be.PRS
 'He is very sly and (very) bad.'

605.žu c'aq' ø-uλλu-n bercina-w-in goli.
 that.ABS very I-strong-AND beautiful-I-AND be.PRS
 'He is very strong, and handsome.'

606. žu c'aq' saɣa-w-in ø-ogu-n goli.
 that.ABS very healthy-I-AND I-good-AND be.PRS
 'He is very healthy, and kind.'

4.3. Copular constructions

Copular constructions are formed with the auxiliary verb 'to be', which is an irregular verb, i.e. the Present tense auxiliary is *goli*, the Present negative form is *gobi*, and for the past and future tenses the forms of the verb *-eč-* 'be, be located' are used.

4.3.1. Copular clauses with predicative noun phrases

Such copular clauses are formed with both the subject and predicative noun phrases in the Absolutive case. The subject can be expressed either with a noun (607) or a personal pronoun (608).

607. iso obu toxtur ø-eč-un il'p'o aλ-a.
 that.GEN1 father(I) doctor(I) I-be-PST.UW 1PL.GEN2 village-IN
 'His father was a doctor in our village.'

608. m'žo ɣasiya-b hadam goli.
 2PL.ABS godless-HPL people be.PRS
 'You are godless people.' [Zagalawdibir]

4.3.2. Copular clauses with predicative adjective phrases

Such copular constructions have an adjective (participle).

609. idu xabar žuka goli.
 this story bad be.PRS
 'This story is bad.'

610. c'aq' heλ-un y-eč-dow kad goli.
 very calm-PFV.CVB II-be-GNT.PTCP girl(II) be.PRS
 'The girl is quite calm.'

4.3.3. Impersonal clauses

Impersonal copular clauses are formed with an adverbial phrase and the Present tense copula *goli* or the Past tense form of the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’. These constructions can be viewed as subjectless constructions. Note that there is no Absolutive argument in the clause, and the agreement on the verb is in Gender 4. In this construction it is possible to retrieve the generic noun *dunnal* ‘world’, which is of Gender 4. Thus impersonal constructions can be considered as having default agreement in Gender 4 or agreement with the noun *dunnal* ‘world’ (cf. 4.6.1).

611. *žequł* *l-uc’c’-u* *l-eč-i*.
 today IV-cold-PST.PTCP IV-be-PST.W
 ‘It was cold today.’

612. *at’amaha* *l-uxxu* *l-eč-a* *behid-ōy*.
 summer.AD IV-warm IV-be-INF permit-GNT
 ‘The summer might be warm.’ or ‘In summer it might be warm.’

4.3.4. Local copular clause

Local copular clauses consist of a locative noun phrase that can either precede (613) or follow the subject (614, 615). Sentence (615) has an Absolutive subject, the personal pronoun *do* ‘I’, the auxiliary verb *-eč-* ‘be’ and the predicative locative phrase *ihoho soyrozolo* ‘at pasturing horses’.

613. *hobołe* *aλ-a* *iso* *λar* *ø-eč-un*.
 that.OBL village-IN that.GEN1 kunak(I) I-be-PST.UW
 ‘There was his kunak in that village.’

614. *Šamil-in* *ø-eč-un* *ono*.
 Šamil(I)-AND I-be-PST.UW there
 ‘There was Šamil, too.’ [Zagalawdibir]

615.do ø-eč-i iho-ho soyrozolo.
 1SG.ABS I-be-PST.W shepherd-AD horse.PL.OBL.GEN2
 ‘I was pasturing the horses.’ (lit. ‘I was at horse pasturing’) [Who can lie better?]

4.3.5. Possessive clauses

Possessive clauses consist of a predicatively used pronoun, either in the Genitive case or in the Contessive case and an Absolutive subject. The Genitive is used to indicate permanent possession (as well as most cases of long-term possession) (616) and the Contessive is used to express temporarily possessed things (617).

616.diyō ōⁿču b-eč-i.
 1SG.GEN1 hen(III) III-be-PST.W
 ‘I had a hen.’ [Who can lie better?]

617.šīλ’u gobi isuqo, hos boko goli λ’olo kul-un.
 garment be.PRS.NEG that.CONT one felt.cloak be.PRS above throw-PFV.CVB
 ‘He has no garment put on, just the felt cloak.’ [Zagalawdibir]

4.3.6. Copular within existential constructions

Existential constructions can be formed with the Past form of the auxiliary verb -eč- ‘be’ with the meaning ‘once upon a time’. This construction occurs frequently as the first sentence of narratives (618). Existential constructions can also use the Present tense auxiliary (619).

618.y-eč-un-λo y-eč-un-ay-λo hos fiłuk’a.
 II-be-PST.UW-NARR II-be-PST.UW-NARR one witch(II)
 ‘Once upon a time there was a witch.’ [Witch.001]

619.is-nu goli Zagalawdibir aλ'iqo maštaλ
 say-MASD be.PRS Zagalawdibir(I) Khwarshi.CONT mosque.SUB
 ruzma b-i-še ø-eč-ɪon, ʃarabiyal-in
 Friday.prayer(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB I-be-CONC Arabic.country.INTER-AND
 ø-oⁿk'-un, ono ruzma b-i-še b-eč-un
 I-go-PFV.CVB there Friday.prayer(III) III-do-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 ise.
 that.OBL.ERG

'There is a saying that though Zagalawdibir was doing Friday prayer in Khwarshi, he went to the Arabic country to do Friday prayer there.' [Zagalawdibir]

4.4. Clause types

4.4.1. Intransitive clauses

Intransitive constructions are formed with a single argument in the Absolutive case. The verb in an intransitive construction shows agreement with its sole argument if the verb is vowel initial (620); consonant initial verbs (and a few vowel initial verbs as well) do not show any agreement (621). Examples (621) and (622) illustrate patientive and agentive intransitive verbs.

620.hobože do ø-ak^w-aλa, ø-ot'q'-un Sultan diyol-un.
 now 1SG.ABS I-see-ANTR I-come-PST.UW Sultan(I) 1SG.APUD.LAT-AND
 'Now when (he) saw me, Sultan came to me.' [Old man]

621.uže kok-i.
 boy.ABS eat-PST.W
 'The boy has eaten.'

622.hadam b-odo-še b-eč-un.
 people.ABS HPL-work-IPFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW
 'The people have been working.'

4.4.2. Transitive clauses

Transitive constructions consist of an A (agent) argument marked with the Ergative case and a P (patient) argument in the Absolutive. If the verb has an initial slot for agreement prefixes, it shows agreement with the Absolutive patient (623), if the verb is consonant initial, agreement is absent (624).

623. heč'č'e atɣul Madinat-i ðⁿču b-ez-un.
 most in.front Madinat-ERG hen(III).ABS III-buy-PST.UW
 'First Madinat bought the hen.'

624. idu t'alaqasa gul-un ise užá.
 this ring.ABS put-PST.UW that.OBL boy.OBL.ERG
 'That boy put that ring (there).' [7Friends]

4.4.3. Affective constructions

Affective constructions are two-place predicate constructions consisting of an animate argument, an experiencer, marked with the Lative case, and a theme marked with the Absolutive case. Agreement in affective constructions is always with the Absolutive argument.

625. goq-un idu užazal izzu.
 like-PST.UW this boy.PL.OBL.LAT that.PL(P).ABS
 'These boys liked them.' [Orphans.036]

626. om^ooq^oe-n b-it-in, žu k^we-še ø-ečč-u
 donkey(III)-AND III-lose-PFV.CVB that.ABS seek-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.PTCP
 bet'erhanil b-ak-un boc'o.
 owner.LAT III-see-PST.UW wolf(III)
 'Having lost his donkey, the owner, who was looking for it, saw the wolf.'
 [Hajj.052]

There are only two bivalent verbs that can behave both as affective verbs and as transitive verbs. The verb *loqa* means ‘to get’ when used affectively and ‘to take, catch’ when it is transitive. The verb *tuqa*, when transitive, means ‘to listen’, and when affective ‘to hear’.

627. k'it'-i ōⁿču b-oq-un, huⁿh-za
 cat-ERG hen(III) III-take-PFV.CVB kitten-PL.OBL.ERG
 huⁿh-bo l-oq-un, γanq'id-ok'-un.
 chick-PL.ABS NHPL-take-PFV.CVB stifle-CAUS1-PST.UW
 ‘The cat caught the hen, and the kittens caught the chicks, and (they) stifled (them).’ [3Feats.105]

628. wa, iŋe-λ'o-zi b-ogu mok'o b-ōq-bi
 INTERJ. that.OBL-SUP-ABL III-good place(III) III-get.GNT-NEG
 i^lul λin iλ-in, rešt'id-in b-eč-un ono.
 1PL.LAT QUOT say-PFV.CVB rest-PFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW there
 ‘‘Oh, we are not going to find a better place than that,’’ saying this, they had a rest there.’ [7Friends]

629. tuq-un-ay izze iŋes xabar.
 listen-PST.UW-NEG that.PL.(P).ERG that.GEN1 story
 ‘They didn't listen to her talk.’ [Witch.019]

630. užal keč'i tuq-i.
 boy.LAT song hear-PST.W
 ‘The boy heard the song.’

4.4.4. Potential/ accidental constructions

Potential (or accidental) constructions are formed with the suffix *-l-* attached to the verbal stem. They can be used with intransitive and transitive verbs but never with affective verbs. Potential constructions can express two meanings: an action which

happens by accident or an agent's potential action with a meaning corresponding to the modal verb 'can'.

Potential (or accidental) constructions with patientive intransitives require a new argument in the Contessive, while the Absolutive S argument remains unchanged (632).

631. loł-un ło-n ðik'-i.
oil-AND water-AND stir-PST.W
'Oil and water stirred.'

632.(diqo) loł-un ło-n ðik'-l-i.
1SG.CONT oil-AND water-AND stir-POT-PST.W
'I could stir oil and water.' / 'I stirred oil and water accidentally.'

The potential (or accidental) construction of an agentive intransitive can be formed in two ways: either the potential suffix *-l* is added to the verb and the Absolutive argument is left unchanged (633) or the single Absolutive argument of the agentive intransitive verb is put in the Contessive case and the new Absolutive argument is used (634). When a new Absolutive argument is added to an agentive intransitive, the construction has a transitive meaning (635).

633. žu kok-i.
that.ABS eat-PST.W
'He ate.'

634. do kok-l-i.
1SG.ABS eat-POT-PST.W
'I could eat.' / 'I ate accidentally.'

635. diqo zihe kok-l-i.
1SG.CONT cow eat-POT-PST.W
'I could make the cow eat.' / 'I made the cow eat accidentally.'

In a potential (accidental) construction with a transitive verb the Ergative A argument is changed to the Contessive case, while the Absolutive P argument is preserved (636).

636.

a. užá zihe b-uxad-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG cow(III) III-slaughter-PST.W
 ‘The boy slaughtered the cow.’

b. užaqa zihe b-uxad-l-i.
 boy.CONT cow(III) III-slaughter-POT-PST.W
 ‘The boy slaughtered the cow accidentally.’/ ‘The boy could slaughter the cow.’

It is also possible to have an accidental (but not potential) meaning when the agent is marked with the Contessive and the verb is left unchanged, i.e. it does not attach the potential suffix *-l*, as in (637).

637. yinaqa qaba l-uc-i.
 woman.CONT vase(IV) IV-break-PST.W
 ‘The woman broke the vase by accident.’

A potential meaning can also be expressed with the modal verb *leqa* ‘can’, which marks its agent argument with the Contessive suffix:

638. q’ebed-qo l-ogu tir l-i-ya l-eq^w-i.
 smith-CONT IV-good sabre(IV) IV-do-INF IV-can-PST.W
 ‘The smith could make a good sabre.’

In the potential construction, the potential verb agrees with the Absolutive argument:

639.isuqo hadam b-odo-ll-i.
 that.CONT people HPL-work-POT-PST.W
 ‘He could make people work.’ / ‘He made them work accidentally’

640.diqo bataxu y-ac’-l-i.
 1SG.CONT bread(V) V-eat-POT-PST.W
 ‘I could eat the bread.’ / ‘I ate the bread accidentally.’

4.4.5. Biabsolutive constructions

Biabsolutive constructions consist of an A and a P argument both marked with the Absolutive case. Biabsolutive constructions occur when the lexical verb is a transitive verb, and then only in the Imperfective aspect. The transitive predicate in such biabsolutive constructions is always a periphrastic predicate, formed with the Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and an auxiliary verb (641b).

641.

a. hada b-og dac iλ-dow γinayal
 one.OBL III-well lesson(III) give-GNT.PTCP woman.APUD.LAT
 ø-uk-un, q’urʕan c’ali-še b-eč-un ise.
 I-get-PFV.CVB Koran read-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG
 ‘Coming to one woman who could teach very well, he was reading the Koran.’ [Zagalawdibir]

b. hada b-og dac iλ-dow γinayal
 one.OBL III-well lesson(III) give-GNT.PTCP woman.APUD.LAT
 ø-uk-un, q’urʕan c’ali-še ø-eč-un idu.
 I-get-PFV.CVB Koran read-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW this(ABS)
 ‘Coming to one woman who could teach very well, he was reading the Koran.’

Biabsolutive constructions can only be used with transitive predicates (including causative verbs derived from intransitive or affective verbs) and never with intransitive or affective verbs.

As for the agreement pattern, in an ergative construction the main predicate shows agreement with the patient in gender and number. In a biabsolutive construction the non-finite verb agrees with the patient and the auxiliary verb agrees with the agent.

The main function of biabsolutive constructions is patient demotion, where the patient undergoes deindividuation. In ergative constructions, both the patient and the verbal complex are emphasized. In biabsolutive constructions, only the verbal complex is emphasized.

Below is an example (642) of a biabsolutive construction which is the answer to a question about what the agent is doing. The emphasis is on the overall action but not on the patient. In (643), an ergative construction, the patient is emphasized.

642. What is the mother is doing?

išu	t'amsa	bac'alak'-še	goli.
mother.ABS	carpet	clean-PRS	be.PRS

'The mother is carpet-cleaning.'

643. What is the mother cleaning?

išet'-i	t'amsa	bac'alak'-še	goli.
mother.OBL-ERG	carpet	clean-PRS	be.PRS

'The mother is cleaning a carpet.'

Constraints on ECs and BCs: Word order constraints

In ergative constructions finite verbs, as well as non-finite verbs, show agreement with the single Absolutive argument, i.e. finite and non-finite verbs constitute one complex predicate. Thus it is not possible to break this union and change the word order, as in the ungrammatical example (644b), i.e. the non-finite and auxiliary verbs are more closely related in these constructions than in biabsolutive constructions, where the finite and the non-finite verbs can be easily separated, as in (645b).

644.

- a. uža-za šobolu y-uλux-še y-eč-i.
 boy.OBL-PL.OBL.ERG onion(V) V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB V-be-PST.W
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’
- b. *uža-za y-eč-i šobolu y-uλux-še.
 boy.OBL-PL.OBL.ERG V-be-PST.W onion(V) V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’

645.

- a. uža-ba šobolu y-uλux-še b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS onion(V) V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.W
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’
- b. uža-ba b-eč-i šobolu y-uλux-še.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS HPL-be-PST.W onion(V) V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’

Another important word order constraint concerns the positions of A and P arguments. In ergative constructions it is possible to interchange the positions of the A and P arguments, as in (646), whereas in biabsolutive constructions this is not possible – changing the positions of the A and P arguments is ungrammatical, as in (647).

646. šobolu uža-za y-uλux-še y-eč-i.
 onion(V) boy.OBL-PL.OBL.ERG V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB V-be-PST.W
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’

647. *šobolu uža-ba y-uλux-še b-eč-i.
 onion(V) boy.OBL-PL.ABS V-gather.CAUS-IPFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.W
 ‘The boys were gathering onions.’

4.5. Coordination

There are three types of coordination in Khwarshi: conjunctive, disjunctive and adversative.

4.5.1. Conjunctive coordination (and)

Conjunctive coordination is expressed with the particle *-n/-in/-in/-un* attached to each constituent of the coordination. The particle *-n* is attached to words with a final vowel, *-in/-in/-un* is attached to words with a final consonant: the particle *-in* is always used when the closed syllable has /i/, e.g. *gid* ‘dress’ and *gid-in* ‘dress-AND’, *is* ‘sibling’ and *is-in* ‘sibling-AND’, etc.; the particle *-in* is always used when the closed syllable has vowel /i/, e.g. *din* ‘religion’ and *din-in* ‘religion-AND’, *bertin* ‘wedding’ and *bertin-in* ‘wedding-AND’, etc.; the particles *-un/-in/-in* are used in free variation when the closed syllable has vowels /u/, /e/ and /o/, e.g. *gamuš* ‘buffalo’ and *gamuš-un* ‘buffalo-AND’, *og* ‘axe’ and *og-in* ‘axe-AND’, *exen* ‘pillow’ and *exen-in* ‘pillow-AND’, etc.

e.g. **bataxu-n** **k’oro-n**
 bread(V)-AND cheese(IV)-AND
 ‘bread and cheese’

This conjunction can attach to noun phrases in the Absolutive case (648, 649) as well as in other oblique cases (650).

648.b-eč-un-λo		b-eč-un-ay-λo		yuq’ ^ʕ uče-n
HPL-be-PST.UW-NARR		HPL-be-PST.UW-NEG-NARR		old.woman-AND
uq’ ^ʕ uče-n	uža-s	bercina-y		kad-in.
old.man-AND	boy.OBL-GEN1	beautiful-II		girl(II)-AND

‘Once upon a time there were a grandmother, a grandfather and their son's beautiful daughter.’ [Jealous.001]

649. žido kandaba-n, žido užaba-n,
 that.PL.(D)GEN1 girl.PL.ABS-AND that.PL.(D)GEN1 boy.PL.ABS-AND
 iľó užaba-n hadal žiľľo
 1PL.GEN1 boy.PL.ABS-AND together that.PL.(D)GEN2
 sanq'iriyaza-λ'a b-ēč b-eč-i.
 party.PL.OBL-SUP HPL-be.GNT HPL-be-PST.W
 'Their boys and their girls and our boys used to be together at their parties.' [Old man]

650. išet' -i-n kand-i-n aq bac'afak'^w-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG-AND girl.OBL-ERG-AND house clean.CAUS-PST.W
 'The mother and the girl cleaned the house.'

4.5.2. Asyndetic coordination

Asyndetic coordination takes place when the coordinated arguments are right dislocated, i.e. used as an afterthought construction, e.g. in the enumeration of objects.

651. iľes oλ kad-in y-eč-un, b^suľ'a-xe,
 that.GEN1 seven daughter(II)-AND II-be-PST.UW bald-NMLZ
 beta-xe, kuta-xe, q'ebure, λiq^sw-e, řadala-y, c'odora-y.
 herpes-NMLZ sore-NMLZ lame crooked fool-II clever-II
 'And she had seven daughters: Bald, Herpes, Sore, Lame, Crooked, Fool, and Clever.' [Witch.002]

4.5.3. Disjunctive coordination (either...or)

The disjunction of an NP and a clause is expressed with the loan particle *yagi...yagi* (originally from Persian) or its reduced form *ya..ya* (the latter form is preferred). This particle is used bisyndetically, i.e. before each disjunctive element.

e.g. ya kad ya uže
 or girl or boy
 'either girl or boy'

652. *ya* *Muḥamad* *huⁿn-γo-γul* *ø-ot'q'-a* *goli*
 or *Magomed(I)* *mountain-APUD-VERS* *I-come-INF* *be.PRS*
ya *huⁿn* *Muḥamad-γa-l* *b-ot'q'-a* *goli.*
 or *mountain (III)* *Magomed-APUD-LAT* *III-come-INF* *be.PRS*
 'Either Magomed will come to the mountain or the mountain will come to Magomed.'

653. *ya* *išet'-i* *ya* *kand-i* *žequł* *bataxu* *y-i-yi.*
 or *mother.OBL-ERG* or *girl.OBL-ERG* *today* *bread(V)* *V-do-PST.W*
 'Either the mother or the daughter made bread today.'

654. *užá* *t'uq^s* *yagi* *n-uγ-ok'-i* *yagi* *uc'nu*
boy.OBL.ERG *knife(IV)* or *IV-sharpen-CAUS1-PST.W* or *new*
l-ez-i.
IV-buy-PST.W
 'The boy either sharpened the knife or bought a new one.'

4.5.3.1. Negative disjunction (neither...nor)

There is no negative disjunctive particle, rather the negative finite verb is used with the disjunctive particles *ya...ya/yagi...yagi* to express negative disjunction, i.e. the particle *ya/yagi* is used bisyndetically and precedes the noun phrase to which it refers.

655. *žequł* *łu-n* *dac-ba* *l-i-bi* *ya* *Ibrahim-i*
today *who.OBL.ERG-AND* *lesson-PL.ABS* *NHPL-do-NEG* or *Ibragim-ERG*
ya *Pat'imat-i.*
 or *Patimat-ERG*
 'Today no one did the homework, neither Ibragim nor Patimat.'

656.aq l-i-zaha Ruslan-i yagi kirpič y-eⁿq'-bi,
 house(IV) IV-do-LOC.CVB Ruslan-ERG or brick(V) V-bring-NEG
 yagi γuyun b-i-bi.
 or mortar(III) III-do-NEG

‘At the place where the house was being built, Ruslan neither brought bricks nor mixed the mortar.’

4.5.4. Adversative constructions (but)

Adversative constructions are formed with the coordinator *amma* ‘but’, which is a borrowing from Arabic via Avar. It is always used clause initially.

657.golluč q'alá keč'i b-iq-q-i, amma
 everybody children.OBL.ERG poem(III) III-know-CAUS-PST.W but
 hada užá b-iq'-ix-bi.
 one.OBL boy.OBL.ERG III-know-CAUS-NEG

‘All the children learned the poem, but one boy did not.’

658.hadi iλ-in aedu č'aŋa b-ow goli λin
 one.ERG say-PST.UW <III>this bouza(III) III-good be.PRS QUOT
 amma iŋeŋ hadam-lo eⁿq'^sos muše goli λin.
 but that.INTER man-GEN2 blood.GEN1 smell be.PRS QUOT

‘The one said that this bouza was good, but there was the smell of human blood.’

[Princes.064]

4.5.5. Clause coordination

Clause coordination occurs with the conjunction *-n*, the same conjunction as used for phrasal coordination. The particle *-n* occurs on one of the verbal arguments in each finite clause.

659. baħara-y-in y-eč-i bercina-y, baħara-w-in
 bride-II-AND II-be-PST.UW beautiful-II bridegroom-I-AND
 ø-eč-i lebala-w.
 I-be-PST.W attractive-I
 ‘The bride was beautiful, and the bridegroom was handsome.’ [Dialog]

660. lac’a-n l-ow l-eč-i, orodu-n l-ow l-eč-i.
 food(IV)-AND IV-good IV-be-PST.W bouza(IV)-AND IV-good IV-be-PST.W
 ‘The food was good, and the bouza was good.’

A chain of orders in an imperative construction is also marked with the conjunction *-n* attached to one of the arguments of the imperative verb.

661. Muħama-n ø-ux⁵ad-a žu-n lol-o.
 Magomed(I)-AND I-slaughter-IMP that.ABS-AND boil-IMP
 ‘Kill Magomed and boil him.’ [Mesedo.067]

4.5.6. Agreement with coordinated NPs

A noun phrase consisting of two conjoint NPs has several possible targets for agreement (e.g. a verb, a demonstrative pronoun, an adjective, or a postposition). The term ‘resolution rule’, first presented by Givon (1970) and then by Corbett (2003, 2006), ‘refers to a rule which specifies the form of an agreeing target when the controller consists of two conjoint NPs’ (Corbett 2003: 290).

Khwarshi has five agreement genders in the singular and two genders in the plural (cf. 3.1.1). There are some homonymous gender markers, e.g. the affix *b-/m-* is used to mark Gender 3 as well as the human plural, the affix *l-/n-* is used to mark Gender 4 and also the non-human plural.

The resolved form is the human plural when a) all the conjunct elements are of Gender 1 (or male gender), as in (662), b) all the conjuncts are of Gender 2 (or female gender) (663), c) one of the conjuncts is of Gender 1 and the other of Gender 2 (664), or d) both conjuncts are human plural nouns (665). Note that each conjoint NP is marked with the particle *-n*. These resolution rules are based on nouns where the

gender is dependent on meaning, so the gender resolution system is based on a semantic principle. A demonstrative pronoun can modify each conjunct and show the corresponding agreement of that conjunct, as in (664).

662. obu-n uže-n b-axxač m-ok'-i.
 father(I)-AND boy(I)-AND HPL-back HPL-go-PST.W
 'The father and the son went back.'

663. išu-n kad-in b-ot'q'-i.
 mother(II)-AND daughter(II)-AND HPL-come-PST.W
 'The mother and the daughter came.'

664. a <w> edu obu-n a <y> edu išu-n b-ot'q'-i.
 <I> this father(I)-AND <II> this mother(II)-AND HPL-come-PST.W
 'This father and this mother came.'

665. obu-bo-n išu-bo-n b-ot'q'-i.
 father(I)-PL.ABS-AND mother(II)-PL.ABS-AND HPL-come-PST.W
 'The fathers and the mothers came.'

Conjoint NPs can also refer to non-human genders, which can be nouns of Gender 3, Gender 4 or Gender 5. The resolution form for conjoint NPs of these genders is the non-human plural. When the conjoint NPs are of Gender 3 and Gender 4, or of Gender 4 and Gender 5, etc., the resolved agreement is also the non-human plural (666, 667). When two conjoined non-human NPs are in the plural form, the verb agrees with the non-human plural (668).

666. de a <r> edu oⁿg-in a edu uⁿč-in l-ez-i.
 1SG.ERG <IV> this axe(IV)-AND <III> this jug(III)-AND NHPL-buy-PST.W
 'I bought this axe and this jug.'

667. užá k'oro-n a <y> edu bataxu-n l-ac'-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG cheese(IV)-AND <V> this bread(V)-AND NHPL-eat-PST.W
 'The boy ate this bread and cheese.'

668. k'ilik'a-ba-n oⁿg-no-bo-n l-eč-i.
 ring-PL.ABS-AND axe-PL-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were rings and axes.'

It should be noted that, in addition to the non-human plural agreement with conjoint NPs of Gender 3, the agreement can be also of Gender 3. This agreement is even preferred to agreement with the non-human plural.

669. m-ok'-un zor-un boc'o-n bolo-λ'o-l zo-ya.
 III-go-PST.UW fox(III)-AND wolf(III)-AND ice-SUP-LAT skate-INF
 'The fox and the wolf went to skate on the ice.' [Witch.039]

Conjoint NPs which refer both to human (or rational) nouns and non-human (non-rational) nouns of Gender 4 or Gender 5 are examined below. In these examples, the resolved form is the non-human plural, as in (670, 671). When conjoint NPs refer to human plural and non-human plural nouns, the resolved agreement is the non-human plural (672, 673).

670. kad-in oⁿg-in l-eč-i.
 girl(II)-AND axe(IV)-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were a girl and an axe.'

671. ono uže-n čik'e-n l-eč-i.
 there boy(I)-AND kid(V)-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were a boy and a kid.'

672.kandaba-n λi^l-bo-n l-ot'q'-i.
 girl.PL.ABS-AND lamb.OBL-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-come-PST.W
 'The girls and the lambs came.'

673.zihe-bo-n išu-bo-n l-ot'q'-i r-axxač.
 cow-PL.ABS-AND mother-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-come-PST.W NHPL-backwards
 'The mothers and the cows came back.'

When one of the conjoint NPs refers to a non-human plural and the other refers to a human noun, and vice versa when one noun refers to a human plural and the other noun refers to a singular noun of Gender 4 or 5, the resolved form is non-human, i.e. the non-human plural gender with the marker *l-* trumps the human plural gender *b-*.

674.uže-n žihe-bo-n l-ot'q'-i.
 boy(i)-AND cow-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-come-PST.W
 'The boy and the cows came.'

675.ono oⁿg-*in* kandaba-n l-eč-i.
 there axe(IV)-AND girl.PL.ABS-AND NHPL-be-PST.W
 'There were girls and an axe.'

It is also possible to have agreement with only one conjunct element. Such agreement occurs when one of the conjuncts is a pronoun and the other is a noun of Gender 3; the agreement can be either with the Gender 3 noun or with the pronoun, which can refer to a male, Gender 1, or a female, Gender 2, as in (676) where the agreement is in Gender 3, or, as in (677) where the agreement is either with the male Gender 1 or the female Gender 2.

676.b-eč-*in* b-eč-un ono žu-n om^soq'^se-n.
 III-be-RED III-be-PST.UW there that.ABS-AND donkey(III)-AND
 'He/she and the donkey were there.' [Malla-rasan]

677. om^soq^se-n žu-n ø-ot'q'-i / y-ot'q'-i.
 donkey(III)-AND that.ABS-AND I-come-PST.W II-come-PST.W
 'He/she and the donkey came.'

When one of the conjunct elements is plural, or both conjuncts are plural, agreement can be triggered by either of the nouns:

678. žu-n zihe-bo-n ø-ot'q'-i / y-ot'q'-i / l-ot'q'-i.
 that.ABS-AND cow-PL.ABS-AND I-come-PST.W II-come-PST.W NHPL-come-PST.W
 'He/she and the cows came.'

679. izzu-n om^soq^se-bo-n b-ot'q'-i / l-ot'q'-i.
 that.PL(P)ABS-AND donkey-PL.ABS-AND HPL-come-PST.W NHPL-come-PST.W
 'They and the donkeys came.'

4.6. Verbal Valence

There are both intransitive and transitive predicates in Khwarshi.

4.6.1. Intransitive predicates

Intransitive predicates have one argument marked with the Absolutive. The majority of one-place intransitive verbs are motion, stative, bodily sensation, and weather verbs.

680. y-ot'q'-un žu aλ-a-ł-γul.
 II-come-PST.UW that.ABS village-OBL-INTER-VERS
 'She returned to (her) village.' [Jealous.041]

681. kad λus-un y-eč-un.
 girl(II).ABS sleep-PFV.CVB II-be-PST.UW
 'The girl slept.' [Old man]

Weather expressions can be formed with dedicated weather verbs which only refer to precipitation, as in (682). The construction in (683) contains the verb *-eštʰ-* ‘rain’. This verb *-eštʰ-* is a polysemantic verb, i.e. this verb is generally transitive, meaning ‘to let’, ‘to send’, but it is intransitive when it means ‘to rain’ (lit. ‘let’ rain). The intransitive status of this verb can be proved by the fact that the only retrievable argument is the word *γodo* ‘rain’, and it is also not possible to include an A argument as in ‘the world let the rain’, which is ungrammatical.⁵⁵

682.ačalaha	b-otʰqʰ-aλa,	yol-un	e ⁿ so,
waste.land.AD	III-come-ANTR	snow-PST.UW	snow
puλ-un	e ⁿ so.		
blow-PST.UW	snow		

‘When (the wolf) came to the wasteland, it snowed and snowed.’ [Hajj.020]

683.(γodo)	l-eštʰ-še	l-eč-i.
rain(IV)	IV-let-IPFV.CVB	IV-be-PST.W

‘It was raining.’ [Dialog]

Other weather expressions are formed with weather predicates which seem to lack overt arguments (684, 685). In such constructions it is possible to retrieve an S argument, the generic word *dunnal* ‘world, universe’, which is of Gender 4 (686). Agreement in such constructions can be viewed as default agreement or as agreement with the generic noun *dunnal* ‘world’.

684.sasda-x-še	l-eč-i.
dark-VZ-IPFV.CVB	IV-be-PST.W

‘It was getting dark.’

⁵⁵ In the Inkhokwari dialect the verb *ceλ-* ‘rain’ can refer only to precipitation ‘rain’.

685.huniža asaxu l-eč-i.
 yesterday cloudy IV-be-PST.W
 ‘It was cloudy yesterday.’

686.huniža dunnal l-uc’-i.
 yesterday world(IV) IV-get.cold-PST.W
 ‘It was cold yesterday.’

Bodily sensation predicates can mark the experiencer role in two ways: the experiencer can be marked with the Absolutive case (687) or with the Lative (688). There is no difference in meaning between these two constructions.

When the experiencer is marked with the Absolutive case, the verbs shows agreement with the Absolutive argument, as in (687, 689), whereas in the lative construction, the verb shows default agreement in Gender 4 (688, 690). Default agreement in Gender 4 occurs in constructions where there is no Absolutive argument present and no possible retrievable Absolutive argument.

687.do y-og y-eč-bi.
 1SG.ABS II-well II-be-NEG
 ‘I (female) didn’t feel well.’

688.di^l l-ow l-eč-bi.
 1SG.LAT IV-well IV-be-NEG
 ‘I didn’t feel well.’

689.do y-uc’-i.
 1SG.ABS II-be.cold-PST.W
 ‘I (female) felt cold.’

690.di^l l-uc’c’-u l-eč-i.
 1SG.LAT IV-be.cold-PST.PTCP IV-be-PST.W
 ‘It was cold to me.’

There are some intransitive predicates that can have non-standard case marking. Such intransitives can be two-place, i.e. they can have two arguments, where one of the arguments is marked with the Absolutive and the other argument can be expressed with some locative marker.

[ABS, SUP] Some intransitive predicates such as *buž-* ‘believe’, *qʷaqʷaλ-* ‘laugh at’, *čʷiq-* ‘attack’ mark the subject with the Absolutive case and the second argument with the Superessive.

691.kad hʷamʷaγʷe-λʷo buž-i.
 girl friend-SUP believe-PST.W
 ‘The girl believed (her) friend.’

692.uže di-λʷo čʷiq-i.
 boy.ABS 1SG.OBL-SUP attack-PST.W
 ‘The boy attacked me.’

[ABS, CONT-LAT] Two-place predicates, that express directionality of action, such as *un-* ‘speak’, *ixxid-* ‘scold’, *gucʷ-* ‘look at’, and mark one of the arguments with the Absolutive and the other with the Contlative.

693.hed daɸba b-eq-unso, žu tokʷa-y
 then quarrel(III) III-happen-ANTR that.ABS not.any.more-II
 isuqol un-un-ay.
 that.CONT.LAT speak-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘After a quarrel she did not talk to him any more.’

694.∅-ixxid-in idu obu uža-qa-l.
 I-scold-PST.UW this father(1) boy.OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘The father scolded the boy.’ [3Feats.045]

695.a <w>de dublo eⁿdu ø-eč-ɫon, dublo xan-ɫi-s
 <I>this 2SG.GEN2 inside I-be-CONC 2SG.GEN2 khan-NMLZ-GEN1
 mičahaɫi-s pikru gobi ise užas,
 rich.NMLZ-GEN1 thought be.PRS.NEG that.OBL boy.GEN1
 žu hoboɫe ɣoboqol guc'c'-u ø-uɫ-ate λin.
 that.ABS that.OBL mill.CONT.LAT look-PST.PTCP I-turn-NEG QUOT
 'Though he is in your house, the boy is not thinking about your kingdom, your
 richness, he is looking at the mill not turning away.' [Princes.082]

[ABS, CONT] The verb -uɫ'- 'fear' marks its oblique argument with the Contessive, and the subject with the Absolutive.⁵⁶

696.isu-qo b-uɫ'-un žoho židu-n m-ok'-un-ay.
 that.OBL-CONT HPL-fear-PFV.CVB after that.PL.(D)ABS-AND HPL-go-PST.UW-NEG
 'As (the giants) became afraid of him, (they) didn't go after him anymore.'
 [Xitilbeg.042]

[ABS, GEN2] The two-place **contact predicate** c'ox- 'hit' marks the subject with the Absolutive case and the other argument is marked with the Genitive 2, which is used to modify an oblique argument in the Interessive, which can be any body part. It is also possible to omit the body part noun.

697.idu itelo (liɫ'a-ɫ) c'ox-aɫa, qaɫu l-i-yin,
 this(ABS) that.GEN2 hand-INTER hit-ANTR shout(IV) IV-do-PFV.CVB
 ø-ik-in.
 I-run-PST.UW
 'When it (the fire) hit (its hand), (this creature) cried and ran away.' [7Friends]

⁵⁶ There are also a few instances where the oblique argument of the verb -uɫ'- 'be afraid' is marked with the Contablative.

4.6.2. Experiential two-place predicates [LAT, ABS]

Experiential verbs mark the experiencer with the Lative, and the second argument is marked with the Absolutive case. Such verbs include *-ak-* ‘see’, *tuq-* ‘hear’, *lokol-* ‘seem’, *goq-* ‘love’, *-us-* ‘find’, *q’oč-* ‘want’, *-iq’-* ‘know’, *-ac-* ‘hate’, *λural-* ‘get bored’, *č’al-* ‘inform’, *bič’id-* ‘understand’, *bulh-* ‘understand’, *šul’-* ‘forget’, *behid-* ‘permit’.

698.huⁿn-λ’o λ’olo izzu-l b-us-un ze
 mountain-SUP above that.PL.(P)OBL-LAT III-find-PST.UW bear(III)
 iłó muc b-iq’-dogu.
 1PL.GEN1 language(III) III-know-GNT.PTCP
 ‘They met a bear who knew their language.’ [Fool.004]

699.tuq-un c’odoraw-il řadalaw-is ze-qo iss-u xabar.
 hear-PST.UW clever-LAT fool-GEN1 bear-CONT tell-PST.PTCP talk
 ‘Clever heard Fool talking to the bear.’ [Fool.055]

700.q’ala-xu gollu řine łene-ho-l-k
 child-ADTZ be.PRS.PTCP woman(II) who.OBL-APUD-LAT-QUES
 mižu-l hed y-iq’-in λin.
 2PL.OBL-LAT then II-know-PST.UW QUOT
 ‘How did you know that the woman was pregnant?’ [Princes.056]

4.6.3. Two-place predicates in potential/accidental constructions [CONT, ABS]

Potential predicates with the suffix *-l-*, as well as accidental constructions mark the agent-like subject with the Contessive case and the other argument with the Absolutive (also cf. 4.4.4).

701.kandi-qo kode b-ič’-l-i.
 girl.OBL-CONT hair(III) III-cut-POT-PST.W
 ‘The girl cut (her) hair by accident.’ / ‘The girl could cut (her) hair.’

702.q'ala-qa istakan y-uc-i.
 child-CONT glass(V) V-break-PST.W
 'The child broke the glass by accident.'

4.6.4. Transitive predicates

Typical two-place predicates have one of the arguments in the Absolutive and the agentive argument in the Ergative.

4.6.4.1. Transitive two-place predicates [ERG, ABS]

Transitive verbs require that the agent be marked with the Ergative case and the theme with the Absolutive case. The most typical transitive verbs are *-i-* 'do', *q''a-* 'write', *gul-* 'put', *-a''γ^ε-* 'open', *-ac²-* 'eat', etc.

703.hed n-uq-i ise žu bada.
 then IV-close-PST.W that.OBL.ERG that.ABS sack(IV)
 'Then he closed that sack.' [Dialog]

704.e''du-l y-ot'q'-aλa, y-a''γ^ε-in iλe kand-i γamasi.
 inside-LAT II-come-ANTR V-open-PST.UW that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG trunk(V)
 'When (she) came home, this girl opened the trunk.' [Orphan.018]

There is one transitive predicate *puλ-* 'lie' that has a single argument in the Ergative case. The Absolutive argument, however, can be easily retrieved.

705.ise (haca) puλ-še goli.
 that.OBL.ERG wind blow-PRS be.PRS
 'He is lying.' (lit. 'He is blowing wind.')

Some transitive verbs, such as *kakid-* 'blame oneself', *x''aλ-* 'shave oneself', can be presented with a reflexive pronoun in the Genitive case and a direct object, which is easily omitted; such omitted objects usually refer to body parts or some generic

abstract noun. With contact verbs it is also possible to omit the object, which is often a body part noun (cf. 4.6.1).

706.užá	ise.iso	(ʕamal)	kakid-i.
boy.OBL.ERG	REFL.GEN1	behavior	blame-PST.W
‘The boy blamed himself.’			

4.6.4.2. Transitive three-place predicates

The agent in three-place predicates is marked with the Ergative case. There is always another argument in the Absolutive case and a third argument with some locative marking.

The majority of ditransitive verbs allow valence pattern variation, resulting in differences of semantic interpretation. One such verb is the ditransitive verb ‘to give’, which has an Ergative agent, an Absolutive theme and a recipient, the encoding of which depends on the semantic nature of the transfer of possession: if it is a permanent transfer (e.g. ‘to give (permanently)’), the recipient takes the Lative (707), whereas if it is a non-permanent (temporary) transfer, (e.g. ‘to give someone something for a while’), the recipient takes the Apudlative (708).

[ERG, LAT, ABS] or [ERG, APUD-LAT, ABS] ‘to give’

707.hed	ise	din	b-i-dow-lo	žik’ó	hos
then	that.OBL	religion(III)	III-do-GNT.PTCP-OBL	man.OBL.ERG	one
e ^{nš}	λar-ma-l-un		tuλ-un,	ise.isul	q ^{ʕw} ene
apple	quest-OBL-LAT-AND		give-PFV.CVB	REFL.LAT	two
e ^{nš}	hic-in.				
apple	leave-PST.UW				

‘Then that man who prayed gave one apple to the guest, and kept the other two apples for himself.’ [The man who went to God]

708. *iλ'o* *Nabi-γo-l* *tíλλ-u* *Asiyat-la* *užá,*
 last.year *Nabi-APUD-LAT* *give-PST.PTCP* *Asiyat-GEN2* *boy.OBL.ERG*
q'ayi-še *λin* *l-ezz-u* *magnitofon,* *žen*
 repair-PRS QUOT IV-take-PST.PTCP *tape.recorder(IV)* still
iλ-bič *goli* *i^ho.*
 give-NEG.CVB be.PRS 1PL.GEN2
 'The tape-recorder which the son of Asiyat gave to Nabi to repair, and saying that he would repair it as he took (it), is still in our place.' [Dialog]

There are two forms of the verb 'to give' *iλ-* and *tuλ-/tíλ-*, which are used as follows: the form *iλ-* is used when the recipient is the first or the second person, and the form *tuλ-* is used when the recipient is the third person (for more discussion on such variation with the verb 'to give' see Comrie (2003a: 269) and Nikolaev & Starostin (1994: 641)).

709. *boc'i* *isx-in* *di^h-in* *iλ-še-k* *c'oxu* *ču^ha* *λin.*
 wolf.OBL-ERG ask-PST.UW 1SG.LAT-AND give-PRS-QUES few fish QUOT
 'The wolf asked, "Will (you) give me some fish?"'

710. *užayal* *tíλ-o* *žu* *widra* *λin* *iλ-in* *γiná.*
 boy.APUD.LAT give-IMP that.ABS bucket QUOT say-PST.UW woman.OBL.ERG
 'The woman said, "Give the bucket to the boy.'" [Dialog]

The verb *iλ-/tíλ-* 'give' is also used to express meanings like 'to give an order', 'to give a present', 'to give up' where the recipient is always marked with the Lative.

711. *hobože* *Istalin-i* *isul* *pirkaz* *tíλ-in* *b-eč-un.*
 now Stalin-ERG that.LAT order(III) give-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'Now Stalin gave an order to him.' [Old man]

712.allahise dubul saxli iλ-oλo.
 Allah.OBL.ERG 2SG.LAT health give-OPT
 ‘May Allah give you health!’ [Dialog]

713.hobože i^huλ’ol λolo b-ot’q’-i, λolo b-i-ya-k
 now 1PL.SUP.LAT war(III) III-come-PST.W war(III) III-do-INF-QUES
 goli, i^hλ’e-li-k tiλ-a goli pačaliq λin iλ-in.
 be.PRS hand.LAT-QUES give-INF be.PRS motherland QUOT say-PST.UW
 ‘‘Now the war came, are we going to fight, or are we going to give up?’’ he said.’
 (lit. ‘to give the motherland into the hands (of enemies). [Old man]

Case alternation in the marking of the goal is found with the following verbs: *-eⁿq’-* ‘bring’, *-ešt’-* ‘send’, *-ot’ok’-* ‘carry’, and *kul-* ‘throw’. The goal argument can be marked with the Lative or with the Apudlative. The Lative marking indicates a ‘permanent’ transfer (e.g. ‘to bring smth to someone forever’), whereas the Apudlative denotes a temporary transfer (e.g. to bring smth to someone for a while).

714.boc’-i i^hel n-eq’-a himon hic-ce
 wolf.OBL-ERG that.LAT IV-bring-INF thing(IV) leave-IPFV.CVB
 l-eč-un-ay.
 IV-be-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘The wolf brought her a lot of things.’ [Jealous.024]

715.ise yarayi nartaw-γa-l m-eq’-šezuq’un,
 that.OBL.ERG weapon(III) giant-APUD-LAT III-bring-DURAT
 b-us-un isul soyro.
 III-find-PST.UW that.LAT horse(III)
 ‘As he was bringing the weapon to the giant, he found a horse.’

[ERG, LAT, ABS] The **benefactive** argument in three-place predicates such as -*eγ^w*- ‘sell’⁵⁷, -*ez*- ‘buy’, -*i*- ‘do smth for someone’, ‘help’, among others, is always marked with the Lative.

716. bazar-λ'a-l-in ø-oⁿk'-un, hadam-il ise.iso zihe-bo
 market-SUP-LAT-AND I-go-PFV.CVB people-LAT REFL.GEN1 cow-PL.ABS
 l-eγ^w-a ø-eq-un žu.
 NHPL-sell-INF I-begin-PST.UW that.ABS
 ‘When he came to the market, he began to sell his own cows to the people.’

717. hic-in boc²-i žu iŕe.iŕel kumak b-i-ya,
 leave-PST.UW wolf.OBL-ERG that.ABS REFL.LAT help(III) III-do-INF
 idu mada-ha himon l-i-ya iŕe.iŕel-uč.
 this outside-AD thing(IV) IV-do-INF REFL.LAT-EMPH
 ‘The wolf kept the girl so that she could help him, and do the thing outside.’
 [Jealous.021]

‘buy for someone’

718. Xasayurtil ø-oⁿk'-aλa, obu-t'-i užal welisepeđ
 Khasavyurt.LAT I-go-ANTR father-OBL-ERG boy.LAT bicycle(IV)
 l-ez-un.
 IV-buy-PST.UW
 ‘When the father went to Khasavyurt, he bought a bicycle for the son.’

⁵⁷ The verb *leγ^wa* has the meaning ‘to sell’ only when referring to animals. The usual meaning of this verb is ‘to take’. The verb *tiλa* is ‘to sell’ when referring to objects, in this case the oblique argument is marked with the Lative.

‘open for someone’

719. q’ala b-ot’q-aλa, yuq’^sučé židul
 children III-come-ANTR old.woman.OBL.ERG that.PL.(D)LAT
 k’urk’ulos banka y-aⁿγ-un.
 apricot.GEN1 pot(V) V-open-PST.UW

‘When the children came, the grandmother opened the pot of apricot jam for them.’

‘to put for someone’

720. ø-eč-e, ø-eč-e, i^le dubul bertin-no-s
 I-be-IMP I-be-IMP 1PL.ERG 1SG.LAT wedding-OBL-GEN1
 lac’a.c’o gul-še λin iλ-in isuqol.
 food put-PRS QUOT say-PST.UW that.CONT.LAT

‘“Wait, wait, we will give you some food from the wedding,” they said to him.’

[7Friends]

‘to throw to someone’

721. wo Muħama, hos eⁿš kul-o di^li λin
 hey Magomed one apple throw-IMP 1SG.LAT QUOT
 iλ-in i^le.
 say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG

‘“Hey, Magomed, throw one apple to me,” she said.’ [Mesedo.029]

‘to do smth for someone’

722. me bercingo dayistan-is ahlu b-ešt’-o
 2SG.ERG accurately Daghestan-GEN1 people HPL-let-IMP
 nazmu-n b-i-ya di^li, do-n ø-ecic-in,
 ode(III)-AND III-do-INF 1SG.LAT 1SG.ABS-AND I-praise-PFV.CVB
 hed di^li duħa-n b-i-ya λin iλ-in.
 then 1SG.LAT prayer(III) III-do-INF QUOT say-PST.UW

‘“You compose me an ode about the Daghestanian people praising me, and making me a prayer,” (he) said.’ [Old man]

Utterance predicates mark the agent with the Ergative case and the marking of the addressee depends on the lexical verb. The verb *iλ-* ‘say’ marks its addressee with the Contlative while the verbs *is-* ‘tell’, *isxa* ‘to ask’, and *xabar bešt’a* ‘to tell a story’ mark their addressees with the Contessive. The most frequently used utterance predicate is the verb *iλ-* ‘say’. The verb *moł-* ‘teach’ can use either Contlative or Contessive marking.

[ERG, CONT-LAT] *iλ-* ‘say’

723. *diyo laga me e^hhu-z usan-a λin*
 1SG.GEN1 body 2SG.ERG broom-INSTR wash-IMP QUOT
iλ-in yuq^suč^é ile kandu-qo-l.
 say-PST.UW old.woman.OBL.ERG that.OBL girl.OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘‘Wash my body with a broom,’’ the old woman told the girl.’ [Orphan.012]

[ERG, CONT, ABS] *is-* ‘tell’, *isx-* ‘ask’, *moł-* ‘teach’

724. *isx-in zor-i liłuk’a-qa hibo l-eq^w-i λin.*
 ask-PST.UW fox-ERG witch-CONT what IV-happen-PST.W QUOT
 ‘The fox asked the witch, ‘‘What happened?’’ [Witch.030]

725. *eⁿduyul y-ot’q²-aλa, is-in heresi yuq^suč^éeqo*
 inside.VERS II-come-ANTR say-PST.UW lie old.woman.CONT
mižó kad y-it’-i λin.
 2PL.GEN1 girl(II) II-divide-PST.W QUOT
 ‘When (she) came home (she) lied to the grandparents, saying their girl had been lost.’ [Jealous.012]

726.moł-un kandaza-qa aⁿc łul-un y-āⁿγbo λin.
 teach-PST.UW girl.PL.OBL-CONT door(V) who.LAT-AND V-open.PROH QUOT
 ‘<...> (She) taught the daughters not to open the door to anyone.’ [Witch]

There are several **contact verbs** that mark the instrument argument with the Absolutive case and the animate patient with the Genitive 2, as it modifies a recoverable body part noun in the oblique case. When the body part is omitted the sentence has unspecified reference (730, 733).

[ERG, GEN2, ABS] The following are contact predicates: *-ex-* ‘touch’, *coλ-* ‘throw, shoot’, *-ek^w-* ‘hit’, *haλ-* ‘hit’, ‘stab’.

727.ise nartaw-i biλ’ l-ešut’-še l-eč-un
 that.OBL gaint-ERG herd(IV) IV-let-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.UW
 m^fāγ^ful hos-t’a, žib.žib ħayman-la (aⁿx^faλ’a)
 outside one-DISTR every animal-GEN2 stomach.SUP
 liλ’a-n l-ex-un.
 hand(IV)-AND IV-touch-PFV.CVB

‘That giant was letting the herd outside one by one, touching each animal with (his) hand.’ [7Friends]

‘to throw’

728.λ’olo-γul k’oλλ-u ise žiP’o λu-q’e
 above-VERS jump-PST.PTCP that.OBL.ERG that.PL.(D)GEN2 roof-QUES
 coλ-še λin, b-uλ’-an b-uλ’-un durid-in
 throw-PRS QUOT HPL-be.afraid-RED HPL-be.afraid-PFV.CVB run-PST.UW
 nartaw-ba.
 giant-PL.ABS

‘As he jumped up, the giants ran away thinking that he was going to throw the roof on them. [Xitilbeg.058]

‘to shoot’

729.hed q'ačay-la k'ak'a-la (šubuf) tubi-n
 then robber-GEN2 leg-GEN2 calf.of.leg.INTER gun-AND
 coλ-un, ø-oq-un xundá žu.
 shot-PFV.CVB I-catch-PST.UW men.OBL.ERG that.ABS

‘Then shooting at the leg of the robber with the gun, the men caught him.’

‘to shoot’

730.hobože ø-e"λ'-an ø-e"λ'-un ise oλλelo žik'olo
 now I-go-RED I-go-PFV.CVB that.OBL.ERG seven.OBL man.GEN2
 coλ-un.
 shoot-PST.UW

‘Now he went and shot at seven men.’

‘to hit’

731.y-oťq'-un liłuk'a durid-in, o"ng-in m-eq'-un,
 II-go-PFV.CVB witch(II) run-PFV.CVB axe(III)-AND III-bring-PFV.CVB
 I-ek'-un boc'-lo a"x'a-λ'a.
 IV-hit-PST.UW wolf.OBL-GEN2 stomach.OBL-SUP

‘The witch went running, brought an axe, and hit the stomach of the wolf.

[Witch.044]

‘to hit’

732.homone-zi b-ux-šeč b-eč-un, ifelo behenazi
 there-ABL III-go-IPFV.CVB III-be-PFV.CVB that.GEN2 hoof.INSTR
 I-ek'k'-u, tira.tira-n I-ut'-x-un.
 IV-hit-PST.PTCP diarrhea(IV)-AND IV-divide-CAUS-PST.UW

‘Going from there, and (the horse) hit it with its hoof, so that diarrhea came (out of it).’ [Hajj.033]

‘to hit’, ‘to stab’

733. nartaw-i isulo tir haλ-un.
 giant-ERG that.GEN2 sabre stab-PST.UW
 ‘The giant stabbed him with the sabre.’

In contact predicates the patient can be expressed with the Contessive, i.e. without any Genitive modifier (734, 735a). When the patient is an inanimate object omission of the parenthetical material is not possible, as in (735b).

734. žu hib^la, iŕe l-exex-še isuqo
 that why that.OBL.ERG NHPL-touch.DUR-PRS that.CONT
 liλ'a-ba.
 hand-PL.ABS
 ‘Why is that, she is touching him with (her) hands?’ [Dialog]

735.

a. obu-t'-i qodolo puqo / qodoqo
 father-OBL-ERG wall.GEN2 side.CONT wall.CONT
 suγat l-ex-i.
 lime(IV) IV-touch-PST.W
 ‘The father covered the wall’s side with lime.’

b. *obu-t'-i qodolo suγat l-ex-i.
 father-OBL-ERG wall.GEN2 lime(IV) IV-touch-PST.W
 ‘The father covered the side of the wall with lime.’

In contact predicates the instrument argument is usually expressed with the Absolutive case, but this argument can also be expressed with the Instrumental case marked with the suffix *-z* (736). This usage of the Instrumental case with contact predicates is comparable to Russian, in which instrument arguments are marked with the Instrumental case.

736.obu-t'-i uža-la k'anta-z l-ek'^w-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-GEN2 stick(IV)-INSTR IV-hit-PST.W
 'The father hit the boy with the stick.'

[ERG, CONT, ABS] The case assignment of **causative verbs** like *-akx^w*- 'show', *-ac'x-* 'feed', etc. follows the general causative pattern for transitive verbs with the causer in the Ergative case, the causee in the Contessive, and the patient in the Absolutive case (cf. 4.7.2).

737.išet'-i ik'segu užaqa tošu ħallaqe
 mother.OBL-ERG small boy.CONT cereal(IV) with.effort
 l-ac'-x-i.
 IV-eat-CAUS-PST.W
 'The mother made the small boy eat the cereal with difficulty.'

[ERG, CONT-ABL, ABS] The three-place transitive predicates *-oq-* 'take' and *-eγ^w*- 'take' mark the source arguments by the Contablative, deriving the meaning 'to take from someone'.

738.Arslan-i istiḡo-z golluč os b-eγ-un.
 Arslan-ERG sibling.CONT-ABL all money(III) III-take-PFV.CVB
 'Arslan took all the money from his sibling.'

4.7. Valence Change

4.7.1. Lability

Labile verbs are verbs that can be used both intransitively and transitively without any formal change to the verb. There are two types of labile verbs: *patient-preserving* labile verbs, those which have an intransitive S argument that corresponds to a transitive P argument (S=P) (e.g. *The house burnt* and *The robber burnt the house*), where the patient is always retained in the valence pattern and the agent argument can be omitted; the other type of labile verbs, *agent-preserving lability*, has

an intransitive S argument which corresponds to a transitive A argument (S=A) (e.g. *John ate* and *John ate supper*).

There is a third type of lability which is difficult to identify, namely reflexive lability. In Khwarshi the verb *usana* is a reflexive labile verb. When used intransitively, it means ‘to bathe/wash oneself’ with the single argument in the Absolutive (739a). When used transitively, it means ‘to wash something’ with the agent in the Ergative case and the other argument in the Absolutive case (739b, 739c). It is hard to distinguish A=P lability, as this verb *usana* ‘to wash oneself/wash something’ can refer to the transitive A argument as well as to the intransitive P argument.

739.

- a. γine usan-i.
 woman.ABS bathe-PST.W
 ‘The woman washed herself.’
- b. γiná žu.žuč usan-i.
 woman.OBL.ERG REFL.ABS bathe-PST.W
 ‘The woman washed herself.’
- c. γiná eⁿxuł šiλ’u usan-i.
 woman.OBL.ERG river.INTER garment bathe-PST.W
 ‘The woman washed the garment in the river.’

4.7.1.1. S=A labile verbs

There are a few A-labile verbs in Khwarshi, for example, *c’alid-* ‘study/read’ and *uryid-* ‘think/make up’. Sentence (740) illustrates the intransitive use of the verb *c’alid-* ‘study’ with the S argument in the Absolutive case. Sentence (741) shows the transitive use of the verb *c’alid-* ‘read’ with the agent argument in the Ergative case and the patient argument in the Absolutive.

740.idu Zagalaw c'ali-še ø-eč-un žik'olo
 this Zagalaw(I) study-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.UW man.GEN2
 aλazał mutaʕil-lin.
 village.PL.OBL.INTER pupil-AS
 'This Zagalaw was studying in foreign villages as a pupil.' [Zagalawdibir]

741.iļe heⁿše c'ališ-še b-eč-un.
 1PL.ERG book(III) study-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'We were reading a book.'

742.do uryiš-še ø-eč-i.
 1SG.ABS think-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'I (male) was thinking.'

743.keč'iqan-i xabar uryid-i.
 poet-ERG story think-PST.W
 'The poet composed a story'

There is another instance of an S=A relationship, where two morphologically unrelated verbal stems are used, the intransitive verb *kok-* 'eat' and the transitive verb *-ac'* 'eat'. In sentence (744) the verb *kok-* 'eat' is used in a periphrastic construction with the Present tense auxiliary *goli* to denote Future tense, its sole argument is in the Absolutive case, *iļo* 'we.ABS'. Sentence (745) shows the verb *-ac'* 'eat', which has a gender/number agreement slot, with the agent argument marked with the Ergative case and the theme argument with the Absolutive.

744.hobože iļo kok-a goli.
 now 1PL.ABS eat-INF be.PRS
 'Now we will eat.'

745. užá bataxu y-ac'-i
 boy.OBL.ERG bread(V) V-eat-PST.W
 'The boy ate the bread.'

4.7.1.2. S=P labile verbs

Patient-preserving labile verbs can be used as one-place predicates, with the single argument in the Absolutive case or as two-place predicates with an Ergative agent and an Absolutive patient. The following are patient-preserving labile verbs: *lol-* 'boil', *xiž-* 'change', *lix-* 'tear', *lok'-* 'burn', *kul-* 'throw', and *puλ-* 'blow'.

746. kartoška lol-i.
 potato.ABS boil-PST.W
 'The potatoes boiled.'

747. išet'-i kartoška lol-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG potato.ABS boil-PST.W
 'The mother boiled potatoes.'

748. γon huniža l-ok'-i.
 tree(IV).ABS yesterday IV-burn-PST.W
 'The tree burnt yesterday.'

749. žik'^we γon l-ok'-i.
 man.OBL.ERG tree(IV).ABS IV-burn-PST.W
 'The man burnt the tree.'

750. haca puλ-še l-eč-i.
 wind(IV).ABS blow-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W
 'The wind was blowing.'

751.ise pi^hu puλ-še y-eč-i.
 that.OBL.ERG flute(V) blow-IPFV.CVB V-be-PST.W
 ‘He was playing a flute.’ (lit. ‘He was blowing a flute.’)

752.xuxut’er-bo kul-še l-eč-i.
 thunder-PL.ABS throw-IPFV.CVB NHPL-be-PST.W
 ‘It was thundering.’

753.užá burku kul-še b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG ball(III) throw-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 ‘The boy was throwing ball.’

The distinction between labile verbs and the free omission of arguments can be seen when considering imperatives (Haspelmath 1993: 291). It is suggested that in imperative constructions the Absolutive arguments of a transitive verb cannot be used as an addressee (754).

754.*heⁿše, b-ez-o.
 book(III) III-buy-IMP
 ‘Book, be bought!’

755.heⁿše b-ez-o.
 book(III) III-buy-IMP
 ‘Buy a book!’

Labile verbs, like intransitive verbs (756, 757), allow an Absolutive argument to be used as an addressee in the imperative construction (758, 759, 760)⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Note that the arguments of these verbs are not generally used as the addressee in the imperative construction, this can only occur in a restricted context, e.g. in tales, or when telling rain or snow to come.

756. tušman, ø-uh-e.
 enemy(I) I-die-IMP
 ‘Enemy, die!’

757. aⁿc’, y-aⁿγ^s-I-a.
 door(V) V-open-POT-IMP
 ‘Door, open!’

758. oh barkaman, haca, puλ-o hed.
 INTERJ. grace wind blow-IMP then
 ‘Oh grace, wind, blow!’

759. γon, I-ok’-o.
 tree(IV) IV-burn-IMP
 ‘Tree, burn!’

760. fiłuk’á ciyoⁿ-n čal-un, xexlin eⁿλ’u-n
 witch.OBL.ERG salt-AND throw-PFV.CVB quickly lid(V)-AND
 y-uⁿq-un, iλ-in, Muhamadis liλ, lol-o λin.
 V-close-PFV.CVB say-PST.UW Magomed.GEN1 meat boil-IMP QUOT
 ‘The witch added some salt, closed the lid, and said, “Meat of Magomed, boil!”’

4.7.2. Causativization (Valence increasing derivation)

The causative construction is a linguistic expression that denotes a complex situation with two component events (Comrie 1989: 165-166): (i) the causing event, in which the causer does or initiates something; and (ii) the caused event, in which the causee carries out an action or undergoes a change of condition or state as a result of the causer’s action.

Khwarshi differentiates between synthetic and analytical causatives. Synthetic causatives are formed with the suffixes *-k’* / *-x* / *-xk’* (cf. 3.9.4). Analytical causative

constructions are formed with the verb *lešt'a* 'to let' plus the infinitive of the lexical verb. Analytical causatives are less productive in the language.

761. *γinaza* *Muḥamad-qa* *židuli* *barkala*
 woman.PL.OBL.ERG Magomed-CONT that.PL.(D)LAT thanks(III)
iλ-a *b-ešt'-i*.
 give-INF III-let-PST.W
 'The women made Magomed thank them.'

4.7.2.1. Causatives from intransitives

The addition of a causative marker to an intransitive verb derives a transitive verb with an Ergative agent and an Absolutive patient:

762. *hu^h-bo* *c'iwuλ'-še*.
 chick.OBL-PL.ABS squeak-PRS
 'The chicks squeak.'

763. *kand-i* *hu^h-bo* *c'iwuλ'-ox-i*.
 girl.OBL-ERG chick.OBL-PL.ABS squeak-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The girl made the chicks squeak.'

764. *iēs* *q'ala* *λus-i*.
 that.GEN1 child sleep-PST.W
 'Her child fell asleep.'

765. *išet'-i* *iēs* *q'ala* *λus-x-i*.
 mother.OBL-ERG that.GEN1 child sleep-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The mother made her child fall asleep.'

766. *gollu-b-aha-b* *hadam* *raził-in* *b-eč-un*.
 be.PRS.PTCP <HPL> all-HPL people agree-PFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW
 'All the people agreed.'

767.raził-ok'-un idu obu nartaw-i.
 agree-CAUS1-PST.UW this father giant-ERG
 'The giant made this father agree.' [3Feats.077]

Analytical causatives are formed with the verb *leşt'a* 'to let' and an intransitive verb. These constructions have an Ergative agent and an Absolutive patient.

768.išet'-i iles q'ala λus-a b-ešt'-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG that.GEN1 child sleep-INF III-let-PST.W
 'The mother made her child fall asleep.'

4.7.2.2. Causatives from transitives

Khwarshi is not among the languages where causativization is restricted to intransitives. In fact, causatives can be easily formed from all transitive verbs. The addition of a causative suffix to a transitive verb adds a third argument, namely the causee, which takes the Contessive, as in (770, 772), with the P argument in the Absolutive case.

769.užá kaɣat q^wa-še b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG letter(III).ABS write-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 'The boy is writing a letter.'

770.učitel-i uža-qa kaɣat q^wa-xk'-i.
 teacher-ERG boy.OBL-CONT letter.ABS write-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The teacher made the boy write a letter.'

771.kand-i ut'ana-sa ɣamasi y-ez-un.
 girl.OBL-ERG red-DEF box(V) V-buy-PST.UW
 'The girl bought the red box.'

772. išet'-i kandiqo ut'ana-so γamasi y-ez-x-un.
 mother.OBL-ERG daughter.CONT red-DEF box(V) V-take-CAUS1-PST.UW
 'The mother made the daughter buy the red box.'

Analytical causative constructions from transitive verbs have an Ergative agent, a causee marked with the Contessive, and an Absolutive patient.

773. učitel-i uža-qa kaγat q^wa-ya b-ešt'-i.
 teacher-ERG boy.OBL-CONT letter(III).ABS write-INF III-let-PST.W
 'The teacher made the boy write a letter.'

4.7.2.3. Causatives from affective verbs

The causative suffix, when added to an affective verb, derives a transitive verb where the former Lative experiencer appears in the Ergative case, and a causee argument in the Contessive is added, as in (775, 777).

774. Pazral homonu himon srazu l-iq'-i.
 Pazra.LAT that thing(IV) at.once IV-know-PST.W
 'Pazra knew about that thing at once.'

775. ono ʃoloqan kand-i l-iq-q-in
 there young girl.OBL-ERG IV-know-CAUS1-PFV.CVB
 ise uža-qa doccu hibo l-iq'-in žoholi
 that.OBL boy.OBL-CONT much what IV-know-PFV.CVB after
 l-iq'-bi λin iλ-o ise moł-u himon.
 IV-know-NEG QUOT say-IMP that.ERG teach-PST.PTCP thing(IV)
 'That young girl warned the boy and taught him to say that he did not learn every time the giant asked.' [3Feats.027]

776.isul žulik-za l-i-še gollu himon-un
 that.LAT cheater-PL.OBL.ERG IV-do-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP thing(IV)-AND
 l-ak-še l-eč-un-ay.
 IV-see-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘He didn’t see the things the cheaters were doing.’ [Donkey.005]

777.obu-t’-i kandiḡo surat b-ak-x^w-i.
 father-OBL-ERG daughter.CONT picture(III) III-see-CAUS1-PST.W
 ‘The father showed the picture to (his) daughter.’

Analytical causatives formed from affective verbs have the causer in the Ergative and the patient in the Absolutive.

778.ut’ana-t’a zidoro-bo l-ak^w-a l-ešt’-un boc’-i.
 red-PL material.OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-see-INF NHPL-let-PST.UW wolf.OBL-ERG
 ‘The wolf showed the red material.’

4.7.2.4. Causatives from labile verbs

4.7.2.4.1 Causatives from P-labile verbs

The causative suffix attached to P-labile verbs adds a new argument, the causee, which is marked with the Contessive, i.e. P-labile verbs behave like transitive verbs.

779.kartoška lol-i.
 potato.ABS boil-PST.W
 ‘The potatoes boiled.’

780.abaxar-i kartoška lol-i.
 neighbor-ERG potato.ABS boil-PST.W
 ‘The neighbor boiled the potatoes.’

781.abaxar-i γina-qa kartoška lol-x-i.
 neighbor-ERG woman.OBL-CONT potato.ABS boil-CAUS1-PST.W
 ‘The neighbor made the woman boil the potatoes.’

782.λibaha os xiyōž.
 year.AD money.ABS change.GNT
 ‘The money changes every year.’

783.obu-t’-i os xiž-i.
 father-OBL-ERG money.ABS change-PST.W
 ‘The father exchanged the money.’

784.obu-t’-i diqo os xiž-k’-i.
 father-OBL-ERG 1SG.CONT money.ABS change-CAUS1-PST.W
 ‘(My) father made me exchange the money.’

Analytical causatives from P-labile verbs behave like analytical causatives from transitive verbs, i.e. they have an Ergative agent, a causee marked with the Contessive, and an Absolutive patient.

785.abaxar-i γina-qa kartoška lol-a b-ešt’-i.
 neighbor-ERG woman.OBL-CONT potato(III).ABS boil-INF III-let-PST.W
 ‘The neighbor made the woman boil the potatoes.’

4.7.2.4.2 Causatives from A-labile verbs

The causative 1 suffix attached to A-labile verbs in their intransitive usage derives a transitive construction with an Ergative agent and another argument in the Absolutive case (786, 787). The causative 2 suffix with A-labile verbs in their transitive usage adds a third argument in the Contessive (788, 790). Labile verbs in their transitive usage cannot be used with the causative 1 suffix to express a causative (789, 791).

- 786.ise q'ala c'alid-ok'-i.
 that.OBL.ERG children study-CAUS1-PST.W
 'He taught the children.'
- 787.obu-t'-i uže uryid-ok'-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy think-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The father made the son think.'
- 788.ise q'ala-qa heⁿše c'alid-okk'-i.
 that.OBL.ERG children-CONT book study-CAUS2-PST.W
 'He made the children read a book.'
- 789.*ise q'alaqa heⁿše c'alid-ok'-i.
 that.OBL.ERG children.CONT book study-CAUS1-PST.W
 'He made the children read a book.'
- 790.obu-t'-i uža-qa xabar uryid-okk'-i
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT story think-CAUS2-PST.W
 'The father made the son compose a story.'
- 791.*obu-t'-i uža-qa xabar uryid-ok'-i
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT story think-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The father made the son compose a story.'

Analytical causatives from A-labile verbs in their intransitive usage have an Ergative agent and a patient in the Absolutive case. A-labile verbs in their transitive usage with a causative suffix have an Ergative agent, a causee in the Contessive and a patient in the Absolutive case.

- 792.obu-t'-i uže c'alid-a ø-ešt'-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy(I) study-INF I-let-PST.W
 'The father sent the son to study.'

793.obu-t'-i uža-qa heⁿše c'alid-a b-ešt'-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT book(III) read-INF III-let-PST.W
 'The father sent the son to read a book.'

4.7.2.5. Double causative constructions

Double causative constructions consist of two causees each marked with the Contessive and the verb marked either with the causative 1 or causative 2 suffix. In addition to such the standard pattern, double causative constructions can be presented either with two explicit causees and a verb marked with the causative 1 suffix (894) or with one overt causee and a verb marked with the causative 2 suffix – although the second causee is omitted, it is still perceived, i.e. it is left unspecified (895).

794.toxtur-i išet'-qo uža-qa daru c'od-x-i.
 doctor-ERG mother.OBL-CONT boy.OBL-CONT medicine drink-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The doctor made the mother make the boy drink the medicine.'

795.Ayšat-i Madinat-qa liλ išan-axoxk'-i.
 Ayshat-ERG Madinat-CONT meat fry-CAUS2-PST.W
 'Ayshat made Madinat fry the meat.' (i.e. Ayshat made someone make Madinat fry the meat.)

Double causative constructions with two causees in the Contessive, can also mark the first causee with the Translative case *-γužaz*, deriving the meaning 'through, via'.

796.išet'-i wacahaw-qa-γužaz uža-qa γudul
 mother.OBL-ERG cousin-CONT-TRANSL boy.OBL-CONT garden(IV)
 n-ež-x-i / n-ež-xoxk'-i.
 IV-sow-CAUS1-PST.W IV-sow-CAUS2-PST.W
 'The mother made the cousin make the boy sow the garden.'

Below are double causative constructions derived from transitive, intransitive, A-labile, P-labile, and affective verbs.

The complex causative 2 suffix can be added to transitive verbs, P-labile verbs, and A-labile verbs used transitively to derive double causatives. Double causative constructions are formed with two causees marked with the Contessive.

797. učitel-i kandi-qo uža-qa γamasi y-ot'ok'-oxk'-i.
teacher-ERG girl.OBL-CONT boy.OBL-CONT trunk(V) V-carry-CAUS2-PST.W
'The teacher made the girl make the boy carry a trunk.'

798. obu-t'-i γinaqa kandi-qo os xiž-k'oxk'-i.
father-OBL-ERG woman.CONT girl.OBL-CONT money.ABS change-CAUS2-PST.W
'The father made the woman make the girl exchange the money.'

799. ise h'am'ay'e-qo γina-qa gaziyat c'alid-oxk'-i.
that.OBL-ERG friend-CONT woman.OBL-CONT newspaper read-CAUS2-PST.W
'He made his friend make the woman read the newspaper.'

The complex causative 2 suffix attached to intransitive verbs, A-labile verbs used intransitively, or affective verbs forms double causative constructions.

800. kand-i Ayšat-qa huⁿh-bo c'iwuλ'-oxk'-i.
girl.OBL-ERG Ayshat-CONT chick.OBL-PL.ABS squeak-CAUS2-PST.W
'The girl made Ayshat make chicks squeak.'

801. Muḥamad-i Pat'imat-qa keč'i tuq-oxk'-i.
Magomed-ERG Patimat-CONT song hear-CAUS2-PST.W
'Magomed made Patimat listen to the song.'

802. ise γina-qa q'ala c'alid-oxk'-i.
that.OBL-ERG woman.OBL-CONT children study-CAUS2-PST.W
'He made the woman teach the children.'

The complex causative 3 suffix attached to intransitive verbs, A-labile verbs used intransitively, or affective verbs forms double causative constructions.

803.kand-i Ayšat-qa užaqa hu^hh-bo
 girl.OBL-ERG Ayshat-CONT boy.CONT chick.OBL-PL.ABS
 c'iwuλ'-xoxk'-i.
 squeak-CAUS3-PST.W
 'The girl made Ayshat make the boy make chicks squeak.'

804.Muḥamad-i Pat'imat-qa hadam-qa keč'i tuq-xoxk'-i.
 Magomed-ERG Patimat-CONT people-CONT song hear-CAUS3-PST.W
 'Magomed made Patimat make people listen to the song.'

805.ise h^sam^say^se-qo γina-qa q'ala
 that.OBL.ERG friend-CONT woman.OBL-CONT children
 c'alido-xoxk'-i.
 study-CAUS3-PST.W
 'He made his friend make the woman teach the children.'

Analytical double causative constructions can also be derived from A-labile verbs in intransitive or transitive usage.

806.obu-t'-i uža-qa q'ala c'alid-a b-ešt'-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-CONT children study-INF I-let-PST.W
 'The father made the son teach the children.'

807.ise h^sam^say^seqo γina-qa gaziyat c'alid-a
 that.OBL.ERG friend.CONT woman.OBL-CONT newspaper(III) read-INF
 b-ešt'-i.
 III-let-PST.W
 'He made a friend make the woman read the newspaper.'

4.8. Relative clauses

Relative clauses are complex constructions used to modify noun phrases. The main strategy in relative clause formation is participial constructions, i.e. the predicate of the relative clause is a participle. In addition, the predicate of the relative clause can be a finite verb form, which forms a correlative relative construction.

4.8.1. Relativization in simple clauses

There are no restrictions on the position of relativization, i.e. all positions of the Accessibility Hierarchy (Keenan & Comrie 1977) are available for relativization. The head noun of the relative clause can be the subject of the main clause, its object, or any other argument of the verb or adjunct. So, any argument of a sentence, including the Absolutive, Ergative, Lative, Instrumental, or other oblique argument, can be made the head of a relative clause.

Absolutive arguments

The Absolutive arguments of intransitive (808) and transitive (809) verbs can be easily relativized.

808.hada zamana-λ'a mada-ha b-ečč-u ḏⁿču b-it-i.
 one.OBL time-SUP outside-AD III-be-PST.PTCP hen(III) III-lose-PST.W
 'One time the hen that was outside disappeared.' [Who can lie better?]

809.ise b-oq-i b-axxač [q'udu-l b-išš-u] os.
 that.OBL.ERG III-take-PST.W III-back down-LAT III-fall-PST.PTCP money(III)
 'He took back the money that fell down.'

Ergative arguments

Another target for relativization is the Ergative argument of a transitive verb.

810.

- a. kand-i heⁿše c'alíš-še.
 girl.OBL-ERG book.ABS read-PRS
 'The girl is reading the book.'
- b. [heⁿše c'alidd-u] kad eⁿdu goli.
 book read-PST.PTCP girl inside be.PRS
 'The girl who read the book is in the room.'

Indirect objects

811.

- a. uže kandi-qo-l ýezeřan guc'-un ø-eč-i.
 boy(I) girl.OBL-ONT-LAT much look-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'The boy looked at the girl for a long time.'
- b. [uže guc'-un ø-ečč-u] kad y-uλ-i λ'ihon-l.
 boy(I) look-PFV.CVB I-be-PST.PTCP girl(II) II-turn-PST.W away-LAT
 'The girl at whom the boy looked turned away.'

Instrumental arguments

812.

- a. užá aka ýura-z l-uc-x-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG window(IV).ABS stone.OBL-INST IV-break-CAUS-PST.W
 'The boy broke the window with the stone.'
- b. [užá aka l-ucuxx-u] ýur
 boy.OBL.ERG window(IV).ABS IV-break.CAUS-PST.PTCP stone(V).ABS
 y-uq'^su y-eč-i.
 V-big V-be-PST.W
 'The stone with which the boy broke the window was big.'

Genitive arguments

It is possible to relativize a possessor. In possessive constructions the possessor commonly precedes the possessum.

813.

- a. uža-s haq'u Maħačqala-λ'a-γul m-eλ'-i.
 boy.OBL-GEN1 family.ABS Makhachkala-SUP-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 'The boy's family went to Makhachkala.'
- b. [Maħačqala-λ'a-γul haq'u m-eλ'-še goll-u]
 Makhachkala-SUP-VERS family.ABS HPL-go-PRS be-PST.PTCP
 uže hos-γo-li eⁿdu λux-še goli.
 boy.ABS one-APUD-LAT inside stay-PRS be.PRS
 'The boy whose family is going to Makhachkala stays alone at home.'

814.

- a. uža-s γ^swe b-ik-i.
 boy.OBL-GEN1 dog(III).ABS III-run-PST.W
 'The boy's dog ran away.'
- b. [γ^swe b-ikk-u-so] uže eⁿdu λux-i.
 dog (III).ABS III-run-PST.PTCP-DEF boy.ABS inside stay-PST.W
 'The boy whose dog ran away stayed at home.'

The sentences above show that there are no constraints on the relativization of possessor, regardless of whether the noun in the possessive construction expresses an alienable or an inalienable possession.

Temporal phrases

Any temporal phrase can be relativised, as in (815b).

815.

- a. ise γine y-ez-i ruzma zebλ'o.
 that.OBL.ERG woman(II) II-marry-PST.W Friday day.SUP
 ‘He married a woman on Friday.’
- b. isuho γine y-ezz-u ruzma zebu
 that.AD woman(II) II-marry-PST.PTCP Friday day(V)
 y-uxxu y-eč-i.
 V-warm V-be-PST.W
 ‘The Friday when he married a woman was warm.’

Locative case and postpositional arguments

Locative noun phrases can also be relativized. Khwarshi makes use of a special set of locative cases to express different kinds of location in space.

816.

- a. íʎo γono-ʎ-γul m-okʎ-i.
 1PL.ABS forest.OBL-INTER-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 ‘We went to the forest.’
- b. [íʎo m-eλʎ-dow] γon aλa-la
 1PL.ABS HPL-go-GNT.PTCP forest.ABS village.OBL-GEN2
 bala-ha goli.
 corner-AD be.PRS
 ‘The forest where we usually go is on the edge of the village.’

Locative phrases, which can be marked with different localizational and directional suffixes, can be used without postpositions (817a) and relativized (817b).

817.

- a. zonok' eⁿca-λ'a goli.
 cup.ABS shelf-SUP be.PRS
 'The cup is on the shelf.'
- b. [zonok' gollu] eⁿca q'ota-s goli.
 cup.ABS be.PRS.PTCP shelf.ABS wood.OBL-GEN1 be.PRS
 'The shelf, where the cup is, is made of wood. '

When postpositions are used, there can be slight semantic changes. The examples (817a) and (818a) contrast in meaning: (817a) means 'the cup is on the shelf', and (818a) means 'the cup is on top of the shelf'.

818.

- a. zonok' eⁿca-λ'a λ'olo goli.
 cup.ABS table-SUP above be.PRS
 'The cup is on top of the shelf.'
- b. [zonok' λ'olo gollu] eⁿca q'ota-s goli.
 cup.ABS above be.PRS.PTCP shelf.ABS wood.OBL-GEN1 be.PRS
 'The shelf, on top of which the cup stands, is made of wood. '

In sentence (818a) *λ'olo* 'above' is a postposition, as it immediately follows the locative noun phrase. Being a postposition, it cannot occupy any other position than this one. In sentence (818b) *λ'olo* is an adverb and thus bears no syntactic relation to any noun phrase.

4.8.2. Relativization in complex clauses

4.8.2.1. Relativization into complement clauses

Sentence (819a) illustrates the infinitival complement of the verb *q'oč-* 'want', which agrees with its direct object *mačibo* 'shoes'. Sentence (819b) shows the relativization of the direct object of an infinitive.

819.

- a. *di^l* *mači-bo* *l-ez-a* *q'oč-če.*
 1SG.LAT shoe-PL.ABS NHPL-take-INF want-PRS
 'I want to buy the shoes.'
- b. [*di^l* *l-ez-a* *q'očč-u]* *mači-bo*
 1SG.LAT NHPL-take-INF want-PST.PTCP shoe-PL.ABS
 c'aq' *xiriya-l-t'a* *goli.*
 very expensive-NHPL-PL be.PRS
 'The shoes that I wanted to buy are very expensive.'

4.8.2.2. Relativization into converbial clauses

Khwarshi allows relativization into converbial clauses. The relativization of converbial clause constituents is possible if the anaphoric pronoun (resumptive pronoun) is used in the dependent clause (820b).

820.

- a. *uškul-un* *luq-un,* *do* *Masku-λ'o*
 school-AND finish-PFV.CVB 1SG.ABS Moscow-SUP
 c'alid-a *y-oⁿk'-i.*
 study-INF II-go-PST.W
 'When I finished school, I went to study in Moscow.'

- b. uškul, žu-n luq-un, do Masku-λ'o
 school that.ABS-AND finish-PFV.CVB 1SG.ABS Moscow-SUP
 c'alid-a y-oⁿk'k'-u, Maħačkala-λ'a goli.
 study-INF II-go-PST.PTCP Makhachkala-SUP be.PRS

'The school that, having finished it, I went to study in Moscow, is in Makhachkala.'

4.8.3. Another relativization strategy

The data presented above demonstrate the common relativization strategy in the languages of Daghestan, which is the gap strategy. But there is also the pronoun strategy, in which a resumptive pronoun is used. There are a few examples of such relative clauses with resumptive pronouns in the text corpus. Sentence (821b) illustrates the gap strategy, and sentence (821c) illustrates the use of a resumptive pronoun. Sentences of the type in (821c) are less frequent than other kinds of relative clauses.

821.

- a. kand-i žik'o-l heⁿše tiλ-i.
 girl.OBL-ERG man-LAT book.ABS give-PST.W
 'The girl gave the book to the man.'
- b. [kand-i heⁿše tiλλ-u] žik'o
 girl.OBL-ERG book.ABS give-PST.PTCP man
 'the man to whom the girl gave the book'
- c. [kand-i isu-l heⁿše tiλλ-u] žik'o
 girl.OBL-ERG that.OBL-LAT book.ABS give-PST.PTCP man.ABS
 'the man that the girl gave book to'

Participles are inherently un-oriented, i.e. they can refer to any participant in the situation. In order to specify the reference of a participle, a resumptive pronoun is used:

822.

- a. Pat'imatil ø-iyōq' [os b-ešut't'-u] uže.
 Patimat.LAT I-know.GNT money(III) III-let-PST.PTCP boy(I).ABS
 'Patimat knows the boy who sent the money.' / 'Patimat knows the boy to
 whom the money was sent.'

- b. Pat'imatil_i ø-iyōq' [ise.isul_{j/*i} os b-ešut't'-u]
 Patimat.LAT I-know.GNT REFL.LAT money(III) III-let-PST.PTCP
 uže_j .
 boy(I).ABS
 'Patimat knows the boy who sent the money to himself.'

4.8.4. Correlative relative clauses - Headless

Another type of relative clause is the correlative RC. The correlative RC precedes the main clause; other word orders are not attested. The first clause is somewhat similar to a wh-question, with interrogative pronouns, such as *hibo* 'what, who', *dow* 'which', *šomo* 'how many', etc. in the correlative RC. The main clause has an anaphoric pronoun referring to the noun phrase of the wh-clause. Correlative RCs are formed with finite verbs. The verb forms used in wh-questions and declarative clauses can be identical (823, 824). In these sentences the verb forms in the correlative RCs are expressed in the General tense, and the same verb forms are used in the second clause.

823. q'arλ'a hibo b-āh, izzu-qo golluč
 early who HPL-stand.GNT that.PL.(P)OBL-CONT everything
 himon l-ēq^w.
 thing(IV).ABS IV-happen.GNT
 'One who gets up early manages to do everything.'

824. *lu* *l-iže* *himon* *c'alid-ōy,* *hobožidu-l* *l-iže*
 who.OBL.ERG IV-much thing(IV) read-GNT that-LAT IV-much
himon *l-iyōq'.*
 thing(IV) IV-know.GNT
 'One who reads a lot knows a lot of things.'

4.8.5. Word order of relative clauses

Dependent categories are usually pre-posed in the language, but Khwarshi does not have restrictions on the word order of relative clauses, i.e. relative clauses can be pre-posed, post-posed or extra-posed relative to the head noun.

4.8.5.1. Pre-posed [Rel NP]

825. [*iton* *bazar* *b-eč-dow*] *b-uq's'u* *mok'o* *b-eč-un.*
 always market(III) III-be-GNT.PTCP III-big place(III) III-be-PST.UW
 'There was a big square where the market used to take place.' [3Feats.057]

4.8.5.2. Post-posed [NP Rel]

A relative clause can either immediately follow the head noun or it can be positioned at the end of the sentence, which means that the relative clause can be post-posed and appear as an afterthought.

The constituent order of a relative clause can depend on two factors: information structure and grammatical complexity or heaviness (Hawkins 1983).

The postposing of a dependent clause is usually connected with information structure, i.e. postposing expresses pragmatic salience in the sentence. The postposing of a relative clause derives a non-restrictive relative clause.

826. *aλ'iže-s* *aλ* [*λ'olo* *hu'n-za-λ'a*
 Khwarshi.OBL-GEN1 village (III) above mountain-PL.OBL-SUP
gollu] *ʕeziʕan* *bercina-b* *goli.*
 be.PRS.PTCP very beautiful-III be.PRS
 'Khwarshi village, which is high above the mountains, is very beautiful.'

In more complex structures like the relativization of embedded arguments, the postposing is connected with the notion of heaviness rather than with discourse status.

827.žik'o,	žu-n	ø-ak-un,	di ^l	hu ⁿ ne
man(I)	that.ABS-AND	I-see-PFV.CVB	1SG.LAT	road
riti ^l -biso		do	Xasavyurti-l	
be.straight-PRS.NEG.PTCP		1SG.ABS	Khasavyurt-LAT	
y-o ⁿ k'-šezuq'un,	i ^l i ^l ó	e ⁿ du	goli.	
II-go-DURAT	1PL.GEN2	inside	be.PRS	

'The man that I saw and (because of whom) my journey to Khasavyurt was not lucky, is at our place now.'

4.8.5.3. Extra-posed (Right-dislocated)

Extraposed relative clauses are very frequent in the text corpora. In some cases, they are considered to be afterthoughts, occurring at the end of the sentence, while in others the extraposed relative clauses are connected with the notion of heaviness with heavy arguments at the end of the sentence.

In afterthought constructions relative clauses are separated from their noun phrases, as in (828). Afterthought constructions have an element, which is left unspecified in the sentence but specified immediately thereafter for the sake of clarity or disambiguation (Bhat 1991: 47).

828.idu	nartaw-is	hos	ʔoloqan	kad	y-eč-un	[ono-γul
this	giant-GEN1	one	young	girl(II)	II-be-PST.UW	there-VERS
	y-e ⁿ q'q'-u].					
	II-bring.CAUS-PST.PTCP					

'There happened to be one young girl at this giant's place, who had been kidnapped.' [3Feats.024]

The extra-posing of a relative clause can also be connected with the heaviness of the arguments, as in (829) where the relative clause has a complex structure with a periphrastic Pluperfect participle and a verbal argument modified with a numeral.

829.diyo šayix b-uwox-i [q^{ʔw}ene om^ʔoq^ʔe-n
 1SG.GEN1 talisman(III) III-kill-PST.W two donkey(III)-AND
 tuλ-un b-ezz-u] λ.in.
 give-PFV.CVB III-take-PST.PTCP QUOT
 ‘(He said), “My talisman is killed, which I have bought having given two
 donkeys.”’ [Malla rasan]

4.9. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are formed with non-finite verb forms like *masdars*, participles, and infinitives. This chapter deals with the morphological encoding of complement clauses as well as with case assignment and agreement. Khwarshi uses several strategies to form complement clauses: the infinitive strategy, the *masdar* (or verbal noun) strategy, the zero strategy, the *λun* strategy, the converb strategy, the participle strategy, and some other minor strategies. Note that complement-taking predicates can appear with more than one complementation strategy.

Sentential complements can function either as subjects or objects. Since Khwarshi is an SOV language with a rather flexible word order, sentential complements, just like other subjects or objects, can occupy different positions in a sentence. The majority of complements function as objects and usually take the object position in a sentence, though the word order is free to change. There are only a few predicates that take a complement as a subject.

4.9.1. Main complementation strategies

4.9.1.1. Infinitive strategy

There are two kinds of predicates with infinitives in complement clauses: two-place predicates (e.g. *uka* ‘must’, *goq’a* ‘to like’) and three-place predicates (e.g. *kumak biya* ‘to help’).

The infinitive strategy is mostly used with modal predicates. The modal verbs are *bihid-* ‘to be able to’ and *-uk-* ‘must’. The modal verb *bihid-* ‘to be able to do’ has

two interpretations: deontic (830) and epistemic (831), expressing permission and probability respectively.

The verb *behida* ‘can’ is a bivalent modal verb. When this verb is used as an affective verb, i.e. as a two-place predicate with the experiencer marked with the Lative case and an infinitival complement, it expresses deontic modality (830). When this verb is used as an auxiliary, i.e. when the case assignment of the arguments is triggered by the embedded transitive or intransitive verb, the construction expresses epistemic modality (832, 832) (cf. 3.7.2).

830.di-l	γ ^s e	xuλ-a	behid-ōy?
1SG.OBL-LAT	milk	drink-INF	be.able-GNT
‘Can I drink the milk?’			

831.ise	he ⁿ še	b-ez-a-n	behid-ōy.
that.OBL.ERG	book(III)	III-buy-INF-AND	be.able-GNT
‘He might buy a book.’			

832.obu	q’arλ’a	ø-otq’-a-n	behid-ōy
father(I)	early	I-come-INF-AND	be.able-GNT
‘The father might come early.’			

The modal verb *-uk-* ‘must’ is only deontic and expresses obligation:

833.užá	γolo	n-eq’-a	l-ukk-u	goli
boy.OBL.ERG	cattle(IV)	IV-bring-INF	IV-must-PST.PTCP	be.PRS
baydan-λ’a-zi	žohoq’ ^s emil.			
field-SUP-ABL	backwards			
‘The boy has to bring the cattle back from the field.’				

834.γode	λoλ'ο	m-eλ'-a	b-uk-še	ίl'ο	λin
tomorrow	war.SUP	HPL-go-INF	HPL-must-PRS	1PL.ABS	QUOT
iλ-in	ize		Xitilbeg-qo-l.		
say-PST.UW	that.PL.(P)ERG		Khitilbeg-CONT-LAT		

'They said to Khitilbeg that tomorrow they had to go to war.' [Xitilbeg.032]

The Avar loan adjective *t'ada-* 'obliged' combined with the auxiliary verb 'to be' uses the infinitive strategy to form a complement clause. This phrase conveys modal meaning and can only have a deontic interpretation. The adjective *t'ada-r* 'obliged-IV' (835) agrees with the sentential actant expressed by the infinitival phrase which treats it as a noun of Gender 4, which is considered to be the default gender. Here the infinitival complement functions as the subject of the sentence.

835.Aħmad-λ'a	t'ada-r	goli	is-na-za-l	kumak
Axmed-SUP	obliged-IV	be.PRS	sibling-PL-PL.OBL-LAT	help(III)
b-i-ya.				
III-do-INF				

'Axmed is obliged to help his brothers (sisters).' (lit. 'To help (his) brothers is obligation on Axmed.')

The verb *leqa* 'to happen' also uses an infinitival complement to express modal meaning and it only has deontic meaning when the agent-like argument is marked with the Contessive.

836.diqo	he"še	c'alid-a	b-eq ^w -i.
1SG.CONT	book(III)	read-INF	III-happen-PST.W

'I could read a book.' (i.e. I managed to read a book.)

The modal verb *e"χ^w* means 'to manage', 'not to be afraid to do something'. This modal verb also expresses deontic modality. It takes the infinitival complement, and the agent-like argument is expressed with the Contessive.

837. *isuqo* *žiłı̄ı̄oγul* *ø-oⁿk'-a* *eⁿx^w-i.*
 that.CONT that.PL(D).VERS I-go-INF manage-PST.W
 'He could go to their place.' (i.e. he was not afraid to go)

838. *zor-lo* *mok'o-λ'o-z* *m-ok'-o* *mízo,* *zor-is*
 fox-GEN2 place-SUP-ABL HPL-go-IMP 2PL.ABS fox-GEN1
ħal *ēⁿx-bi* *mízo* *b-ičk^w-a,* *dıqo*
 power manage.GNT-NEG 2PL.ABS HPL-prevent-INF 1SG.CONT
ēⁿx *mízo* *b-ičk^w-a* *λun.*
 manage.GNT 2PL.ABS HPL-prevent-INF QUOT
 'You go from the fox's territory, the fox cannot manage to stop you, but I can stop you.' [Fool.009]

The two-place predicate *goq'a* 'to like' can take either an infinitive or a masdar complement:

- 839.
- a. *q'ala-l* *goq'-še* *l-eč-i* *a <y> ĩe*
 children-LAT like-IPFV.CVB V-be-PST.W <V> this.OBL
k'uč'u-ł *kera-ya.*
 puppy.OBL-INTER play-INF
 'The children liked to play with this puppy.'
- b. *q'ala-l* *goq'-še* *l-eč-i* *a <y> ĩe*
 children-LAT like-IPFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W <V> this.OBL
k'uč'u-ł *kera-nu.*
 puppy.OBL-INTER play-MASD
 'The children liked to play with this puppy.'

The **desiderative predicate** *q'oča* 'to want' requires an infinitival complement (regarding word order, heavy arguments expressed by infinitival complements tend to be extra-posed, as in (840)).

840.žequl	nišoho	reła	l-eγ ^w -a	aq	di ^l
today	night.AD	night(IV)	IV-take-INF	house(IV)	1SG.LAT
heč'č'e	q'oč-če	l-eč-i	λ.in	iλ-in	ife.
most	want-PRS	IV-be-PST.W	QUOT	say-PST.UW	that.OBL.ERG

'She said, "For tonight I want a house to spend a night (in) very much."' [Orphans.051]

The infinitive strategy is also used with **three-place predicates**: e.g. *moła* 'to teach', *kumak biya* 'to help'.

841.γolλ'o-so	moł-a	goli	de	dub-qo-l	hunar
morning.SUP-DEF	teach-INF	be.PRS	1SG.ERG	2SG.OBL-CONT-LAT	feat(III)
b-i-ya.					
III-do-INF					

'In the morning I will teach you to perform one feat.' [3Feats.026]

Irrealis and realis modality in infinitival complements

Infinitives can express irrealis or realis modality in complement clauses. The majority of infinitival complements are used to express irrealis modality. The irrealis modality can be prospective or potential (Haspelmath 1993: 355). The prospective irrealis modality expresses an event that would take place in the near future (e.g. *raziła* 'to agree', *lože iła* 'to promise', *q'oča* 'to want') (842). The potential irrealis modality expresses an event that is probable any time (e.g. *behida* 'to be able') (843).

842.žu	Xalit-ho	y-e ⁿ λ'-a	raził-i.
that.ABS	Khalit-AD	II-go-INF	agree-PST.W

'She agreed to marry Khalit.'

843.í'lo	γode	γono-ł-γul	m-ok'-a-n	behidōy.
1PL.ABS	tomorrow	forest.OBL-INTER-VERS	HPL-go-INF-AND	permit.GNT

'We might go to the forest tomorrow.'

There are three complement-taking predicates that express realis modality: *leqa* ‘to begin’⁵⁹ (844), *baybikida* ‘to begin’ (845), and *-erža* ‘to begin’ (846).

844.obu madaha lido b-it’-x-a ø-eq^w-i.
 father(I).ABS outside.AD firewood(III) III-divide-CAUS-INF I-begin-PST.W
 ‘The father began to chop firewood outside.’

845.ø-*uq*’^su-lo baybikid-i heresi is-a.
 I-big-OBL.ERG begin-PST.W lie tell-INF
 ‘The elder began to tell a lie.’ [Who can better lie?]

846.kad ħalt’i b-i-ya y-erž-i.
 girl(II).ABS work(III) III-do-INF II-begin-PST.W
 ‘The girl began to work.’

4.9.1.2. Masdar strategy

The masdar strategy is used with predicates of knowledge, immediate perception predicates, and utterance predicates, among others.

Masdars, or verbal nouns, are formed by adding the suffix *-nu* to the bare verbal stem. Masdars, like nouns, have categories of number and are assigned to Gender 4 when they denote abstract notions. Masdars also have verbal properties: they have arguments and agree with them in gender/number.

There are three kinds of masdars that appear in complement clauses: masdars in the Absolutive case, masdars in the Genitive case, and masdars in the Superessive.

4.9.1.2.1 Masdars in the Absolutive case

There are a few predicates where the complements appear as masdars in the Absolutive case. These are mostly affective verbs: *liq’a* ‘to know’, *goqa* ‘to like’, *lak^wa*

⁵⁹ The verb *leqa* has several meanings ‘to happen’, ‘to begin’, ‘to go’. The infinitive strategy is used with the verb *leqa* when it means ‘to begin’, in which case it expresses realis modality (also cf. 4.9.2.2).

‘to see’, *tuqa* ‘to hear’, *mołaf lak^wa* ‘to dream (to see smth in a dream)’, *λ’urala* ‘to get bored’, *aniš leča* ‘to daydream (to have a goal)’.

847. dił^l moła-ł l-ak^w-i do mičaha-y
 1SG.LAT dream.OBL-INTER IV-see-PST.W 1SG.ABS rich-II
 y-eq-nu.
 II-happen-MASD
 ‘I (female) had a dream that I became rich.’

848. diyo aniš goli dubu-ł-si⁶⁰ ø-ogu žik’o
 1SG.GEN1 dream be.PRS 2SG.OBL-INTER-ABL I-good man(I)
 ø-eq-nu.
 I-happen-MASD
 ‘My dream is that you will become a good man.’ (lit. ‘My dream is that from you a good man becomes.’)

849. užas lido b-it’ix-nu tuq-aλa, išu
 boy.GEN1 firewood(III) III-divide.CAUS-MASD listen-ANTR mother(II)
 m^fā-γ^ful y-eq^w-i.
 outside-VERS II-go-PST.W
 ‘When the mother heard that (her) son was chopping firewood, she went outside.’
 [Old man]

850. užal idu kera-nu λural-i.
 boy.LAT this play-MASD get.bored-PST.W
 ‘The boy got bored of playing this game.’

The verb of knowledge *-iq’* ‘know’ can use three complementation strategies: a masdar in the Absolutive (851), a participle (852), or a substantivized participle (853). The verb *-iq’* ‘know’ can show variation in agreement: it can agree with the entire

⁶⁰ The Ablative suffix *-zi* becomes assimilated only after the lateral fricative *-ł*.

complement clause treating it as a noun of Gender 4, as in (851a, 852a, 853a), or the verb *-iqʔ* ‘know’ can agree with the Absolutive argument of the complement clause showing long-distance agreement, as in (851b, 852b, 853b) where the matrix verb *-iqʔ* ‘know’ agrees with the embedded Absolutive argument *kečʔi* ‘song’ in Gender 3.

851.

- a.

dilʔ	l-iyōqʔ	[iso	ʔ-uλλo	kečʔi
1SG.LAT	IV-know.GNT	that.GEN1	IV-strong	song(III)
b-ez-nu	bani-ma].			
III-take-MASD	shower-IN			

‘I know about his singing loudly in the shower.’

- b.

dilʔ	b-iyōqʔ	[iso	ʔ-uλλo	kečʔi
1SG.LAT	III-know.GNT	that.GEN1	IV-strong	song(III)
b-ez-nu	bani-ma].			
III-take-MASD	shower-IN			

‘I know about his singing loudly in the shower.’

852.

- a.

dilʔ	l-iyōqʔ	[ise	bani-ma	ʔ-uλλo
1SG.LAT	IV-know.GNT	that.OBL.ERG	shower-IN	IV-strong
kečʔi	b-ez-dow]	λin.		
song(III)	III-take-GNT.PTCP	QUOT		

‘I know that he sings loudly in the shower.’

- b.

dilʔ	b-iyōqʔ	[ise	bani-ma	ʔ-uλλo
1SG.LAT	III-know.GNT	that.OBL.ERG	shower-IN	IV-strong
kečʔi	b-ez-dow]	λin.		
song(III)	III-take-GNT.PTCP	QUOT		

‘I know that he sings loudly in the shower.’

853.

- a. dil^i $l-iy\bar{o}q'$ [ise $bani-ma$ $l^i-u\lambda\lambda o$
 1SG.LAT IV-know.GNT that.OBL.ERG shower-IN IV-strong
 $ke\check{c}'i$ $b-ez-dow-lar]$ $\lambda in.$
 song(III) III-take-GNT.PTCP-NMLZ QUOT
 'I know that he sings loudly in the shower.'
- b. dil^i $b-iy\bar{o}q'$ [ise $bani-ma$ $l^i-u\lambda\lambda o$
 1SG.LAT III-know.GNT that.OBL.ERG shower-IN IV-strong
 $ke\check{c}'i$ $b-ez-dow-lar]$ $\lambda in.$
 song(III) III-take-GNT.PTCP-NMLZ QUOT
 'I know that he sings loudly in the shower.'

4.9.1.2.2 Masdars in the Genitive case

The strategy where a masdar appears in the Genitive case is usually possible with two-place predicates: e.g. *xabar biya* 'to gossip (to make story)', *xabar bešt'a* 'to tell, (lit. 'to let a story)', *isxa* 'to ask about', *isa* 'to tell about', *nufhi liya* 'to eyewitness', *lot'ok'a* 'to bring, to let know', *ho ley'a* 'to swear' (lit. 'to take an oath'), *pal kula* 'to tell fortunes', *č'ala* 'to inform'. The majority of utterance predicates take a masdar in the Genitive case.

854. $hada$ $\gamma in\acute{a}$ pal $kul-i$ $y-e\check{c}'oq'-bi\check{c}$
 one.OBL woman.OBL.ERG divination throw-PST.W II-be.late-NEG.CVB
 do $xol-ho$ $y-o^nk'-nu-s.$
 1SG.ABS husband-AD II-go-MASD-GEN1
 'The woman foretold that I (female) would marry soon.' [Dialog]

855. $Karim-i$ $i\bar{l}u-qo$ $is-i$ $\check{z}u$ $i\bar{l}i'o$
 Karim-ERG 1PL.OBL-CONT tell-PST.W that.ABS 1PL.GEN2
 $q'^{s}em-is$ $golnu-s.$
 head-GEN1 be.PRS.MASD-GEN1
 'Karim told us about our relationship with him.'

856. *de žik'o-l nuŋi l-i-yi [Karim iŋo-ho*
 1SG.ERG man-LAT evidence(IV) IV-do-PST.W Karim(I) 1PL.OBL-AD
ø-eč-nu-s].
 I-be-MASD-GEN1
 'I witnessed to the man that Karim was at our place.'

857. *užá išet'-il ho l-eγ^w-i [ise*
 boy.OBL.ERG mother.OBL-LAT swear(IV) IV-take-PST.W that.OBL.ERG
mat'u b-ucu-x-bi-nu-s].
 mirror(III) III-break-CAUS-NEG-MASD-GEN1
 'The boy swore to the mother that he did not break the mirror.'

858. *Ayšat-i xabar b-i-yi [ise γine*
 Ayshat-ERG talk(III) III-do-PST.W that.OBL.ERG woman(II)
y-ez-nu-s].
 II-take-MASD-GEN1
 'Ayshat gossiped that he would get married.'

When a masdar in the Genitive case is used with the verbs 'to tell' or 'to ask', some informants interpret the constructions as having the missing argument *xabar* 'story, news' which can be easily added to the sentence.

859.
 a. *de izu-λ'o-l b-ot'ok'-i aλas*
 1SG.ERG that.PL.(P)OBL-SUP-LAT III-bring-PST.W village.GEN1
begawul ø-ot'uq'-nu-s xabar.
 head(I) I-come-MASD-GEN story(III)
 'I told them the story about the head of the village's arrival.'

- b. de izu-λ'o-l l-ot'ok'-i aλas
 1SG.ERG that.PL(P).OBL-SUP-LAT IV-bring-PST.W village.GEN1
 begawul ø-ot'uq'-nu-s.
 head(I) I-come-MASD-GEN1
 'I told them about the head of the village's arrival.'

When the missing argument is retrieved in sentence (859a), it becomes the trigger for agreement and the matrix verb agrees with it in Gender 3. When this argument *xabar* 'story' (859b) is missing the matrix verb agrees with the sentential complement showing default agreement.

4.9.1.2.3 Masdars in the Superessive

A small number of two-place predicates take masdar complements in the Superessive case: e.g. *razi eča* 'to agree' (lit. 'to be content'), *γuγu aha* 'to become happy' (lit. 'to stand happy'), *rek'oq'aw eča* 'to be sorry', *buža* 'to believe', *č'uħida* 'to be proud of'.

- 860.do žu l-eq-nu-λ'o razi gobi.
 1SG.ABS that.ABS IV-happen-MASD-SUP agree be.PRS.NEG
 'I do not agree that it happened.'

- 861.do rek'oq'a-w goli hobot'un l-eq-nu-λ'o.
 1SG.ABS regretful-I be.PRS so IV-happen-MASD-SUP
 'I (male) regret that it happened.'

- 862.q'ala γuγu b-ah-i eⁿso yol-nu-λ'o.
 children glad HPL-stand-PST.W snow snow-MASD-SUP
 'The children became glad that it snowed.'

- 863.Aħmad buž-bi Pat'imat xol-ho y-eⁿλ'-nu-λ'o.
 Axmed believe-NEG Patimat(II) husband-AD II-go-MASD-SUP
 'Axmed did not believe that Patimat married.' [Dialog]

864.do č'uñhid-in goli diyo q'ala b-ogu
 1SG.ABS be.proud-PFV.CVB be.PRS 1SG.GEN1 children HPL-good
 b-eq-nu-λ'o.
 HPL-happen-MASD-SUP
 'I am proud that my children are growing up properly.'

4.9.1.3. Citation strategy

4.9.1.3.1 'λun' strategy

Like many other Daghestanian languages, Khwarshi uses a special quotative particle to mark reported speech. The particle *λin/λun* is a citation particle derived as the result of the grammaticalization of the Perfective converb *iλin/iλun* 'having said' of the verb *iλa* 'to say'. The quotative particle *λun* is mostly used with utterance predicates (*iλa* 'to say', *isa* 'to tell', *isxa* 'to ask', *lože iλa* 'to promise, to give a word', *nufi liya* 'to eyewitness', *ho ley^wa* 'to swear', *pal kula* 'to tell fortunes', etc.), as in (865).

865.de dubul lože iλ-še do ø-eč'oq'-a
 1SG.ERG 2SG.LAT word give-PRS 1SG.ABS I-be.late-INF
 gobi λin.
 be.PRS.NEG QUOT
 'I (male) promise to you not to be late.'

The presence of the quotative particle can indicate either direct or indirect speech (cf. 4.14):

866.ha, diyo xol, hibo, γiy^sul-bi-k dubqol
 hey 1SG.GEN1 husband what endure-NEG-QUES 2SG.CONT.LAT
 idu mičahařar λun iλ-in ile.
 this richness QUOT say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG
 'She said, "Hey, my husband, did not you bear this richness?"' [Woman.052]

867. užá iλ-in isul hos bercina-y kad
 boy.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW that.LAT one beautiful-II girl(II)
 goq-še λin.
 like-PRS QUOT
 ‘The boy said that he liked one beautiful girl.’

The quotative particle *λun* is used not only with utterance predicates but also with emotional (‘to become happy’), commentative, and propositional attitude predicates (‘to think’, ‘to believe’, ‘to consider’):

e.g. emotional predicates: *č’uħida* ‘to be proud of’

868. do č’uħid-in goli diyo q’ala b-ogu
 1SG.ABS be.proud-PST.UW be.PRS 1SG.GEN1 children HPL-good
 b-eq-še λin.
 HPL-happen-PRS QUOT
 ‘I am proud that my children are growing up properly.’

e.g. propositional attitude predicates: the most frequent of these verbs are *q’iya* ‘to consider’, ‘to think’, *buža* ‘to believe’, etc.

869. iĕ žu c’odora-w λun q’i-še ø-eč-i.
 that.OBL.ERG that.ABS clever-I QUOT consider-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 ‘She considered him to be clever.’

The particle *λun* can be combined with utterance, emotional, and propositional predicates, but it is never used with the knowledge verb *liq’a* ‘to know’.

4.9.1.3.2 Zero strategy

The omission of the quotative particle always indicates direct speech; the zero strategy marks direct speech (cf. 4.14).

870. can-a iλ-i de indu q^ʕuba-y λib
 she.goat-OBL.ERG say-PST.UW 1SG.ERG this dirty-V leaf(V)
 y-āc'bi.
 V-eat.PROH
 'The she-goat said, "I don't eat such dirty leaves.'" [Pudi.006]

871. zor-i iλ-in iħe-qo-l, mo eⁿdu-γul
 fox-ERG say-PST.UW that.OBL-CONT-LAT 2SG.ABS inside-VERS
 y-oⁿk'-o.
 II-go-IMP
 'The fox told her, "You go home!"' [Witch.032]

4.9.1.4. Participle strategy

The participle strategy is found with knowledge and acquisition predicates, such as *šul'a* 'to forget that', *liq'a* 'to know', *bič'ida* 'to understand', *lok'oλ'ol luxa* 'to recollect (lit. to come onto one's heart)', which are all affective verbs.

872. isu-l bič'id-i židul os b-oq-še
 that.OBL-LAT understand-PST.W that.PL.(D)LAT money(III) III-become-PRS
 gollu.
 be.PRS.PTCP
 'He understood that they would get the money.'

873. dil^l lok'o-λ'o-l l-ux^ʕ-i de isu-γo-l
 1SG.LAT heart-SUP-LAT IV-come-PST.W 1SG.ERG that.OBL-APUD-LAT
 kayat q^wa-yin b-ečč-u.
 letter(III) write-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.PTCP
 'I recollected that I had written a letter to him.'

874. Zaynabil is žohoq^ʕemil ø-ot'uq'q'-u l-iq'-i.
 Zaynab.LAT sibling(I) backwards I-come-PST.PTCP IV-know-PST.W
 'Zaynab knew that (her) brother came back.'

There are some complement-taking predicates that can use either a participle strategy or a masdar strategy: e.g. *lok'ol'o leča* 'to remember (lit. to be on one's heart)', *č'eydok'a* 'to prove', *liq'a* 'to know'. There is no difference in meaning between the use of the masdar and the participle strategy.

875.

- a. sudiyá č'eydok'-i Musá zihe
 judge.OBL.ERG prove-PST.W Musa.OBL.ERG cow(III)
 b-it'ixx-u.
 III-steal.CAUS-PST.PTCP
 'The judge proved that Musa had stolen the cow.'
- b. Musá zihe b-it'ix-nu č'eydok'-i
 Musa.OBL.ERG cow(III) III-steal.CAUS-MASD prove-PST.W
 sudiyá.
 judge.OBL.ERG
 'The judge proved that Musa had stolen the cow.'

4.9.2. Minor strategies

4.9.2.1. Substantivized participle

Substantivized participles are used as a minor complementation strategy. Substantivized participles are derived from participial stems and the substantivizing suffix *-lar* (cf. 3.9).⁶¹ This strategy can be used with those predicates that take the basic participle strategy in a complement clause, including predicates of knowledge, achievement predicates, and phasal predicates.

⁶¹ The suffix *-lar* converts adjectives, participles and some nouns into abstract nouns (e.g. *žuka* 'bad' and *žuka-lar* 'evil'; *žik'o* 'man' and *žik'o-lar* 'manhood'; *qočč-u* 'want-PST.PTCP' 'wanted' and *qočču-lar* 'wanting', etc.).

876.

a. sudiyá č'eydok'-i Musá zihe
 judge.OBL.ERG prove-PST.W Musa.OBL.ERG cow(III)
 b-it'ixx-u-lar.
 III-divide.CAUS-PST.PTCP-NMLZ
 'The judge proved that Musa had stolen the cow.'

b. sudiyá č'eydok'-i Musá zihe
 judge.OBL.ERG prove-PST.W Musa.OBL.ERG cow(III)
 b-it'ixx-u.
 III-divide.CAUS-PST.PTCP
 'The judge proved that Musa had stolen the cow.'

4.9.2.2. Converb strategy

The converb strategy is used with phasal verbs meaning 'to finish'. There are two phasal verbs that use a converb complement, *leqa* 'to happen, to begin' and *tuqa* 'to finish'. The verb *leqa* indicates completion when it is used with a Perfective converb.

877. uža-ba dac-ba l-i-yin b-eq-še.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS lesson-PL.ABS NHPL-do-PFV.CVB HPL-happen-PRS
 'The boys are finishing doing homework.'

When the verb *leqa* is used with an infinitive verb, it has the meaning 'to start'.

878. uža-ba dac-ba l-i-ya b-eq-še goli.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS lesson-PL.ABS NHPL-do-INF HPL-happen-PRS be.PRS
 'The boys are starting to do homework.'

In both constructions the predicate consists of the verb *leqa*, a finite verb, and a second non-finite verb, either an infinitive or a converb, where the finite verb *leqa* shows gender/number agreement with the Absolutive subject.

The phasal verb *luqa* ‘to finish’ is an intransitive verb, which requires its argument to be marked with the Absolutive:

879. *diyo zaman luq-i.*
 1SG.GEN1 time finish-PST.UW
 ‘My time finished.’

When the causative marker is added to the intransitive verb *luqa* it derives the transitive verb *luqqa* ‘to finish’. The complement of this derived transitive verb is only expressed with the converb, i.e. the verb *luqqa* ‘to finish (tr)’ requires a verbal argument, as in (880a), but it cannot have a nominal argument, as in the ungrammatical sentence (880b).

880.

a. *ise kayat q^wa-yin luq-q-i.*
 that.OBL.ERG letter write-PFV.CVB finish-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘He finished writing a letter.’

b. **ise kayat luq-q-i.*
 that.OBL.ERG letter finish-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘He finished a letter.’

The labile verb *t’ubayda* means ‘to complete, to finish, to perform’. This verb does not take the infinitive, the converb or any other verb-like complements; it only takes nominal arguments.

881. *žu t’ubayd-i.*
 that.ABS finish-PST.W
 ‘He has died.’ or ‘He was buried.’

882.ise diyo murad t'ubayd-i.
 that.OBL.ERG 1SG.GEN1 wish finish-PST.W
 'He carried out my order.'

4.9.2.3. *-dowus* strategy

The verb *liya* 'to do' can have a nominalized verb with the ending *-dowus* as its complement. The construction is translated as 'to pretend that'. Formally, the ending can be divided into two suffixes: *-dow* is the suffix of the General tense participle and *-s* is the Genitive 1 suffix. This construction illustrates variations in the agreement of the main verb. The main verb agrees with its complement, marked with the *-dowus* in Gender 4 (883a, 884a). However, this construction also allows the retrieval of the noun *ʕamal* 'behavior', of Gender 3, with the General participle modifying it, and the main verb agrees with the Absolutive argument in Gender 3 (883b, 884b).

883.

- a. ise ø-ux-dowus l-i-še.
 that.OBL.ERG I-come-NMLZ IV-do-PRS
 'He pretends that he is coming.'
- b. ise ø-ux-dow ʕamal b-i-še.
 that.OBL.ERG I-come-GNT.PTCP behavior(III) III-do-PRS
 'He pretends that he is coming.' / 'He behaves like he is coming.'

884.

- a. ise leλ-dowus l-i-še.
 that.OBL.ERG be.ill-NMLZ IV-do-PRS
 'He pretends to be ill.' / 'He pretends that he is ill.'
- b. ise leλ-dow ʕamal b-i-še.
 that.OBL.ERG be.ill-GNT.PTCP behavior(III) III-do-PRS
 'He pretends that he is ill.' / 'He behaves like he is ill.'

4.9.3. Distribution of complementation strategies

Complement-taking predicates determine which type of complementation strategy is to be used. Table 4.1 shows the main classes of complement-taking predicates based on Noonan's (1985) classification of complement-taking predicates.

Table 4.1: Complementation strategies

Types of predicates	Examples	Main Strategies				Minor Strategies		
		Infinitive	Masdar	Participle	<i>λun</i> strategy	Substantivized participle	Converb	downus
Utterance predicates	tell, say, ask, promise, agree	+	+		+			
Propositional attitude predicates	doubt, believe, deny, guess, suppose, think		+		+			
Pretence predicates	imagine, pretend, make believe							+
Commentative predicates (fatives)	regret, be sorry, be important		+		+			
Predicates of knowledge and acquisition of knowledge	know, realize, find out, understand		+	+		+		
Predicates of fear	worry, fear	+			+			
Desiderative predicates	want, desire	+						
Immediate perception predicates	see, watch, feel, hear		+					

Manipulative predicates	force, persuade tell, threaten, let, command, order, ask, request	+						
Modal predicates	have to, can, must, should, be obliged	+						
Achievement predicates	pos: manage, dare, remember		+	+		+		
	neg: forget to, fail, avoid, try	+						
	forget that			+		+		
Phasal predicates	begin, continue	+						
	finish, stop						+	

4.9.4. Coreference in complement clauses

The complementation strategy used in complement clauses depends on the coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality of the subject. There are three types of predicates: predicates with ‘incorporated’ coreferentiality, predicates where the complementation strategy depends on the coreferentiality or non-coreferentiality of the subject, and predicates where the complementation strategy does not depend on coreferentiality⁶².

4.9.4.1. Predicates with ‘incorporated’ coreference

Modal and phasal verbs (e.g. *-uk-* ‘must’, *behid-* ‘be able’, *-eq-* ‘begin’), as well as one pretence predicate, require that the embedded argument be coreferential with the argument in the matrix clause. In this case coreferential omission is obligatory. The omission of the coreferential embedded argument is required with the verbs ‘to pretend’ and ‘to begin’ (885, 886).

⁶² The division of predicates into three groups is based on E. Kalinina’s chapter on Complementation in Kibrik et al. (eds.) 2001. *Bagvalinskij jazyk: grammatika, teksty, slovari*.

885. ise_i $\emptyset_{ABS (i/*j)}$ \emptyset -ux-dowus l-i-še.
 that.OBL.ERG I-come-NMLZ IV-do-PRS
 ‘He pretends that (he) is coming.’

886. $diqu_i$ $\emptyset_{ERG(i)}$ heⁿše c’alid-a b-eq^w-i.
 1SG.CONT book(III) read-INF III-happen-PST.W
 ‘I could read a book.’ (i.e. I managed to read a book.)

With the verb ‘can’ either the matrix argument (887) or the coreferential embedded argument (888a) can be omitted. Example (888b) is ungrammatical with both coreferential arguments.

887. $\emptyset_{LAT(i)}$ behidōy hed do_(i) b-ux-a λin
 be.able.GNT then 1SG.ABS III-come-INF QUOT
 iλ-in ze-yi.
 say-PST.UW bear-ERG
 ‘The bear asked, “Can I come in?”’ [Fool.071]

888.
 a. dil_i^j behidōy $\emptyset_{ERG(i)}$ čorpa l-ac’-a?
 1SG.LAT be.able.GNT soup(IV) IV-eat-INF
 ‘Can I eat soup?’
 b. * dil_i^j behidōy de_i čorpa l-ac’-a?
 1SG.LAT be.able.GNT 1SG.ERG soup(IV) IV-eat-INF
 ‘Can I eat soup?’

Not only Absolutive or Ergative subjects, but also other salient subjects, such as Contessive subjects, as in (886), can control omitted complement clause arguments.

4.9.4.2. Predicates where complementation strategy is dependent on (non)coreferentiality

The only complement-taking predicates known to be dependent on (non)coreferentiality are the verbs *suλ'a* 'to forget to' and 'to forgot that', and *liq'a* 'to know (how) to' and 'to know that'.

When the predicate takes the infinitive strategy it has 'incorporated coreferentiality', i.e. the matrix or dependent subject is coreferential and coreferential omission of the subject is obligatory (889). When a complement-taking predicate uses the participle strategy, the subjects can be coreferential or non-coreferential (890, 891).

889. *išet'i*_i *šuλ'-i* $\emptyset_{i/*j}$ *bataxu* *išan-a*.
 mother.LAT forget-PST.W bread fry-INF
 'The mother forgot to make bread.'

890. *Aħmadil*_i *šuλ'-i* *Nazir-i*_{j/*i} *mašina* *b-ezz-u*.
 Axmed.LAT forget-PST.W Nazir-ERG car(III) III-buy-PST.PTCP
 'Axmed forgot that Nazir bought a car.'

891. *žik'ol*_i *l-iq'-ate* *dudu* *žu*_{j/*i} *eⁿdu-l* \emptyset -ot'uq'q'-u
 man.LAT IV-know-NEG how that.ABS inside-LAT I-come-PST.PTCP
 'The man does not how he got home.' (maybe, the man was drunk)

4.9.4.3. Predicates where complementation strategy does not depend on coreferentiality

The following are complement-taking predicates where the choice of strategy does not depend on coreferentiality: utterance predicates (*lože ila* 'to give word'), positive achievement predicates (*lok'ol'o leča* 'to remember'), propositional attitude predicates (*buža* 'to believe'), commentative predicate (*γyγy aħa* 'to become happy'), immediate perception predicates (*lak^wa* 'to see'), desiderative predicates (*q'oča* 'to want') and some others. These complement-taking predicates can use the masdar, converb, zero, or *λun* strategies.

892. uže γυγυ ø-ah-i ise.isulo ø-iž-nu-λ'o.
 boy(1).ABS glad I-stand-PST.W REFL.GEN2 I-win-MASD-SUP
 'The boy became happy that he won.'

893. de izu-λ'o-l I-ot'ok'-i aλa-s
 1SG.ERG that.PL.(P)OBL-SUP-LAT IV-bring-PST.W village.OBL-GEN1
 begawul ø-ot'uq'-nu-s.
 head(1) I-come-MASD-GEN1
 'I informed them about the arrival of the head of the village.' (lit. 'I brought on them that...')

Backward and forward control

The verb *-uk-* 'must' is an intransitive verb that takes an infinitival complement. The embedded verb triggers the case assignment, that is, case assignment follows the valency of the embedded verb.

In (894) the embedded verb *-ah-* 'stand' is an intransitive verb. The single argument is in the Absolutive case, and the embedded and matrix verbs agree with the Absolutive argument. In (895) the embedded verb *-it'x-* 'divide' is transitive, i.e. it is the derived causative of the intransitive. The subject argument is in the Ergative case, and the embedded and matrix verbs agree with the embedded Absolutive argument. Such constructions are considered to be backward control constructions, where the lower embedded verb controls case assignment within the construction as a whole.

894. uže γode q'arλ'a-č ø-ah-a ø-ukk-u goli.
 boy(1).ABS tomorrow early-INTS I-get.up-INF I-must-PST.PTCP be.PRS
 'The boy has to get up early tomorrow.'

895. Ø_{ABS} [užá lido b-it'-x-a] b-ukk-u goli.
 boy.OBL.ERG firewood(III) III-divide-CAUS-INF III-must-PST.PTCP be.PRS
 'The boy has to chop the firewood.'

A forward control construction is also possible, as in (896), where the subject is marked with the Absolutive case, the matrix verb agrees with the Absolutive subject, and the embedded verb agrees with its own argument.

896. uže	[Ø _{ERG}	lido	b-it'-x-a]	ø-ukk-u	goli.
boy(I).ABS		firewoods(III)	III-divide-CAUS-INF	I-must-PST.PTCP	be.PRS
'The boy has to chop the firewood.'					

Another example of backward control is sentence (897a). Example (897b) shows the same construction with forward control.

897.

a.	hobot'un	ø-o ⁿ k'-šeso	[ise	hada-γa
	like.this	I-go-PRS.PTCP	that.OBL.ERG	one.OBL-APUD
	exnu-λ	reła	l-eγ ^w -a]	l-uk-un.
	cave-SUB	night(IV)	IV-take-INF	IV-must-PST.UW
'As he was reaching one cave, he had to overnight there.' [Zagalawdibir]				
b.	hobot'un	ø-o ⁿ k'-šeso	idu	[hada-γa
	like.this	I-go-PRS.PTCP	this.ABS	one.OBL-APUD
	exnu-λ	reła	l-eγ ^w -a]	ø-uk-un.
	cave-SUB	night(IV)	IV-take-INF	I-must-PST.UW
'As he was reaching one cave, he had to overnight there.'				

4.9.5. Agreement in complement clauses (Long-distance agreement)

In the complement clauses with the verbs of cognition *liq'a*⁶³ 'to know' there are two possible kinds of verb agreement: the first is agreement with the sentential complement as a complex NP, treating it as a noun of Gender 4; the second is agreement with the Absolutive argument of the complement clause. Agreement with

⁶³ The verb is presented with the prefix *l-* which marks a citation form.

the sentential complement is called local agreement (LA) and agreement with the embedded argument is called long-distance agreement (LDA).

To start with, it should be noted that the verb *liq'a* 'to know' is an affective verb, i.e. the experiencer argument is marked with the Lative and the other argument with the Absolutive, and it is the Absolutive argument that triggers verbal agreement. In the following example (898) the verb *liq'a* 'to know' agrees with the Absolutive argument, which is of Gender 3.

898. i^lul hobože-q'a b-iq'-in-ay žu ʕaq'lu,
 I PL.LAT now-TERM III-know-PST.UW-NEG this cleverness(III)
 b-iq'-in hed.
 III-know-PST.UW then
 'We did not know about this thing until now, (but then we knew).' [Dialog]

The construction with long-distance agreement occurs when the main predicate *liq'a* 'to know' takes the complement clause, and the main verb agrees with the Absolutive argument of the embedded clause. The construction in (899a) shows local agreement, because the main verb agrees with the sentential complement and takes Gender 4. Sentence (899b) shows long-distance agreement: the main verb agrees with the embedded Absolutive argument in Gender 1.

899.
 a. žu ičla žik'o ø-ečč-u dudu l-iq'-i λin
 that.ABS old man(I) I-be-PST.PTCP how IV-know-PST.W QUOT
 iλ-in.
 say-PST.UW
 'How did you know that the man was old?' [Princes.045] **LA**

- b. žu ičla žik'o ø-ečč-u dudu ø-iq'-i λin
 that.ABS old man(I) I-be-PST.PTCP how I-know-PST.W QUOT
 iλ-in.
 say-PST.UW
 'How did you know that the man was old?' **LDA**

The cognitive verb *liq'a* 'to know' can use three strategies when forming a complement clause: the participle, the substantivized participle and the masdar strategy. Constructions with the verb *liq'a* 'to know' with a participle, or a substantivized participle, or a masdar complement can show either local agreement or long-distance agreement.

900.

- a. dii^l l-iyōq' /b-iyōq' iso bertinnoλ'o
 1SG.LAT IV-know.GNT III-know.GNT that.GEN1 wedding.SUP
 keč'i b-og b-ez-nu.
 song(III) III-good III-take-**MASD**
 'I know that he sings well at weddings.'
- b. dii^l l-iyōq' / b-iyōq' ise bertinnoλ'o
 1SG.LAT IV-know.GNT III-know.GNT that.OBL.ERG wedding.SUP
 keč'i b-og b-ez-dow.
 song(III) III-good III-take-**GNT.PTCP**
 'I know that he sings well at weddings.'
- c. dii^l l-iyōq' / b-iyōq' ise bertinnoλ'o
 1SG.LAT IV-know.GNT III-know.GNT that.OBL.ERG wedding.SUP
 keč'i b-og b-ez-dow-łar.
 song(III) III-good III-take-GNT.PTCP-**NMLZ**
 'I know that he sings well at weddings.'

Constructions with two possibilities for agreement within complement clauses are widely spread throughout the Daghestanian languages. For instance, such long-distance agreement constructions are present in all Tsezic languages (Polinsky & Postdam 2001, for Tsez), and in Andic languages, for example Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999), as well as in Lezgian languages like Tsakhur (Kibrik 1999).

Constructions with long-distance agreement in Tsez (Polinsky 2003) and Godoberi (Haspelmath 1999) have been claimed to be instances of Clause Union, i.e. the constructions consist of only one clause. Khwarshi data on long-distance agreement, however, provide evidence for the biclausal status of such constructions.

Below I will show that Khwarshi constructions with the verb ‘to know’ are true biclausal constructions.

Biclausality of constructions with the verb ‘know’

Before presenting evidence for the biclausal status of these constructions, it should be noted that biclausality indicates a construction with two clauses: a main clause and a dependent clause. In Khwarshi the biclausal status of a construction with the verb *-iqʔ* ‘know’ can be proved by examining the behavior of reflexive pronouns, the behavior of adverbs, and the scope of negation.

The *behavior of reflexives* illustrates that only an embedded subject can be the antecedent of a complex reflexive pronoun. In the following example the reflexive pronoun shows coreferentiality with its antecedent (*kandi* ‘girl.ERG’), which is within the same clause, that is within the complement clause. This is the only possible antecedent, because compound reflexives are strictly local and can only be triggered by subjects. If this were an example of Clause Union, the argument of the complement clause (namely *kandi* ‘girl.ERG’) would no longer be the subject and would no longer be able to be the antecedent of the reflexive:

901. išet'-il_i l/b-iq'-še kand-i_j ife.ifeγoyul_{j/*i}
 mother.OBL-LAT IV/III-know-PRS girl.OBL-ERG REFL.APUD.VERS
 kayat b-ešut't'-u.
 letter(III) III-send-PST.PTCP
 'The mother knows that the girl has sent herself a letter.'

The *behavior of adverbs* points to a biclausal status as well, since each clause can have an independent temporal specification. In example (902) two semantically different time adverbs are used: *huniža* 'yesterday' is used in the complement clause and *žequf* 'today' is used in the matrix clause.

902. [bataxu-n huniža užá y-ac'c'-u]
 bread(V)-AND yesterday boy.OBL.ERG V-eat-PST.PTCP
 [išet'-il žequf y-iq'-še].
 mother.OBL-LAT today V-know-PRS
 'Today the mother knew that the boy had eaten bread yesterday.'

The biclausal status of complement clauses with the verb *liq'a* 'to know' can also be proved by the *scope of negation*. In the complement clause negation can occur either on the main verb, as in (903a), or on the embedded verb, which is formed with a Perfective converb and the Present participle of the Present tense auxiliary, as in (903b). Negation can also occur on both the main and the embedded verbs, as in (903c), which means that each clause can have its own independent scope of negation.

903.
 a. uža-l l/b-iq'-ate zihe-n b-it'x-in
 boy.OBL-LAT IV/III-know-NEG cow(III)-AND III-steal.CAUS-PFV.CVB
 gollu.
 be.PRS.PTCP
 'The boy does not know that the cow was stolen.'

- b. uža-l l/b-iq'-še zihe-n b-it'x-in
 boy.OBL-LAT IV/III-know-PRS cow(III)-AND III-steal.CAUS-PFV.CVB
 gobiso.
 be.PRS.NEG.PTCP
 'The boy knows that the cow was not stolen.'

- c. uža-l l/b-iq'-ate zihe-n b-it'x-in
 boy.OBL-LAT IV/III-know-NEG cow(III)-AND III-steal.CAUS-PFV.CVB
 gobiso.
 be.PRS.NEG.PTCP
 'The boy does not know that the cow was not stolen.'

In monoclausal constructions the negation marker can occur either on the finite verb (946) or on the non-finite verb (904a), and the scope of negation extends over the whole proposition. Double negation in monoclausal constructions, with a negation marker on both the finite and non-finite verbs (904b) (cf. 3.7.1.4) differs from double negation with the verb *liq'a* 'to know' in that it results in an emphatic affirmative meaning.

904.

- a. obu-t'-i mangal m-uyok'-še b-eč-bi.
 father-OBL-ERG sickle(III) III-sharpen.CAUS-IPFV.CVB III-be-NEG
 'The father was not sharpening the sickle.'
- b. obu-t'-i mangal m-uyok'-bič b-eč-i.
 father-OBL-ERG sickle(III) III-sharpen.CAUS-NEG.CVB III-be-PST.W
 'The father was not sharpening the sickle.'

- c. obu-t'-i mangal m-uγok'-bič b-eč-bi.
 father-OBL-ERG sickle(III) III-sharpen.CAUS-NEG.CVB III-be-NEG
 'The father was really sharpening the sickle.'

4.9.5.1. Semantics of long-distance agreement

As presented above, complement constructions with the verb *liq'a* 'to know' can show two kinds of agreement, i.e. the matrix verb can agree in Gender 4 with the whole complement clause (local agreement) or with the embedded Absolutive argument (long-distance agreement). This variation in agreement can be explained by pragmatic functions, such as pragmatic salience, which means that local agreement is neutral with respect to salience, i.e. the use of long-distance agreement shows pragmatic salience, whereas a local agreement construction is pragmatically neutral.

4.9.5.2. Long-distance agreement triggers

4.9.5.2.1 Fronting in LDA

Another way to emphasize the embedded Absolutive argument is fronting, which positions the embedded argument at the beginning of the sentence. When the construction occurs with fronted material, long-distance agreement is preferable (905). Thus, fronting indicates pragmatic salience.

- 905.zihe uža-l b-iq'-še b-it'x-in gollu.
 cow(III) boy.OBL-LAT III-know-PRS III-steal.CAUS-PFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP
 'The boy knows that the cow was stolen.'

4.9.5.2.2 D-linked question and fronting

Another environment where long-distance agreement is preferable is in answers to d-linked wh-questions, that is discourse-linked wh-questions with a restricted range of possible answers, i.e. the range of felicitous answers is limited by the range of referents established in the preceding discourse (Pesetsky 1987: 108). Example (906) is a d-linked wh-question that could elicit answers with either local or long-distance agreement. In this example the range of possible answers is limited to *a group of cows* which both the speaker and the hearer have in mind.

906.dogu zihe b-ot'uq'q'-u l/b-iq'-še uža-l.
 which cow(III) III-come-PST.PTCP IV/III-know-PRS boy.OBL-LAT
 'Which cow does the boy know came?'

The answer to the d-linked wh-question in (907) can also show local or long-distance agreement, but long-distance agreement is preferable.

907.uža-l l/b-iq'-še k^šaba zihe b-ot'uq'q'-u.
 boy.OBL-LAT IV/III-know-PRS black cow(III) III-come-PST.PTCP
 'The boy knows that the black cow has come.'

In the answer to the d-linked wh-question *which cow does the boy know came?*, when the embedded object of the complement clause is fronted, i.e. when it is positioned at the beginning of the sentence, long-distance agreement is obligatory (908).

908.k^šaba zihe b-ot'uq'q'-u b-iq'-še uža-l.
 black cow(III) III-come-PST.PTCP III-know-PRS boy.OBL-LAT
 'The boy knows that the black cow has come.' LDA

4.9.5.2.3 Relativization of embedded arguments

When the embedded argument of a complement clause is relativized, the construction shows long-distance agreement (909a). Agreement in Gender 4 is ungrammatical (909b).

909.
 a. di^l ø-e^mλ'λ'-u ø-iq'q'-u žik'o
 1SG.LAT I-go-PST.PTCP I-know-PST.PTCP man(1)
 'the man that I know that left'

- b. *dil^j ø-eⁿλ'λ'-u l-iq'q'-u žik'o
 1SG.LAT I-go-PST.PTCP IV-know-PST.PTCP man(1)
 'the man that I know that left'

Thus, constructions with the verb *liq'a* 'to know' are true biclausal constructions, and long-distance agreement can be triggered by fronted material, especially fronted material in d-linked questions.

4.10. Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are formed with nonfinite verb forms, i.e. converbs. There are two semantic categories of converbs: temporal (e.g. Anterior, Posterior, etc.) and non-temporal (e.g. Conditional, Concessive, etc.). With regard to syntactic function, converbs are used not only adverbially but also to mark complements within phasal predicates (cf. 4.9.2.2). Converb formation involves the use of special suffixes. There are several kinds of converb derivation: (1) converbs can be based on infinitival stem (e.g. the Anterior converb: *y-ez-a-λa* 'after taking'); (2) converbs can be based on Present tense forms (e.g. the Simultaneous converb: *m-ok'-še-zuq'un* 'as they were going'); (3) converbs can be based on Past participles (e.g. the Temporal converb: *λuss-u-q'arλ'a* 'when (they) fall asleep'); and (4) converbs can be based on bare verbal stems (e.g. the Conditional converb: *kok-to* 'if (you) eat').

There are contextual and specialized converbs in Khwarshi: contextual converbs do not have specific meaning or they are semantically vague (neutral), while specialized converbs express a particular semantic link between clauses.

4.10.1. Contextual converbs

4.10.1.1. Contextual non-reduplicated converbs

4.10.1.1.1 Perfective converb *-un*

Although the form of the Perfective converb with the suffix *-un/-in/-in* corresponds to the form of the Past unwitnessed tense, it does not indicate evidentiality. The primary function of the Perfective converb is to express a sequence of events.

910. λus-un izzo b-eč-un, q^ʰuq^ʰle-bo
 sleep-PFV.CVB that.PL.(P)ABS HPL-be-PFV.CVB nut-PL.ABS
 l-es-še, l-ac'-še aⁿq^ʰswa-n b-eč-un.
 NHPL-take-IPFV.CVB NHPL-eat-IPFV.CVB mouse(III)-AND III-be-PST.UW
 'As they slept, the mouse was taking and eating the nuts.' [Bulatan&Bariyan]
911. akal-un y-ot'q'-i žu γudu-l-si.
 become.tired-PFV.CVB II-go-PST.W that.ABS garden-INTER-ABL
 'Having become tired, she left the garden.'
912. huⁿne-n iλ-in b-ešt'-un ze-yi idu q^ʰswene-č us.
 road-AND give-PFV.CVB HPL-let-PST.UW bear-ERG this two-COLL brother
 'Having given way, the bear let the two brothers (go).' [Fool.013]

The Perfective converb is often used to form chaining constructions where the sentence consists of a series of successive events. In chaining constructions the converbal arguments are often marked with the particle *-n/-in/-un*⁶⁴, which can correspond to the English conjunction 'and'. Sentences including sequences of two, three, or more events are quite frequent.

⁶⁴ These are allomorphs: *-n* is used before words with a final vowel, and *-in/-un* is used before consonant final words. In general *-in* is used primarily among older speakers, while *-un* is used more by younger speakers.

913. [λar ø-ot'q'-aλa], [o < w > t'un behidōwbi λin],
 guest(I) I-come-ANTR < I > like.that permit.NEG.GNT QUOT
 [ø-e"λ'-an ø-e"λ'-un], [b-it'-x-in buλ'q'^su-n],
 I-go-RED I-go-PFV.CVB III-divide-CAUS-PFV.CVB sheep(III)-AND
 [m-eq'-un], [žu-n b-ux^sad-un], [l-ogu
 III-bring-PFV.CVB that-AND III-slaughter-PFV.CVB IV-good
 isul λarmaŋi-n l-i-yin], ø-aq^sq^s-un.
 that.LAT hospitality(IV)-AND IV-do-PFV.CVB I-lie.CAUS-PST.UW

'When the guest came, (the robber) was thinking of how not to leave him like that, (the robber) went, stole a sheep, brought (the sheep), slaughtered it, having treated him (the guest) well, he made him (the guest) go to bed.' [Malla rasan]

When used with verbs of motion, the Perfective converb is used to express the manner of action (914, 915).

914. b-ik-in m-ok'-un ze.
 III-run-PFV.CVB III-go-PST.UW bear(III)
 'Running, the bear went.' or 'The bear ran away.' [Fool.056]

915. hobone-zi durid-in ø-o"k'-un idu žoho,
 there-ABL run-PFV.CVB I-go-PFV.CVB this after
 žohoq'^semil ø-uλ-x-un hos ĥono dac gul-o
 backwards I-turn-CAUS1-PST.UW one three lesson put-IMP
 dil^l λin iλ-in.
 1SG.LAT QUOT say-PFV.CVB

'He ran from there after him, and returned him back asking him to teach him three lessons.' [Zagalawdibir]

The Perfective converb can be negated by adding the negative suffix *-bič* to the verbal stem. Note that this Negative converb with the suffix *-bič* is the negative form for two other converbs, namely the Perfective progressive and the Imperfective converb.

916.liλ	l-eγ-un,	λuq'id-in,	ø-uh-bič
meat(IV)	IV-take-PFV.CVB	wound-PFV.CVB	I-die-NEG.CVB
ø-ot'q'-i	žu.		
I-come-PST.W	that.ABS		

'Having been wounded he came back, not having died.' [Old man]

4.10.1.1.2 Perfective progressive converb

The Perfective converb of the auxiliary verb *-eč-* 'be' is combined with the Imperfective converb of a lexical verb to form the Perfective progressive converb. The Perfective progressive converb expresses the simultaneity of events (917). The meaning of the Perfective progressive converb is similar to the meaning of the Durative converb (918).

917.un-še-č	b-eč-un	izzu	e ⁿ du-q'a
talk-IPFV.CVB-EMPH	HPL-be-PFV.CVB	that.PL.(P)ABS	inside-TERM
b-ot'q'-un.			
HPL-come-PST.UW			

'They came home talking.'

918.m-ok'-šezuq'un	izze	q'ut'i	b-i-yin.
HPL-go-DURAT	that.PL.(P)ERG	agreement(III)	III-do-PST.UW

'As they were going, they made a deal.' [3Friends.003]

The negative form of this converb is the same as the other negative converbs, i.e. the negative suffix *-bič* is added to the lexical verb.

919.un-bič	izzu	e ⁿ du-q'a	b-ot'q'-un.
talk-NEG.CVB	that.PL.(P)ABS	inside-TERM	HPL-come-PST.UW

'They came home not talking.'

4.10.1.1.3 Imperfective converb (or Progressive converb) -še

The form of the Imperfective converb corresponds to the Present tense form. The Imperfective converb always expresses the simultaneity of events, conveying the manner of action. The emphatic particle *-č* can be added to the Imperfective converb, but the usage of this particle is optional.

920. gazyiat c'ališ-še refa čul-i iso.
 newspaper read-IPFV.CVB night dawn-PST.W that.GEN1
 lit. 'Reading a newspaper, his night passed.'

921. ono soyro-bo l-eč-un ihoλ-še.
 there horse-PL.ABS NHPL-be-PST.UW pasture-IPFV.CVB
 'There were the horses pasturing.' [Orphans.026]

922. b-eč-un kanda-ba eⁿdu kere-še.
 HPL-be-PST.UW girl.OBL-PL.ABS inside play-IPFV.CVB
 'The girls were at home playing.' [Witch.009]

The Imperfective converb, as well as the Perfective converb, can express the manner of action when used with motion verbs:

923. q'eburda-še-č b-ik-i zor.
 lame-IPFV.CVB-EMPH III-run-PST.W fox(III)
 'The fox ran away limping.'

The negative of the Imperfective converb is formed by adding the suffix *-bič* to the verbal stem.

924. q'eburda-bič b-ik-i zor.
 lame-NEG.CVB III-run-PST.W fox(III)
 'The fox ran away not limping.'

4.10.1.1.4 Negative converb *-bič*

The Negative converb *-bič* is derived from the negative suffix *-bi* and the particle *-č*. The suffix of the Negative converb *-bič* is added to the bare verbal stem. The suffix is used in the negative forms of the Perfective, Perfective progressive and Imperfective converbs. The Negative converb can express simultaneity as well as the sequence of events.

925. l-i-ya himon-ič l-iq'-bič, žoho-n guc'-un
 IV-do-INF thing(IV)-EMPH IV-know-NEG.CVB after-AND look-PFV.CVB
 q'ʰemli-n lux-un.
 family-AND remain-PST.UW
 'The family kept staring, not knowing what to do.' [Eldest.008]

926. žawab b-i-bič, žu ono-γul ø-uλ-i.
 answer(III) III-do-NEG.CVB that.ABS there-VERS I-turn-PST.W
 'Not having answered, he turned away.'

927. moko-nu-n γiγʰul-bič, b-eq-un izzu
 hunger-MASD-AND endure-NEG.CVB HPL-happen-PST.UW that.PL.(P)ABS
 č'ido l-ac'-a.
 ground(IV) IV-eat-INF
 'When they could not bear the hunger, they began to eat the earth.' [Orphans.023]

4.10.1.2. Contextual reduplicated converbs

Contextual converbs, unlike specialized converbs, can have reduplicated forms. The reduplicated forms of converbs are always emphatic.

4.10.1.2.1 Reduplicated Perfective converb

This converb is formed by reduplicating the Perfective converb. The first constituent is formally identical to the infinitival stem plus the particle *-n*, and the second constituent is the Perfective converb. The reduplicated Perfective converb, like the non-reduplicated Perfective converb, can express either a sequence of events, as in (928), or the manner of motion, as in (929).

928. \emptyset -ah-an \emptyset -ah-un žu aⁿc-ma- γ a- γ ul \emptyset -oⁿk'-i.
 I-stand-RED I-stand-PFV.CVB that.ABS door-OBL-APUD-VERS I-go-PST.W
 'Having got up, he reached the door.'

929. durid-an durid-in \emptyset -oⁿk'-un žu.
 run-RED run-PFV.CVB I-go-PST.UW that.ABS
 'He went running.' or 'He ran.'

The reduplicated Perfective converb is more emphatic than the simple Perfective converb:

930. žaha λ 'a-n \emptyset -eč-un žu aⁿc-ma-la žoq^fuža
 again-AND I-be-PST.UW that.ABS door-OBL-GEN2 behind
 cuc-an cuc-un.
 hide-RED hide-PFV.CVB
 'He stood again behind the door, having hidden himself.' [Fool.063]

931. b-u λ '-an b-u λ '-un ono- γ ul k'o λ -un
 III-fear-RED III-fear-PFV.CVB there-VERS jump-PST.UW
 ide- γ ul k'o λ -un idu om^foq^fe.
 here-VERS jump-PST.UW this donkey(III)
 'Having become afraid, the donkey jumped from here and there.' [Hajj.003]

4.10.1.2.2 Reduplicated Imperfective converb

This converb is formed by the reduplication of the Imperfective converb. The first constituent is an Imperfective converb with or without the particle -č, and the second constituent is an Imperfective converb without the particle -č. This converb, like the simple Imperfective converb, is only used to indicate the simultaneity of events.

932.	b-oqux-še-č		b-oqux-še		huqq-i
	III-take.CAUS-IPFV.CVB-EMPH		III-take.CAUS-IPFV.CVB		finish.CAUS-PST.W
	ise	i ^l ó	lido.		
	that.OBL.ERG	1PL.GEN1	firewood(III)		
	‘Taking from time to time, he finished our firewood.’				

The following example has two reduplicated converbs, the first is the reduplicated Perfective progressive converb *ø-oⁿk’-še ø-oⁿk’-še ø-eč-un*, which is formed with a reduplicated Imperfective converb and the Perfective converb of the auxiliary verb *-eč* ‘be’, expressing the simultaneity of events. The second is the reduplicated Imperfective converb *uryi-še-č uryi-še*.

933.	ø-o ⁿ k’-še	ø-o ⁿ k’-še	ø-eč-un	idu,	uryi-še-č
	I-go-IPFV.CVB	I-go-IPFV.CVB	I-be-PFV.CVB	this	think-IPFV.CVB-EMPH
	uryi-še	ø-ot’q’-un	γono-ł-γul.		
	think-IPFV.CVB	I-come-PST.UW	forest.OBL-INTER-VERS		
	‘(The father) was going and going, and while thinking he came to the forest.’				
	[Orphans.010]				

4.10.1.2.3 Reduplicated negative converb

The reduplicated Negative converb is formed with the reduplicated infinitival stem plus the particle *-č* and the Negative converb. The reduplicated Negative converb, like the non-reduplicated Negative converb, can refer to the sequence or simultaneity of events.

934.	žoho	gollu	om ^ʕ oq ^ʕ e	b-ux-še	b-eč-bizała
	behind	be.PRS.PTCP	donkey(III)	III-come-IPFV.CVB	III-be-NEG.ANTR
	g ^ʕ an-un	ħažiyaw-i	guc’-ač	guc’-bič.	
	pull-PST.UW	Hadji-ERG	look-RED	look-NEG.CVB	
	‘When the donkey that was behind did not move, Hadji was pulling him, not having looked.’ [Donkey.009]				

935. saʕataλ'a un-ač un-bič y-ēč žu.
hour.SUP talk-RED talk-NEG.CVB II-be.GNT that.ABS
‘She can keep silence for hours.’ [Dialog]

4.10.1.2.4 Reduplicated General tense converb

The reduplicated General tense converb does not have a corresponding non-reduplicated form. This converb is formed by combining two constituents, the first is formally identical to the infinitival stem plus the particle *-n*, and the second is the verb in the General tense. The reduplicated General tense converb expresses only a sequence of events.

936. homone-zi y-eⁿλ'-an y-ēⁿλ' iḷe kand-i idu
there-ABL II-go-RED II-go.GNT that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG this
k'uca x^wasar y-iyōy.
bird(V) rescue(V) V-do.GNT

‘Having gone from there, this girl rescued the bird.’ [Orphans.048] lit. ‘Going from there the girl rescues the bird.’

937. l-ez-an l-ēz, l-iyōt' iḷe šil'u.
IV-buy-RED IV-buy.GNT IV-divide.GNT that.OBL.ERG cloth(IV)
‘Buying the clothes, she distributes them.’

4.10.2. Participles with adverbial function

Participles can be formally divided into attributive and adverbial participles. Attributive participles perform a modifying function, while adverbial participles are used to form adverbial clauses. In Khwarshi, the Past participle and the Present imperfective participle are used not only in their usual modifying function but also as converbs, i.e. they are used to form adverbial clauses. When the Past participle is used as an adverbial it corresponds to the Perfective converb, since the Past participle expresses the sequence of events (938). Likewise, the Present imperfective participle corresponds to the Imperfective converb, expressing the simultaneity of events (939, 940).

938. eⁿdu-γul ø-uxx-u ise iλ-in kandaza-qa-l
 inside-VERS I-come-PST.PTCP that.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW girl.PL.OBL-CONT-LAT
 žequł i^ho qit’aha m-ok’-še λin.
 today 1SG.ABS brushwood.AD HPL-go-PRS QUOT
 ‘Having come home, he said to the daughters, “Today we are going to gather
 brushwood.”’ [Orphans.013] (lit. ‘(He) coming home, he said to the daughters
 , <...>.’)

939. γebil^ha-n b-uλ-x-un erele b-uλux-šeso
 hat(III)-AND III-gather-CAUS-PFV.CVB lap(III) III-gather.CAUS-PRS.PTCP
 kul-un exena-ma-l gił-γuli.
 throw-PST.UW pillow.OBL-IN-LAT under-VERS
 ‘(He) filled the hat, and as (he) was filling the lap, (she) threw him into the
 pillow.’ [Mesedo.035]

940. y-ot’uq’q’-u idu qodo l-ak-k-a y-eq-un
 II-come-PST.PTCP this witch(II) IV-rise-CAUS-INF II-begin-PST.UW
 exen l-ah-l-un-ay, l-ak-k-a y-eq-un
 pillow(IV) IV-stand-POT-PST.UW-NEG IV-rise-CAUS1-INF II-begin-PST.UW
 l-ah-l-un-ay.
 IV-stand-POT-PST.UW-NEG
 ‘When this witch came, she tried to raise the pillow but could not, she tried to
 raise it but could not.’ [Mesedo.041]

4.10.3. Specialized converbs

4.10.3.1. Temporal converbs

Temporal converbs can express anteriority, posteriority and simultaneity. Temporal converbs include: Anterior I converbs, Anterior II converbs, Anterior III converbs, Immediate-anterior converbs, Posterior converbs, Terminative converbs, Durative converbs, and Temporal converbs.

4.10.3.1.1 Anterior I converbs *-aλa* ‘when’

Anterior I converbs indicate that the event of the converbal clause takes place before the event of the main clause. The Anterior I converb is formed by adding the suffix *-aλa* to the bare verbal stem.

941. židu ačalaha b-ot'q'-aλa, yol-un eⁿso.
 that.PL.(D)ABS waste.land.AD HPL-come-ANTR snow-PST.UW snow
 ‘When they came to the waste land, it started to snow.’ [Hajj.020]

942. durid-aλa y-ek'l-un ĥono-č g^sanda-ma-l giř-γul.
 run-ANTR II-fall-PST.UW three-COLL pit.OBL-IN-LAT under-VERS
 ‘When they ran, all three (girls) fell into the pit.’ [Orphans.019]

Anterior I converbs can have the element of causality.

943. kutak-λ'a biq^s borλ'id-aλa, soyro-bo eⁿxeyol ĥo
 power-SUP sun get.warm-ANTR horse-PL.ABS river.APUD.LAT water
 c'od-a n-eλ'-i.
 drink-INF NHPL-go-PST.W
 ‘When/as the sun was shining brightly, the horses went to the river to drink water.’
 [Who can better lie?]

4.10.3.1.2 Anterior II converbs *-unso* ‘when’

Anterior II converbs are formed by adding the definiteness suffix *-so* to the Perfective converb. When Anterior II converbs are used, the event in the adverbial clause is interpreted as being prior to the event of the main clause.

944. ĥalt'i b-iy-inso muše kul-a b-uwōk.
 work(III) III-do-ANTR breath throw-INF HPL-must.GNT
 ‘Having worked, one has to take some rest.’ (lit. ‘After doing some work (people) have to take some rest.’)

945.idu y-ez-unso ø-oⁿk'-un idu uže nartaw-la dunnal-λ'a-li.
 this II-take-ANTR I-go-PST.UW this boy(I) giant-GEN2 world-SUP-LAT
 'Having taken her, this boy went to the giant's place.' [3Feats.109] (lit. 'After taking her...')

946.armi-ł idu ø-ez-unso ø-i-yin isul uže.
 army-INTER this I-take-ANTR I-do-PST.UW that.LAT boy(I)
 'When he was taken to the army, the son was born to him.' [Orphans.042]

4.10.3.1.3 Anterior III converbs *-dowquł* 'day'

Anterior III converb is formed with the suffix *-quł*⁶⁵ added to the General participle form.⁶⁶ This converb indicates a sequence of events where the converbal clause takes place before the event of the main clause yet within the same day, roughly a 24 hour period.

947.žu λar ø-ot'uq'-dow-quł nišoho allahise
 that.ABS guest(I) I-come-GNT.PTCP-DAY night.AD Allah.ERG
 ise žik'o-l b-ešt'-in ĥono eⁿš.
 that.OBL man-LAT III-send-PST.UW three apple(III)
 'On the night when that guest came, God sent him three apples.' [The man who went to God.]

⁶⁵ This is a bound morpheme used to indicate time, e.g. it can be added to the oblique form of the demonstrative pronoun *hobote* 'that.OBL' with the meaning 'that day' as in *hobotequł*. In some other words it is lexicalized, as in *žequł* 'today'.

⁶⁶ In Tsez, which is a closely related language, there is an identical suffix *quł* used to denote anteriority, but the structure of this suffix is more transparent, as it consists of the noun *qu* 'day' plus the locative Inter suffix *-l*. Khwarshi, on the other hand, has lost this word for 'day'.

4.10.3.1.4 Immediate-anterior converbs *-uč* ‘as soon as’

Immediate-anterior converbs are formed with the suffix *-č* attached to a Past participle (ending in *-u/-gu*). Immediate-anterior converbs express event that happen just before the event of the main clause and correspond to English ‘as soon as’.

948. učitel ø-ot’uq’-uč, dac baybikid-i.
 teacher(I) I-come-IMM.ANTR lesson begin-PST.W
 ‘As soon as the teacher came, the lesson started.’

949. kad λus-uč, abaxar-i m-oc-un iŕe-s
 girl sleep-IMM.ANTR neighbor-ERG III-tie-PST.UW that.OBL-GEN I
 kode-n γon-o-qo-l.
 hair(III)-AND tree-OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘As soon as the girl fell asleep, the neighbor tied her hair to the tree.’ [Jealous.010]

950. eⁿxelo balahal ø-ot’uqq’-uč, c’alid-in ise qurʕan.
 river.GEN2 edge.AD.LAT I-take-IMM.ANTR read-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG Koran
 ‘As soon as (he) came to the edge of the river, he read the Koran.’ [Zagalawdibir]

4.10.3.1.5 Posterior converbs *-šehol* ‘before’

Posterior converbs are formed by attaching the suffix *-hol* to a Present tense verb with the suffix *-šē*. The Posterior suffix *-hol* is the Adlative suffix of the locative paradigm. This converb indicates that the event of the main clause happens prior to the event of the dependent clause, and it can be translated ‘before’.

951. zamana-č m-ok’-šehol, y-i-yin izzu-l kad.
 time(III)-INTS III-go-POSTR II-born-PST.UW that.PL(P).OBL-LAT girl (II)
 ‘Before some time passed, a daughter was born to them.’ [Orphan.002]

Posterior converbs can express both realis and irrealis modality: realis modality refers to the action of a converbal clause which does really happen, as in (952), whereas irrealis modality indicates that the action of a converbal clause does not take

place, as in (953).

952.de zihe λuλ-šehol-uč tiλ-i.
 1SG.ERG cow calve-POSTR-PART sell-PST.W
 ‘I sold (my) cow before it calved.’

953.ise qaba q’udu-l b-ek’ul-šehol-uč b-oq-i.
 that.OBL.ERG vase(III) down-LAT III-fall-POSTR-PART III-catch-PST.W
 ‘Before the vase fell, he caught it.’

The negative Posterior converb is formed with the Present negative suffix *-ate* and the converbal suffix:

954.hono-č g^ʕandu y-iq’-atehol ise himona-ba-n
 three-COLL hole(V) V-know-POSTR.NEG that.OBL.ERG thing.OBL-PL.ABS-AND
 λ’olo-n gul-un.
 over-AND put-PST.UW

‘Before the three (girls) noticed the pit, he put some things over it (pit).’
 [Ophans.012] (or ‘So that the three (girls) did not notice the pit, he put some things over it.’)

4.10.3.1.6 Terminative converbs *-šeq’a* ‘until’

Terminative converbs which express posteriority are formed by adding the suffix *-q’a* to a Present tense verb. The meaning of this converb corresponds to English ‘until’. The terminative suffix of the converb corresponds to the terminative suffix of the locative paradigm, denoting direction. Terminative converbs indicate that the event of the dependent clause marks the endpoint of the event in the main clause. There is no negative form of the Terminative converb.

955. ide b-eč-un q'^{sw}ine aλ Abumuslim
 here III-be-PST.UW two village(III) Abumuslim(I)
 šayx ø-ot'uq'-šeq'a.
 sheikh(I) I-come-TERM
 'There were two villages until Abumuslim sheikh came.' [Old man]

956. λux-un žu kad ičlax-šeq'a boc'γo.
 stay-PST.UW that.ABS girl old.CAUS-TERM wolf.APUD
 'That girl remained by this wolf until (he) became old.' [Jealous.039]

957. do ø-uh-šeq'a guwōc'bo mízo ono-I λin iλ-in.
 1SG.ABS I-die-TERM look.PROH 2PL.ABS there-LAT QUOT say-PST.UW
 '(He) said, "Until I die you don't look there!"' [3Princes.004]

4.10.3.1.7 Durative converbs -šezuq'un 'while'

Durative converbs are formed by attaching the suffix *-zuq'un* to the Present tense stem in *-še*. The suffix *zuq'un* can be segmented into two parts, *zuq'u* and the particle *-n*. The root *zuq'u* is related to cognate forms of the preterit form of the verb 'to be' found in other Tsezic languages, but not in Khwarshi. Durative converbs indicate that the event of the dependent clause happens at the same time as the event of the main clause.

958. žu y-oⁿk'-šezuq'un uq'^{sw}uč'é iλ-in ife-qo-I
 that.ABS II-go-DURAT old.woman.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW that.OBL-CONT-LAT
 homone λ'u-n-λ'o-I q'^{sw}ine γamasi goli hos
 there roof-OBL-SUP-LAT two trunk be.PRS one
 ut'ana hos aluk'a.
 red one white
 'As she (girl) was leaving, the old woman told her: 'There are two trunks on the roof, one red and one white.' [orphan.015]

959. qit'a-ha y-oⁿk' -šezuq'un, b-us-un iŋe-l
brushwood.OBL-AD II-go-DURAT III-find-PST.UW that.OBL-LAT
huⁿne-ma boc'o.
road-IN wolf(III)
'Going to gather the brushwood, she met a wolf on her way.' [Witch.004]

4.10.3.1.8 Temporal converbs in *-q'arλ'a* 'when', 'at that very moment'

Temporal converbs are formed with the suffix *-q'arλ'a* attached to the Past participle stem. The Temporal converb suffix *-q'arλ'a* is a temporal adverb composed of the noun *q'aru* 'time', which is in the oblique stem *q'ar-*, plus the Superessive suffix (*-λ'a*). This converb indicates that the event of the dependent clause happens at the very moment that the event of the main clause happens, and it can be translated as 'when', 'at the very moment'.

960. šari coλ-še idu ø-ečč-u-q'arλ'a, b-ot'q'-un
butter stir-IPFV.CVB this(I) I-be-PST.PTCP-TEMP III-come-PFV.CVB
γ^wade, y-ez-un hos huⁿho iŋe.
raven(III) V-take-PST.UW one chick(V) that.OBL.ERG
'At the very moment when he was stirring the butter, a raven came and it took one chick.' [Xitilbeg.009]

961. idu mesedi-s yašk'a y-us-uq'arλ'a, idu žik'o
this gold-GEN1 box (V) V-find-TEMP this man (I)
a <w> t'un hic-ate λin iλ-in izze.
<I> like.this leave-NEG QUOT say-PST.UW that.PL.(P)ERG
'When they found this box of gold, they were thinking how not to leave this man.'
[Fool.016]

962.λar	karawat-iλ	guc'c'-uq'arλ'a ,	b-us-un
kunak	bed-SUB	look-TEMP	III-find-PST.UW
lac'a-la-s	k'ot'e.		
food-OBL-GEN1	plate(III)		

'At the very moment when the kunak looked under the bed, (he) found a plate of food.' [Malla rasan]

4.10.3.2. Non-temporal converbs

The non-temporal converbs are the Locative converb, the Negative purpose converb, the Similitive converb, the Causal converb, the Conditional converb and the Concessive converb.

4.10.3.2.1 Locative converb

Locative converbs are formed with the suffix *-zaha* added to the bare verbal stem. Locative converbs express the localization of an event in space, corresponding to the absence of motion, direction towards, into or through space. The Locative converb *-zaha* is already in the Essive, which has no overt marker. When combined with various directional suffixes, Locative converbs can also refer to different kinds of spatial orientation: Lative (*-l*), Versative (*-γul*), Ablative (*-zi*), Translative (*-γužaz*), and Terminative (*-q'a*). Constructions with the Locative converbs correspond to headless relative clauses, as the zero head noun meaning 'place' can be easily inferred from the sentence.

963.učitel-i	q'ala	m-eq'-i	atγul	pamyatnik
teacher-ERG	children	HPL-bring-PST.W	in.front.of	monument(III)
b-eč-zā-γul ⁶⁷ .				
III-be- LOC.CVB-VERS				

'The teacher brought the children to the place where the monument was.'

⁶⁷ The suffix *-zaha* can be contracted before the suffix *-γul*.

964. m-eλ'-un šayt'an q'udu-n b-eč-zaha-li.
 III-go-PST.UW devil(III) down-AND HPL-be-LOC.CVB-LAT
 'The devil went to the place where (people) were sitting.' [kici.002]
965. solo-qolo-n ø-uλ-un idu-n ø-axxač nartaw-ba
 around-AND I-turn-PFV.CVB this-AND I-back giant-PL.ABS
 golzā-γul ø-ot'q'-un.
 be.PRS.LOC.CVB -VERS I-come-PST.UW
 'He walked around and came back to the place where the giants were.'
 [Xitilbeg.043]
966. safat m-ok'-šehol-uč l-ogu l-uxxu aq
 hour(III) III-go-POSTR-EMPH IV-good IV-warm house(IV)
 l-eq-un žu golzaha.
 IV-happen-PST.UW that.ABS be.PRS.LOC.CVB
 'An hour didn't even pass, before the new and warm house appeared at the place
 where he was standing.' [3Princes.016]

The affirmative locative converb is derived from the bare verbal stem, but the negative locative converb is formed with the negative present tense stem *-ate*.

967. ise.iso h^sam^saγ^se ø-ak^w-atezā-γul ø-ek^wl-aλa,
 REFL.GEN1 friend(I) I-see-NEG.LOC-VERS I-disappear-ANTR
 om^soq^se-lo mok'o-λ'o ø-oⁿcco-llo ø-oⁿk'-a
 donkey-GEN2 place-SUP I-tie-PST.PTCP.OBL-OBL.ERG I-go-INF
 inkar b-i-yin.
 refusal(III) III-do-PST.UW
 'When his own friend disappeared to the invisible place, the one who was tied
 instead of the donkey refused to go.' [Donkey.008]

4.10.3.2.2 Purpose clauses

Khwarshi does not have a dedicated form for Purposive converbs. The purposive meaning is expressed by the infinitive, which can be optionally combined with the quotative particle *λun*. Purpose clauses, formed with the infinitive, are most often used with motion verbs, expressing a purpose or goal.

968.homonu hat'anλ'al b-ux-še b-eč-un židu
 such church.SUP.LAT HPL-go-IPFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.UW that.PL(D).ABS
 din b-i-ya.
 religion(III) III-do-INF
 'They were going to such a church to pray.' [Old man]

969.b-ot'q'-un hadam isix-a.
 HPL-come-PST.UW people ask.ITER-INF
 'People came in order to ask.' [Woman.042]

The infinitive can be combined with the quotative particle *λin* to express a purposive meaning. The quotative particle *λin* is optional and can be omitted.

970.nartaw iso q'em l-ič'-a λin himon
 giant that.GEN1 head(IV) IV-cut-INF QUOT thing(IV)
 l-oqq-a gihil ø-eq^w-aλa, b-ešt'-un
 IV-take.CAUS-INF down.LAT I-happen-ANTR III-let-PST.UW
 iļe kand-i bexan-in b-ek'-x-un.
 that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG necklace(III)-AND III-fall-CAUS-PFV.CVB
 'When the giant went inside the house to pick up something to cut his (the horse's) head, the girl dropped the necklace'. [3Feats.081]

971. l-ac'-un idu č'ido kandaza mokonu
 IV-eat-PST.UW this ground(IV) girl.PL.OBL.ERG hunger(IV)
 l'-uλ-x-a λin.
 IV-turn-CAUS-INF QUOT
 'These girls were eating the soil in order to be filled up.' [3Orphans.024]

There is no negative form of the infinitive, thus a periphrastic construction is used in order to negate purpose clauses. The periphrastic negative is formed with the negative converb of the lexical verb and the infinitive form of the auxiliary verb 'to be' (972). Negative periphrastic constructions are rarely used, since there is a special dedicated suffix *-aluso* used for expressing negative purpose (see next converb).

972. užá ise.ise-č lido b-it'-x-i obu
 boy.OBL.ERG REFL.ERG-PART wood(III) III-divide-CAUS-PST.W father(I)
 akal-bič ø-eč-a.
 be.tired-NEG.CVB I-be-INF
 'The son chopped the wood himself so that the father would not get tired.'

4.10.3.2.3 Negative purposive converb *-aluso* 'in order not to'

Negative purposive converbs use the suffix *-aluso*, which consists of the suffix *-luso* added to the infinitival suffix *-a*. The meaning of Negative purposive converbs corresponds to English 'in order not to'.

973. homone-l ø-eⁿλ'-aluso, zihe b-eγ-nu-λ'o-l
 there-LAT I-go-NEG.PURP cow(III) III-take-MASD-SUP-LAT
 ø-ot'ōq' ø-eč-un ŷoloqan žik'o.
 I-come.GNT I-be-PST.UW young man(I)
 'In order not to go there the young man was ready to give the cow for it.' [Games.011]

974.do	isu-ho	y-e ⁿ λ'-aluso,	do	e ⁿ du-č
I SG.ABS	that.OBL-AD	II-go-NEG.PURP	I SG.ABS	inside-EMPH
y-eč-a	goli.			
II-be-INF	be.PRS			

'I will stay at home, in order not to marry him.'

4.10.3.2.4 Similitive converbs

Similitive converbs are formed by adding the suffix *-hol* to the Past participle form of the verb. The suffix of this converb *-hol* is the Adlative suffix of the locative paradigm. This converb marks comparison of the converbal clause to the main clause.

975.ø-ah-un	γoλ'o	sasaqa,	b-us-un
I-stand-PFV.CVB	morning.SUP	early	III-find-PST.UW
užá	iλλ-uhol	mada-ha	soyro.
boy.OBL.ERG	say-SIMIL.CVB	outside-AD	horse(III)

'The father got up early in the morning, and found the horse outside as the son had said.' [3Feats.062]

4.10.3.2.5 Causal converbs *-aλeru* 'because of'

Causal converbal clauses express the cause/reason for the action of the main clause. The Causal converb is formed by adding the Causal suffix *-aλeru* to the infinitival verbal stem. This suffix *-aλeru* corresponds to the Causal case suffix of the nominal paradigm (cf. 3.1.4.1). Causal converbs can also express a purposive meaning.

976.homondu	q ^w ak'i	gollu	ʔoloqan-ba	b-eq ^w -aλeru
such	firmness	be.PRS.PTCP	young.man-PL.ABS	HPL-happen-CAUSAL
l-i-še	l-eč-i	aλaza-ł	gollu <r> aha-l	
IV-do-IPFV.CVB	IV-be-PST.W	village.PL.OBL-INTER	be.PRS.PTCP <IV> all-IV	

himon.
thing(IV)

'All these games were played in the village for getting such strong young people.' [Games.013] / 'All these games were played in the village in order to get such strong young people.'

977.q'ala m-ok'-še goli γono-ł-γul žok'-bo
 children HPL-go-PRS be.PRS forest.OBL-INTER-VERS mushroom.OBL-PL.ABS
 ʔ-uλ-x-aλeru.
 NHPL-gather-CAUS-CAUSAL

‘Children are going to the forest because of mushroom gathering.’ / ‘Children are going to the forest in order to gather mushrooms.’

4.10.3.2.6 Conditional converbs

Conditional clauses consist of two parts: the protasis which includes a non-finite verb and the conditional suffix *-to*, and the apodosis which includes a finite verb. Conditional clauses can be high-probability conditionals, middle-probability conditionals, or low-probability conditionals.

4.10.3.2.6.1 High-probability conditionals

High-probability conditionals are formed with the Perfective converb and the postposition *žohol(i)* ‘after’. This construction can have either a temporal meaning, expressing the sequence of events or a conditional meaning. When the postposition *žohol(i)* ‘after’ is omitted, this construction expresses only the temporal meaning of succession. Thus, constructions with the postposition *žoholi* can be translated as either an ‘if’ or a ‘when’ clause.

978.hobone-l-in n-eλ'-un homonu γutuq mižuqo
 there-LAT-AND NHPL-go-PFV.CVB such box(V) 2PL.CONT
 y-oq-un žoholi iλ-a goli λun iλ-in.
 V-take-PFV.CVB after give-INF be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW

‘‘If you go there and bring the box, I will give you (the ring),’’ (he) said.’
 [3Princes.060]

979.mači-bo l-ot'ok'-un žoholi y-eγ^w-a goli λin
 shoe-PL.ABS NHPL-bring-PFV.CVB after II-take-INF be.PRS QUOT
 iλ-in.
 say-PST.UW
 ‘‘If you bring the shoes, I will marry off (my daughter),’’ (he) said.’
 [3Princes.031]

980.hobot'un mo bufe ø-oⁿk²-šezuq'un, žahaλ'a
 like.this 2SG.ABS at.hunting I-go-DURAT again
 kad y-i-yin žohol kul-a goli λin
 girl(II) II-born-PFV.CVB after throw-INF be.PRS QUOT
 l-iq-q-in l-eč-i me diqo.
 IV-know-CAUS-PFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W 2SG.ERG 1SG.CONT
 ‘Before you went hunting you warned me, if I gave birth to a girl again, you
 would throw me out.’ [Princes.074]

4.10.3.2.6.2 Hypothetical conditionals (Middle-probability conditionals)

Hypothetical conditionals express an imaginary situation of middle-probability. Hypothetical conditionals are formed by adding the suffix *-lo* to the bare verbal stem of the lexical verb. The protasis-clause can also include the loan conjunction *nagah* ‘if’ (ultimately of Persian origin).

981.nagah žu ono b-eč-lo, ž^warλ'ada-ya λin.
 if that.ABS there III-be-COND move-IMP QUOT
 ‘If it (bear) is there, then move.’ [Anecdote.003]

982.wallah do ø-eⁿλ'-a goli, me mesed-is
 honestly 1SG.ABS I-go-INF be.PRS 2SG.ERG gold-GEN1
 sanqisi-n guga-qa-n gul-lo.
 trunk-AND back-CONT-AND put-COND
 ‘I swear, I will go, if you put a box of gold on my back.’ [Xitilbeg.046]

983. goq-ło ø-uwox-o do, goq-ło hic-o λin
 like-COND I-kill-IMP 1SG.ABS like-COND leave-IMP QUOT
 iλ-in řadalaw-i.
 say-PST.UW fool-ERG
 ‘‘If you like, kill me; if you like, leave me,’’ Fool said. [Fool.092]

The hypothetical conditional can alternatively be formed with the Perfective or Imperfective converb of the lexical verb and the auxiliary verb *-us-* ‘to find’, which also expresses an imaginary situation of middle-probability.

984. Aħmad-il kayat b-ak-un b-us-ło isu-l idu
 Axmed-LAT letter(III) III-see-PFV.CVB III-find-COND that.OBL-LAT this
 xabar b-iq’-a goli.
 news(III) III-know-INF be.PRS
 ‘If Axmed saw the letter he would know about that news.’

985. l-ow himon l-eq-un, ø-iq’-ře ø-us-ło.
 IV-good thing(IV) IV-happen-PST.UW I-know-IPFV.CVB I-find-COND
 ‘That would be a good thing, if (you) knew (him).’ [Dialog]

4.10.3.2.6.3 Counterfactual conditionals (Low-probability conditionals)

Counterfactual, more accurately low-probability, conditionals express an imaginary situation that is of low probability. The protasis-clause includes the conditional marker *-ło* attached to the Past participle stem of the verb:

986. mo xexlin mařina b-ezzu-ło iłe
 2SG.ABS quickly car(III) III-take.PST.PTCP-COND 1PL.ERG
 Muħamad ø-oq-a ø-eč-i.
 Magomed(I) I-catch-INF I-be-PST.W
 ‘If you drove fast we would catch Magomed.’

987.mo \emptyset -ečč-u-ło žu-n b-oq-un
 2SG.ABS I-be-PST.PTCP-COND that.ABS-AND III-catch-PST.UW
 q'^{sw}an-i-č.
 two.OBL-ERG-COLL
 'If you had been here, we could have caught the horse together.' [3Feats.052]

988.do ono y-ečču-ło, dudu-q'e k'iše-λ'o mo
 1SG.ABS there II-be-COND how-INTS dance-SUP 2SG.ABS
 y-ak-k-a y-eč-i.
 II-stand-CAUS-INF II-be-PST.W
 'If I had been there, (they) would definitely have invited you for a dance.' [Dialog]

4.10.3.2.7 Concessive converbs

Concessive converbs are formed with the suffix *-lon* attached to a verbal stem. The Concessive converb is formally derived from the conditional suffix *-lo* and the particle *-n*. The meaning of the converb is similar to that of English 'though', 'although'.

989.ōⁿča-la muč'-o-λ'o λ'olo gollu γudul
 hen.OBL-GEN2 neck-OBL-SUP above be.PRS.PTCP garden(IV)
 ik'sew b-eč-łon, do-n \emptyset -oⁿk'-i ono-l
 small IV-be-CONC 1SG.ABS-AND I-go-PST.W there-LAT
 l'ol-a-n n-eža-n.
 plough-INF-AND IV-sow-INF-AND
 'Though the garden on the hen's neck was small, I went there to plough and sow.'
 [Who can lie better?]

A concessive meaning can also be expressed with the Conditional converb plus an interrogative word.

990.de ciyoⁿ ono daha-r čal-un l-eč-i, hed
 1SG.ERG salt(IV) there few-IV throw-PFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W then
 žen čal-i, čal-ło hibo, roq'-bi žu.
 more throw-PST.W throw-COND what be.right-NEG that.ABS
 'I put less salt there, but then added more, and though I added more, it was not
 good anyway.' [Dialog]

The concessive construction can also be formed by adding the Causal suffix -*leru* to the oblique stem of the Past participle.

991.žu aλ b-eqq-o-λeru a<r>de
 that.ABS village(III) III-happen-OBL.PST.PTCP-CAUSAL <IV> here
 gił-γužas huⁿne l-eč-bi.
 down-VERS road(IV) IV-be-NEG
 'Though there was a village here, there was no road down there.' [Old man]

The majority of sentences with Concessive converbs express concessive conditionals of one of three types: scalar, universal, or alternative (Haspelmath & König 1998: 563).

In scalar concessive conditionals the protasis is characterized as an extreme value for the condition in question.

992.dac b-iq'ix-łon, de mo m⁶āγul
 lesson(III) III-know.CAUS-CONC 1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS outside.VERS
 y-ešt'-a gobi λin iλ-in išet'-i.
 II-let-INF be.PRS.NEG QUOT say-PST.UW mother.OBL-ERG
 'Even if you do the homework, I will not let you go for a walk, said mother.'

Universal concessive conditionals, which are regarded as a type of relative clause (Haspelmath & König 1998: 563), include a *wh*-word in the protasis clause. The function of this question word is similar to the free-choice quantifier word *any*.

993.doco-č doco žu ø-uλ'-un ø-eč-łon l-i-yin
 many-INST many that.ABS I-fear-PFV.CVB I-be-CONC IV-do-PST.UW
 lože ise.
 word(IV) that.OBL.ERG
 'However afraid he was, he spoke up.' [Xitilbeg.023]

994.doco hod-łon y-ešut'-še y-eč-un-ay boc'-i
 many beg-CONC II-let-IPFV.CVB II-be-PST.UW-NEG wolf.OBL-ERG
 žu eⁿdu-γul.
 that.ABS inside-VERS
 'However much she begged him, the wolf didn't let her go home.' [Jealous.023]

995.amma hibo l-eq-łon bexan tuwōλbo λin moł-un.
 but what IV-happen-CONC necklace give.PROH QUOT teach-PST.UW
 "“But whatever happens, do not sell the necklace,” (he) taught.' [3Feats.060]

Alternative concessive conditionals include a disjunction with a contradictive assertion in the protasis, i.e. the protasis clause consists of affirmative and negative Conditional converbs.

996.mašina b-oq-łon, mašina b-oq-bi-łon, íło
 car(III) III-catch-CONC car(III) III-catch-NEG-CONC 1PL.ABS
 ono-γul m-ok'-a goli.
 there-VERS HPL-go-INF be.PRS
 'Whether we find a car or not, we will go to there.'

4.10.4. Reference and control properties in converbal clauses

Specialized converbs (997), except for the Purposive converb, tend to have different subjects from the main clause.

997. idu q'urʕan c'alid-a y-eq^v-aλa, eⁿxu
 this Koran read-INF II-begin-ANTR river(III)
 zank'id-in b-eč-un.
 stand.still-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.UW
 'When she started to read the Koran, the river stood still.' [Zagalawdibir]

Purpose clauses and causal clauses can have conjoint coreference (998, 1000) or can be disjoint in reference (999, 1001) with regard to subjects.

998. žu y-ot'q'-i uškul-λ'o-l [Ø_{erg} uže ø-ez-a].
 that.ABS II-come-PST.W school-SUP-LAT boy(I) I-take-INF
 'She came to school in order to take a boy.'

999. išet'-i čorpa l-i-yi kand-i l-ac'-a.
 mother.OBL-ERG soup(IV) IV-do-PST.W girl.OBL-ERG IV-eat-INF
 'The mother made soup for the girl to eat.'

1000. obu-t'-i orodu l-ez-i [Ø_{erg} xuλ-aλeru].
 father.OBL-ERG beer(IV) IV-buy-PST.W drink-CAUSAL
 'Father bought beer to drink.'

1001. ise ʕezeʕan himon l-i-yi h^ʕam^ʕay^ʕe
 that.OBL.ERG many thing(IV) IV-do-PST.W friend(I)
 isuʕo ø-eč-aλeru.
 that.APUD I-be-CAUSAL
 'He did many things for his friend to stay.'

Contextual converbs including the Perfective, Imperfective, Reduplicated perfective, and General tense converbs tend to have the same subject as the main clause. This fact is evidenced by the use of these converbs in chaining constructions. Chaining constructions present a series of consecutive events usually in a common

context and with a shared protagonist, thus the subject in the converb clause is omitted (1002). However, the Perfective converb can have a different subject (1003).

1002. q^suq^sle-s exen-un l-ez-un, at'-in
 nut-GEN1 sack(IV)-AND IV-take-PFV.CVB wheat(IV)-AND
 l-ez-un, maqa-n b-ez-un, m-eλ'-un
 IV-take-PFV.CVB barley(III)-AND III-take-PFV.CVB HPL-go-PST.UW
 izzu γoboyoli.
 that.PL.(P)ABS mill.APUD.LAT
 '(They) took a sack with nuts, wheat and barley and went to the mill.'
 [Bulatan&Bariyan]

1003. idu-n ø-uh-un, oλ zebu-n y-eⁿλ'-un, m-eλ'-un
 this-AND I-die-PFV.CVB seven day(V)-AND V-go-PFV.CVB HPL-go-PST.UW
 ĥono-č uže gił-il.
 three-COLL boy under-LAT
 'When he had died, and when seven days had passed, the three boys went downstairs (to the cellar).' [Princes.006]

4.10.4.1. Linear order in converbal clauses

Converbal clauses most often precede the main clause (1004). The Purposive converb usually follows the main clause, but there are a few examples where the purpose clause precedes the main clause (1005). Converbal clauses can also follow the main clause (1006), or be center embedded, as in (1007) and (1008).

1004. [isuł žu γ^wade-n b-ez-un], ø-oⁿk'-un
 that.INTER that.ABS raven(III)-AND III-take-PFV.CVB I-go-PST.UW
 hada aλ-a-ł-γul.
 one.OBL village-OBL-INTER-VERS
 '(He) took that raven with him, and (he) went to one village.' [Malla rasan]

1005. [aλ c'in-a] m-ok'-un b-eč-i ʔoloqan-ba.
 village secure-INF HPL-go-PFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.W youth-PL.ABS
 'The young people went to secure their village.' [Old man]
1006. homondu kera-nu-bo l-iyōy l-eč-i,
 such play-MASD-PL.ABS NHPL-do.GNT NHPL-be-PST.W
 [čačan-za⁶⁸ b-ot'q'-aλa].
 Chechen-PL.OBL.ERG HPL-come-ANTR
 '(They) played such games, when the Chechens came.' [Old man]
1007. ʔolλ'o-so-n λ'aλ'aqu žik'we, [isul l-ogu
 morning.SUP-DEF-AND robber man.OBL.ERG that.LAT IV-good
 λarmafi-n l-i-yin], [liλ-in gul-un huⁿne-ho],
 hospitality(IV)-AND IV-do-PFV.CVB meat-AND put-PFV.CVB road-AD
 isx-in λar-qa, mo na-l ø-oⁿk'-dogu-k λin.
 ask-PST.UW guest-CONT 2SG.ABS where-LAT I-go-GNT.PTCP-QUES QUOT
 'In the morning the robber, having treated his guest well and giving (him) meat
 for the road, asked the guest where he was going.' [The man who went to God]
1008. [ø-ah-an ø-ah-un] Muḥamad-i [λus-un
 I-stand-RED I-stand-PFV.CVB Magomed-ERG sleep-PFV.CVB
 gołzaha] idu Mesedo-n y-ux^ʔad-un.
 be.PRS.LOC.CVB this Mesedo(II)-AND II-kill-PST.UW
 'Having got up, Magomed killed Mesedo at the place where she was sleeping.'
 [Mesedo.072]

⁶⁸ Note that some ethnic group names, e.g. *Chechens*, are used in the oblique/Ergative form even when referring to the subjects of intransitive verbs, although an Absolutive noun can also be the subject of an intransitive verb.

4.10.4.2. Coreference in participial adverbial constructions

Participial adverbial constructions can have disjoint (1009) or conjoint reference (1010, 1011) with regard to subjects. When a converbal clause has conjoint reference, the subject of the dependent clause is never expressed explicitly, i.e. coreferential omission is obligatory.

1009. šwann-u ise idu t̄ir, b-uh-un q^ʕuno
 strike-PST.PTCP that.OBL.ERG this sable III-die-PST.UW twenty
 oⁿc'o t'ut'.
 ten fly(III)

‘When he struck with the sable, thirty flies died.’ [Xitilbeg.016] (lit. ‘He striking with this sable, thirty flies died.’)

1010. γono-ł-γul Ø_{ABS} ø-oⁿk'k'-u ise
 forest.OBL-INTER-VERS I-go-PST.PTCP that.OBL.ERG
 y-eγ-un ħala-č kand-il g^ʕandu.
 V-take-PST.UW three.OBL-COLL girl.OBL-LAT pit(V)

‘Having come to the forest, he dug out the pit for three of girls.’ [Orphans.011] (lit. ‘(He) going to the forest, he dug out the pit for three of girls.’)

1011. hada zamana-λ'a Ø_{ABS} guc'c'-u λ'olo-γul l-ak-un
 one time-SUP look-PST.PTCP over-VERS IV-see-PST.UW
 isul eⁿš-mo-s γon.
 that.LAT apple-OBL-GEN1 tree(IV)

‘Looking over once he saw an apple tree.’ [Mesedo.021]

4.10.4.3. Coreference in converbal constructions

In Khwarshi, the subject of a converbal clause can be either coreferential or non-coreferential with the subject of the finite clause, i.e. Khwarshi shows no syntactic constraints on the coreference or disjoint reference of converbal subjects. Disjoint reference is possible with all converbs, and it is expressed with full NPs, as in (1012, 1013).

1012. general Vlasov \emptyset -eⁿλ'λ'-uq'arλ'a liλ'e-li, q'^{sw}ine
 general Vlasov(I) I-go-TEMP in.hand-LAT two
 Ğurusażes-in Ğabdužalil-in m-eλ'-un-ay.
 Russian-AND Abdulžalil-AND HPL-go-PST.UW-NEG
 'When general Vlasov gave up, two Russians and Abdulžalil did not.' [Old man]

1013. žohoq'^semul b-ot'q'-aλa, b-ak-un Malla.Rasan-il
 backwards HPL-come-ANTR III-see-PST.UW Malla.rasan-LAT
 iso γ^wade b-uwox-un.
 that.GEN1 raven(III) III-kill-PFV.CVB
 'When (they) returned, Malla rasan saw that his raven had been killed.' [Malla rasan]

Zero anaphora can occur in converbal clauses, as in (1014), with the controlling NP in the subsequent finite clause.

1014. \emptyset_i durid-aλa y-ek'l-un ĥono-č_i g^sanda-ma-l giĥ-γul.
 run-ANTR II-fall-PST.UW three-COLL pit.OBL-IN-LAT under-VERS
 'When (they)_i ran, all three_i fell into the pit.' [Orphans.019]

Zero anaphora is possible in a finite clause with the controlling NP in the preceding converbal clause (1015, 1016).

1015. [\emptyset -oq-q-un ise_i žu žik'o-n],
 I-catch-CAUS-PFV.CVB that.OBL.ERG that.ABS man-AND
 \emptyset_i iλ-in isuqoli <...>
 say-PST.UW that.CONT.LAT
 'He_i caught that man, and (he)_i said to him.' [Malla rasan]

1016. [nišo_{ho} boc'-bo-n_i l-ot'q'-un], Ø_i
 evening.AD wolf.OBL-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-come-PF.CVB
 b-uwox-un iso om^soq^se.
 III-kill-PST.UW that.GEN1 donkey(III)
 'When the wolves_i came in the evening, (they)_i killed his donkey.' [Malla rasan]

According to Reinhart (1976: 8) anaphora (here, zero anaphora) is not possible when it both precedes and commands its antecedent. In Khwarshi this phenomenon is conditioned by the converb itself. Zero anaphora is ruled out with the Conditional converb when it precedes and commands its antecedent, as in (1017); whereas, zero anaphora is possible in a sentence with an Anterior converb, as in (1018). Note that these examples (1017, 1018) are elicited examples, as no good examples were found in the text corpus.

The nature of zero anaphora is still unclear, and further research is required.

1017. * Ø_i mašina b-ez-a goli, isul_i os b-oq-fo.
 car(III) III-buy-INF be.PRS that.LAT money(III) III-get-COND
 'He_i will buy a car, when he_i gets money.'

1018. y-ek'l-un Ø_i g^sanda-ma-zi giř-γul ĥono-č_i durid-aλa.
 II-fall-PST.UW pit.OBL-IN-ABL under-VERS three-COLL run-ANTR
 '(They)_i fell into the pit, when all three_i ran.'

The conjoint coreference of the arguments of the dependent and main clauses can be expressed by full repetition, as in (1019, 1020), but such examples are only marginally acceptable, and found only in elicited data.

1019. **obut'il_i** biλ'q'^su b-ak^w-aλa, **obu-t'-i_i** žu b-ux^sad-i.
 father.LAT sheep(III) III-see-ANTR father-OBL-ERG that.ABS III-cut-PST.W
 'When father_i saw sheep, father_i slaughtered it.'

Coreferential arguments can be expressed with pronouns, as in (1020).

1020. hada b-uq'^ʕu huⁿnλ'ol **do** ø-ot'q'-aλa,
 one.OBL III-big mountain.SUP.LAT 1SG.ABS I-come-ANTR
diɸ l-ak^w-i hos žik'o ɸoλ-še
 1SG.LAT IV-see-PST.W one man plough-IPFV.CVB
 diyo oⁿču-n λiγ-in.
 1SG.GEN1 hen-AND harness-PFV.CVB
 'When I came to one mountain, I saw that one man was ploughing, having
 harnessed my hen.' [Who can better lie?]

Coreference marked by pronouns can be found between different arguments, such as S, A, or experiencer. For instance, the overt patient argument in the first converbal clause controls the pronoun, which is an S argument in the subsequent main clause, as in (1021). However, coreference does not occur between subject-like arguments, such as S, A or experiencer, as in the ungrammatical (1022), where the overt S argument does not control the pronoun, which is an S argument.

1021. [išet'-i_i **kad**_j goλ'λ'-uč] **žu**_{j/*i} y-ot'q'-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG daughter(II) call-IMM.ANTR that.ABS II-come-PST.W
 'As soon as the mother_i called the daughter_j, she_{j/*i} came.'
1022. *[**Nazir**_i ø-ot'q'-aλa] **žu**_i q^waq^waλ-še ø-eč-i.
 Nazir(I) I-come-ANTR that.ABS laugh-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'When Nazir_i came, he_i was laughing.'

A pronoun in the first converbal clause followed by the controlling NP in the subsequent clause seems to be ungrammatical, as in the elicited examples (1023, 1024).

1023. *[išet'-i žu_i goλ'λ'-uč] kad_i y-ot'q'-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG that.ABS call-IMM.ANTR daughter(II) II-come-PST.W
 'As soon as the mother called her_i, the daughter_i came.'

1024. * $[\text{žu}_i \quad \emptyset\text{-ot}'q'\text{-a}\lambda\text{a}]$ Nazir_i q^waq^waλ-še $\emptyset\text{-eč-i}$.
 that.ABS I-come-ANTR Nazir(I) laugh-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'He came when Nazir was laughing.'

Finally, if the matrix clause with the pronoun precedes the non-finite clause with the full NP, as in (1025), it is judged ungrammatical, and can only indicate disjoint reference.

1025. * žu_i q^waq^waλ-še $\emptyset\text{-eč-i}$, $[\text{Nazir}_i \quad \emptyset\text{-ot}'q'\text{-a}\lambda\text{a}]$.
 that.ABS laugh-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W Nazir(I) I-come-ANTR
 'He_i was laughing when Nazir_i came.'

To sum up, it is possible to conclude that the coreference of converbial arguments is predominantly expressed with zero anaphora rather than with overt nouns or pronouns.

4.10.5. Scope: tense, evidentiality, and illocutionary force

Converbial clauses do not have time reference of their own, rather it is conditioned by the time reference of the finite verb in the matrix clause. The finite verb in example (1026) has past time reference, and therefore the non-finite verb is also interpreted with past time reference. Likewise, if the finite verb has future time reference, the non-finite verb also indicates future time (1027).

1026. hed eⁿI bucu m-eλ'-aλa, $\emptyset\text{-uq}'\text{-un}$, sabab
 then six month(III) III-go-ANTR I-get.healthy-PST.UW mascot
 himon q^wa-yin, ħallamalaqe.
 thing write-PFV.CVB slowly
 'Then when six months had passed, when the mascot was written, he got healthy.' [Bulatan&Bariyan]

1027. eⁿdu-l y-ot'q'-aλa, de xink'e-bo l-i-ya
 inside-LAT II-come-ANTR 1SG.ERG khinkal-PL.ABS NHPL-do-INF
 goli λin iλ-in Madinat-i.
 be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW Madinat-ERG
 ‘‘When I come home, I will make khinkal,’’ said Madinat.’

There is a strict sequence of tenses in the conditional sentences. When the protasis verb is formed with the bare verbal stem of the lexical verb, the apodosis verb can only be in the Future tense or General tense.

1028. me lu-qo-n is-bič ø-eč-ło do
 2SG.ERG who.OBL-CONT-AND say-NEG.CVB I-be-COND 1SG.ABS
 y-ez-i λin, mo bečeda-w ø-eq^w-a goli.
 II-take-PST.W QUOT 2SG.ABS rich-I I-happen-INF be.PRS
 ‘If you don't tell anyone that you married me, you will become rich.’
 [Woman.018]

1029. ise žik'ó iλ-in Malla.rasan-qa-l
 that.OBL man.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW Malla.rasan-CONT-LAT
 ono keča-λ'a-li-n ø-ah-un ala l-ič-ło,
 there end.OBL-SUP-LAT-AND I-stand-PFV.CVB branch(IV) IV-cut-COND
 ø-ek'ōl mo iŕe-λ'o-zi.
 I-fall.GNT 2SG.ABS that.OBL-SUP-ABL
 ‘That man said to Malla-rasan, ‘‘If you cut a branch while standing at the top of it, you can fall from it.’’ [Malla rasan]

In the hypothetical conditional, formed with the auxiliary *-us-* ‘find’, the apodosis-clause can be in the Present, Future or Past tense, and the protasis clause can have an (Im)perfective converb plus the auxiliary verb *-us-* ‘find’ marked with the conditional suffix *-ło* (see examples 984 and 985 above).

In counterfactual conditionals, only Past tense forms can be used in the apodosis-clause (1030).

1030. do xan ø-ečču-ło diyō ħono γine
 1SG.ABS khan(I) I-be.PST.PTCP-COND 1SG.GEN1 three wife(II)
 y-eč-a y-eč-i.
 II-be-INF II-be-PST.W
 ‘If I had been a king, I would have had three wives.’

The evidential category is fused with tense, thus every past tense is marked as witnessed or unwitnessed, i.e. when the finite verb is marked with the witnessed suffix, the converbial clause is also considered as witnessed (see example 1006 above), and when the finite verb is marked with the unwitnessed suffix, the converbial clause is also interpreted as an unwitnessed event (see example 1007 above) (cf. 3.7.3).

The illocutionary scope of interrogative questions is usually the whole sentence; however, the focus of the question can be either the whole or only a part of the matrix clause, as in (1031) and (1032), or converbial clause (1033).

1031. de bušne-bo l-i-ło, lu
 1SG.ERG cheese.bread-PL.ABS NHPL-do-COND who.ERG
 l-ac'-a goli?
 IV-eat-INF be.PRS
 ‘If I cook cheese bread, who is going to eat it?’

1032. hibl'a me uc'nu šil'u-n šil'-in, ħalt'i b-i-yi?
 why 2SG.ERG new cloth-AND put.on-PFV.CVB work(III) III-do-PST.W
 ‘Why did you put on new cloth and do that work?’

1033.	hibo	uža-za	l-i-ło,	b-oq-a	goli
	what	boy.OBL-PL.OBL.ERG	IV-do-COND	III-catch-INF	be.PRS
	izzul		os?		
	that.PL.(P)LAT		money(III)		
	‘The boys will get the money, if they do what?’				

4.11. Reflexivization⁶⁹

Reflexive pronouns can be based on demonstrative or personal pronouns. There are two kinds of reflexive pronouns, *complex reflexive pronouns* and *reflexive-emphatic pronouns* (see chapter on Morphology of reflexive pronouns 3.5.5.).

This chapter consists of several sections. In section 4.11.1. different positions of reflexivization are illustrated. This section focuses on complex reflexive pronouns, as the same reflexivization positions are available for reflexive-emphatic pronouns. In section 4.11.2. various antecedents of reflexive pronouns are considered. The syntactic behavior of reflexive-emphatic pronouns is examined in section 4.11.3.

4.11.1. Status of reflexives

Reflexive pronouns can take any position in a clause. In a transitive clause the reflexive pronoun can occur as a direct object (patient) marked with the Absolutive case (1034), where the Ergative agent controls reflexivity.

Direct object

1034.	Ražab-i _i	žu.žu-č _{i/#j}	ø-uwox-i.
	Ražhab-ERG	REFL.ABS-EMPH	I-kill-PST.W
	‘Ražhab killed himself.’		

In causative constructions, the reflexive pronoun can be the direct object marked with the Absolutive case (1035). The reflexive pronoun can also take the position of

⁶⁹ Note that most of the examples with reflexive pronouns have been elicited due to the lack of natural examples in the text corpus.

the causee, which is always marked with the Contessive case in causative constructions (1036).

1035. kand-i_i žu.žu-č_{i/*j} mat'u-ma isu-qa
 girl.OBL-ERG REFL.ABS-EMPH mirror-INTER that.OBL-CONT
 y-ak-x^w-i.
 II-see-CAUS-PST.W
 'The girl showed herself in the mirror to him.'

Indirect object (causee)

1036. kand-i_i surat ile.ileqa_{i/*j} b-ak-x^w-i.
 girl.OBL-ERG picture(III) REFL.CONT III-see-CAUS-PST.W
 'The girl showed a picture to herself.'

Possessor of the direct object

A reflexive pronoun can be used as the possessor of the direct object (1037).

1037. užá_i ise.iso_{i/*j} heⁿše c'ališ-še b-eč-i.
 boy.OBL-ERG REFL.GEN1 book(III) read-IPFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 'The boy was reading his own book.'

There are, however, constructions where the direct object can be omitted (also cf. 4.6.4.1).

1038. obu-t'-i_i ise.iso_{i/*j} (bisandu) x^waλ-i.
 father-OBL-ERG REFL.GEN1 beard shave-PST.W
 'The father_i shaved himself_{i/*j}.'

A reflexive pronoun can be the possessor of an oblique object, such as an instrument (1039).

1039. Murad-_i ise.isulo_{i/*j} burucoz γudul ʃoλ-i.
 Murad-ERG REFL.GEN2 plough.INSTR field plough-PST.W
 ‘Murad_i ploughed (his) field with his_{i/*j} own plough.’

Constructions with contact verbs such as ‘to hit’, ‘to shoot’ are usually found with an omitted indirect object which is a recoverable body part in some of the locative form, e.g. *laga-λ’a* ‘body-SUP’, as in (1040).

1040. užá_i ise.isulo_{i/*j} (laga-λ’a) l-ek^w-i.
 boy.OBL.ERG REFL.GEN2 body-SUP IV-hit-PST.W
 ‘The boy_i hit himself_{i/*j}.’

Reflexive pronouns can be used in any non-argument position, e.g. they can be used as a benefactive marked with the Lative (1041).

1041. ise.isul_{i/*j} huⁿne-ho-li lac’a.c’o-n ʃadurʔok’-un, kakba-n
 REFL.LAT road-AD-LAT food-AND prepare-PFV.CVB prayer(III)-AND
 b-i-yin, ø-eⁿλ’-i-λ.o žu_i huⁿne-ho.
 III-do-PFV.CVB I-go-PST.W-NARR that.ABS road-AD
 ‘(He)_i prepared food for himself_{i/*j}, did the prayer, and went his way.’ [The man who went to God]

A reflexive pronoun can also appear in one of the locative forms as an oblique object:

1042. užal_i ise.isuγo_{i/*j} oge bekol b-ak^w-i.
 boy.LAT REFL.APUD near snake(III) III-see-PST.W
 ‘The boy_i saw a snake beside himself_{i/*j}.’

1043. qodo_i iʔe.iʔe-λ’o_{i/*j} q^waq^waλ-ʃe goli.
 witch.ABS REFL.SUP laugh-PRS be.PRS
 ‘The witch_i is laughing at herself_{i/*j}.’

4.11.2. Status of antecedents

The antecedent of a reflexive can be an agent marked with the Ergative case, as in (1044).

1044. obu-t' -i_i žu.žu-č_{i/*j} x^waλ-i.
 father-OBL-ERG REFL.ABS-EMPH shave-PST.W
 'The father_i shaved himself_{i/*j}.'

On the other hand, the antecedent of the reflexive can be expressed with an Absolutive agent and an Ergative reflexive pronoun (1045a). The word order is variable and does not influence coreference, as in (1045b).

1045.
 a. Ražab_i ise.ise-č_{i/*j} ø-uwox-i.
 Razhab(I) REFL.ERG-EMPH I-kill-PST.W
 'Razhab_i killed himself_{i/*j}.'
- b. ise.ise-č_{i/*j} Ražab_i ø-uwox-i.
 REFL.ERG-EMPH Razhab(I) I-kill-PST.W
 'Razhab_i killed himself_{i/*j}.'

Reflexivization can also occur in biabsolutive constructions, where the agent and patient both appear in the Absolutive case (1046a), with different word order possibilities, as in (1046b). It is unclear which argument is the subject and which argument is the patient.

1046.
 a. Aħmed_i žu.žu-č_{i/*j} ø-ecic-ce ø-eč-i.
 Axmed(I).ABS REFL.ABS-EMPH I-praise-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'Axmed_i was praising himself_{i/*j}.'

- b. žu.žu-č_{i/*j} Aħmed_i ø-ecic-ce ø-eč-i.
 REFL.ABS-EMPH Axmed(I).ABS I-praise-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 ‘Axmed_i was praising himself_{i/*j}.’

In Lative-experiencer constructions, the experiencer appears in the Lative and the stimulus in the Absolutive case. It is the Lative-experiencer that controls the reflexivized Absolutive stimulus (1047).

1047. Musa-I_i žu.žu-č_{i/*j} ø-iyōq’.
 Musa-LAT REFL.ABS-EMPH I-know.GNT
 ‘Musa_i knows himself_j.’

There is another possible construction where the Absolutive antecedent controls the Lative reflexive. The usual word order in affective clause has the Lative experiencer in initial position. In an affective construction with the Lative reflexive pronoun the preferred word order has the Absolutive antecedent preceding the reflexive pronoun (1048a), but it is also possible for the Lative reflexive pronoun to precede the antecedent (1048b).

- 1048.
- a. Musa_i ise.isul_{i/*j} ø-iyōq’.
 Musa(I).ABS REFL.LAT I-know.GNT
 ‘Musa_i knows himself_{i/*j}.’
- b. ise.isul_{i/*j} Musa_i ø-iyōq’.
 REFL.LAT Musa(I).ABS I-know.GNT
 ‘Musa_i knows himself_{i/*j}.’

Potential/accidental constructions consist of (in)transitive verbs with a potential marker *-l-*, an agent-like noun phrase in the Contessive, and a patient in the Absolutive. The potential construction has an involuntary agent or an agent that is said to have the

ability to do something. The antecedent of the reflexive is marked with the Contessive, and the reflexive pronoun is in the Absolutive case (1049).

1049. $kandiq_1$ $žu.žuč_{i/*j}$ $y-ecic-l-i.$
 girl.CONT REFL.ABS II-praise-POT-PST.W
 ‘The girl_i praised herself_{i/*j} accidentally.’ / ‘The girl could praise herself.’

There is also a reverse case marking of the antecedent and the reflexive pronoun, as in the lative-experiencer construction. The antecedent can be in the Absolutive case and the reflexive pronoun in the Contessive (1050a), the word order is also variable, as in (1050b).

1050.
 a. $iĕ.iĕqo_{i/*j}$ kad_i $y-ecic-l-i.$
 REFL.CONT girl(II) II-praise-POT-PST.W
 ‘The girl praised herself accidentally.’ / ‘The girl could praise herself.’
 b. kad_i $iĕ.iĕqo_{i/*j}$ $y-ecic-l-i.$
 girl(II) REFL.CONT II-praise-POT-PST.W
 ‘The girl praised herself accidentally.’ / ‘The girl could praise herself.’

There is antecedent ambiguity with regard to complex reflexives in causative constructions. The antecedent of the reflexive possessor can be the Ergative agent or the Contessive causee, as in (1051, 1052).

1051. $žik'we_i$ $abaxar-qa_j$ $ise.isul_{i/j}$ $soyro$ $b-ez-x-i.$
 man.OBL.ERG neighbor-CONT REFL.LAT horse(III) III-buy-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘The man_i made the neighbor_j buy himself_{i/j} a horse.’

1052. $išet'-i_i$ $kandiq_j$ $iĕ.iĕs_{j/*1}$ $k'azi$ $gul-x-i.$
 mother.OBL-ERG daughter.CONT REFL.GEN1 kerchief put-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘The mother_i made the daughter_j put on her_{i/j} kerchief.’

The ‘antecedent conflict’ can be partially resolved when word order is examined, i.e. when the reflexive pronoun is put in linear proximity to the supposed antecedent.

In (1053a) the reflexive pronoun is positioned close to the causee, thus the preferred antecedent is ‘the daughter’, but the NP ‘the mother’ could also function as the antecedent; the reflexive pronoun preferably refers to the daughter, and then to the mother. In (1053b) the reflexive pronoun is put just after the causer, thus the preferred antecedent is ‘the mother’, but the NP ‘the daughter’ could also function as the antecedent of the reflexive possessor, which means that the reflexive pronoun is interpreted as first referring to the mother and then to the daughter.

1053.

- a. išet'-i_i kandıqo_j ile.iles_{y/i} k'azi gul-x-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG daughter.CONT REFL.GEN1 kerchief put-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘The mother_i made the daughter_j put on her_{i/j} kerchief.’
- b. išet'-i_i ile.iles_{y/j} k'azi kandıqo_j gul-x-i.
 mother.OBL-ERG REFL.GEN1 kerchief daughter.CONT put-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘The mother_i made the daughter_j put on her_{i/j} kerchief.’

So, the antecedent of the compound reflexive must be: (i) an agentive argument either an Ergative subject in a transitive clause, or an agentive argument in a causative constructions, i.e. Ergative causer and Contessive causee; (ii) an experiencer argument, i.e. the Lative experiencer in an affective construction; (iii) an Absolutive argument in an intransitive, transitive, affective, potential, or biabsolutive constructions.

Complex reflexive pronouns are strictly local i.e. complex reflexive pronouns always show coreference within the clause, as in (1054).

1054. obut'ı_i os b-oq-aλa użá_j ise.isul_{j/*i}
 father.LAT money(III) III-take-ANTR son.OBL.ERG REFL.LAT
 mašina b-ez-i.
 car(III) III-buy-PST.W
 'When the father_i got the money, the son_j bought himself_{j/*i} a car.'

Complex reflexive pronouns, formed with the plural proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns, also show coreference in the local domain.

1055. haq'u_i akal-aλa, q'ala_j ize.izul_{j/*i} bušne-bo
 family get.tired-ANTR children REFL(P).LAT cheese.bread-PL.ABS
 l-i-yi.
 NHPL-do-PST.W

1056. haq'u_i akal-aλa, q'ala_j žide.židul_{j/*i} bušne-bo
 family get.tired-ANTR children REFL(D).LAT cheese.bread-PL.ABS
 l-i-yi.
 NHPL-do-PST.W

'When the parents got tired, the children cooked cheese bread for themselves.'

In a logophoric context⁷⁰ complex reflexive pronouns, formed with the plural proximal and distal demonstratives, show coreference within the embedded clause.

1057. hadam-i_i b-ešt'-i žik'oza_j ize izzul_{j/*i} /
 people-ERG III-let-PST.W man.PL.OBL.ERG REFL.LAT(P).
 žide.židul_{j/*i} os hic-i λin.
 REFL.LAT(D). money leave-PST.W QUOT
 'People say that the men left the money for themselves.'

⁷⁰ Logophoric and non-logophoric contexts are discussed in more detail when analyzing reflexive-emphatic pronouns, as discussion of logophoricity is more valid with reflexive-emphatic pronouns (cf. 4.11.3.2.4).

So plural proximal and distal demonstrative complex reflexive pronouns, like singular complex reflexive pronouns, show coreference only in the local domain.

4.11.3. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns can show coreference with two participants in a simple sentence, and in a complex sentence the coreference of reflexive-emphatic pronouns depends on the semantic nature of the main predicate.

4.11.3.1. Distribution in local domains

In the local domain reflexive-emphatic pronouns can have their antecedents in the same clause or outside the clause.⁷¹ In transitive constructions the reflexive-emphatic pronoun can take the position of the direct object in the Absolutive case (1058a), following its Ergative antecedent, where the reflexive-emphatic pronoun can be coreferential either with the Ergative subject or with a participant outside the sentence boundary. The reflexive-emphatic pronoun can also precede its Ergative antecedent, with the same set of coreferential participants, as in (1058b).

1058.

- | | | | |
|----|---|---------------------|--------------|
| a. | Ražab- _i | žu-č _{ij} | ø-uwox-i. |
| | Ražhab-ERG | that.ABS-EMPH | I-kill-PST.W |
| | ‘Ražhab _i killed him _j /himself _i .’ | | |
| | | | |
| b. | žu-č _{ij} | Ražab- _i | ø-uwox-i. |
| | that.ABS-EMPH | Ražhab-ERG | I-kill-PST.W |
| | ‘Ražhab _i killed him _j /himself _i .’ | | |

⁷¹ Since this reflexive pronoun is also an emphatic pronoun, it behaves as an ordinary pronoun referring to the third party, i.e. it shows coreference with the participant outside the sentence boundary. Wherever indices are given with reflexive-emphatic pronouns in complex sentences, it should be interpreted as referring to the third participant.

Unlike complex reflexives, it is not possible to have the reverse construction with the same set of referents, with the reflexive-emphatic pronoun in the Ergative case and the NP in the Absolutive.

The antecedent of the reflexive-emphatic pronoun can be expressed with the Ergative, Lative, or Contessive case.

4.11.3.2. Distribution in complex sentences (in polypredicative constructions)

In the following complex constructions, the reflexive-emphatic pronoun shows coreference within the clause and across clauses, i.e. it can function as a long-distance reflexive, unlike the complex reflexive which is always locally bound.

4.11.3.2.1 Adverbial clauses

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns in adverbial clauses can be coreferential with arguments inside or outside the clause, as in (1059).

1059. kand-_i liλ l-ez-ło, išet'-_{i_j} iłeli-č'_{i_j}
 girl.OBL-ERG meat(IV) IV-buy-COND mother.OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH
 xink'e-bo l-i-ya goli.
 khinkal-PL.ABS IV-do-INF be.PRS
 'When the girl_i buys meat, the mother_j will make khinkal for her_i/herself_j.'

4.11.3.2.1.1 Adverbial clauses with distal and proximate reflexive-emphatic pronouns

As illustrated in the section above, singular reflexive-emphatic pronouns used in complement or adverbial clauses can have ambiguous coreference, which means that singular reflexive-emphatic pronouns can be coreferential with participants inside the clause or outside the clause.

It is interesting to note that the behavior of plural reflexive-emphatic pronouns is slightly different from that of singular demonstrative pronouns: plural demonstrative pronouns distinguish between proximal and distal forms. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns based on the proximal plural demonstrative show coreference with a participant inside the clause, as in (1060), while reflexive-emphatic pronouns based on the distal plural demonstratives are coreferential only with a participant outside the clause, as in (1061).

1060. haq'u_i ono-γul b-uλ-aλa, q'alal_j izzuγo-č_{j/*i}
 family there-VERS HPL-turn-ANTR children that.PL(P).APUD-EMPH
 bekol b-ak^w-i.
 snake(III) III-see-PST.W
 'When the parents_i turned away, the children_j saw a snake beside themselves_{j/*i}.'
1061. haq'u_i ono-γul b-uλ-aλa, q'alal_j židuγo-č_{j/*i}
 family there-VERS HPL-turn-ANTR children that.PL(D).APUD-EMPH
 bekol b-ak^w-i.
 snake(III) III-see-PST.W
 'When the parents_i turned away, the children_j saw a snake beside them_{i/*j}.'

Thus, reflexive-emphatic pronouns based on proximal demonstratives do not indicate coreference across clauses, unlike reflexive-emphatic pronouns based on distal demonstratives or singular forms of demonstrative pronouns which show long-distance reflexivization.

4.11.3.2.2 Complement clauses

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns in a complement clause show coreferentiality with subjects inside or outside the clause, as in (1062, 1063).

1062. užal_i q'^weč-če is-t_j isuli-č_{j/i}
 boy.LAT want-PRS sibling-OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH
 mači-bo l-ez-a.
 shoe-PL.ABS IV-buy-INF
 'The boy_i wants (his) brother_j to buy him_j/himself_j shoes.'
1063. Murad_i ø-uλ'-še obu_j isuqoli-č_{j/i}
 Murad(I) I-be.afraid-PRS father(I) that.CONT.LAT-EMPH
 ø-ixxidōy λ.in.
 I-scold.GNT QUOT
 'Murad_i is afraid that the father_j will scold him_j/himself_j.'

4.11.3.2.3 Relative clauses and reflexivization

Khwarshi uses a gap strategy when forming relative clauses with participles. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns can take the position of the relativized argument and function as a resumptive pronoun. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns in relative clauses, like in other complex constructions, show coreference both within the clause and outside the clause.

1064. obu-t'-i_i isuli-č_{ij} os m-eq'q'-u uže_j
 father-OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH money(III) III-bring-PST.PTCP boy
 ruhunł-ok'-i.
 train-CAUS1-PST.W
 'The father_i taught the boy_j who brought the money to him_i/himself_j.'

4.11.3.2.4 Reflexivization in logophoric contexts

In Khwarshi, the coreference of reflexive-emphatic pronouns depends on the predicate, whether the matrix verb is logophoric (e.g. whether it is a speech verb) or non-logophoric. For African languages Culy (1994) defines logophoric predicates as the verbs of speech, thought, and knowledge – thus logophoric contexts often deal with reported speech – non-logophoric predicates are all other verbs.

In non-logophoric contexts, Khwarshi allows reflexive-emphatic pronouns to have the antecedent within the clause or outside the clause, as in (1065).

1065. Murad_i ø-uλ'-še obu_j isuqoli-č_{j/i} ø-ixxidōy λin.
 Murad(I) I-be.afraid-PRS father(I) that.CONT.LAT-EMPH I-scold.GNT QUOT
 'Murad_i is afraid that the father_j will scold him_i/himself_j.'

In logophoric contexts, the reflexive-emphatic pronoun shows coreference only with an antecedent within the clause, i.e. the reflexive-emphatic pronoun can never be coreferential with the speaker whose speech is being reported:

1066. išet'-i_i iλ-i kand-i_j ifeli-č_{j/*i} lac'a
 mother.OBL-ERG say-PST.W girl.OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH food(IV)
 l-i-yi λin.
 IV-do-PST.W QUOT
 'The mother_i said that the girl_j prepared food for herself_{j/*i}.'

1067. Aħmad-i_i iλ-i obu-t'-i_j isuli-č_{j/*i} kumak
 Axmed-ERG say-PST.W father-OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH help(III)
 b-i-yin λin.
 III-do-PST.UW QUOT
 'Axmed_i said that the father_j helped himself.'

Example (1065), with a non-logophoric predicate, and examples (1066), (1067), with logophoric predicates, contrast in coreference. In non-logophoric context like (1065) the reflexive-emphatic pronoun is coreferential within the clause, and it can also show long-distance reflexivization with the subject of the main clause. In the logophoric examples, (1066) and (1067), the reflexive-emphatic pronoun is only coreferential with the embedded subject. Reflexive-emphatic pronouns never show long-distance reflexivization in logophoric contexts, i.e. they do not refer to the subject of the main clause.

Logophoric contexts with demonstrative plural reflexive-emphatic pronouns

Plural reflexive-emphatic pronouns, like singular reflexive-emphatic pronouns, show coreference with an antecedent within the clause, but do not show coreference with the speaker whose utterance is reported. Note that in the logophoric context these plural reflexive pronouns behave alike.

1068.

- a. hadam-_i b-ešt'-i žik'oza_j izzuluč_{j/*i}
 people-ERG III-let-PST.W man.PL.OBL.ERG that.PL.LAT(P).EMPH
 os hic-i λin.
 money(III) leave-PST.W QUOT
 'People_i say that the men_j left the money to themselves_{j/*i}.'
- b. hadam-_i b-ešt'-i žik'oza_j židuluč_{j/*i}
 people-ERG III-let-PST.W man.PL.OBL.ERG that.PL.LAT(D).EMPH
 os hic-i λin.
 money(III) leave-PST.W QUOT
 'People_i say that the men_j left the money to themselves_{j/*i}.'

Other logophoric predicates, such as *liq'a* 'to know', *tuqa* 'to hear', *lak^wa* 'to see', *goqa* 'to like', *šul'a* 'to forget', *buža* 'to believe', etc. behave alike.

1069. Pat'imat_i y-iyōq' ifeli-č_{j/*i} os
 Patimat.LAT II-know.GNT that.LAT-EMPH money(III)
 b-ešut't'-u γine_j
 III-let-PST.PTCP woman(II)
 'Patimat_i knows the woman_j who sent the money for herself_{j/*i}.'

1070. išet'ī_i tuq-i kand-i_j žu-č_{j/*i} mołał
 mother.LAT hear-PST.W girl.OBL-ERG that.ABS-EMPH dream.INTER
 goλ'-še.
 call-IPFV.CVB
 'The mother_i heard that the daughter_j was calling herself_{j/*i} during a dream.'

1071. Musal_i b-ak^w-i žik^we_j isulo-č_{j/*i}
 Musa.LAT III-see-PST.W man.OBL.ERG that.GEN2-EMPH
 tubi coλ-še.
 gun(III) shoot-PRS
 ‘Musa_i saw that the man_j was shooting at himself_{j/*i}.’
1072. Rašidil_i goq-i h^sam^saγ^sé_j isuli-č_{j/*i}
 Rashid.LAT like-PST.W friend.OBL.ERG that.LAT-EMPH
 gama b-i-nnu.
 boat(III) III-do-MASD
 ‘Rashid_i liked that (his) friend_j made himself_{j/*i} the boat.’
1073. Zuhra-l_i šuλ[’]-i is-t-i_j iteli-č_{j/*i}
 Zuhra-LAT forget-PST.W sibling-OBL-ERG that.LAT-EMPH
 q’alam-ba l-ezz-u.
 pencil-PL.ABS NHPL-buy-PST.PTCP
 ‘Zuhra_i forgot that (her) sister_j bought pencils for herself_{j/*i}.’
1074. Pat’imat_i buž-i h^sam^saγ^sé_j žu-č_{j/*i} atidok’k’-u.
 Patimat believe-PST.W friend.OBL.ERG that.ABS-EMPH betray-PST.PTCP
 ‘Patimat_i believed that (her) friend_j betrayed herself_{j/*i}.’

4.11.4. Personal reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are used to show the coreferentiality of third person arguments, but the coreferentiality of first and second person arguments is expressed with personal pronouns.

1075. de_i do_i y-uwox-a goli.
 1SG.ERG 1SG.ABS II-kill-INF be.PRS
 ‘I_i (female) will kill myself_i.’

1076.	me _i	dubul _i	he ⁿ še	b-ez-o.
	2SG.ERG	2SG.LAT	book(III)	III-buy-IMP
	‘You _i buy yourself _i a book!’			

Singular and plural personal pronouns can form complex reflexives (cf. 3.5.5). The following examples show personal reflexive pronouns in different kinds of reflexivization, e.g. the benefactive (1077, 1080), the possessor (1078, 1081), or the patient (1079, 1082).

1077.	de _i	di ^l .di ^l i(č) _i	he ⁿ še	b-ez-i.
	1SG.ERG	REFL.LAT(EMPH)	book(III)	III-buy-PST.W
	‘I bought a book for myself.’			

1078.	de _i	diyo.diy(oč) _i	bataxu	y-ac’-i.
	1SG.ERG	REFL.GEN1(EMPH)	bread(V)	V-eat-PST.W
	‘I ate my own bread.’			

1079.	i ^l e _i	i ^l o.i ^l o-č _i	b-uwox-a	goli.
	1PL.ERG	REFL.ABS-EMPH	HPL-kill-INF	be.PRS
	‘We _i will kill ourselves _i .’			

1080.	i ^l e _i	i ^l ul.i ^l uli-č ₁	he ⁿ še-bo	l-ez-i.
	1PL.ERG	REFL.LAT-EMPH	book-PL.ABS	NHPL-buy-PST.W
	‘We _i bought books for ourselves _i .’			

1081. $\text{i}^{\text{p}}\text{o}_i$ $\text{m-ok}'\text{-i}$ $\text{i}^{\text{p}}\text{fo.i}^{\text{p}}\text{fo}_i$ $\text{č}'\text{idol}'\text{oli}$, edub
 1PL.ABS HPL-go-PST.W REFL.GEN2 territory.SUP.LAT some
 Xasavyurt $\text{rayon-}\lambda'\text{o}$ $\text{Oktyabrski}\lambda'\text{o}\gamma\text{ul}$ $\text{m-ok}'\text{-i}$, edub
 Khasavyurt distict-SUP $\text{Oktyabrskoe.SUP.VERS}$ HPL-go-PST.W some
 $\text{ide-}\gamma\text{ul}$ $\text{ma}\text{řaruqe}\gamma\text{ul}$ C'umada $\text{rayon-}\lambda'\text{o-}\gamma\text{ul}$ $\text{m-ok}'\text{-i}$.
 here-VERS mountain.VERS Tsumada district-SUP-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 ‘We_i returned to our_i own territory, some returned to Khasavyurt district, to Oktyabrskoe, the others returned here to the mountains, to Tsumada district.’

1082. $\text{mi}\text{že}_i$ $\text{mi}\text{žo.mi}\text{žo}_i$ b-uwox-o .
 2PL.ERG REFL.ABS HPL-kill-IMP
 ‘You_i kill yourself_i!’

Reflexive-emphatic pronouns can be formed with personal pronouns by adding the emphatic particle *-č*.⁷²

1083. de_i $\text{do-}\check{\text{c}}_i$ ø-uwox-a goli .
 1SG.ERG 1SG.ABS-EMPH I-kill-INF be.PRS
 ‘I_i (male) will kill myself_i.’

1084. de_i $\text{di}^{\text{p}}\text{-i}\check{\text{c}}_i$ $\text{he}^{\text{n}}\text{še}$ b-ez-i .
 1SG.ERG 1SG.LAT-EMPH book(III) III-buy-PST.W
 ‘I_i bought a book for myself_i.’

Complex reflexive and reflexive-emphatic pronouns based on personal pronouns can also occur in complex clauses.

⁷² The positions for reflexivization are the same, cf. Positions of reflexivization of complex reflexives based on personal pronouns.

1085. ik'sewlo iλ-in <...> mo-n_i me.dublo_i huⁿne-ho
 small.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW 2SG.ABS-AND REFL.GEN2 road-AD
 ø-oⁿk'-o λin q^wa-yin l-eč-i ono.
 I-go-IMP QUOT write-PFV.CVB IV-be-PST.W there
 'The younger said <...>, "You_i go your_i own way'- this was written there."
 [Who can better lie?]

To sum up, in logophoric contexts reflexive-emphatic pronouns do not show coreference with the speaker of the reported speech, and in the other, non-logophoric contexts the reflexive-emphatic pronouns can be coreferential with any participants inside the clause or in a higher clause.

The coreferentiality of complex reflexives does not depend on the predicate, and it always shows local reflexivization, i.e. within the boundaries of one clause.

The behavior of plural distal and proximal reflexive-emphatic pronouns differs from that of singular reflexive-emphatic pronouns. In a non-logophoric context, proximal reflexive-emphatic pronouns are coreferential with a participant inside the clause or a participant outside the sentence boundary, whereas distal reflexive-emphatic pronouns show coreference with a participant outside the clause or outside the sentence, thus functioning as long-distance anaphora.

In a logophoric context, plural distal and proximal reflexive-emphatic pronouns behave like singular reflexive-emphatic pronouns, i.e. they are coreferential, not with the reported speaker, but with an antecedent within the clause or an antecedent outside the sentence.

4.12. Reciprocalization

Reciprocalization is performed with the reciprocal pronoun (cf. 3.5.6). There is one verb that is inherently reciprocal in meaning and therefore does not require the reciprocal pronoun, namely the reciprocal intransitive verb *dandila* 'to meet'. The meaning 'to meet each other' can be conveyed either with the construction 'to see each other' with an overt reciprocal pronoun (1086) or with the dedicated reciprocal intransitive verb 'to meet each other' (1087).

1086. Muḥamad-in Pat'imat-in hadiyad-il b-ak-un.
 Magomed-AND Patimat-AND each.other-LAT HPL-see-PST.UW
 'Magomed and Patimat met.' (lit. 'saw each other')

1087. Muḥamad-in Pat'imat-in dandiḷ-in.
 Magomed-AND Patimat-AND meet-PST.UW
 'Magomed and Patimat met.'

4.12.1. Binding and argument structure

Argument positions

Reciprocal arguments can occupy almost any available position, e.g. patient, goal, recipient, adjunct, and other oblique argument positions.

Patient:

1088. židu hadiyad-za q^wiq^win-in.
 that.PL.(D)ABS each.other-PL.OBL.ERG push.DUR-PST.UW
 'They were pushing each other.'

Benefactive / goal

The reciprocal pronoun can be used in the benefactive (1089) or recipient (1090) function.

Benefactive

1089. žide hadiyad-za-l lac'a l-i-yi.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-LAT food(IV) IV-do-PST.W
 'They cooked for each other.'

Recipient

1090. žide hadiyad-za-γa-l kayat tiλ-i.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-APUD-LAT letter give-PST.W
 'They gave each other letters.'

Oblique objects

1091.

- a. židu hadiyad-za-γul m-eλ'-i.
 that.PL.(D)ABS each.other-PL.OBL-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 ‘They went to each other.’
- b. židu hadiyad-za-la eⁿdu-γul m-eλ'-i.
 that.PL.(D)ABS each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2 inside-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 ‘They went to each other’s place.’
- c. židu hadiyad-za-la-γul m-eλ'-i.
 that.PL.(D)ABS each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2-VERS HPL-go-PST.W
 ‘They went to each other (‘s places).’

Adjuncts

1092. žide hadiyad-za-γa keč'i-bo l-ez-i.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-APUD song-PL.ABS NHPL-take-PST.W
 ‘They sang near each other.’
1093. žide hadiyad-za-λ'a-sa keč'i-bo l-ez-i.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-SUP-DEF song-PL.ABS NHPL-take-PST.W
 ‘They sang about each other.’
1094. Madiná Murad-in Muhanad-in hadiyad-γa
 Madina.OBL.ERG Murad-AND Magomed-AND each.other-APUD
 b-eccic-i.
 HPL-praise-PST.W
 ‘Madina praised Murad and Magomed near each other.’

1095. i^hyay-in idu obu-n kad-in, hadiyad-za-qa
 cry-PST.UW this father-AND daughter-AND each.other-PL.OBL-CONT
 xer-bo-n l-ec'-un.
 embrace-PL.ABS-AND NHPL-fill.up-PFV.CVB
 'The father and the daughter cried and embraced each other.' [Orphans.070]

Postpositions (or locative NPs)

1096. yaška-ba hadiyad-λ'a λ'olo qos-un goli.
 box-PL.ABS each.other-SUP over stack-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 'The boxes are stacked on top of each other.'

1097. lino λar hadiyad-la žoho ø-ot'q'-i.
 five guest(1) each.other-GEN2 after I-come-PST.W
 'Five guests came after each other.'

1098. Pat'imat-in Muḥamad-in hadiyad-la pu-ho
 patimat(1)-AND Magomed(1)-AND each.other-GEN2 side-AD
 q'udu-n b-eč-un goli.
 down-AND HPL-be-CVB be.PRS
 'Patimat and Magomed are sitting next to each other.'

Possessor of omitted indirect objects

There are some constructions, for example the verbs 'to hit' or 'to shoot', where the indirect object, which is usually a recoverable body part, is omitted and the modifying possessor is in the Genitive 2 case. In such constructions the reciprocal pronoun is also in the Genitive 2.

1099.
 a. žide hadiyad-za-la l-ek'^wek'-un.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2 IV-hit.DUR-PST.UW
 'They hit each other.'

- b. žide hadiyad-za-la laga-za-λ'a
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2 body-PL.OBL-CONT
 l-ek'w'ek'-un.
 IV-hit.DUR-PST.UW
 'They hit each other.' (lit. They hit on each other's body.)

1100. hada zamana-λ'a c'od-un kok-un xi^ll-aλa,
 one time-SUP drink-PFV.CVB eat-PFV.CVB get.drunk-ANTR
 b-ah-un coλ-un hadiyad-za-la istakan-ba.
 HPL-stand-PFV.CVB throw-PST.UW each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2 glass-PL.ABS
 'One time they were drinking and eating, and having gotten drunk, they stood
 and threw cups at each other.' [kici.008]

Possessor of direct objects

Direct object can also be modified with a reciprocal pronoun.

1101. žide hadiyad-is aq aluk'a l-i-yi.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-GEN1 house(IV) white IV-do-PST.W
 'They painted each other's houses white.'
1102. žide hadiyad-is xalhi b-i-yi.
 that.PL.(D)ERG each.other-GEN1 shadowing(III) III-do-PST.W
 'They followed each other.'
1103. Pat'imat-qa-n Muḥamad-qa-n hadiyad-is
 Patimat-CONT-AND Magomed-CONT-AND each.other-GEN1
 surat-ba goli.
 picture-PL.ABS be.PRS
 'Patimat and Magomed have pictures of each other.'

Possessor of indirect objects

1104. izzе hadiyad-za-la t'uq^f-ala-za-z bataxu
 that.PL.(P)ABS each.other-PL.OBL-GEN2 knife-OBL-PL.OBL-INSTR bread(V)
 y-ič-i.
 V-cut-PST.W
 'They cut the bread with each other's knives.'

Standard NPs

In equative constructions reciprocal pronouns can take the position of the standard NP marked with Apudessive case, as in (1105).

1105. židu hadiyad-γa b-ałaq'u goli.
 that.PL.(D)ABS each.other-APUD HPL-alike be.PRS
 'They are like each other.'

4.12.2. Possibilities for the antecedents

The antecedent of the reciprocalization is necessarily a plural or collective noun, a plural personal pronoun or a singular noun modified by a numeral (1106).

1106. lino žik'o hadiyad-ıl ø-acc-u goli.
 five man(I) each.other-LAT I-hate-PST.PTCP be.PRS
 'Five men hate each other.'

In transitive constructions, the antecedent is in the Absolutive case and the reciprocal pronoun in the Ergative case (1107a). The order of the Absolutive agent and the Ergative reciprocal pronoun can be changed (1107b).

1107.
 a. γ^{sw}e-bo hadiyad-za haⁿhaⁿ-i.
 dog-PL.ABS each.other-PL.OBL.ERG bite.DUR-PST.W
 'The dogs bit each other.'

- b. hadiyad-za γ^{sw} e-bo haⁿhaⁿn-i.
 each.other-PL.OBL.ERG dog-PL.ABS bite.DUR-PST.W
 ‘The dogs bit each other.’

The reciprocal construction above with an Absolutive agent and an Ergative reciprocal is preferred. On the other hand, the antecedent of the reciprocalization could also be expressed with an Ergative agent and a reciprocal pronoun in the Absolutive case (1108). It is important to note that such constructions, though they exist, are only marginally acceptable: unlike reflexive pronouns, which allow the antecedent of the reflexive to be in the Ergative or in the Absolutive, the antecedent of a reciprocal is in the Absolutive rather than in the Ergative, which suggests that reciprocals are treated as full NPs.

1108. γ^{sw} e-za hadiyad-ba haⁿhaⁿn-i.
 dog-PL.OBL.ERG each.other-PL.ABS bite.DUR-PST.W
 ‘The dogs bit each other.’

In a ditransitive clause, reciprocal pronouns can be used either as indirect or direct objects.

1109.

- a. Aħmad-i hadiyad-qa huⁿne-ho gollu-bo
 Axmed-ERG each.other-CONT road-AD be.PRS.PTCP-PL.ABS
 b-iq-q-i.
 HPL-know-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘Axmed introduced the travelers to each other.’
- b. Aħmad-i huⁿne-ho gollo-zu-qo
 Axmed-ERG road-AD be.OBL.PRS.PTCP-PL.OBL-CONT
 hadiyad-ba b-iq-q-i.
 each.other-PL.ABS HPL-know-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘Axmed introduced the travelers to each other.’

In such a sentence there is a word order constraint, i.e. when the reciprocal pronoun is a direct object, as in (1109b), it must follow the indirect object. The word order in (1110) is ungrammatical.

1110. *Aḥmad-i hadiyad-ba huⁿne-ho
 Axmed-ERG each.other-PL.ABS road-AD
 gollo-zu-qo b-iq-q-i.
 be.PRS.PTCP.OBL PL.OBL-CONT HPL-know-CAUS-PST.W
 ‘Axmed introduced the travelers to each other.’

In Khwarshi indirect objects generally precede direct objects, but word order is still flexible. In reciprocal constructions the word order of verbal arguments is strict, i.e. when the direct object is a reciprocal, it always comes after the indirect object.

In an affective construction the antecedent of the reciprocalization is almost always in the Absolutive case and the reciprocal pronoun in the Lative (1111 – 1114a). The word order can be changed, as in example (1114b).

1111. uža-ba hadiyad-za-l b-acc-u goli.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS each.other-PL.OBL-LAT HPL-hate-PST.PTCP be.PRS
 ‘The boys hate each other.’

1112. uže-n kad-in hadiyad-za-l b-ak-un.
 boy-AND girl-AND each.other-PL.OBL-LAT HPL-see-PST.UW
 ‘The boy and girl met.’ (lit. ‘saw each other’)

1113. ise is-in hos kad-in uže-n
 that.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW one girl-AND boy-AND
 b-eč-un hadiyad-za-l goqq-u.
 HPL-be-PST.UW each.other-PL.OBL-LAT like-PST.PTCP
 ‘(He said), “There were a girl and a boy who liked each other.”’ [Princes.089]

1114.

- a. izzu hadiyad-*il* goq'-*še*.
 that.PL.(P)ABS each.other-LAT like-PRS
 'They like each other.'
- b. hadiyad-*il* izzu goq'-*še*.
 each.other-LAT that.PL.(P)ABS like-PRS
 'They like each other.'

The antecedent of a reciprocal can also be expressed in the Lative case, when the reciprocal pronoun is marked with the Absolutive. Like the ergative construction, such an affective construction is also only marginally acceptable.

1115. izzul hadiyad-*ba* goq'-*še*.
 that.PL.(P)LAT each.other-PL.ABS like-PRS
 'They like each other.'

In a potential construction the antecedent of the reciprocalization is in the Absolutive case and the reciprocal pronoun in the Contessive case, as in (1116a). As in the ergative and affective constructions, the potential constructions allow a Contessive antecedent and an Absolutive reciprocal pronoun, as in (1116b).

1116.

- a. uža-*ba* hadiyad-*za-qa* b-*ič'l-i*.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS each.other-PL.OBL-CONT HPL-prevent.POT-PST.W
 'The boys stopped each other accidentally.'
- b. užaza-*qa* hadiyad-*ba* b-*ič'l-i*.
 boy.OBL-PL.OBL-CONT each.other-PL.ABS HPL-prevent.POT-PST.W
 'The boys stopped each other accidentally.'

4.13. Questions

There are two kinds of questions in Khwarshi: polar and parametric.

4.13.1. Polar questions

Polar questions include ordinary polar questions, alternative questions, and tag questions.

4.13.1.1. Ordinary polar questions

Ordinary polar questions are questions which require yes-no answers. They can be marked either with vowel lengthening on one of the constituents of the question or with special question particles.

4.13.1.1.1 Ordinary polar questions without particles

Ordinary polar questions without question particles are formed by lengthening the stressed vowel of the last constituent of the question. Since the common word order in ordinary questions has the finite verb in final position, it is usually the stressed vowel of the finite verb that is lengthened (1117), but not always (1118).

1117. Šarustan ono y-eč-i?
 Sharustan(II) there II-be-PST.W.QUES
 ‘Was Sharustan there?’ [Dialog]

1118. Asiyat, čorpañil n-u^wat-cegu ciyoⁿ čaλ-i mē?
 Asiyat soup.INTER.LAT IV-be.enough-EQ salt throw-PST.W 2SG.ERG QUES
 ‘Asiyat, did you put enough salt in the soup?’

4.13.1.1.2 Ordinary polar questions with particles

Ordinary polar question can also have question particles, such as *q'e* and *k*. The question particles *q'e* and *k* are in equal distribution and can occur with any constituent of the question clause. These particles are attached to the focused constituent of the question. The particle *k* is used only as a question particle, whereas the particle *q'e* is also used as an emphatic particle.

Lengthening does not occur on the questioned constituent when the particles *q'e* and *k'* are used, and instead the vowel of the particle *q'e* or the vowel preceding the particle *k'* is stressed, but not lengthened.

1119. me zihé-k t'it'-i?
 2SG.ERG cow-QUES milk-PST.W
 'Did you milk the cow?'

1120. ise-q'é žequł bazar-λ'a-zi soyro b-ez-i?
 that.OBL.ERG-QUES today market-SUP-ABL horse(III) III-buy-PST.W
 'Is it him who bought the horse from the market today?'

4.13.1.1.3 Answers to ordinary polar questions

Ordinary polar questions can be answered with a yes-answer (1121) by using the affirmative particle *he* 'yes'.

1121.

A. n-exe-še goli žū, y-oγo mo?
 IV-go-PRS be.PRS that.ABS.QUES II-hey 2SG.ABS
 'Hey, is that thing (recorder) switched on?'

B. he, ħalt'id-ok'-še goli.
 yes work-CAUS-PRS be.PRS
 'Yes, it is working.' [Dialog]

The negative answer to an ordinary polar question is given with the negative particle *ayi* 'no' (1122). The negative particle *ayi* 'no' can be omitted, if the finite verb is used in the negative form (1123).

1122.

A. me γode-l̥i-so dac-ba l-i-yī ?
 2SG.ERG tomorrow-LAT-DEF lesson-PL.ABS NHPL-do-PST.W.QUES
 'Did you do homework for tomorrow?'

- B. ayi , l-eq-bi.
no IV-happen-NEG
'No, (I) could not.'

1123.

- A. diyo surat b-ak-bi dubulī?
1SG.GEN1 picture(III) III-see-NEG 2SG.LAT.QUES
'Didn't you see my photo?'
- B. b-ak-bi, As^hka. dil^l mo srazu y-iq'-bi, y-oγo
III-se-NEG Aska 1SG.LAT 2SG.ABS at.once II-know-NEG II-hey
mo, dil^l mo k^wač-un ono y-iq'-še.
2SG.ABS 1SG.LAT 2SG.ABS grow.thin-PFV.CVB there II-know-PRS
'No, I didn't see (it), Aska. (then looking at the picture) I didn't recognize you at once, you seem to me to have grown thin.' [Dialog]

The following dialog illustrates an ordinary polar question without a question particle and a negative polar question.

1124.

- A. bit'e y-akk-un-ay, Salixat, c'aq' roq'q'-u
right II-stand.CAUS-PST.UW-NEG Salixat(II) very be.right-PST.PTCP
l-eq-un, ondu-č ondu inžista-r himon-un
IV-happen-PST.UW such-EMPH such shameless-IV thing(IV)-AND
šil' -in y-ōⁿk' ⁷³?
put.on-PFV.CVB II-go.GNT
'That is right that they did not invite you (for a dance), a right thing happened. Do people go wearing such shameless clothing?'

⁷³ The lengthening of the vowel of the finite predicate is unnecessary, as lengthening is the marker for the General tense as well as for ordinary polar questions.

B. diyo y-eč-i a <r> e hobondu.
 1SG.GEN1 II-be-PST.W <IV> this such
 ‘I had this thing on.’

A. hed-in y-ahuk’-bi mō?
 then-AND II-stand.CAUS-NEG 2SG.ABS.QUES
 ‘And even then they did not invite you?’

B. y-ahuk’-bi.
 II-stand.CAUS-NEG
 ‘No, (they) did not invite (me).’ [Dialog]

4.13.1.1.4 Self questioning in polar questions

Self questioning is used to express the negation of a statement, hesitation or puzzlement.

1125. hoččun l-eč-bi. íl’o hibo ono c’od-a
 nothing IV-be-NEG 1PL.ABS what there drink-INF
 m-ok’-un b-eč-ī ?
 HPL-go-PFV.CVB HPL-be-PST.W.QUES
 ‘There was nothing. What, did we go there for drinking?’ [Dialog]

4.13.1.2. Alternative questions

Alternative questions are questions that include two or more alternatives for the answer. They correspond to English questions with the conjunction ‘or’. The question particle *-k* is used with each alternative in the question sentence (1126, 1127).

1126. me mači-bó-k gid-ík l-es-se?
 2SG.ERG shoe-PL.ABS-QUES dress(V)-QUES NHPL-buy-PRS
 ‘Are you buying shoes or a dress?’

1127. uže uškur-λ'o-l-úk ø-oⁿk'-še tuka-λ'a-l-úk?
 boy(I) school-SUP-LAT-QUES I-go-PRS shop-SUP-LAT-QUES
 'Is the boy going to the school or to the shop?'

In addition to the question particle used with each alternative, alternative questions can also use the Avar loan conjunction *yagi* / *ya* 'or', which is positioned between the two alternatives (1128). Also the conjunction *yagi ... yagi / ya ... ya* 'either...or' can occur twice, once before each alternative (1129, 1130).

1128. me t'amsá-k usan-še yagi aq-bá-k
 2SG.ERG carpet(III)-QUES wash-PRS or house-PL.ABS-QUES
 aluk'a l-i-še?
 white NHPL-do-PRS
 'Are you going to wash the carpet or whiten the house?'

1129. mo yagi γodé-k y-ux-še yagi
 2SG.ABS or tomorrow-QUES II-come-PRS or
 zozzó-k y-ux-še?
 the.day.after.tomorrow-QUES II-come-PRS
 'Are you leaving tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?'

1130. me ya ło-k n-eq-še ya lac'á-k l-i-še?
 2SG.ERG or water(IV)-QUES IV-bring-PRS or food(IV)-QUES IV-do-PRS
 'Will you bring water or make the meal?'

4.13.1.2.1 Answers to alternative questions

In an answer to an alternative question one of the alternatives of the question is used.

1131.	me	xink'e-bó-k	xic-no-bó-k	l-i-yi.
	2SG.ERG	khinkal-PL.ABS-QUES	pancake-PL-PL.ABS-QUES	NHPL-do-PST.W
		'Did you make khinkal or pancakes?'		
	de	xic-no-bo	l-i-yi.	
	1SG.ERG	pancake-PL-PL.ABS	NHPL-do-PST.W	
		'I made pancakes.'		

4.13.1.3. Tag questions

Tag questions are added to declarative statements in order to request confirmation of the statement. Tag questions consist of the affirmative or negative auxiliary combined with the adverb *hed* 'then'. The tag question can alternatively consist of the affirmative or negative auxiliary with the question marker *-k*. The affirmative auxiliary is used when the statement is negative (1132), and the negative auxiliary is used when the statement is positive (1133).

The sentence in (1133) is an example of a question and answer where the answer is expressed with a tag question, in this particular context it has a rather emphatic function.

1132.	mada-ha	l-uc'c'u	gobi,	golí-k?
	outside-AD	IV-cold	be.PRS.NEG	be.PRS-QUES
		'It is not cold outside, is it?'		

1133.

A. he, iŋe lu-l b-ešut'-dow žu xabar ?
 yes that.OBL.ERG who.OBL-LAT III-let-GNT.PTCP that.ABS story(III)

'Yes, who is she writing this story to?'

B. iŋe.iŋes disertaciya himon q^wa-še gollu,
 REFL.GEN1 dissertation thing write-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.PTCP
 gobi žu ? iŋ^lo muc-no-s ħalt'i
 be.PRS.NEG that.ABS 1PL.GEN2 language-OBL-GEN1 work

q^wa-še, gobi iŋe?

write-IPFV.CVB be.PRS.NEG that.OBL.ERG

'She is writing her dissertation, isn't she? She is writing this work about our language, isn't she?' [Dialog]

4.13.1.3.1 Answers to tag questions

In the answer to a tag question the affirmative or negative auxiliary verb, the affirmative particle *he* 'yes', or negative particle *ayi* 'no' can be used.

1134. ardu aq mižó uškul goli, gobi hed?
 this house 2PL.GEN1 school be.PRS be.PRS.NEG-QUES then

'That building is your school, isn't it?'

- goli.

be.PRS

'Yes, it is.' (i.e. 'yes, it is our school')

- gobi.

be.PRS.NEG

'No, it isn't' (i.e. 'no, it is not our school')

4.13.2. Parametric questions

Parametric questions include wh-words or interrogative pronouns, such as *na* 'where', *hibo* 'who, what', *hib^la* 'why', *ito* 'when', *doco* 'how much', *dudu* 'how', *šomo* 'how many' (cf. 3.5.3). Wh-words can occur in different positions in a sentence, but they must always be used preverbally (1135, 1136).

1135. A. hibo l-i-še goli?⁷⁴
 what IV-do-IPFV.CVB be.PRS
 ‘What are you doing?’
- B. q’udu-n b-eč-un goli.
 down-AND HPL-be-PFV.CVB be.PRS
 ‘We are sitting.’ [Dialog]
1136. dubul goq-ategu himon hadam-il hib’la l-i-še?
 2SG.LAT like-NEG.GNT.PTCP thing people-LAT why IV-do-PRS
 ‘Why do you do things to other people that you do not like yourself?’ [Dialog]

As for the position of questioned elements, question words can occupy the same position as in the corresponding affirmative sentence, preceding the finite verb, as in (1137b, 1137c). Question words can occur elsewhere in sentences, as long as they precede the finite verb, as in (1137d, 1137e).

- 1137.
- a. obu-t’-i uža-l γ^{sw}e b-ez-i.
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-LAT dog(III) III-buy-PST.W
 ‘Father bought a dog for his son.’
- b. obu-t’-i lu-l γ^{sw}e b-ez-i?
 father-OBL-ERG who.OBL-LAT dog(III) III-buy-PST.W
 ‘For whom did father buy a dog?’
- c. obu-t’-i uža-l hibo b-ez-i?
 father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-LAT what III-buy-PST.W
 ‘What did father buy for his son?’

⁷⁴ This question and its situationally relevant answer constitute a typical informal greeting.

- d. lu-l obu-t'-i γ^{sw}e b-ez-i?
 who.OBL-LAT father-OBL-ERG dog(III) III-buy-PST.W
 'For whom did father buy a dog?'
- e. hibo obu-t'-i uža-l b-ez-i?
 what father-OBL-ERG boy.OBL-LAT III-buy-PST.W
 'What did father buy for his son?'

There are special d-linked wh-questions which are preferably fronted. Such wh-words, for example *dow/dogu* 'which' and *hiboso* 'which' (this is formed by combining the wh-word *hibo* 'what' and the definiteness suffix *-so*), are often used at the beginning of questions, and they have a restricted discourse-linked interpretation (1138a). D-linked questions can, however, also be used in a non-fronted position (1138b).

1138.

- a. dogu heⁿše ise c'alid-i?
 which book that.OBL.ERG read-PST.W
 'Which book did he read?'
- b. ise dogu heⁿše c'alid-i?
 that.OBL.ERG which book read-PST.W
 'Which book did he read?'

4.13.2.1. Multiple parametric questions

Multiple parametric question constructions are composed of two or more simultaneously used wh-words, i.e. two noun phrases are being questioned at the same time.

There are some preferences as to the linear order of wh-words occurring in question clauses. Wh-words replacing human arguments preferably precede those replacing non-human arguments, e.g. in the question, 'Who bought what?' the human

wh-object preferably comes before the non-human ‘what’, as in (1139a). The word order in (1139b) is less preferable.

1139.

- a. **lu** **hibo** **l-ez-i?**
 who.OBL.ERG what IV-buy-PST.W
 ‘Who bought what?’
- b. **hibo** **lu** **l-ez-i?**
 what who.OBL.ERG IV-buy-PST.W
 ‘Who bought what?’

In multiple parametric questions the d-linked wh-word usually follows the wh-word referring to a human object (1140a, 1141a), but different word orders are also possible (1140b, 1141b).

1140.

- a. **dogu** **mašina** **lu** **b-ez-i?**
 which car(III) who.OBL.ERG III-buy-PST.W
 ‘Who bought what kind of car?’
- b. **lu** **dogu** **mašina** **b-ez-i ?**
 who.OBL.ERG which car(III) III-buy-PST.W
 ‘Who bought what kind of car?’

1141.

- a. **hiboso** **kad** **lu-l** **goq-i ?**
 which girl who.OBL-LAT like-PST.W
 ‘Who liked which girl?’

- b. *fu-l* *hiboso* *kad* *goq-i?*
 who.OBL-LAT which girl like-PST.W
 ‘Who liked which girl?’

Adjunct questions do not have restrictions on the positions in the multiple parametric questioning.

1142.

- a. *Murad-i* *hibo* *na* *hic-i?*
 Murad-ERG what where leave-PST.W
 ‘What did Murad leave where?’
- b. *Murad-i* *na* *hibo* *hic-i?*
 Murad-ERG where what leave-PST.W
 ‘What did Murad leave where?’

1143.

- a. *Muradil* *hibo* *na* *ø-ak^w-i?*
 Murad.LAT whom where I-see-PST.W
 ‘Whom did Murad see where?’
- b. *Muradil* *na* *hibo* *ø-ak^w-i?*
 Murad.LAT where whom I-see-PST.W
 ‘Whom did Murad see where?’

1144.

- a. *Muradil* *hibo* *na* *l-ak^w-i?*
 Murad.LAT what where IV-see-PST.W
 ‘What did Murad see where?’

- b. Muradil na hibo l-ak^w-i?
 Murad.LAT where what IV-see-PST.W
 ‘What did Murad see where?’

4.13.2.2. Answers to parametric questions

Answers to parametric questions can be complete or incomplete (1145). Complete answers can be parallel to the corresponding parametric question. Incomplete answers includes only the question constituent.

1145. me ut’ana heⁿše na gul-i?
 2SG.ERG red book where put-PST.W
 ‘Where did you put the red book?’
 - de ut’ana heⁿše karavat-λ’a gul-i.
 1SG.ERG red book bed-SUP put-PST.W
 ‘I put the red book on the bed.’
 - karavat-λ’a.
 bed-SUP
 ‘on the bed.’

4.13.2.3. Elements that can be questioned

4.13.2.3.1 Questioning constituents in noun phrase

Various constituents of noun phrases can be questioned, such as numerals (1146), descriptive adjectives (1147), possessors in possessive NPs (1148).

Numerals

1146. šomo safat m-ēλ’ k’oloqo-q’a b-ot’q’-a?
 how.many hour(III) III-go.GNT Kwantlada.CONT-TERM HPL-come-INF
 ‘How many hours does it take to go to Kwantlada?’

Descriptive adjectives

1147. dow y-eč-i baħara-y-is gid?
 which V-be-PST.W bride-II-GEN1 dress(V)
 ‘What kind of dress was the bride wearing?’ [Dialog]

Possessors in possessive NPs

1148. žequł ħiyo bertin goli?
 today who.GEN1 wedding be.PRS
 ‘Whose wedding was it yesterday?’

Heads

It is possible to question the head noun:

1149.

- a. Zaynab-i ifel iλλ-u heⁿše c’alid-i.
 Zaynab-ERG that.LAT present-PST.PTCP book read-PST.W
 ‘Zaynab read the book that she had got as a present.’
- b. Zaynab-i ifel iλλ-u hibo c’alid-i?
 Zaynab-ERG that.LAT present-PST.PTCP what read-PST.W
 ‘What did Zaynab read that she had got as a present?’

Equative NPs

Constituents of equative constructions are also questioned:

1150.

- a. Karim-is is dubo is ø-ołtu ø-uλλu
 Karim-GEN1 sibling(t) 2SG.GEN1 sibling(t) I-alike I-strong
 goli.
 be.PRS
 ‘Karim’s brother is as strong as your brother.’

- b. dubo is hibo ø-oħu ø-uλλu goli?
 2SG.GEN1 sibling(I) what I-alike I-strong be.PRS
 ‘Who is your brother as strong as?’

Postpositional phrases

The arguments of postpositional phrases can also be questioned.

1151.

- a. heⁿše eⁿca-λ’a λ’olo goli.
 book shelf-SUP above be.PRS
 ‘The book is on top of the shelf.’
- b. ħene-λ’o λ’olo goli heⁿše?
 what.OBL-SUP above be.PRS book
 ‘What is the book on top of?’

Questioning conjoined NPs

In conjoint noun phrases it is possible to question one of the conjoint NPs.

1152.

- a. Karim-i-n Zaynab-i-n xink’e-bo l-ac’-i.
 Karim-ERG-AND Zaynab-ERG-AND khinkal-PL.ABS NHPL-eat-PST.W
 ‘Karim and Zaynab ate khinkal.’
- b. Karim-i-n ħu-n xink’e-bo l-ac’-i?
 Karim-ERG-AND who.OBL.ERG-AND khinkal-PL.ABS NHPL-eat-PST.W
 ‘Karim and who ate khinkal?’

4.13.2.3.2 Questioning constituents of subordinate clauses

It is possible to question constituents of subordinate clauses, i.e. constituents of relative, complement or adverbial clauses.

4.13.2.3.2.1 Relative clauses

Constituents of relative clauses can be questioned.

1153.

- a. išet'-i λar-ma-za-l l-i-gu čorpa
 mother.OBL-ERG guest-OBL-PL.OBL-LAT IV-do-PST.PTC soup(IV)
 l-ogu l-eč-i.
 IV-good IV-be-PST.W
 'The soup that mother made for the guests was good.'
- b. išet'-i łul l-i-gu čorpa
 mother.OBL-ERG who.LAT IV-do-PST.PTCP soup(IV)
 l-ogu l-eč-i.
 IV-good IV-be-PST.W
 'The soup that mother made for whom was good?'

4.13.2.3.2.2 Complement clauses

Constituents of complement clauses can be questioned.

1154.

- a. uže řezeřan sayřat-ba l-oq-nu-λ'o
 boy(i) much present-PL.ABS NHPL-get-MASD-SUP
 řuřu ø-ah-i.
 happy I-stand-PST.W
 'The boy became happy to get many presents.'
- b. uže hibo l-oq-nu-λ'o řuřu ø-ah-i.
 boy(i) what NHPL-get-MASD-SUP happy I-stand-PST.W
 'The boy became happy to get what?'

4.13.2.3.2.3 Adverbial clauses

Any constituent of an adverbial clause can be questioned, whether it is a constituent of the main clause or the embedded clause (also cf. 4.10.5).

1155.

- a. γon-o-ł-γul ø-oⁿk'-aλa, obu-t'-il ze
 forest-OBL-INTER-VERS I-go-ANTR father-OBL-LAT bear(III)
 b-ak^w-i.
 III-see-PST.W
 'When the father went to the forest, he saw a bear.'
- b. hibo b-ak^w-i obu-t'-il γon-o-ł-γul
 what III-see-PST.W father-OBL-LAT forest-OBL-INTER-VERS
 ø-oⁿk'-aλa?
 I-go-ANTR
 'What did father see when he went to the forest?'
- c. na-γul ø-oⁿk'-aλa obu-t'-il ze b-ak^w-i?
 where-VERS I-go-ANTR father-OBL-LAT bear(III) III-see-PST.W
 'Father saw a bear when he went where?'

4.13.3. Embedded questions

Both polar and parametric questions can be used in embedded constructions. When a parametric question is used in an embedded construction, the interrogative pronoun can be in clause initial position (1158). Interrogative pronouns can appear elsewhere within embedded clauses but only before a finite predicate.

Examples (1156), (1158), (1159) illustrate direct speech, since the personal pronouns are not shifted, i.e. there is no deictic shift from the deictic center of the person whose speech is being reported (cf. usage of personal pronouns *mo* '2SG.ABS' in (1156), *dil'* '1SG.LAT' in (1158) and *me* '2SG.ERG' in (1159)). Conversely, examples (1157) and (1160) present indirect speech, since the personal pronouns are shifted from the deictic center of the person whose speech is reported to the deictic center of the reporter.

Embedded polar questions

1156. isx-in mo eⁿdu golí-k λin
 ask-PFV.CVB 2SG.ABS inside be.PRS-QUES QUOT
 žu y-eq-un eⁿdu-li.
 that.ABS II-go-PST.UW inside-LAT
 ‘Having asked, “Are you at home?” she went inside.’ [Old man]

1157. šuλ’-šehol, išet’-i isx-in kanduqo
 forget-POSTR mother.OBL-ERG ask-PST.UW daughter.CONT
 tuλ-í-k iše g^soP^huč k’oro λin.
 sell-PST.W-QUES that.OBL.ERG all cheese QUOT
 ‘Before the mother forgot, she asked the daughter if she had sold all the cheese.’

Embedded parametric questions

1158. na-l-k λin isx-aλa, l-iyōq’-bi λin ,
 where-LAT-QUES QUOT ask-ANTR IV-know.GNT-NEG QUOT
 di^h l-akk-u himon gobi λin,
 1SG.LAT IV-see-PST.PTCP thing(IV) be.PRS.NEG QUOT
 inkar b-os-un iše kand-i .
 refusal(III) III-take-PST.UW that.OBL girl.OBL-ERG
 ‘When the giant asked where it was, that girl replied, “I did not see anything,”’
 [3Feats.084]

1159. iŋe	iŋ-in	isuqol	hobože	me
that.OBL.ERG	say-PST.UW	that.CONT.LAT	now	2SG.ERG
goduk'anil	ø-ot'q²-aŋa,	baŋgoli	dubul	
godekan.LAT	I-come-ANTR	secret(IV)	2SG.LAT	
l-iyōq'	ŋin	iŋ-o,	l-it'ixx-u	
IV-know.GNT	QUOT	say-IMP	IV-divide.CAUS-PST.PTCP	
l-uwoxx-u	ŋ'aŋ'aqq-u	na,	ŋu	l-i-gu.
IV-kill-PST.PTCP	rob-PST.PTCP	where	who.OBL.ERG	IV-do-PST.PTCP

'She said to him, "Now when you go to the godekan, you say that you know the secret about where the stolen, killed thing is and who did it.'" [Woman.028]

1160. isx-in	iŋeqol	dudu	žu	č'ago	
ask-PST.UW	that.CONT.LAT	how	that.ABS	alive	
ŋux-i	ŋin,	misedi	na-z	b-oq-i	ŋin.
remain-PST.W	QUOT	gold(III)	where-ABL	III-catch-PST.W	QUOT

'She asked her how she remained alive and where she got the gold.' [Jealous.031]

4.13.4. Deliberative questions

Another kind of question are deliberative questions, which are formed with the deliberative suffix *-alu* (cf. 3.7.4.5). Deliberative questions can be based on ordinary polar questions (1161) or parametric questions (1162).

Ordinary polar questions

1161. Žohoz	l-oʃu,	γoγ-dow	himon-un	luqʻ-un,
late	IV-alike	mill-GNT.PTCP	thing-AND	finish-PFV.CVB
γobo-γo-qʻé	ø-eč-alu	reʃa-λʻa	λun,	ø-oʻkʻ-še
mill-APUD-QUES	I-be-DELIB	night-SUP	QUOT	I-go-IPFV.CVB
ø-eč-un,	γoγ-u	himon-un	čoλ-un	
I-be-PST.UW	mill-PST.PTCP	thing-AND	throw-PFV.CVB	
ise.isulo	guga-λʻa.			
REFL.GEN2	back.OBL-SUP			

‘Late at night, when the things for milling were finished, saying, “Shall I stay all night at the mill,” he went, having put the milled things on his back.’
[Abduraxman]

Parametric questions

1162. hobože	na-l	y-oʻkʻ-alu	idu	himon
now	where-LAT	II-go-DELIB	this	thing(IV)
l-oq-a	λin	iλ-in	kand-i.	
IV-get-INF	QUOT	say-PST.UW	girl.OBL-ERG	

“‘Where will I go now to get this thing,” the girl said.’

4.14. Reported speech

Like many other Daghestanian languages, Khwarshi uses a special quotative particle to mark reported speech. The particle *λin/λun* is a quotative (or citation) particle derived as the result of the grammaticalization of the converb *iλin/iλun* ‘having said’ from the verb *iλa* ‘to say’.

The quotative particle *λin/λun* can be combined not only with utterance predicates (*iλa* ‘to say’, *isa* ‘to tell’, *isxa* ‘to ask’, *lože iλa* ‘to promise, to give word’, *ho leyʻa* ‘to swear’, *pal kula* ‘to tell fortunes’, etc.), but also with emotional predicates (‘to become happy’) or propositional attitude predicates (‘to think’, ‘to believe’, ‘to consider’, etc.):

Utterance predicates

1163. wallah diyo heč'č'e nucaha-r liλ žoq'uza-sa
 god 1SG.GEN1 most tasty-IV meat(IV) behind-DEF
 lehelaza-s goli λin iλ-in soyró.
 hip.OBL.PL-GEN1 be.PRS QUOT say-PST.UW horse.OBL.ERG
 'The horse said, "I swear I have the tastiest meat just behind the hips."'
- [Hajj.030]

1164. de dubul lože iλ-še do ø-eč'oq'-a
 1SG.ERG 2SG.LAT word give-PRS 1SG.ABS I-be.late-INF
 gobi λin.
 be.PRS.NEG QUOT
 'I promise you that I will not be late.'

Emotional predicates: e.g. *č'uħida* 'to be proud of'

1165. do č'uħid-in goli diyo q'ala
 1SG.ABS be.proud-PFV.CVB be.PRS 1SG.GEN1 children
 b-ogu b-eq-še λin.
 HPL-good HPL-become-PRS QUOT
 'I am proud that my children are growing up properly.'

Propositional attitude predicates: e.g. *q^wiya* 'to consider', 'to think'

1166. iħe žu c'odora-w λin q^wi-še ø-eč-i.
 that.OBL.ERG that.ABS clever-I QUOT consider-IPFV.CVB I-be-PST.W
 'She considered him to be clever.'

An utterance can report the speech of one speaker, as in (1167), or the reporter's utterance can include the reported speech of two or more reported speakers, as in (1168), i.e. each instance of reported speech in a sentence is marked with the reportative particle. There is no obligatory sequence of tenses in reported speech or hearsay constructions.

1167. iⁿdu-sa lac'a-n l-eč-un, hibl¹a žen hosunu
 inside-DEF food(IV)-AND IV-do-PFV.CVB why more other
 l-i-yi me λin iλ-in λar-i γinaqal.
 IV-do-PST.W 2SG.ERG QUOT say-PST.UW kunak-ERG wife.CONT.LAT
 ‘‘Why did you make more food when there was already enough food at home?’’
 the kunak asked his wife.’ [Malla rasan]

1168. λar-i isx-aλa hibo λin iλ-i
 guest-ERG ask-ANTR what QUOT say-PST.W
 iλe λin, Malla.rasan-i iλ-in, ono
 that.OBL.ERG QUOT Malla.rasan-ERG say-PST.UW there
 bočka-ma žik'o goli λin iλ-i iλe λin.
 cask-IN man be.PRS QUOT say-PST.W that.OBL.ERG QUOT
 ‘When the guest asked what it said, Malla-rasan said that (raven) said there was
 a man in the cask.’ [Malla rasan]

Complex clauses can be quite complicated with several converbal clauses, which can also include reported speech clauses:

1169. izzu ono-l durid-aλa, λar-la γiná
 that.PL(P)ABS there-LAT run-ANTR kunak-GEN2 wife.OBL.ERG
 b-uwox-un Malla.rasan-is γ^wade, diyó
 III-kill-PST.UW Malla.rasan-GEN1 raven(III) 1SG.GEN1
 bałgoli l-iq-q-i λin iλ-in.
 secret(IV) IV-know-CAUS-PST.W QUOT say-PFV.CVB
 ‘When they ran there, the kunak’s wife killed Malla-rasan’s raven saying, ‘‘You revealed my secret.’’’ [Malla rasan]

1170. wo, řadala-w-in λin goλ'-un ze-yi mada-ha-zi.
 hey fool-I-AND QUOT call-PST.UW bear-ERG outside-AD-ABL
 ‘Saying, ‘‘Hey Fool,’’ the bear called from outside.’ [Fool.029]

1171. hibo λin, žawab b-i-yin Xitilbeg-i.
 what QUOT answer(III) III-do-PST.UW Khitilbeg-ERG
 “‘What?’ Khitilbeg answered.’ [Xitilbeg.025]

Reported speech can be introduced not only with utterance predicates but also with the verb *-eč* ‘to be’ and the quotative particle *λin* (cf. American English, *be like*). The intransitive verb ‘to be’ marks the agent with the Absolutive case, and, like the utterance verb *ila* ‘to say’, the verb ‘to be’ marks the addressee with the Contlative:

1172. obu ø-eč-i diqol de mo-n
 father.ABS I-be-PST.W 1SG.CONT.LAT 1SG.ERG 2SG.ABS-AND
 ø-es-se Maħačqalaλ’ayul λin.
 I-take-PRS Makhachkala.SUP.VERS QUOT
 ‘The father said to me, “I will also take you to Makhachkala.”’

4.14.1. Deictic shift in reported speech

4.14.1.1. Deictic shift in personal pronouns

In complement clauses utterance predicates present reported speech, which can be either direct or indirect. The quotative particle *λin*, which follows the reported utterance, can be used to refer both to direct and indirect speech. The outward manifestation of the difference between direct and indirect speech is the use of pronouns. In direct speech (1173-1175), the same pronouns are used as in the reported speaker’s utterance.

1173. mo na-γul m-ok’-še λin iλ-in
 2SG.ABS where-VERS III-go-PRS QUOT say-PST.UW
 ħiħuk’á boc’-qo-l.
 witch.OBL.ERG wolf.OBL-CONT-LAT
 ‘The witch said to the wolf, “Where do you go?”’ [Witch.005]

1174. ise žik'ó-λo iλ-in, diλ'o λ'oloq'aydd-u
 that.OBL man.OBL.ERG-NARR say-PST.UW 1SG.SUP entrust-PST.PTCP
 amanat-ba l-eč-i, is-a behidōy-k λin
 request-PL.ABS NHPL-be-PST.W tell-INF can.QUES-QUES QUOT
 'That man said, "I had some requests, can (I) ask them?"' [The man who went
 to God]

1175. ise di-qo-l mo c'alid-o λin
 that.OBL.ERG 1SG.OBL.CONT-LAT 2SG.ABS read-IMP QUOT
 iλ-še goli.
 say-PRS be.PRS
 'He says to me, "You read!"'

In indirect speech, the pronouns are shifted to the reporter's deictic center, as in (1176).

1176. obu-t'-i iλ-i isul os b-oq-i.
 father-OBL-ERG say-PST.W that.LAT money(III) III-take-PST.W
 'The father said that he got the money.'

There is, however, no sequence of tenses comparable to that found in English, i.e. the tense-mood verb form of the reported speaker's utterance is retained in indirect speech, as in (1177), where the combination of the infinitive and the Present tense of the auxiliary verb encodes the Future tense.

1177. Muḥamad-i iλ-i ise dac b-iqq-a
 Magomed-ERG say-PST.W that.OBL.ERG lesson(III) III-learn-INF
 goli λin.
 be.PRS QUOT
 'Magomed_i said that he_i would learn the lesson.'

The deictic shift of personal pronouns is the major, if not to say the only, factor which differentiates direct and indirect speech.

Deictic shifts in time and place adverbs are also used to distinguish between direct and indirect speech.

4.14.1.2. Deictic shift in time adverbs

Time adverbials show deictic shift. For example, in the direct speech example (1178a) ‘today’ is to be interpreted from Magomed’s perspective (‘yesterday’ from the reporter’s perspective), while in indirect speech example (1178b) it is to be interpreted from the reporter’s perspective (‘tomorrow’ from Magomed’s perspective).

1178.

- a. Muḥamad-i hunuža iλ-i de žequł
 Magomed-ERG yesterday say-PST.W 1SG.ERG today
 dac b-iqq-a goli λin.
 lesson(III) III-learn-INF be.PRS QUOT
 ‘Magomed said yesterday, “I will learn the lesson today.”’
- b. Muḥamad-i hunuža iλ-i ise žequł
 Magomed-ERG yesterday say-PST.W that.OBL.ERG today
 dac b-iqq-a goli λin.
 lesson(III) III-learn-INF be.PRS QUOT
 ‘Magomed said yesterday that he would learn the lesson today.’

4.14.1.3. Deictic shift in place adverbs

Place adverbs used within reported speech also undergo deictic shift. Sentence (1179a) is an example of direct speech where the adverb is not shifted and is used as in the reported speaker’s utterance, whereas in the indirect speech of (1179b) the adverb is shifted to the deictic center of the reporter.

1179.

a. iʎe iʎ-i ide Maskuʎ'o I-uc'c'u
 that.OBL.ERG say-PST.W here Moscow.SUP IV-cold
 goli ʎin.
 be.PRS QUOT
 'She said, "It is cold here in Moscow."'

b. iʎe iʎ-i ono Maskuʎ'o I-uc'c'u
 that.OBL.ERG say-PST.W there Moscow.SUP IV-cold
 goli ʎin.
 be.PRS QUOT
 'She said it was cold there in Moscow.'

4.14.2. Use of the quotative particle

Direct speech can also be expressed without the quotative particle, as in (1180, 1181). Indirect speech, however, cannot be expressed without the quotative particle, i.e. the presence of the quotative particle is obligatory.

1180. pudí iʎ-in b-eč-e mo, boc'i-yu
 creature.OBL.ERG say-PST.UW III-be-IMP 2SG.ABS wolf.OBL-VOC
 de goʎ'-a dubʎ'ol iho.
 1SG.ERG call-INF 2SG.SUP.LAT shepherd
 'The creature said, "Just wait, wolf, I will call the shepherd on you." [Pudi.010]

1181. ise iʎ-i diqol, de idu õ'ču
 that.OBL.ERG say-PST.W 1SG.CONT.LAT 1SG.ERG this hen(III)
 bazarʎ'azi b-ez-i, dubo b-us-ʎo,
 market.SUP.ABL III-buy-PST.W 2SG.GEN I III-find-COND
 žohoq'^semil b-ez-o.
 backwards III-take-IMP

'He told me, "I bought this hen at the market, if it is yours, take it back!" [Who can better lie?]

4.14.3. Reporting non-indicative forms

4.14.3.1. Reporting imperatives

In Khwarshi, the imperative can be reported directly or indirectly. Indirect speech can report imperatives, unlike most Indo-European languages, in which the imperatives are transformed to infinitives or subjunctives within the reported indirect speech.

1182. *iλ-in* *ife* *λibala-qa-l* *bac'alak'^w-a*
 say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG leaf.OBL-CONT-LAT clean-IMP
diyo *x^ɕux* *λin.*
 1SG.GEN1 face QUOT
 'The creature told the leaf to clean his face.' [Pudi.002]

In indirect speech the imperative must occur with deictic shift, e.g. deictic shift in time adverbs (1183-1184).

1183.

- a. *huniža* *obu-t'-i* *užaqał* *iλ-i* *žu*
 yesterday father-OBL-ERG boy.CONT.LAT say-PST.W that.ABS
huniža-č *ono-γul* *ø-ux-le* *λin.*
 yesterday-EMPH there-VERS I-come-IMP QUOT
 'Yesterday the father told the boy to go there *yesterday*.'
- b. *huniža* *obu-t'-i* *užaqał* *iλ-i* *mo*
 yesterday father-OBL-ERG boy.CONT.LAT say-PST.W that.ABS
žequłi-č *ono-γul* *ø-ux-le* *λin.*
 today-EMPH there-VERS I-come-IMP QUOT
 'Yesterday the father told the boy, "Go there today!"' [3Princes.020]

1184. xanus wazir-in ø-oq-un, iλ-in isx-o
 khan.GEN1 vizier-AND I-take-PFV.CVB say-PST.UW ask-IMP
 žu kad isuho λin.
 that.ABS girl that.AD QUOT

‘(The boy) found the khan's vizier and asked vizier to let him (the boy) marry the khan's daughter.’ [3Princes.020]

4.14.3.2. Reporting vocatives

Vocatives are reported directly, as in many other languages. There is no deictic shift possible when reporting vocatives, which means that vocatives cannot be used in indirect speech (1185).

1185.

- a. yuq^sučé iλ-i, kandi-yu, y-ux-le
 old.woman.OBL.ERG say-PST.W girl.OBL-VOC II-come-IMP
 diγoγul λin.
 I SG.APUD.VERS QUOT
 ‘The old woman said, “Come to my place, girl.”’
- b. yuq^sučé huniža iλ-i, kandi-yu, žequł
 old.woman.OBL.ERG yesterday say-PST.W girl.OBL-VOC today
 y-ux-le diγoγul λin.
 II-come-IMP I SG.APUD.VERS QUOT
 ‘The old woman said yesterday, “Come to my place today, girl.”’
- c. yuq^sučé huniža iλ-i, kandi-yu, huniža
 old.woman.OBL.ERG yesterday say-PST.W girl.OBL-VOC yesterday
 y-ux-le diγoγul λin.
 II-come-IMP I SG.APUD.VERS QUOT
 ‘The old woman said yesterday, “Come to my place yesterday, girl.”’

4.14.3.3. Reporting questions

Questions can be reported either directly or indirectly. In direct speech, the question is conveyed through the use of the same pronoun as in the reported utterance, and the question particle is attached to the focused constituent of the question, as in (1186a). In indirect speech, the pronoun shifts to the deictic center of the reporter, and the question particle is again used (1186b).

1186.

- a. Bat'i isx-i de lac'a l-i-ya
 Pati.ERG ask-PST.W 1SG.ERG food(IV) IV-do-INF
 l-ukk-u goli-k λin.
 IV-must-PST.PTCP be.PRS-QUES QUOT
 'Pati asked, "Do I have to make food?"'

- b. Bat'i isx-i ile lac'a l-i-ya
 Pati.ERG ask-PST.W that.OBL.ERG food(IV) IV-do-INF
 l-ukk-u goli-k λin.
 IV-must-PST.PTCP be.PRS-QUES QUOT
 'Pati asked if she had to make food'

4.14.3.4. Reporting deliberatives

Deliberatives, like imperatives and questions, are reported both directly and indirectly. In direct speech, the same deliberative form is used as in the reported speaker's utterance, as in (1187a). Deliberatives can be reported in indirect speech with a shift in deictic center, as in (1187b).

1187.

- a. kand-i iλ-i hibo-q'e de hos-γo-li
 girl.OBL-ERG say-PST.W what-EMPH 1SG.ERG one-APUD-LAT
 l-i-yalu λin.
 IV-do-DELIB QUOT
 'The girl said, "What shall I do all by myself?"'

- b. kand-i iλ-i hibo-q'e ile hos-γo-li
 girl.OBL-ERG say-PST.W what-EMPH that.OBL.ERG one-APUD-LAT
 l-i-yalu λin.
 IV-do-DELIB QUOT
 ‘The girl asked what she would do all by herself.’

4.15. Negation

Sentential negation is formed with negative suffixes used either with non-finite or finite verbal forms, i.e. negation occurs only once in the sentence and is marked on a verb (1188) (cf. 3.7.1.2).

1188. uža-ba b-ot'uq'-bi.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-come-NEG
 ‘The boys did not come.’

The negative suffix *-bi* can also occur on the noun phrase as well as on the main predicate (1189, 1190). Such double use of the negative suffix results in an affirmative exclusive meaning (‘only NP’).

1189. uža-ba-bi b-ot'uq'-bi.
 boy.OBL-PL.ABS-NEG HPL-come-NEG
 ‘Only boys came.’

1190. aλ řuc'idd-u řoloqanza-λ'a-γužaz-**bi** b-eč-**bi**.
 village(III) consist-PST.PTCP young.PL.OBL-SUP-TRANSL-NEG III-be-NEG
 ‘The village consisted only of such young men.’ [Games.014] (lit. ‘through young people the village consisted’)

As for negation with negative indefinite pronouns, they always require the negative predicate (cf. 3.5.4):

1191. uža	hoččun	l-ez-bi.
boy.OBL.ERG	nothing	IV-buy-NEG
'The boy bought nothing.'		

4.16. Default agreement

Agreement with Gender 4 is usually considered to be default agreement. Default agreement appears when there is no Absolutive argument present to agree with, or the Absolutive argument is omitted.

Agreement in a complement clause, for example with the verb 'to know', is in Gender 4, because the whole complement clause is treated as one argument (cf. 4.9.5).

Impersonal constructions, usually expressing weather phenomena, show agreement in Gender 4. In such constructions it is possible to retrieve the generic noun 'world' which is of Gender 4; thus, it is possible that agreement in impersonal construction is either default, or the agreement is with the retrieved noun *dunnal* 'world' (cf. 4.6).

An interesting non-standard agreement pattern is found with one intransitive verb, namely *-eλ-* 'be ill', which shows deviation in agreement. Its agreement depends on whether the single Absolutive argument is a human/animate noun or a body part noun. When a noun for a body part is used the verb takes the corresponding agreement of that noun, as in (1192), i.e. the verb agrees with the noun *muč'* 'neck' which belongs to Gender 3, or in (1193), where the verb agrees with the plural noun *šilaba* 'teeth'. When a human or animate noun is used as the intransitive subject of the verb 'to be ill', the agreement is in Gender 4, not corresponding to the gender of the single Absolutive argument (1194).

The prefix for Gender 4, as well as prefix of the non-human gender, are marked with *l-*. In example (1194) the body part noun in the plural form triggers non-human agreement on the verb *-eλ-* 'be ill'.

1192. $\bar{o}^n\check{c}as$ $mu\check{c}'$ $c'aq'$ $b-e\lambda-x-un$ $b-e\check{c}-i$.
 hen.GEN1 neck(III) very III-be.ill-CAUS-PFV.CVB III-be-PST.W
 'The hen's neck ached very much.' [Who can lie better?]

1193. $diyo$ $sil-a-ba$ $l-e\lambda-\check{s}e$ $goli$.
 1SG.GEN1 tooth-OBL-PL.ABS NHPL-be.ill-PRS be.PRS
 'My teeth ache.'

1194. $do-n$ $l-e\lambda-\check{s}e,$ $y-o\gamma o$ mo $Asiyat$.
 1SG.ABS-AND IV-be.ill-PRS II-hey 2SG.ABS Asiyat(II)
 $diyo$ $gugu$ $goli$ $y-e\lambda-\check{s}e,$ $y-uk'ul-\check{s}e$
 1SG.GEN1 back(V) be.PRS V-be.ill-PRS II-bend.POT-PRS
 $gobi,$ $y-uk'-a\lambda a$ $y-ahul-\check{s}e$ $gobi$.
 be.PRS.NEG II-bend-ANTR II-stand.POT-PRS be.PRS.NEG
 'And I (female) am ill, Asiyat. My back aches. I cannot bend, and when I bend,
 I cannot stand straight again.' [Dialog]

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Appendix:

Text 1 - Anecdote

honq'oso m-ok'-un ĥono žik'o buło-ho ze-ł'o-li.
 once HPL-go-PST.UW three man hunting-AD bear-SUP-LAT

1) Once upon a time three men went hunting after a bear.

ił-in had-qa-l ze gollu
 say-PST.UW one.OBL-CONT-LAT bear be.PRS.PTCP
 g'anda-ma-l q's'em l-ešt'o λun.
 den.OBL-IN-LAT head(IV) IV-let.out-IMP QUOT

2) They said to one man to put his head into the den of a bear.

nagah žu ono b-eč-ło, ž'arł'ada-ya λun ił-in.
 if that.ABS there III-be-COND move-IMP QUOT say-PST.UW

3) "If the bear is there, then move," they said.

ž'arł'ada-ya Ø-eq'-ała ił'e mo Ø-eγ-a goli λun.
 move-INF I-begin-ANTR 1PL.ERG 2SG.ABS I-take-INF be.PRS QUOT

4) "When you begin to move, we will pull you out."

l-ogu λun ił-in ise žik'ó.
 IV-good QUOT say-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG man.OBL.ERG

5) "Good,"- this man said.

b-ot'q'-un ze-lo g'andu-γo.
 HPL-come-PST.UW bear-GEN2 den-AD

6) They came near the den of the bear.

l-ešt'-un ise q's'em ono-l.
 IV-let.out-PST.UW that.OBL.ERG head(IV) there-LAT

7) He put his head there.

Ø-eq-un žu žik'ó ž^warλ'ada-ya.
 I-begin-PST.UW that.ABS man(I) move-INF
 8) This man began to move.

Ø-eγγ-u ize žu, guc'-aλa
 I-take-PST.PTCP that.PL(P).ERG that.ABS look-ANTR
 q'^sem l-us-un-ay iso.
 head(IV) IV-find-PST.UW-NEG that.GEN1
 9) Having pulled him out of the den, they did not find his head.

had-i isx-in iso q'^sem
 one.OBL-ERG ask-PST.UW that.GEN1 head(IV)
 l-eč-i-k, l-eč-bi-k λun.
 IV-be-PST.W-QUES IV-be-NEG-QUES QUOT
 10) One asked, "Did he have head or not?"

wallah, l-iyōq'-bi, λe isulo γina-qa
 honestly IV-know.GNT-NEG come that.GEN2 woman.OBL-CONT
 isix-še λun iλ-in had-i.
 ask-PRS QUOT say-PST.UW one.OBL-ERG
 11) "I really don't know, let's go and ask his wife," the one said.

isx-in ize γina-qa, hobodu dublo
 ask-PST.UW that.PL(P).ERG woman.OBL-CONT this 2SG.GEN2
 xol-us q'^sem l-eč-i-k, l-eč-bi-k λun.
 husband-GEN1 head(IV) IV-be-PST.W-QUES IV-be-NEG-QUES QUOT
 12) They asked the wife, "Did your husband have a head or not?"

wallah, l-iyōq'-bi, γebiβa-sλa ise λib
 honestly IV-know.GNT-NEG hat(III)-PART that.OBL.ERG year
 λib-a-ha b-ēz b-eč-i λun
 year-OBL-AD III-buy.GNT III-be-PST.W QUOT
 žawab b-i-yin γiná.
 answer(III) III-do-PST.UW woman.OBL.ERG
 13) "I really don't know, but he used to buy a hat every year," the wife answered.

Summary

A grammar of Khwarshi provides a description of the Kwantlada dialect of Khwarshi, a Tsezic language of the Nakh-Daghestanian language family. The book consists of four main chapters.

Chapter one introduces the Khwarshi people and their geographical location. It also gives an overview of the dialects of Khwarshi and the main sound correspondences between these dialects. This chapter also presents information about the language contacts of Khwarshi.

Chapter two gives a phonological description of Khwarshi, starting by presenting its phonetic inventory of consonants and vowels, and distribution of sounds in different environments. Then the phonological processes of the language are discussed. The next section deals with the stress patterns of Khwarshi. The morphophonology is presented in the last section.

Chapter three describes the morphology of the main parts of speech. This chapter begins with the morphology of nouns, introducing their major categories such as gender, number and case. The next section is about the morphology of adjectives. Adjectives can be used as attributes and substantives, and as substantives they receive the nominal categories of number, gender, and case. The main classes of adverbs are described in the section on the morphology of adverbs. Adverbs can be circumstantial, adverbs of quantity and degree, and comparative adverbs. Adverbs can be used as attributes and as substantives. Postpositions are classified into postpositions with spatial and abstract meaning. The class of pronouns distinguishes between personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, reflexive, reciprocal, distributive, collective, and 'other' pronouns. Numerals are cardinal, ordinal, collective, distributive and repetitive. The next section deals with the verbal morphology, describing the main verbal categories such as tense, aspect, and mood, as well as the non-finite verbal forms. Chapter three ends with the section on particles and word derivation.

Chapter four deals with the main topics of Khwarshi syntax. It starts with a section on word order. In the section that follows, the structure of the noun phrase is discussed. The next section describes copular clauses with predicative noun phrases, with predicative adjective phrases, impersonal, local, possessive, and existential copular clauses. The section that follows gives an overview of the main clause types in

Khwarshi. After that there is a discussion of different types of coordination, such as conjunctive, asyndetic, disjunctive, and adversative. This section also deals with clause coordination and agreement with coordinated NPs. The next section presents verbal valence of intransitive predicates, affective two-place predicates, two-place predicates in potential constructions, and transitive predicates. The section that follows deals with the main valence changing derivations such as causativization. The three sections that follow present the main types of subordinate clauses, namely relative clauses, complement clauses, and adverbial clauses. The next section introduces reflexivization in simple and subordinate clauses. Then reciprocal constructions are discussed, illustrating different possibilities for reciprocalization. After that there is a section on questions, namely polar, parametric, and deliberative questions. Then reported speech is discussed, focusing on deictic shifts as well as on usage of different non-indicative forms in reported speech. The last two sections deal with negation and the general pattern of agreement.

The book ends with references and an appendix which includes texts with interlinear glossing and translation.

Samenvatting

A grammar of Khwarshi is een beschrijving van het Kwantlada dialect van het Chwarsji, een Tsesizche taal behorend tot de Nach-Dagestaanse taalfamilie. Het boek bestaat uit vier hoofdstukken.

Hoofdstuk één introduceert het Chwarsji volk en hun geografische locatie. Ook geeft het een overzicht van de dialecten van het Chwarsji en de belangrijkste klankovereenkomsten tussen deze dialecten. Daarnaast geeft het informatie over de talen waarmee Chwarsji in contact is.

Hoofdstuk twee geeft een fonologische beschrijving van het Chwarsji. Eerst wordt de fonetische inventaris van de klinkers en de medeklinkers gepresenteerd en hun distributie in verschillende klankomgevingen, gevolgd door een analyse van de fonologische processen. In de daaropvolgende sectie wordt de klemtoon van het Khwarsi behandeld en tot slot de morfofonologie.

In hoofdstuk drie komt de morfologie van de belangrijkste woordsoorten aan bod. Eerst wordt de morfologie van het substantief behandeld, waaronder de belangrijkste grammaticale categorieën zoals naamval, getal en geslacht. Dan volgt de morfologie van het adjectief. Adjectieven in Chwarsji kunnen zowel attributief als substantief gebruikt worden en in het laatste geval krijgen zij de nominale categorieën van naamval, getal en geslacht. De volgende sectie is gewijd aan de morfologie van het adverbium. De belangrijkste klassen zijn de adverbia van omstandigheid, van graad en van vergelijking. Net zoals adjectieven kunnen ook adverbia attributief en substantief gebruikt worden. Postposities kunnen worden ingedeeld in postposities met ruimtelijke of abstracte betekenis. Binnen de groep van pronomina wordt een onderscheid gemaakt tussen persoonlijke, demonstratieve, interrogatieve, indefiniete, reflexieve, reciproke, distributieve, collectieve en 'overige' pronomina. Telwoorden kunnen worden geclassificeerd als cardinale, ordinale, collectieve, distributieve of repetitieve telwoorden. De volgende sectie behandelt de morfologie van het verbum, waarbij een overzicht wordt gegeven van zowel de grammaticale hoofdcategorieën zoals tempus, aspect en modus als ook van de niet-finiete vormen van het verbum. Hoofdstuk drie sluit af met een sectie over partikels en derivatieprocessen.

In hoofdstuk vier wordt de syntaxis van het Chwarsji besproken. De eerste sectie behandelt woordvolgorde, gevolgd door een analyse van de structuur van de nominale constituent. De volgende sectie beschrijft copula constructies met een predicatief nomen, een predicatief adjectief, of een onpersoonlijke, locatieve, possessieve of existentiële zin.

De volgende sectie geeft een overzicht van de belangrijkste zinstypen in Chwarsji, gevolgd door een beschrijving van verschillende soorten coördinatie, zoals conjunctieve, asyndetische, disjunctieve en adversatieve coördinatie. In deze sectie wordt ook aandacht besteed aan coördinatie van zinsdelen en de congruentie met gecoördineerde nominale constituenten. In de volgende sectie komt valentie aan bod voor intransitieve predicaten, tweepplaatsige affectieve predicaten, tweepplaatsige predicaten in potentiële constructies en voor transitieve predicaten. Vervolgens worden de belangrijkste derivatieve mechanismen voor valentieverandering besproken, zoals de vorming van causatieven. In de volgende drie secties worden de belangrijkste typen van subordinatie besproken: relatieve bijzinnen, complementaire bijzinnen en adverbiale bijzinnen. De volgende sectie introduceert reflexivisatie in hoofd- en in bijzinnen. Vervolgens worden de verschillende mogelijkheden voor het vormen van reciproke constructies besproken. Dan volgt een sectie over verschillende typen vragen, waarin achtereenvolgens polaire, parametrische en deliberatieve vragen worden behandeld. Vervolgens wordt de indirecte rede besproken, met speciale aandacht voor 'deictic shift' en het gebruik van verschillende niet-indicatieve werkwoordsvormen in de indirecte rede. De laatste twee secties geven een overzicht van negatie en algemene congruentiepatronen.

Het boek eindigt met een lijst van referenties en een appendix, die bestaat uit teksten met interlineaire glossen en een Engelse vertaling.

Curriculum vitae

Zaira Khalilova was born on the 19th of March 1983 in Makhachkala, Russia. In June 2005, she obtained her Master's degree in Philology at the Daghestan State University. In October 2005, she started the research for her Linguistics Ph.D. thesis at the Department of Linguistics at the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig.