PRINCIPAL ASPECTS OF XINALIQ PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

by

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STATEMENT OF DISSERTATION APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a description of Xinaliq, a Northeast (Nakh-Daghestanian) Caucasian language spoken primarily in the village also called Xinaliq, which lies at an elevation of 7,000 feet in the Kuba district of Azerbaijan, near the border with Daghestan. Currently there are approximately 1,500 residents in the village. Most of them are bilingual. Use of the Xinaliq language is decreasing rapidly due to many economic and social factors.

The aim of this dissertation is to contribute to linguistics scholarship in several ways: (i) Xinaliq offers rich typological traits that have been understudied, due to the relatively sparse linguistic analysis of the Northeast Caucasian languages; (ii) Xinaliq offers many resources for historical linguistics, providing material needed for the study of language change, language contact, and possible genetic relationships among languages in this region; (iii) cultural description of the region will benefit anybody interested in this ancient community, its members and their language.

The grammar, although based on a linguistic analysis informed by current linguistic theory and advances in language typology, is theory neutral. An attempt was made to analyze, interpret and synthesize phonological and morphological patterns in formats that will be useful both to linguists and to researchers from other fields, as well as Xinaliq community members. In addition to the grammar, the dissertation describes the historical and cultural background of the language and the speakers of the language.

This dissertation is primarily based on data collected during several field trips undertaken by the author between the years 2009 – 2013. It is supplemented with data from the initial visit to Xinaliq village with Dr. Harris in 2009. Limited materials available from previous research on the language have also been researched and studied. The fieldwork consisted of long-term stays in Xinaliq village, eliciting data, collecting texts, making video and audio recordings and participating in daily life activities with the community members. Different socioeconomic groups, including men, women and children of various ages were engaged in the process.

This dissertation has been partially supported by a grant from National Science Foundation, DoBes Volkswagen Foundation and The American Research Institute of the South Caucasus.

This grammar is dedicated to the Xinaliq community of Azerbaijan.

Thank you.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- >	changes into
A	agent
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjective
AN	animate (class III)
AOR	aorist
APP.AB	approaching above
APP.BL	approaching below
APP.LV	approaching same level
APP.UNS	approaching unspecified
ASP	aspect
AUX.I	auxiliary I
AUX.II	auxiliary II
AUX.III	auxiliary III
AUX.IV	auxiliary IV
C	consonant
CM	class marker
COM	comitative

COMP	comparative
CON	conditional
COP	copula
DAT	dative
DEF.PST	definite past
DEP.AB	departing above
DEP.BL	departing below
DEP.LV	departing same level
ERG	ergative
F	feminine (class II)
FEM	feminine (class II)
FUT	future
FUT.I	future I
FUT.II	future II
GEN.1	genitive 1
GEN.2	genitive 2
GEN.LOC	general locative
HAB.PRES	habitual present
HAB.PST	habitual past
IMP	imperative
IMP.I	imperfect I
IMP.II	imperfect II
IMPRFV	imperfective

IMPRFV.II	imperfective II
INAN	inanimate (class IV)
INDEF.PST	indefinite past
INDIC	indicative
INST	instrumental
INTER	interrogative
IRR.PST	irrealis past
LOC	locative
M	male (class I)
MASC	male (class I)
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NTR.PST	neutral past
O	patient
OD	orientation/direction marker
OR.ABL	orientational ablative
OR.LOC	orientational locative
PL	plural
PLUP.I	pluperfect I
PLUP.II	pluperfect II
POS.ABL	possessive ablative
POS.LOC	possessive locative

POT	potential
PRF.I	perfect I
PRF.II	perfect II
PRFV	perfective
PRFV.I	perfective I
PROH	prohibitive
PRS.I	present I
PRS.II	present II
PST	past
S	subject
SG	singular
SMP.PRES	simple present
SOV	subject object verb
SVO	subject verb object
UNEX	unexpected
V	verb
V	vowel
VCM	verb class marker

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to acknowledge and express my gratitude to the Xinaliq people for sharing their language with me, for welcoming me to their community and for their utmost dedication to the Xinaliq language, their cultural heritage and revitalization efforts. I specifically would like to thank the late Fexraddin Abdulaev, who in addition to teaching me about his language and culture, taught me about friendship and humor. The lightness of his spirit and his curiosity about life have guided this writing.

Many people and organizations must be acknowledged as aiding and supporting the writing of this grammar. First, this grammar would not be possible without my initial fieldwork trip as a research assistant to Alice Harris in 2009, who was kind enough to allow me this opportunity. Discovering the Xinaliq village with her for the first time and making acquaintance with our first language consultants, who have worked with me continuously over the years, was a priceless introduction to Xinaliq and to doing fieldwork lingustics. Her guidance through out the whole process has been unmatched. In the US, Lyle Campbell has been a dedicated committee chair and has guided this research thoughtfully and helpfully. I am grateful for his abundance of comments, his time and support. I owe much of my current thinking about Xinaliq and linguistics in general to him. Without MaryAnn Christison's academic guidance, this work would not have been completed. Her feedback has been invaluable in the writing and revisions of this grammar. I would also like to acknowledge the other members of my graduate

committee: Marianna DiPaolo and Maria Polinsky for their helpful feedback and cooperation. I also want to acknowledge the entire faculty in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Utah, who taught the courses that have informed this grammar.

Outside of the United States, I want to deeply thank Jost Gippert from Goethe University Frankfurt. Without his initial support this grammar would not be written. It is due to his encouragement that I sought out funding from the DoBes Volkswagen Foundation, which ended up being crucial to writing this grammar. I also want to thank my research partner, Monika Rind-Pawlowski. Her insightful comments during the fieldwork as well as her company was extremely valuable and appreciated. In addition to the Volkswagen Foundation, the National Science Foundation and American Research Institute of South Caucasusa also provided funding for this dissertation. I am grateful for their support. I want to thank my friend and editor Ron Bitton for reading this manuscript and making much needed suggestions.

Lastly, I want to thank Dagny and John for being there when it was most needed. Thank you.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aim of this Dissertation

The aim of this dissertation is to provide an informed grammatical description of the principal aspects of the phonology and morphosyntax of Xinaliq, a Northeast Caucasian language spoken in Azerbaijan. Although informed by current linguistic theory and advances in language typology, this linguistic analysis is theory neutral. The goal for this descriptive grammar is to be clear, accessible, reasonably comprehensive, and to address in depth the structural attributes of Xinaliq phonology and morphosyntax.

It is important to note that this dissertation is part of a larger documentation project of Xinaliq, which, in addition to enhancing scholarly understanding of the Xinaliq language, is ultimately designed to address the needs of native speakers in the community for ethnolinguistic documentation and preservation. In the documentation project, in addition to the language, importance was given to recording and describing the cultural heritage of the region. The project included a plan for a long-term, community-based program to sustain and revitalize Xinaliq, with leadership from and involvement of the native speakers in the community.

Elicitations, texts and recordings collected during fieldwork (see Section 1.4) were used for linguistic analyses and for the development of this grammar. They are also being

used for currently ongoing production of teaching and literacy materials in the Xinaliq language, materials which previously did not exist.

1.2 Organization of the Grammar

The contents of the grammar (please see the Table of Contents of the grammar above) were modeled after a number of the best reference grammars. The grammar is organized in eleven chapters. The first two chapters provide the background on this dissertation and place the Xinaliq language in a larger cultural and historical context. Chapter 3 surveys the phoneme inventory of Xinaliq language and its phonology. Chapter 4 discusses the general category of nouns, including the class markers, the case system, plurality and noun phrase. Chapter 5 describes dependent and independent adjectives, understanding of which is crucial for understanding the different types of pronouns discussed in Chapter 6. Chapter 7 provides a detailed description of the Xinaliq verb and its morphology. Aspect, tense and modality are introduced, both separately and as part of Xinaliq morphology. The verb phrase and its components are described in Chapter 8, and verb alignment and agreement in Chapter 9. Xinaliq's orientation-direction markers are analyzed in Chapter 10. Word order, discussed in Chapter 11, completes the morphosyntactic description of the Xinaliq language presented here.

The grammatical elements and constructions are in numbered sections and nested subsections, in clear descriptive prose, illustrated with multiple examples, with clear terminology and tables and graphs to further illustrate the point. Each example is given standard interlinear glossing and translation. Extensive effort was made to cross-reference related phenomena elsewhere in the grammar. The Table of Contents should be a reasonably comprehensive aid in locating specific elements.

Examples from the previous published work on the Xinaliq language were consulted during the analyses, including unpublished examples collected during the fieldwork trip in 2009 with Dr. Harris.

Although not a complete grammar of the Xinaliq language, an attempt was made to describe the key areas of the language.

1.3 Typological Overview

The discussion of the typological characteristics of the Xinaliq language in this chapter serves as the the background for the more in-depth analysis of the linguistic patterns in later chapters. The Xinaliq language has several features whose study can significantly contribute to theoretical, typological, and historical-comparative linguistics. Xinaliq has a complex phonology, with forty-three consonants, including stops at four different points of articulation; its verb alignment is ergative; there is four-fold semantic distribution of its noun classes, agreeing with adjectives, verbs, pronouns and adverbs; it has thirteen cases; inclusive/exclusive possessive pronoun contrast with kinship option; complex deictic pronouns; complex class number markers in the verb which can appear multiple times in the verb; and variation in present tense due to the spatial orientation of the speaker in relation to the event. This morphologically integrated orientation-directional system also applies to demonstratives and auxiliaries and rich past tense forms (fourteen tense forms altogether).

1.4 Fieldwork and Methodology

The data for the present work was collected over several fieldwork trips conducted by the author from 2009-2013 with funding from the National Science Foundation, DoBes Volkswagen Foundation and The American Research Institute of the South Caucasus.

The fieldwork was conducted according to recommended best practices as outlined by Bird and Simons. The recordings were made to be high quality and long-lasting. Elicitations through questionnaires, direct elicitations, and natural speech collection techniques were incorporated during fieldwork. Naturally occurring conversations in different discourse settings were documented. The goal was to collect several types of texts, ranging from daily dialogues to technical instructions on how to make various items and collected examples of traditional knowledge. Speakers from different social classes were encouraged to participate, including children, elders and females. Elicitations were necessary to get full morphological paradigms and to assess more detailed information that does not always surface in natural speech recordings. Data from those recordings, however, had the advantage of being original and part of natural speech events, without the interference of the contact language used by the author. The two techniques (natural speech recordings and language elicitations) proved to be necessary for different purposes, and both were used during the fieldwork. Elicitations were conducted in Azeri and Russian and recorded on audio and video equipment. Through carefully selected questionnaires (both standard ones and those developed by the author), the language was elicited. Questionnaires, including those developed by Comrie and Smith (1977), Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992), and Payne (1997), were used on numerous occasions. When possible, all the questionnaires were adjusted to the geography and

cultural norms of the Xinaliq community. Other stimuli such as photos were also used. Guidelines from Payne (1997) for text collection were followed. Texts were transcribed and translated in the field as much as possible. Extensive metadata was kept on everything recorded. Minimal annotations were included: unique identifier, title, collector, place, target and contact language, consultants' information, date, item type, general description, and miscellaneous comments. Personal metadata included: persons' names, date of birth, first and additional languages spoken, clan, residential history, household information, and more. This information will also be highly useful for a much needed sociolinguistic survey of the Xinaliq village. However, these unique identifiers have not been included in this version of the grammar due to spatial constraints and strict formatting guidelines.

1.5 The Name

There are several variations on the name for the Xinaliq language, including Khinalugh, Khinaliq, Khanaluka and Khynalyk, Khinalug, Khinalugi, and Xinalug. All these names and their variants represent either Azerbaijani or Russian pronunciation and titles for this language and people. However, the name that the Xinaliq people use to refer to themselves is *Ket,* and the language is referred to as the *Ketish* language. To maintain consistency with the previous work, and to make this research accessible and recognizable by the largest possible audience, the choice was made to stay with the name Xinaliq, which is the name predominantly used by the Azerbaijanis for this language and its speakers. The author intends to introduce the community preferred name *Ketish* into linguistic discourse by suggesting the change to Ethnologue administrators and incorporating the term into future work.

CHAPTER 2

XINALIQ: LANGUAGE, PEOPLE, AND GEOGRAPHY

2.1 The Xinaliq Language

The languages of the Caucasus are spoken in the territory extending from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea in the region of the Caucasus Mountains. This area has been renowned since antiquity for the immense number of languages it hosts. There are three separate language families in this region: the Northwest Caucasian language family, the South Caucasian (Kartvelian) language family, and the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family. The language families in this region are not related to one another genetically (i.e., they are not descended from a common language ancestor); thus, they represent three separate and distinct language families, although their regional and areal relations include borrowed vocabulary and other factors. Some scholars have speculated on possible relations among these families, or to languages outside the Caucasus region. However, none of the proposals has been proven, and they are not generally accepted by the wider linguistic community. The term "Caucasian Languages" only refers to the geographic proximity of the language families. In addition, none of them has a relationship with any languages outside of the region; all three of the language families are considered indigenous to the Caucasus region. According to Comrie (2009) there is an important distinction between the terms "Caucasian Languages" and

"Languages of the Caucasus." The former refers to the three language families that are restricted to the Caucasus. The latter can include other languages that are spoken both in and outside of this region, such as Armenian, Azeri and Russian, among many others.

Xinaliq (ISO639-3: kjj) is a Caucasian language, belonging to the Northeast Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) language family. It is spoken primarily in one village in northern Azerbaijan, where it has been spoken for centuries. Although the language has changed over the years and certain expressions, phrases, and grammatical variants have been abandoned by the younger generations, Xinaliq does not show dialectal variation. While some of the Northeast Caucasian languages in the region are spoken both in Daghestan and Azerbaijan, Xinaliq is one of the very few spoken only in Azerbaijan. The border between Daghestan and Azerbaijan was of no great importance during Soviet times, but it is now the national border separating Daghestan, which belongs to Russia, and the independent country of Azerbaijan. Although the languages spoken on the two sides of the border differ, there was strong cultural contact and communication between the communities which is almost nonexistent now, being too difficult to maintain for geographic and sociopolitical reasons. Russians now need a visa to enter the country of Azerbaijan, and vice versa. These political changes and their impacts on the languages spoken in this region have not been studied yet. Almost all Caucasian languages have been significantly influenced by Russian since Czarist times, while the impact of Georgian, Azeri, and, to a lesser extent, also Arabic, Iranian, and Turkish has remained restricted to certain geographic areas. The lexical influence is easiest to detect through the borrowings from Russian, Turkish (Azeri) and Arabic into Xinaliq. However, there are also some indications of phonological and morphological influences that need further

study.The influence of Azeri on Xinaliq is observable not only in the vocabulary but also in the phonetics and grammar (Kibrik, 1972). Those influences have continued to grow, especially since the introduction of electricity to Xinaliq village, followed by the quick spread of television sets and the prominence and popularity of Turkish soap operas.

The Northeast Caucasian language family is by far the largest and most linguistically diverse of the Caucasian language families, and its age is often compared to that of Indo-European (Nichols, 2010). Although it is difficult to make an exact count, there seem to be thirty-one languages that belong to the Northeast Caucasian language family. Views of the classification of languages within the family tree have varied among language specialists. The family tree is complex, and the documentation of all the languages in this family is not yet complete. Thus, some questions about the family's internal relationships remain unanswered. The traditional classification of the language family splits it into two main branches, a western group consisting of the Nakh languages and an eastern group comprised of the Daghestanian languages. This division is illustrated in Figure 2.1. The dotted lines represent alternative classification options for some of the families and individual languages. The other classifications differ by holding that Nakh and Daghestanian are not the two main branches of the family, but rather the language family has five to seven principal branches (Figure 2.2).

According to a 1994 survey (Kibrik, 1994), at that time the three Nakh languages taken as a group had about one million speakers. The same survey numbered all Daghestanian languages taken together at 1.5 million speakers. The Daghestanian languages are divided into four main subgroups: (i) Avar-Andi-Tsezic; (ii) Lak; (iii) Dargi; and (iv) Lezgic.

Xinaliq has been classified as a member of the Lezgic subfamily. However, opinions diverge as to the correct classification of Xinaliq in relation to the languages of the Lezgic subgroup. The view that Xinaliq may belong to the Lezgic subgroup (instead of representing a subgroup in its own right) is highly disputed. Although debate continues, most scholars today regard Xinaliq as a separate branch of which Xinaliq is the only member within the Northeast Caucasian family.

There is a long history of scholarly interest in the languages of the Caucasus. During Soviet times as well as after, many Russian scholars were interested in the region, and there have also been many publications about the languages in the region in both English and German. For some Caucasian languages there are reference grammars. Thus far, there is little work on aspects of the grammar of Xinaliq and very little textual material has been published. After the first sketch of the language done by Šaumyan (1940), the first grammar was written by Yu.D. Desheriev, entitled *Grammatika xinalugskogo jazyka* and published in 1959. It was followed by the same author's sketch in 1968 entitled *Xinalugskij jazyk.* In 1972, A. E. Kibrik and S.V. Kodzasov published *Fragmenty grammatiki xinalugskogo jazyka,* a brief sketch of Xinaliq, including a score of short text specimens and a concise vocabulary. Although these publications lay some groundwork for research, they are most definitely incomplete and at times are not informed by the insights of modern linguistic theory.

A.E. Kibrik's team continued to work on many Daghestanian languages, including Xinaliq, currently designing a software infrastructure to maintain the texts that were collected in Xinaliq by his colleagues over the years (cf. http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/rus/xin/corpus.php; but note that these links do not

always work).

A dictionary of Xinaliq (Xinaliq-Russian) was first provided by F.A. Ganieva in 2002 (*Xinalugsko-russkij slovar', Xinaliq-Russian Dictionary*). Except for a very short sketch of the Xinaliq grammar by Kibrik (1994) that was translated into English, most of the published material on Xinaliq is not available in English.

This dissertation utilizes the existing scholarship on the structural traits of Xinaliq. Although the existing literature provides a solid starting point and has been utilized, the new data collected from fieldwork is the main source upon which this reference grammar is based. Initial research was conducted by Alice C. Harris and myself in 2009. Since then I have returned to the village of Xinaliq on two more occasions, spending the summer of 2011 and 2012 collecting data and working with the local community.

Most of the indigenous Caucasian languages have never had their own writing. As a matter of fact, no more than twelve of these languages adopted a written standard during Soviet times. Only one of the autochthonous Caucasian languages, Georgian, has a long historical tradition as a written language, persisting uninterrupted since the fifth century AD. For Udi, written attestations of an old form of the language were discovered in the "Caucasian Albanian" palimpsests of the Middle Ages (Gippert, Schulze et al., 2009).

Many attempts to provide orthographies for unwritten vernacular languages of the Caucasus have been made in the recent past, partly with emphasis on language maintenance; however, none of them has received official status so far. Since the second half of the twentieth century there have been several attempts to create a writing system for Xinaliq based on the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. For example, the Xinaliq teacher

Rahim Alxas, an enthusiastic proponent of his native language, adapted the Lezgian Cyrillic-based alphabet for Xinaliq and proceeded to publish several books that included both poetry and teaching aids for the Xinaliq school (cf. e.g., http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/assets/texts/Alhas.zip). Another local poet, Namik, came up with his own orthography, which is the most accurate in terms of reflecting the number of phonemes that actually exist in Xinaliq. However, the system is complicated and was not accepted by most of the school teachers. Also, Namik had only a high school education, so his level of education did not give him enough prestige in the eyes of the teachers in the village to be taken seriously. In 2007, a team of scholars from Moscow University, under the leadership of Dr. Sandro Kodzasov, made a new proposal for a Xinaliq alphabet that closely follows the current Latin-based Azeri alphabet (cf. http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/assets/texts/xin-abc.pdf; the link does not always work). An alphabet was also introduced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 2010. Although it is known that this alphabet ignores some phonemic distinctions in Xinaliq, it is currently the one most used, owing its success to the ease with which the orthography can be learned and its similarity to the Latin writing system used for Azeri. According to SIL, the main goal of the new alphabet is ease of learning and use. As a result, the system does not reflect several phonological distinctions that are easy for the native speakers to determine from the context but which might overcomplicate the notation if overtly represented in the writing.

I, together with DoBes Volkswagen Foundation researcher Monika Rind-Pawlowski, worked with a team of teachers led by Gurban Abdulaev, a Xinaliq and Azerbaijani language grammar instructor, to create an alphabet that could utilize some of

the previous work done by both the locals and linguists. However, neither this alphabet nor its alternatives have become accepted as a standard yet. This work is currently in progress and the hope is for consensus on this issue to be reached within the next few months. There is one class taught on the Xinaliq language that meets irregularly. There are no grammar books available in Xinaliq to assist the instructors in teaching; thus, the class is not taken seriously. All residents use the Latin-based Azeri writing system (being the official writing system of the State of Azerbaijan) today. Although some of the residents still speak Russian, they do not necessarily know how to write in Cyrillic.

2.2 The Xinaliq People

Many of the minority languages and people of the Caucasus are heavily endangered as more or less homogeneous communities, much more so now than ever before in their history. With the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the emergence of independent former Soviet states, and the beginning of armed conflicts in the struggle for independence, economic conditions have deteriorated and it has become much harder for smaller communities to survive. Many communities are now dissolving, with their languages being abandoned. The remoteness and isolation of the Xinaliq village have contributed to the survival of its language; however, the number of Xinaliq speakers has been declining more and more rapidly due to many of the changing factors mentioned above.

The Xinaliq people were not counted as a separate ethnic group during the Soviet era (Gardanova, 1962) due to the ideological Soviet definition of ethnicity (i.e., *natsionalnost*) that has persisted up to the present day in Azerbaijan. According to a 1976 census (Clifton, 2005) the Xinaliq population was 2,500, however, the most current survey shows it at the much lower number of 1,000 (Salminen, 2007). The actual number

of full-time residents in Xinaliq village is probably even lower today. Xinaliq is the first language of the residents; however, almost everyone in the village also speaks Azerbaijani (Azeri), and some speak Russian. Although many children still spend their first few years speaking Xinaliq, they are obliged to speak Azeri as soon as they enter the school system. There is no schooling in the Xinaliq language, and Russian is only spoken by elderly men who served in the military during the Soviet era. Even though the residents have been used to the presence of those dominant languages for quite some time, they have maintained Xinaliq as the primary language in most home and family domains. Yet recently more and more domains are being lost to Azeri (Clifton, 2005). Although limited trade with the outside world has always existed, there have been growing work opportunities extraneous to Xinaliq due to more access to transportation and better roads. As a result, there has been a change in the character of those with whom the Xinaliq people work and for whom they work. A growing portion of the Xinaliq population conducts business with the residents of the nearby industrial town of Guba, where the language spoken is Azerbaijani. Thus, Azerbaijani is slowly becoming the language of commerce among Xinaliqi. Currently there are very few monolingual Xinaliq speakers left, mostly women, who are the members of the population least likely to attend school. More and more Xinaliq speakers find it necessary to conduct business and to communicate with others outside of their village. The construction of a better road connecting Xinaliq to the larger industrial town of Quba has contributed to more Xinaliq speakers finding it tempting and at times necessary to conduct business outside of their village. The road has also led to changes in many other aspects of traditional life, such as the introduction of electricity and an improved diet. With all of these changes in recent

years, there is a serious danger that Xinaliq may die out completely within the next two generations.

Although the number of speakers is declining, most residents still consider Xinaliq to be their mother tongue and take an enormous pride in their language and heritage. A strong component of the documentation project that extends beyond the dissertation research is the training of the willing native Xinaliq speakers in transcription, recording, and creation of teaching materials. As part of the process of creating a descriptive grammar for Xinaliq, a range of data for a variety of language phenomena was recorded and analyzed. These texts are being used for the development of language teaching and literacy materials. By training locals in linguistic fieldwork methods, the project will be ensured a long livelihood beyond this dissertation research.

2.3. The Xinaliq Village

Xinaliq village can be seen in Figure 2.3 and is identified as No.4 on the map.

The village lies at an altitude of about 2,000 meters in the Quba district of Azerbaijan, in the middle of the Greater Caucasus mountain range that divides Russia and the Southern Caucasus region. Xinaliq is separated from most Daghestanian languages by the Caucasus chain. Its closest Daghestani language neighbor is Kryts (labeled on the map as Kryz), spoken in the villages of Alik, Djek and Kryts. Xinaliq is the highest and most remote and isolated village in Azerbaijan, and it is among those villages with the highest altitude in the Caucasus region. In fact, because of its remoteness, the government of Azerbaijan subsidizes teachers willing to teach in Xinaliq. Although they are citizens of Azerbaijan, Xinaliq residents are considered to be of a different ethnicity by Azerbaijanian people, a consideration that has negative social implications and that needs

to be studied further.

Xinaliq is believed to be an ancient Caucasian village going back to the Caucasian Albanian period. According to Schulze (1994), both the local history and the linguistics of Xinaliq clearly indicate that the early speakers of Xinaliq migrated into their present location at some point during the period from 1000 BC to AD 300. It is believed by the Xinaliq residents that the ancestors of the Xinaliq people were followers of Zoroastrianism. In the third century they converted to Christianity, and then to Islam in the seventh century. All residents are Muslim. Because of the high altitude and its remoteness, the Xinaliq village and its residents have managed to survive and withstand the many invasions the region has witnessed. The area has many historical sites including ancient holy caves. Tellingly, the village of Xinaliq was included on the 2008 World Monuments Fund Watch List of the 100 Most Endangered Sites in the World.

In the last twenty years a new settlement of Xinaliq speakers was established about eight kilometers from Xinaliq village. The settlement is called Boston Kesh and has a population of approximately three hundred people. Because of the lower altitude, residents can grow potatoes in Boston Kesh and life there is a little easier. Xinaliq village remains the center of the Xinaliq people and their cultural activities.

With all the best intentions and efforts, there is only so much work that outsiders can do when it comes to language maintenance; ultimately, it is up to the people of the community to preserve their language. If the community members are encouraged to be involved, the chances of Xinaliq language survival increase significantly. The hope is that

this grammar will add to the necessary framework needed for future preservation and revitalization efforts by the Xinaliq community.

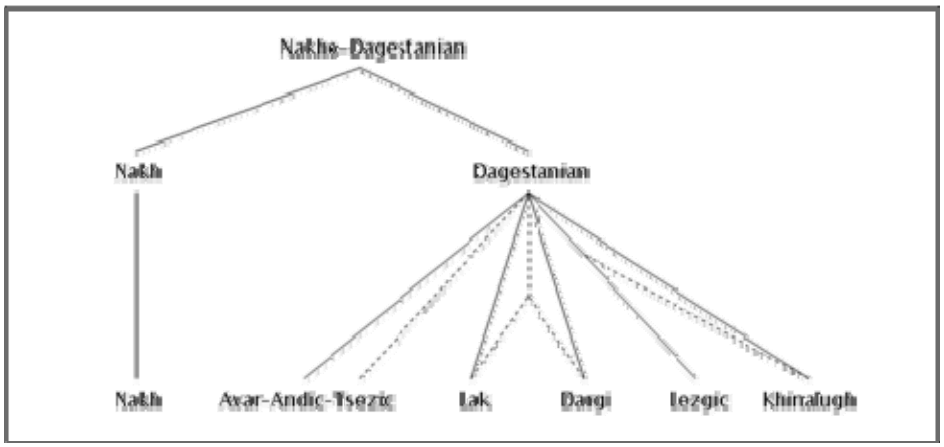

Figure 2.1 Traditional Nakh-Daghestanian Family Classification. (Nichols, 2003)

(Nakho-Dagestanian=Nakh-Daghestanian; Dargi=Dargwi; Lezgic=Lezgian; Khinalugh=Xinaliq)

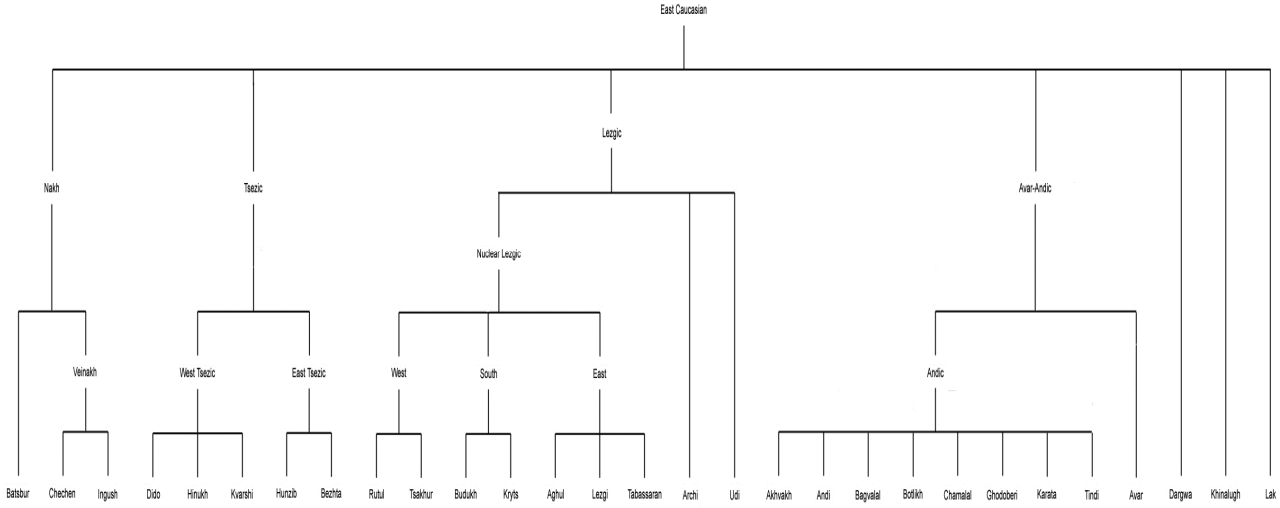

Figure 2.2 Northeast Caucasian Family Classification. (Klimov, 1994)

Figure 2.3 The Location of Xinaliq Village (Adapted from *The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire*. www.eki.ee/books/redbook/khinalugs.shtml)

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

This chapter is dedicated to a description of the phonology of Xinaliq, with emphasis on the phonemes and phonological processes of the language.

3.1 Consonants

Many languages of the Caucasus are known for their large numbers of consonants. Xinaliq is no exception. Although the number of Xinaliq phonemes proposed in different analyses has varied, after looking at previous work by other scholars, speaking with a number of Xinaliq school teachers and various language consultants and after completing extensive fieldwork, it seems clear that there are forty-four contrasting consonants in Xinaliq. This number of phonemes is based on initial work by Desheriev (1959) and later Kibrik (1972), as well as on thorough research conducted in 2007, when a team of scholars from Moscow University, under the leadership of Dr. Sandro Kodzasov, created a new proposal for a Xinaliq alphabet that closely followed Kibrik's 1972 proposal (cf. http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/assets/texts/xin-abc.pdf). The proposal was developed in cooperation with the language teachers of the Xinaliq school. The phoneme inventory presented in this dissertation differs from that original work by including three extra phonemes as part of the Xinaliq phonemic inventory. They are: (i) glottal stop *ʔ*, (ii) velar glide *w,* and (iii) uvular stop *q*. Yet when Kibrik's dissertation was published in

1972, he also included the glottal stop *ʔ* and uvular stop *q* in his description of the Xinaliq phonemic inventory. Between the years of 1995 and 2000, Alexander Nakhimovsky from Colgate University worked in conjunction with A. Kibrik from Moscow University on the development of a database of five Eurasian languages including Xinaliq (cf. http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/eng/xin/index.php/). In this newer orthography, these phonemes were also recognized. Thus, my analysis of the Xinaliq phonemic inventory diverges from theirs only by having one more phoneme: the velar glide *w*. The first year of my fieldwork was spent on studying and analyzing the Xinaliq phonemic inventory. Considerable amount of time was spent on making the recordings and learning the sounds of Xinaliq. Because the phonemic inventory has been established and accepted by many scholars before me, minimal pairs were not always collected. Instead, the main effort was spent on learning the phonemes and working with the residents on creating an orthography that would be most useful. A list of minimal pairs with phonemes that most likely be mistaken for allophones is given in this section, after the phonemic inventory is introduced.

The Xinaliq consonants are distinguished by place and manner of articulation. The places of articulation of Xinaliq phonemes are: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palato-alveolar, palatal, velar, uvular, pharyngeal and glottal. The manners of articulation are: stop, fricative, affricate, approximant, trill, lateral, nasal and ejective. Consonants can also contrast with respect to voicing (voiced/voiceless) and length (short/long distinction, i.e., geminates), although length applies only to plain voiceless stops and affricates. There is only one voiced affricate. It seems reasonable to assume that the Xinaliq phoneme inventory used to be larger and has continually decreased under the impact of increased

contact with outside groups. This would account for some "gaps" in the current inventory, such as lack of length distinction in all consonants and the small number of voiced affricates. The complete list of Xinaliq phonemes is given below, together with a few example words containing the given phoneme. Transcription is in standard International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) notation.

1. /p/ voiceless bilabial stop
   ***p**aga* 'tomorrow'
   ***p**an* 'hundred'
2. /p:/ long voiceless bilabial stop
   *qu**p:**a* 'belt buckle'
   ***p:**ejram* 'shirt'
3. /p'/ voiceless bilabial ejective stop
   ***p'**a* 'a kiss'
   ***p'**a**p'**aχ* 'Xinaliq style hat'
4. /b/ voiced bilabial stop
   ***b**ɪj* 'father'
   b**em**b 'fly'
5. /f/ voiceless bilabial fricative
   ***f**ara* 'warm'
   ***f**itʃ'œ* 'wet'
6. /v/ voiced bilabial fricative
   ***v**ats:ɯnɯ* 'to stay'
   *duɯ**v**ar* 'wall'
7. /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
   *tsuɯ**m**a* 'red'
   *q'a**m**i* 'spoon'
8. /t/ voiceless dental stop

t*oz* ‘dust’

*dos****t****ır* ‘friends’

9. /t:/ long voiceless dental stop

*ba****t:****a* ‘short’

t:*oz* ‘door’

10. /r/ voiced dental trill

r*ang* ‘color’

*daha****r****i* ‘rock’ (ergative)

11. /l/ voiced dental lateral approximant

l*ap* ‘very’

*t’a****l****i* ‘lip’ (ergative)

12. /d/ voiced alveolar stop

d*ost* ‘friend’

*mu****d****e* ‘mountain’

13. /t’/ voiceless alveolar ejective stop

t’*al* ‘a lip’

*pʃi****t’*** ‘kitten’

14. /ts/ voiceless alveolar affricate

ts*uma* ‘red’

ts*uloz* ‘tooth’

15. /ts:/ long voiceless alveolar affricate

*je****ts:****ini* ‘to stay back’

16. /ts’/ voiceless alveolar ejective affricate

ts’*u* ‘name’

ts’*in* ‘sweet’

17. /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative

s*an* ‘night’

*varus****i*** ‘relative’

18. /z/ voiced alveolar fricative

z*ɯ*	‘I’
*bz**i***	‘pear’ (ergative)

19. /n/ voiced alveolar nasal

n*uk’*	‘hail’
*ko**n**a*	‘old’

20. /tʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

tʃ*oz*	‘spring’
tʃ*e*	‘tea’

21. /tʃː/ long voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

*k’u**tʃː**ɯ*	‘heel’

22. /dʒ/ voiced palato-alveolar affricate

dʒ*y**dʒ**æ***	‘chick’
*kun**dʒ***	‘corner’

23. /tʃ'/ voiceless palato-alveolar ejective affricate

tʃ'*æ*	‘fire’
tʃ'*u**tʃ'****on***	‘whip’

24. /ʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative

ʃ*um*	‘sand’
*q’ama**ʃ***	‘secret’

25. /ʒ/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative

*b**ʒ**uvɯ*	‘to leave’
*q’a**ʒ***	‘tail’

26. /y/ voiced palatal glide

j*etmæ*	‘want’ (Class M.)
*ma**j**lun*	‘a fool’

27. /k/ voiceless velar stop

k*ul*	‘hill’

*a**k**uval* ‘to go away’

28. /k:/ long voiceless velar stop

*bo**k:**u* ‘Baku’

***k:**uza* ‘snow’

29. /g/ voiced velar stop

***g**ada* ‘boy’

*dalu**g*** ‘work’

30. /k’/ voiceless velar ejective stop

***k’**ıl* ‘arm’

*t’u**k’**un* ‘cheek’

31. /kx/ voiceless velar affricate

*mo**kx*** ‘worm’

***kx**e* ‘wool’

32. /w/ voiced velar glide

***w**a* ‘it’s there’ (on top)

*s**w**a* ‘village’

33. /x/ voiceless velar fricative

***x**u* ‘water’

*lu**x*** ‘shepherd’s crook’

34. /ɣ/ voiced velar fricative

*k’u**ɣ*** ‘eyebrow’

*jo**ɣ**i* ‘to shake’

35. /q/ voiceless uvular stop

***q**i* ‘cold’

36. /q:/ long voiceless uvular stop

*to**q**ud* ‘lightning’

37. /q’/ voiceless uvular ejective stop

q'aq'al ‘back’ (body)

*til**q'**wi* ‘to milk’

38. /qX/ voiceless uvular affricate

***qX**utsuz* ‘nut’

*un**qX**a* ‘field’

39. /χ/ voiceless uvular fricative

***χ**olu* ‘uncle’

*mi**χ*** ‘summer’

40. /ʁ/ voiced uvular fricative

***ʁ**utsar* ‘god’

*uta**ʁ*** ‘room’

41. /ħ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative

***ħ**æjæl* ‘child’

*mæ**ħ**sul* ‘harvest’

42. /ʕ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative

*næ**ʕ**næ* ‘saliva’

*mæ**ʕ**ni* ‘song’

43. /ʔ/ glottal stop

*va**ʔ*** ‘no’

*sæ**ʔ**il* ‘here’

44. /h/ voiceless glottal fricative

***h**u* ‘he’

*k'ada**h*** ‘pitcher’

The village of Xinaliq has had a long history of different writing systems being introduced by outside researchers as well as by some of the Xinaliq speakers themselves (see Chapter 2). Different scholars have disagreed on the number of phonemes in Xinaliq, as well as how best to represent them. After conducting original fieldwork (2009, 2011

and 2012), the number of consonants has been established based on previous work mentioned above and in agreement with the team of Xinaliq residents, which included language consultants, teachers and interested residents. A transcription orthography is being debated to this day. The “scientific transcription” was created which retained the positive points of the other alphabets but was new to all language consultants. Therefore there was consensus on its use. (Otherwise each consultant would want to use his own orthography or the one they favored.) This orthography was based on orthographies used by other languages in the region. It was created in collaboration with researchers from the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), Xinaliq language consultants and the Volkswagen research team. It was used during the fieldwork and will be used for the rest of this dissertation. It was used during the fieldwork and will be used for the rest of this dissertation. This orthography was created with certain considerations in mind, including the following: letters known from the Azeri alphabet should keep their phonetic values; two letters (digraphs) for one sound should be avoided (velar affricate being an exception); ejective consonants should not be marked with apostrophe, to avoid confusion with quotation marks in direct speech, rather they should be designated by a point underneath or above; sounds which are similar to Azeri sounds but not identical should take the appropriate letter from the Azeri alphabet marked with an additional diacritic symbol. This orthography was welcomed, and made the workflow during fieldwork much more efficient. However, as the conversation about orthographies continues between researchers in Xinaliq and the native speakers, this “scientific orthography” will most likely continue to change. It was used for this dissertation as the best and most useful alternative for now, not as the final choice. The orthography created

and used throughout this dissertation with its equivalents to some of the more common other orthographies previously used in Xinaliq is given in Table 3.1. The different categories discussed in Table 3.1 are explained here. “Scientific” refers to the orthography used hereafter; “Kibrik” - to the alphabet introduced in the late 1970s and used on and off in the village most frequently; “Namik’s alphabet” was created by the young poet himself (Namik), but is not accepted by many of the school teachers; “The Village Alphabet” was originally created by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and is most liked and used by the community, however, it fails to represent some of the phonemes; “Ganieva’s orthography” is used in the only dictionary in existence for the Xinaliq language (Xinaliq-Russian, Russian-Xinaliq) written by Ganieva, thus her orthography is presented; IPA is there to make easy comparisons. The Georgian alphabet is presented in case of comparisons to be made with other Caucasian languages in the future, particularly Georgian. Scientific orthography matches and represents all the phonemes discussed above.

Although the rest of the document is in scientific transcription, Table 3.2 displays the Xinaliq phonetic inventory in IPA. Table 3.3 does the same in scientific transcription.

Although various orthographies have been proposed by various people, to this day Xinaliq is only rarely written; for the most part it remains an oral language only.

I turn now to a discussion of some details of certain specific phonemes that may need closer attention.

3.1.1 Some Relevant Details Concerning Specific Phonemes

Xinaliq bilabial, dental and velar stops show variation on three parameters – short vs. long, ejective vs. nonejective, and voiced vs. voiceless. Uvular's treatment falls outside of this pattern in that it has no voiced stop. However, both velar and uvular have affricates. Both affricates can occur after nasals, which voiceless bilabial, dental, velar and uvular stops cannot do (Ex. 3.1).

3.1 ınx̂a
'field'

In several situations Xinaliq voiced fricatives commonly become ejectives, as in Examples 3.2 and 3.3.

3.2. /z/ - > [ȩ]
/ķaz/ - > [ķıȩi]
'snake' - > 'snake'

3.3. /ž/ - > [ǯ]
/q̇až/ - > [q̇aǯi]
'tail' - > 'tail'

However, in 3.4 instead of the expected /q̇/, we get /x̂/ because of the nasal /n/ preceeding it:

3.4 /ğ/ - > [x̂]
/enğ/ - > [inx̂i]
'wedding' - > 'wedding'

3.1.2 Short and Long Voiceless Phonemes

Long voiceless stops and affricates occur only intervocalically:

3.5 qup̄a 'buckle'

3.6 bat̄a 'short'

3.7 yec̄ini ‘to stay’

3.8 yäk̄il ‘mountains’

3.9 toq̄ud ‘lightning’

The uvular stop is only long intervocalically in native words. In Azeri loanwords, voiceless uvular stops are not long intervocalically.

Short voiceless consonants occur either word initially or word internally. When occurring word internally, they precede or follow another consonant:

3.10 patram ‘patron’

3.11 erpi ‘to melt’

3.12 toz ‘door’

3.13 dostır ‘friends’

3.14 cıma ‘red’

3.15 ki ‘to burn’

3.16 orkiri ‘to send’

3.17 kul ‘hill’

3.18 qi ‘cold’

There seem to be no exceptions to this pattern of distribution for these consonants.

3.1.3 Allophonic Variations of Xinaliq Consonants

3.1.3.1 Labialization

Velar stops are labialized after /u/ or /o/ followed by /n/. For example:

ḳ - > ḳ^{w}/ [+round V] n___

3.19 /gongaz/ - > [goŋg^{w}az] ‘circle’

3.20 /ung/ - > [ũŋg^{w}] ‘heart’

3.21 /unḳ/ - > [ũŋḳʷ] ‘fog’

In this process, n - > ŋ

3.1.3.2 Voicing of /h/

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ becomes voiced intervocalically, as in the following examples:

3.22 /ʒähil/ - > [ʒäɦ̂il] ‘young’

/h/ is also voiced before sonorants:

3.23 /dähnä/ - > [däɦ̂nä] ‘ravine’

3.1.4 Consonant Distribution

Xinaliq has a rich and complex consonant inventory. Consonant clusters are common among Northeast Caucasian Languages in general. Only certain combinations of consonants are permissible in different parts of the word, however. Below are the permitted consonant clusters in Xinaliq, for various positions within the word.

3.1.4.1 Word-Initial

Combination of

Stops + Fricatives (*bzı* ‘pear’*, pšä* ‘bread’)

+ Lateral (*kla* ‘who’)

Affricate + Fricative (*čχar* ‘buckweat’)

Stops + Fricatives + Liquids (*pšlä* ‘fox’, *pχra* ‘dog’)

Example 3.24 shows three consonants in a row (stop, nasal, stop), which rarely appeared in the data. Thus the rules for word-initial three-consonant clusters need to be

investigated in more depth, as well as possible variations and patterns involving stops, fricatives, nasals and liquids.

3.24 tnka ‘river’

3.1.4.2 Word-Final

No combinations of three consonants were found word-finally. Permissible clusters of two consonants include:

Sonorant + Obstruents (*lıgıld* ‘man’, *borc* ‘father’s sister’, *ant* ‘earth’)

Fricative + Stop (*vaχt* ‘time’, *dost* ‘friend’)

3.1.4.3 Word-Medial Position

Permissible combinations of consonants include:

Sonorant + Obstruent (*kulga* ‘shadow’)

Fricative + Stop (*äsķi* ‘towel’)

Approximant + Consonant (*ayvan* ‘balcony’)

Glottal stop + Consonant (*säʔbi* ‘master’, *näʔnä* ‘saliva’)

Obstruent + Nasal (*ägni* clothing, *häfmi* ‘human’)

With clusters involving obstruents, both obstruents must be either voiced or both voiceless, unless nasals are involved:

3.25 bzı ‘pear’

3.26 ağzı ‘mouth’

3.27 koksı ‘breast’

3.28 aχta ‘to castrate’

3.29 häfmi ‘human’

Ejectives can occur generally in clusters with sonorants, but not with the other obstruents:

3.30 ķarṭa ‘nail’

3.31 ķli ‘to die’

3.32 ınķa ‘flat rock’

3.33 ınq̇ ‘sun’

However there are some exceptions to this:

3.34 čķas ‘bring’

3.35 ısṭarmeyram ‘sorceress’

3.2 Vowels

The vowel system of Xinaliq is less complex and there is no disagreement about the number of vowel phonemes in the language. Its set of vowels is similar to that of Azerbaijani and might have been influenced by Azerbaijani. Each vowel can be described in terms of three properties: the horizontal dimension (front vs. back), height (high, mid, low), and roundness (round vs. plain [nonround]), as seen in Table 3.4. Below are some examples of these vowel phonemes in different positions within words:

/i/:	iži	‘face’
	ninig	‘eyelash’
	ki	‘ram’
/e/:	eg	‘wedding’
	če	‘tea’
/ä/:	ägni	‘clothing’
	dädä	‘mother’
/ü/:*	üs	‘year’
	nüç	‘honey’

	sürü	‘herd’
/ö/:**	dövlät	‘wealth’
	örpüri	‘melt’
/u/:	urta	‘middle’
	ḳun	‘cooking flower’
	xu	‘water’
/o/:	odul	‘handful’
	kona	‘old’
/ı/:	ınka	‘river’
	bıǯ	‘father’
	bzı	‘pear’
/a/:	aba	‘grandfather’
	ṭal	‘lip’
	gada	‘boy’

*The /ü/ occurs in native and borrowed words with the same frequency.

**The /ö/ occurs primarily in borrowing from Azerbaijani.

3.2.1 Allophonic Variations in Xinaliq Vowels

There are a number of rules that affect Xinaliq vowels. These are described below.

3.2.1.1 Nasalization

Vowels before /n/ undergo nasalization, which is a common process of assimilation that happens when vowels are adjacent to nasal consonants. In Xinaliq this does not create a phonemic distinction between vowels. In fact this nasalization might go unnoticed in rapidly spoken Xinaliq.

3.2.1.2 Nasal Assimilation

/n/ gets realized as [ŋ] when followed by velar or uvular, as in:

3.36 /ank/ - > [aŋk] ‘leg’

3.37 /eng/ - > [eŋg] ‘cheese’

3.38 /ɪnq̇/ - > [ɪŋq̇] ‘sun’

As compared to:

3.39 /ans/ - > [ans] ‘game’

3.40 /ant/ - > [ant] ‘earth’

3.41 /anšx̣wi/ - > [anšx̣wi] ‘to brush’

3.42 /anx̣viä/ - > [anx̣viä] ‘to throw’

3.43 /inǯitmiškwi/ - > [inǯitmiškwi] ‘to bother’, ‘to torture’

3.2.1.3 Voiceless Vowels

Underlyingly Xinaliq only has voiced vowels. However, in some phonological situations they experience devoicing. If a vowel is not stressed and is placed between two voiceless consonants, it will be realized as a voiceless vowel.

3.44 /kukáç/ - > [kᵾkáç] ‘chicken’

3.45 /sᵾftǻ/ - > [sᵾftǻ] ‘at first’

3.46 /qᵻcíz/ - > [qᵻcíz] ‘nut’

3.2.1.4 High Vowel Centralization

/i/ and [ɪ] are both centralized when in certain phonological environments.

/i/ - > [i̽] (front high vowel moves to the center) after affricates and uvular consonants:

3.47 /x̣inimk̇ir/ - > [x̣i̽nimk̇ir] ‘woman’

3.48 /qim/ - > [qɨ̱m] ‘hook’

3.49 /ɕin/ - > [ɕɨ̱n] ‘sweet’

/ɪ / - > [ɨ̱] (back high vowel moves to the center) after hissing consonants

3.50 /čɪḳɪri]/ - > [čɨ̱ḳɪri] ‘to talk’

3.51 /šɪdɪl/ - > [šɨ̱dɪl] ‘great-grandson’

3.2.1.5 Vowel Syncope

Vowel syncope in Xinaliq is a loss of an unstressed vowel from the interior of the word. It only occurs with two of the vowels, the high unrounded vowels, and only in informal/rapid speech.

/ɪ/ - > Ø
/i/ - > Ø

It is a common occurrence, especially with /ɪ/.

3.52 [mɪda] - > [mda] ‘mountain’

3.53 [cɪma] - > [cma] ‘red’

3.54 [lɪka] - > [lka] ‘meat’

3.55 [ǯigä] - > [ǯgä] ‘place’

3.2.1.6 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony is a long-distance assimilatory phonological process. In languages that exhibit vowel harmony, there are constraints on which vowels may be found in combination with others, and which combinations within the word are prohibited. Xinaliq demonstrates front/back vowel harmony, which means that words may not contain both front and back vowels. Therefore a grammatical suffix changes to harmonize with other vowels in the root. Most grammatical suffixes come in front and

back forms. The words may not contain both front and back vowels, meaning all vowels must harmonize.

3.56 ägni ‘clothes’

3.57 dövlät ‘wealth’

3.58 ǯıbın ‘pocket’ (SG) - > ǯıbındır ‘pockets’ (PL)

3.59 gardan ‘neck’ (SG) - > gardandır ‘necks’ (PL)

We see that both vowels in Examples 3.56 and 3.57 are front vowels; both vowels in the plural morphemes of Examples 3.58 and 3.59 harmonize to the vowels in the stem. These examples exhibit (front/back) vowel harmony. Xinaliq does not exhibit roundness vowel harmony. For instance, Examples 3.57 and 3.58 have both a round vowel and a nonround vowel. Azerbaijani (which has influenced Xinaliq) also exhibits similar vowel harmony.

A kind of labial harmony exists in Xinaliq as well. The term “labial harmony” is normally restricted to consonants; when used with vowels, it refers to roundness. In Xinaliq, roundness vowel harmony is less consistent and less predictable. The roundness of a vowel in the root is dependent partially upon stress. In Examples 3.60 and 3.61 the stressed vowel is round and so obligatorily the preceding unstressed vowel is also round.

3.60 kotùk ‘stump’

3.61 culòz ‘tooth’

This exemplifies a kind of labial harmony. However, if the following stressed vowel is not round, it is still possible for an unstressed vowel to be round, as seen in Example 3.62.

3.62 ʧuvàl ‘sheep’

The rules for this can be stated as follows:

- If the stressed vowel is /a/ or /ı/ in the root, then the preceding unstressed vowel becomes [ı]
- If the stressed vowel is /o/ or /u/ in the root, then the preceding unstressed vowel becomes [u] or [ı]*
- If the stressed vowel is /ä/, /e/ or /i/ n the root, then the preceding unstressed vowel becomes [i]
- If the stressed vowel is /ö/ or /ü/ in the root, then the following vowel takes the form [ı]

*The distribution alternates freely.

Thus both variations in the example below (3.63) are possible. The first one shows labial harmony, while the second variation of the same word does not follow the rules of vowel labial harmony.

3.63 güldür / güldir ‘flowers’ (PL)

3.3 Stress

Not all languages have strictly phonemic stress; some exhibit a combination of types of stresses. It is said (Kibrik, 1994) that Xinaliq has dynamic stress. Dynamic stress is achieved through intensified muscle activity during articulation, interpreted as loudness. The stressed syllable is generally more powerful, intensive and loud in pronunciation. The stress in a word in Xinaliq depends on the morphology of the word. Generally stress falls on the last vowel of the root of the word:

3.64 gadá ‘boy’

3.65 q̇aqál ‘back’

If a suffix beginning with a vowel is attached to a root ending in a vowel, it replaces the final vowel and takes the stress:

3.66 ḳilí-u - > ḳilú ‘friend’ -> friend (DAT.)

3.67 kizí-at-mä -> kizétmä ‘is burning’

In derivative words, if the derivation is created by a suffix attached to the root, the stress remains on the final vowel of the root:

3.68 ḋaqál -> ḋaḋálır ‘back’ -> ‘on the back’

3.69 dáb - > dábχer ‘a lie’ - > ‘a liar’

Listed below are exceptions to the rules for stress, which can probably be explained either as borrowings or now extinct previous morphological boundaries:

3.70 mátıška ‘Russian woman’

3.71 bášqap ‘plate’

3.72 tóq̄ud ‘lightning’

3.73 hána ‘after’

3.74 qárı ‘old lady’

3.75 qíni ‘good’

3.76 ḳắvi ‘hard’

3.77 láğın ‘yesterday’

3.4 Phonological Rules

3.4.1 Vowel Deletion

The combination of two vowels next to each other is very rare. When a suffix begins in a vowel, the root’s final vowel generally drops.

3.78 ki+i - > ki ‘ram’ (ERG, GEN.I and GEN. II)

3.79 ki+u - > ku ‘ram?’ (DAT. and Question)

This is true for verbal morphology as well:

3.80 kui-dä-i-mä - > kuidimä ‘will not go’ (Class II)

3.81 kui-dä-u -> kuidu ‘Will she go? (Class II)

3.82 kizi-a-šä-u -> kizešu ‘Was it on fire?’

The examples below go through a phonological process of vowel deletion:

3.83 swa+u -> su ‘village?’

3.84 çwa+u -> çu ‘house?’

/y/ drops at the end of words when preceded by a front vowel.

3.85 liy - > li compare with liy-ir
the root of ‘seed’ - > ‘seed’ compare with ‘in the seed’

3.86 bıniy - > bıni compare with bıniyir

the root of ‘pasture’ - > ‘pasture’ compare with ‘in the pasture’

3.87 čey - > če compare with čeyir
the root of ‘tea’ - > ‘tea’ compare with ‘in the tea’

/y/ cannot be considered as an insertion, because there are examples of words that end with a front vowel where this does not occur:

3.88 ţäsir - > ţäsi - > ţäsi
‘on the skin’ - > the root of ‘skin’ - > ‘skin’

3.4.2 Vowel Assimilation

The combination of the two vowels [ia] coalesces to [ä] or [e].

3.89 ki-a - > kä ‘do’

3.90 li-at-i-šä-mä - > letišämä ‘didn’t say’

3.91 kizi-a-šämä - > kizešämä ‘burned’

The combination of the two vowels [ua] or [wa] coalesces to [o] if a suffix begins with a consonant:

3.92 swa+r -> sor ‘in the village’

3.93 ʂwa+r -> ʂor ‘in the house’

3.4.3 Glide Insertion

The combination of two vowels [iu] [io] or [oi] [ui] inserts /y/, as in:

3.94 zağı-u -> zağı-**y**-u ‘you see’

3.95 ġi-u - > ġi-**y**-u ‘it became’

3.96 misi-orun -> misi-**y**-orun ‘when he was little’

3.97 yeǝ̄ini-o-i-u -> yeǝ̄ino-**y**-i-**y**-u ‘left?’

3.98 du-i-u -> du-**y**-i-**y**-u ‘not this one?’

/v/ is inserted intervocalically after round back vowels /u/ or /o/:

3.99 ʂu ‘name’

3.100 ʂu-v-i ‘name’ (erg.)

3.101 ʂu-v-ol ‘names’ (pl.)

3.102 ʂu-v-or ‘in the name’

3.103 kino ‘movie’

3.104 kino-v-ır ’in the movie‘

A vowel is inserted to keep nonpermitted consonant clusters from appearing. Because of the morphological borders, when two consonants that are not permitted adjoin each other, an unrounded high vowel /i/ or /ı/ is inserted.

3.105 tal+r -> talır ‘on the lip’

3.106 gis+r -> gisir ‘on the roof’

3.107 z+ḳišämä -> ziḳišämä ‘she died’ (FEM.class)

3.108 k+a+z+ği+šä+mä -> kazığsämä ‘came’

Similarly to above, high unrounded vowels have a tendency to be dropped when this results in a permissible combination of two consonants at the morpheme boundary:

3.109 ni-ši-ri-at-mä -> nišrätmä ‘am putting on’

3.110 tu-vı-ri -> tuvri ‘takes’ (INAN.class)

3.111 q̇i-du-mä -> q̇idmä ‘became’ (MAS.class)

3.4.4 Assimilation

Consonants assimilate to agree in voicing with the following consonant. In the examples below, a consonant becomes voiceless when followed by other voiceless phonemes:

3.112 x̣ä-z-kindä - > x̣ä-s-kindä ‘the laughing one’ FEM. class

3.113 x̣ä-b-kindä- > x̣ä-p-kindä ‘the laughing one’ ANIM. class

In the following example, voiceless consonants become voiced when they are followed by a voiced consonant:

3.114 q̇amašbq̇i ->q̇amažbiq̇i ‘hid away’ ANIM. class

Assimilation generally does not occur across word borders which are now a single word, but were originally separate words:

3.115 dyz-kui - > dyzkui ‘to fix’ from the word /dyz/ ‘correct’, /kui/ - ‘to do’

3.116 dad-kui - > dadkui ‘to complain’ from the word /dad/ ‘a complaint’, /kui/ - ‘to do’

If the word begins with two fricatives, the first one becomes an affricate. In the example below, /z/ becomes both voiceless and an affricate.

3.117 z-x̣i - > s-x̣i - > c-x̣i ‘go’ FEM. class

3.118 š-x-a-bır - > čxabır ‘bellies’

/ž/ - > /y/ at the beginning of the word.

3.119 ži-at-mä - > yetmä ‘want’ MASC. class

Ejectives sometimes lose their ejective quality before voiced obstruents:

3.120 čˌi-q-a-l-ği - > čˌ-q-a-l-ği - > č-q-a-l-ği ‘brought’ (from below)

3.121 čˌi-t-a-l-ği - > čˌ-t-a-l-ği - > č-t-a-l-ği ‘brought’ (horizontally)

3.122 čˌi-q̇ui-šä-mä - > čˌi-q̇u-šä-mä - > čˌu-q̇-šä-mä - > čˌu-q-šämä ‘tore out’

3.123 enʒi-q̇ui-dä-mä - > enʒi-q̇u-dä-mä - > enʒu-q̇ui-dämä - > enʒu-q-dä-mä ‘take’

3.4.5 Free Variation

/a/ and /ä/ can freely alternate in some environments.

3.124 taza / täzä ‘new’

3.125 pänäd / panad ‘nostrils’

There is a tendency for /a/ -> /ä/ when in close proximity to /y/, pharyngeals or fricatives.

3.126 ač̄uvuri / äč̄uvuri ‘to lay’

3.127 yaχ̣iri / yäχ̣iri ‘to leave’

3.128 ḥayvan / ḥäyvan ‘animal’

/wi/ /u/ and /uy/ can often be used interchangeably without changing the meaning.

3.129 enʒikuval / enʒikuyval ‘to come down’

3.130 kakwidmä / kakudmä ‘will come’ MASC.class

3.131 χ̣äč̄ulq̇utomä / χ̣äč̄ulq̇witomä ‘hangs’

3.131 kuidämä / kudämä / kuydämä ‘will be’ FEM.class

Some consonants can be used interchangeably in some isolated words:

/c/ // /s/:

3.133 gic / gis ‘roof’

/š/ // /s/:

3.134 šiçi / siçi ‘to write’

/t/ // /d/ and /č/ // /ǯ/ after /n/:

3.135 antırği / andırği ‘to fall’

3.136 enǯikui / enčikui ‘to come down’

Table 3.1 Comparison Chart of Xinaliq Phonemes

	Scientific orthography	Kibrik	Namik	Village	Ganieva	IPA	Georgian
p**a**č**a** ‘leg’	a	a	a	A	а	a	ა
sı**b** ‘green’	b	b	b	B	б	b	ბ
lu**c**oz ‘cow’ bor**c** ‘father’s sister’	c	c	ŝ	Ts	ц	ts	ც
ye**c̄**ini ‘to remain’	c̄	cc	ẑ	Ćs	цц	ts:	ცც
ba**ç**iz ‘small goat’	ç	c'	š	ts'	цl	ts'	ც
mı**č**äš ‘tea’ mı**č** ‘apple’	č	ç	ç	Ç	ч	ʧ	ჩ
ın**c̄**i ‘earth’ ḳu**c̄**i ‘heel’	c̄	çç	ĉ	Ć	чч	ʧ:	ჭჭ
fi**ç̌**ä ‘wet’	ç̌	ç'	č	ç'	чl	ʧ'	ჭ
dä**d**ä ‘mother’	d	d	d	D	д	d	დ
ġil**e**z ‘salty’	e	e	e	E	е	e	ე
äj**ä** ‘grandmother’	ä	ə	ə	ə	аь	æ	ჱ
č̣a**f** ‘untouched grazing’	f	f	f	F	ф	f	ფ
nini**g** ‘eyelash’	g	g	g	g	г	g	გ
ḳı**ɣ** ‘eyebrow’	ɣ	gh	ĝ	gh	гг	ɣ	ღ
ali**ğ** ‘horse covering’ zee**ğ** ‘chicken broth’	ğ	ğ	ğ	ğ	гъ	ʁ	ღ
da**h**ar ‘a big rock’	h	h	h	h	гь	h	ჰ
ḫädmi ‘human’	ḫ	hh	ħ	ħ	xl	ħ	ჰ
n**i**n**i**g ‘eyelash’	i	i	i	i	и	i	ი
mı**č** ‘apple’	ı	ı	ı	ı	ы	ш	ჯ
kun**ǯ** ‘corner’	ǯ	j	c	c	дж	ʤ	ჯ

Table 3.1 Continued

	Scientific orthography	Kibrik	Namik	Village	Ganieva	IPA	Georgian
ku**k**aç ‘chicken’ mo**k** ‘worm’	k	k	k	k	к	k^h	ქ
mu**k̄**ur ‘dustpan’	k̄	kk	ƙ	ќ	кк	k:	ქქ
ķu**ķ**a ‘knot’ nä**ķ**id ‘back’ (on a body)	ķ	k'	ҡ	k'	кl	k'	ჳ
lı**x** ‘herder’s stick’	x	kh	ĥ	kh	хь	x	ხ
mo**kx** ‘worm’ **kx**e ‘wool’	kx	kx				kx	ქხ
ķu**ll**a ‘hammer’ ca**l** ‘sheaf”	l	l	l	l	л	l	ლ
hila**m** ‘donkey’	m	m	m	m	м	m	მ
ķi**n**d ‘bridge’	n	n	n	n	н	n	ნ
cul**o**z ‘tooth’	o	o	o	o	о	o	ო
s**ö**bät ‘conversation’	ö	ö	ö	ö	оь	ø	ო
ṭo**p** ‘ear’	p	p	p	p	п	p^h	ფ
k̄ar**p̄**a ‘lamb’	p̄	pp	ҕ	ṕ	пп	p:	ჭჭ
ṗa**ṗ**ax ‘fur hat’	ṗ	p'	ҏ	p'	пl	p'	ჭ
ın**x̂**a ‘field’ lä**x̂**iz ‘calf”	x̂	q	ҳ	qx	хъ	qχ	ჴ
to**q̄**ud ‘lightning’	q̄	qq	ҩ	q	къ	q:	ყყ
ın**q̇** ‘sun’	q̇	q'	ҩ̄	q'	кь	q'	ყ
p̄ey**r**am ‘shirt’	r	r	r	r	р	r	რ
an**s** ‘game’	s	s	s	s	с	s	ს
p**š**ä ‘bread’	š	ş	ş	ş	ш	ʃ	შ
an**t** ‘floor’	t	t	t	t	т	t^h	თ

Table 3.1 Continued

	Scientific orthography	Kibrik	Namik	Village	Ganieva	IPA	Georgian
kä**t̄**id ‘Xinaliq person’ ba**t̄**a ‘short’	t̄	tt	đ	ť	тт	t:	ტტ
xur**ṭ**um ‘throat’	ṭ	t'	ť	t'	тl	t'	ტ
c**u**loz ‘tooth’	u	u	u	u	у	u	უ
n**ü**ç ‘honey’	ü	ü	ü	ü	уь	y	უ̈
č**u**val ‘ram’	v	v	v	v	в	v	ვ
ar**x̣**ac ‘yard’ (?) mi**x̣**ez ‘needle’	x̣	x	x	x	х	χ	ხ
qo**y**u ‘water well’	y	y	y	y	й	j	ი
mixe**z** ‘needle’	z	z	z	z	з	z	ზ
a**ž** ‘side’ (on a body) k̦ina**ž** ‘winter’	Ž	z̨	j	j	ж	ʒ	ჟ
ʕaza ‘moaning’	ʕ	ʕ	`	’	гl	ʕ	ღ
va**ʔ** ‘no’ sæ**ʔ**il ‘here’	ʔ	ʔ				ʔ	ყ

Table 3.2 The Xinaliq Consonant Inventory in IPA.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	p p: b	t t:	D			k k: g	q q:		ʔ
Ejective	p'		t' ts'	tʃ'		k'	q’		
Fricative	f v		s z	ʃ ʒ		x ɣ	X ʁ	ħ ʕ	h
Affricate			ts ts:	tʃ tʃ : dʒ		Kx	qX		
Nasal	m		N						
Trill		r							
Lateral approx.		l							
Glides					j	w			

Table 3.3 The Xinaliq Consonant Inventory in “Scientific Transcription”

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Stop	p p̄ b	t t̄	d			k k̄ g	q q̄		ʔ
Ejective	ṗ		ṭ ç	č̣		k̟	q̇		
Fricative	f v		s z	š ž		x ɣ	x̱ ǧ	ḥ ʕ	h
Affricate			c c̄	č č̄ ǯ		Kx	x̂		
Nasal	m		n						
Trill		r							
Lateral approx.		l							
Glide					y	w			

Table 3.4 Xinaliq Vowel Inventory

	Front		Back	
	Plain (nonround)	Round	Plain (nonround)	Round
High	i	ü	ɪ *	u
Mid	e	ö		o
Low	ä		a	

*This is what is traditionally transcribed as [ɯ] phoneme, back high vowel.

CHAPTER 4

THE NOUN

Although often straightforward, in some languages it is not always possible to determine clean cut boundaries between different parts of speech. Even with the best guidelines and grammatical tests for determining category membership for different parts of speech, in certain instances some parts of speech bleed into different categories on the continuum, creating exceptions and variations. The discourse context can have that effect on different parts of speech in Xinaliq. That cautionary note being stated, the patterns for the most part can be readily identified, and the prototypes of Xinaliq's parts of speech are presented here beginning with the noun.

Xinaliq nouns have grammatical gender, case, and number.

4.1 Noun Class

In different languages nouns can be categorized by classes in different ways, for instance by the gender or animacy of the noun. Noun classes generally form a system of grammatical agreement, often referred to as grammatical gender. Most Northeast Caucasian languages manifest noun class distinctions, varying from none up to eight. The Xinaliq noun class system has four classes. A fourfold class division is found in many of the Lezgic languages, as well as in Lak, Tsez, Hinukh and Bezhta and some dialects of Andi. However, there is variation among the fourfold class systems. Generally the

Xinaliq system distinguishes animate from inanimate, and human from nonhuman categories. The traditional Classes I, II and III all refer to animate nouns, while Class IV includes the inanimate nouns. More specifically, only human nouns belong to Classes I and II, while nonhuman animates go into Class III. Within the human nouns there is a distinction based on biological gender: masculine (Class I) and feminine (Class II). The nonhuman nouns, instead of taking some single neuter form, are further divided into animate nonhuman and inanimate nouns. Class I and II are more consistent and straightforward; however, Class III and Class IV distinctions are less obvious at times and require further detailed investigation. Henceforth, different classes will be referred to by their semantic associations rather than numbers, thus Masculine (Class I), Feminine (Class II), Animate (Class III) and Inanimate (Class IV).

Noun classes are not overtly visible in the nouns themselves. The main indicator of class membership and hence of class distinctions is verb agreement markers, the morphemes which mark agreement on verbs with the class and number of the noun.

Some examples of masculine class and feminine class nouns are presented below:

Class MASC – human males:

4.1 aba ‘grandfather’

4.2 bäg ‘bridegroom’

4.3 ši ‘son’

Class FEM - human females:

4.4 äǯä ‘grandmother’

4.5 dädä ‘mother’

4.6 riši ‘daughter’

The nouns that are less straightforward, for instance those denoting professions and social or moral features, depend on the assumed biological gender of the person referred to. For instance, the nouns below can be either Class MASC. or Class FEM.:

4.7 gonšu 'neighbor'

4.8 dost 'friend'

4.9 dabxer 'deceiver'

Membership of a noun in Class AN. or Class INAN. is determined by semantic criteria. Both classes are for nonhuman nouns. Animate nouns fall into Class III, while Class IV receives inanimate, nonhuman nouns:

Class AN – animate nonhumans:

4.10 gra ‘wolf’

4.11 hilam ‘donkey’

4.12 ķaķıd ‘partridge’

4.13 mokχ ‘worm’

Class INAN - other nouns (inanimate, nonhuman):

4.14 çıza ‘fear’

4.15 ula ‘smell’

4.16 fikir ‘thought’

4.17 ķaķa ‘bite’ (noun)

4.18 čee ‘tea’

4.19 gis ‘roof’

From the examples given, it is clear that the INAN. Class includes concrete things as well as words denoting states, actions, properties, etc.

4.1.1 Class Markers (CM)

Class Markers are affixes, the main function of class markers is to make agreement between the verb and the different classes and numbers of the nouns. More specifically, they indicate different class membership and the number of the Xinaliq noun. Almost all Northeast Caucasian languages have the category of class, but their distribution of markers differs drastically. Xinaliq nouns themselves do not bear explicit class marking. Similarly to other Northeast Caucasian languages, class markers in Xinaliq are generally determined by looking at the dependent verbs, adjectives, pronouns and prepositions. Some classes have zero as the class morpheme marker, and some differentiate between singular and plural, which means that their class membership when they are singular differs from the class to which they belong when they are plural. All and all there are three series of noun class-number markers. The phonological environments they occur in determine the series. In other words, different series are designated for different forms of the class-marker affixes, which can vary according to the phonological environment they occur in, which is also what determines its series. If the verb has more than one stem, then the appropriate class-number markers can repeat, attaching themselves to each stem. This feature seems to be becoming obsolete as Xinaliq loses speakers and falls more heavily under the influence of Azeri. Many sentences can be uttered with or without repeated class markers, only some of them. Some language consultants insist the class markers are needed; while others think they are not mandatory. This is likely indicative of a language feature in the process of change.

Noun-verb agreement in Xinaliq depends on verb transitivity. Transitive verbs agree with the direct object and therefore take class-number markers that agree with

direct object nouns, while intransitive verbs agree with their subjects and therefore take class-number markers that agree with those nouns. Thus the verbs indicate the class membership of the subject or direct object, depending what kind of verb it is. The future tense tends to be more flexible about the use of class markers, while the present and past tenses bear them most of the time.

Most Xinaliq verbs take agreement markers that indicate both noun class and number, but there are some exceptions. For instance some of the non-resultative verbs do not require these agreement markers, such as: *küi* "to go," *küi* "to be," *daχi* "to see," *ḳli* "to die," as well as some compound verbs that include *küi* as one element of the compound (e.g., *anskü̈i* "to play," *dalıgkü̈i* "to work," *pakü̈i* "to kiss"). The three series of class markers are discussed below as can be seen in Table 4.1.

In AN class (discussed below) b> Ø / [+segment]__ k (see Rule 7 below), and in INAN class it is *Ø*. Thus, an overt class marker does not appear in these instances.

The phonetic variation in Series 1 among FEM sing., AN sing., MASC pl. and FEM pl. is based on certain phonological restrictions. The phonological rules are presented below, and examples with all possible affixes will be given under each appropriate subsection to follow. Discussion of permitted and not permitted consonant clusters follows the rules below.

Rule 1: (CM1.F)

z → z/___ [+voice]C (*z* stays *z* before voiced consonant)

Rule 2: (CM1.F)

z → s/__ [-voice]C (*z* becomes *s* before voiceless consonants)

Rule 3: (CM1.F)

z → c/ __ x (*z* becomes *c* before *x* in prefix-initial [word-initial only] position)

Rule 4: (CM1.AN)

Ø →i/z__C that creates unpermitted CC cluster

therefore CC →CiC (*i* is inserted between two CC that would otherwise result in a cluster that is not permitted)

Rule 5: (CM1.AN)

b → b/___ [+voice]C (*b* stays *b* before the voiced consonants)

Rule 6: (CM1.AN)

b → p/__ [-voice]C with the exception of Rule 7 (*b* becomes *p* before voiceless consonants)

Rule 7: (CM1.F)

b → Ø / [+segment]__ k, p (*b* becomes *Ø* before *k* or *p* in non-word-initial position)

Rule 8: (CM1.AN)

Ø → (i)/b__C that creates unpermitted CC cluster

therefore CC →CiC (*i* is inserted to break up a consonant cluster which is not permitted in the language)

Rule 9: (CM2.F)

z -> r/___syllable with any sibilant (*c, č, z, ž, ǯ, š*)

Rule 10: (CM3.M)

h - >Ø/__r

Each series will be discussed separately for each of the four noun classes. Examples with all possible affixes are presented.

Permitted consonant clusters in Xinaliq:

Word initial:

Combination of

Stop + Affricate (*čx̣ar* ‘buckwheat’)

+ Fricative(*bzı* ‘pear’*, pšä* ‘bread’)

+ Liquid (*kla* ‘who’)

(not necessary for stops to be cluster initial)

Stop + Fricative + Liquid (*pšlä* ‘fox’, *px̣ra* ‘dog’)

Word final:

No combinations of three phonemes were found.

Sonorant + Obstruent (*lıgıld* ‘man’, *borc* ‘father’s sister’, *ant* ‘earth’)

Fricative + Stop (*vax̣t* ‘time’, *dost* ‘friend’)

Medial:

Sonorant + Obstruent (*kulga* ‘shadow’,)

Fricative + Stop (*äsḳi* ‘towel,)

Approximant + consonant (*ayvan* ‘balcony’)

Glottal + consonant (*säʕbi* ‘master’, *näʕnä* ‘saliva’)

Obstruent + Sonorant (*ägni* ‘clothing’, *häfmi* ‘human’)

In all consonant clusters, both obstruents must be either voiced or both voiceless.

4.1.1.1 Series 1 (CM1)

Series 1 includes the consonant-initial words. The phonemic variations within FEM sing., as well as among AN sing., MASC pl. and FEM pl., arise from the avoidance of nonpermitted consonant clusters. The Series 1 class-number markers are attached to the beginning of the verb stem.

4.1.1.1.1 Class Markers Series 1 Class MASC. (CM1.MASC.SG)

In the example below 'boy' belongs to Class MASC, resulting in a CM1.MASC.SG marker on the verb, which is *Ø*.

4.20 gada **Ø**-ḳi-šä-mä
boy.ABSL **CM1.M.SG**-die.PRFV-PST-INDIC
'The boy died'

In Example 4.21, because "child" here is assumed to be male and therefore to belong to Class MASC as a male human, there is a CM1.MASC.SG marker, which is *Ø*, on the verb.

4.21 lıgıld-i ḥäyäl ṭuv-**Ø**-šä-mä
man-ABS child buy-**CM1.M.SG**-PST-INDIC
'The man is buying a child'

4.22 as lıgıld zağ-**Ø**-šä-mä
I man saw-**CM1.M.SG**-PST-INDIC
'I saw a man'

4.23 lıgıld-u hine ši yiq̇-**Ø**-šä-mä
man-ERG his son want-**CM1.M.SG**-PST-INDIC
'The man wants his son'

4.24 zar-**Ø**-k-ir-dü-mä
OD-**CM1.M.SG**-send-IMPRFV-VCMII.SG-INDIC
'Someone will send him down….'

4.25 yec̄ın-**Ø**-däd-i-mä
stay-**CM1.M.SG**-VCM-NEG-INDI
'[the man] will not stay'

4.26 gada yec̄in-**Ø**-i-šä-mä ç̣wa
boy stay- **CM1.M.SG**-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
'The boy stayed at home'

4.27 **Ø**-xä ġinä
CM1.M.SG-go eat
'Go eat' (said to a man)

4.28 mäʔälimmdar lağın **Ø**-xi-d-mä
teacher mountain yesterday **CM1.M.SG**-go-VCM-INDIC
'The teacher (male) went to the mountain yesterday'

4.1.1.1.2 Class Markers Series 1 Class FEM. (CM1.FEM.SG)

In Example 4.29 below, because "girl" belongs to FEM Class, there is a CM1.FEM.SG marker on the verb. We know that it is part of Series 1, because the verb begins with a consonant. Because *z* and *ķ* together would be a consonant cluster that is not permitted in Xinaliq, *i* is inserted to break up the cluster, as in Rule 4 above. The same sentence in the future tense (4.30) does not take class marking.

4.29 riši **zi**-ķ-i-šä-mä
girl.ABS **CM1.F.SG**-die-PRFV-PST-INDIC
'The girl died'

4.30 riši ķ-ıli-dä-mä
girl.ABS die-IMPRFV-VCMII.SG-INDIC
'The girl will die'

Another example of Rule 4 to break up a forbidden cluster:

4.31 čẹ-**zi**-v-šä-mä
sit-**CM1.F.SG**-sit-PST-INDIC
'The woman sat down'

4.32 lıgıldi attı-**zi**-ġ-dä-**z**-i-šä-mä xinimķir
MAN have-**CM1.F.SG**-have-VCMII.SG-**CM1.F.SG**-NEG-PST-INDIC wife
'The man didn't have a wife'

In Example 4.33, because "fiancée" refers to a female it belongs to FEM Class; as

a female animate human noun, there is a CM1.F.SG marker, *z*, on the verb. Example 4.35 is future tense and is missing the class marker.

4.33 lıgıldi cnas ṭu-**zi**-v-šä-mä
man.ABS fiancée buy-**CM1.F.SG**-buy-PST-INDIC
'The man bought a fiancée'

4.34 as e rıtsı za-**z**ı-ğ-d-i-mä
I.DAT my sister see-**CM1.F.SG**-see-VCMII-NEG-INDIC
'I have not seen my sister'

4.35 lägeldu at-ku-dä-mä riše
man.ERG have-FUT-VCMII.SG-INDIC daughter
'The man will have a daughter'

4.36 uxur zı za-**z**-ɣ-i-du
you me see-**CM1.F.SG**-see-PRFV-VCM.I.SG
'Did you (to a woman) see me?'

4.37 uxur dädä za-**z**-ɣ-i-du
you mom see-**CM1.F.SG**-see-PRFV-VCM.I.SG
'Did you see Mom?'

4.38 hä biče q̇o-**z**-i-mä
she fat be-**CM1.F.SG**-NEG-INDIC
'She is not fat'

4.39 hä hundur q̇o-**z**-i-mä
she tall be-**CM1.F.SG**-NEG-INDIC
'She is not tall'

In the examples below z → s/__[-voiced]C (*z* becomes *s* before voiceless consonants).

4.40 Xeyraddini xinimḳir ḳur-**s**-qen-šä-mä
Xeyraddine wife forget-**CM1.F.SG**-forget-PST-INDIC

‘Xeyraddine forgot the wife’

4.41 Xeyraddini ḳur-**s**-qink-ir-dä-mä xinimḳir
Xeyraddine forget-**CM1.F.SG**-forget-IMPRFV-VCM.II.SG-INDIC wife
‘Xeyraddine will forget the wife’

4.42 kur-**s**-qin-**s**-k-ir-dä-**z**-i-mä
forget-**CM1.F.SG**-forget-**CM1.F**-forget-IMPRFV-VCMII.SG-**CM2.F.SG**-NEG-INDIC
‘I will not forget (woman)’

4.43 dä xinimḳir al-**s**-kır-dä-mä
this wife OD-**CM1.F.SG**-fall-VCMII.SING-INDIC
‘This wife will fall from above’

4.44 lıgıldi xinimḳir or-**s**-k-ir-mä tukanır
man.ABS wife send-**CM1.F.SG**-send-IMPRV-INDIC store
‘The man will certainly send the wife to the store’

z → c/ __ x

4.45 dä xinimḳir za-**c**-xir-dä-mä
this wife OD-**CM1.F.SG**-fall-VCM.II.SING.-INDIC
‘This woman will fall forward‘

4.46 dä xinimḳer la-**c**-xır-dä-mä
this wife OD-**CM1.F.SG**-fall-VCMII.SING-INDIC
‘This woman will fall to the side’

4.47 dä xinimḳer a-**c**-xir-dä-mä
this wife OD-**CM1.F.SG**-fall-VCMII.SING-INDIC
‘This woman will fall back’

4.48 **c**-xä ḳinä
CM1.F.SG-go eat
‘Go eat’ (to a woman)

4.49 mäʔälim mdar lağın **c**-xi-dä-mä

teacher mountain yesterday **CM1.F.SG-**go-VCMII.SG-INDIC
'The teacher (female) went to the mountain'

4.1.1.1.3 Class Markers Series 1 Class AN (CM 1.AN.SG.)

In Example 4.50, because "donkey" belongs to Class AN as an animate nonhuman noun, there is a CM1.AN.SG marker on the verb. Because *b* and *ķ* are not permitted together in a consonant cluster in Xinaliq, *i* is inserted to break up the cluster.

4.50 hilam **bi**-ķ-i-šä-mä
donkey.ABSL **CM1.IN.SG-**die-PRFV-PST-INDIC
'The donkey died'

In Example 4.51, because "horse" is nonhuman animate, it belongs to Class AN and carries the CM1.AN.SG marker. The sentence in (4.51) exemplifies the phonological process b→ p before the voiceless consonant, in this case before *q*, of the verb stem.

4.51 Xeyraddine kur-**p-**q̇ink-ir-dä-mä pši
Xeyraddine forget-**CM1.AN.SG**-forget-IMPRFV-VCM.III.SG-INDIC horse
'Xeyraddine will forget the horse'

In the examples below "mountain" takes Class AN marker even though it is an inanimate object. These inconsistencies in the noun class categories need to be investigated further.

4.52. Tom-u za-**b**-ɣ-dä-mä mıda
Toma-DAT. OD-**CM1.AN.SG.**-saw-VCMIII.SG-INDIC mountain
'Toma saw a mountain'

4.53 Xeyraddine kur-**p-**qink-ir-dä-mä pši
Xeyraddine forget-**CM1.AN.SG**-FORGET-IMPRFV-VCM.III.SG-INDIC horse
'Xeyradinne will forget the horse'

4.54 lägäld-i att-**bı**-q̇-dä-šä-mä pši

man-GEN have-**CM1.AN.SG**-have-VCMIII.SG-PST-INDIC horse

'The man had a horse'

4.55 lıgıld-i att-**bı**-ġ-dä-**v**-i-šä-mä pši

man-GEN have-**CM1.AN.SG**-have-VCMIII.SG-**CM2.AN.SG**-NEG-PST-INDIC horse

'The man did not have a horse'

4.56 ḳur-**p**-ġink-ir-dä-**v**-i-mä

forget-**CM1.AN.SG**-forget- IMPRFV-VCMIII.SG-**CM2.AN.SG**-NEG-INDIC

'I didn't forget (animal)'

4.57 uxur za-**b**-ɣ-i-d-u?

you OD-**CM1.AN.SG**-see-PRFV-VCM.III.SG-INTER.

'Did you see me?' (animal speaking)

4.58 pıše antır čẹ-**bi**-šä-mä

horse floor sit-**CM1.AN.SG**-PST.INDIC

'The horse sat down on the floor'

4.59 **p**-xä ġinä

CM1.AN.SG-go eat

'Go eat!' (to an animal)

4.1.1.1.4 CM1.MASC.PL and CM1.FEM.PL

In Example 4.60, because "them" is plural, it belongs to Class MASC.PL or Class FEM.PL. The sentence again exemplifies the phonological process *b* → *p* before the voiceless consonant, in this case before *q*, of the verb stem.

4.60 Kur-**p**-ġink-ir-dur-**v**-i-mä

forget-**CM1.M.PL**-forget-IMPRFV-VCMI.PL-**CM2.M.PL**-NEG-INDIC

'I will not forget them' (males of females)

4.61 mäʔälımir mıdar lağın **p**-xi-dur-mä

teachers mountain yesterday **CM1.M.PL**-went-VCMI.PL-INDIC

'Teachers went to the mountain yesterday'

4.1.1.1.5 CM1.INAN.SG

In Example 4.62, because “book” is inanimate, it belongs to Class INAN and carries the CM1.INAN.SG marker *Ø*.

4.62 kitab ustuli üstür čäf-**Ø**-q̇o-mä
book table top laying- **CM1.INAN.SG**-is-INDIC
‘The book is lying on the table’

4.63 kätši ǯämäʔätiixer če cular- **Ø**-mä
inxinaliq people a lot tea drink- **CM1.INAN.SG**-INDIC
‘People in Xinaliq drink a lot of tea’

4.64 dädänziketišir ixer če cular-**Ø**-mä
mothers in Xinaliq a lot tea drink- **CM1.INAN.SG**-INDIC
‘Mothers in Xinaliq drink a lot of tea’

4.1.1.1.6 CM1.AN.PL.

In Example 4.65, because “frogs” is animate and in plural, it takes Class AN plural marker *Ø*.

4.65 q̇urq̇ordri ınk̄iüstüllü ṭäxirkitar-**Ø**-mä
frog lake above jump-**CM1.AN.PL**-INDIC
‘Frogs jump above the lake’

4.66 ḳaz al buğrur ṭaḳoar-**Ø**-mä
snake water near are- **CM1.AN.PL**-INDIC
‘Snakes are near the water’

4.67 c̄xıbaalıği mısi balığ q̇antar-**Ø**-mä
big fish small fish eats-**CM1.AN.PL**-INDIC
‘Big fish eat little fish’

4.1.1.1.7 CM1.INAN.PL.

In Example 4.68, because “flowers” is inanimate and in plural, it takes Class INAN plural marker *Ø*.

4.68 kätišir iüni vcır gül äc̄mıškitar-**Ø**-mä
inxinaliq in june month flowers grow-**CM1.INAN.PL**-INDIC
‘Flowers grow in June in Xinaliq’

4.69 misi fikir sin-sin c̄xi fikir ḳoar-**Ø**-mä
small ideas often big idea become- **CM1.INAN.PL**-INDIC
‘Small ideas often become big ideas’

4.70 ınq̇ här q̇ä qaltıxḳoar-**Ø**-mä
sun every day rise-**CM1.INAN.PL**-INDIC
‘The sun rises every day‘

Table 4.2 shows more examples of Series 1 with regular verbs.

4.1.1.2 Series 2 (CM 2)

Series 2 markers are used before the vowel-initial verbs. They can be used in combination with Series 1 markers.

4.1.1.2.1 CM2.MASC.SG

In the example below because “man” is a human male, it belongs to Class MASC. Because the verb “kill” begins with a vowel, it is in Series 2. Therefore it carries the CM2.MASC.SG marker *y* on the verb.

4.71 lıgıldı lıgıld **y**-ib-šä-mä
man man **CM2.MASC.SG**-kill-PST-INDIC
‘Yesterday a man killed a man’

4.72 **y**-eḳḳäc̄u-i
CM2.MASC.SG-burn-NEG

‘Don’t burn!’ (talking to a man)

4.1.1.2.2 CM2.FEM.SG

In the example below, because “the enemy” is assumed to be a woman by the speaker, it takes Class FEM. As determined above, the verb “kill” is in Series 2. Therefore it carries the CM2.FEM.SG marker *z* on the verb.

4.73 xisansan lıgalde **z**-ib-šä-mä dušman
yesterday man **CM2.FEM.SG**-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
‘Yesterday a man killed his enemy’ (of woman)

4.74 xisansan lıgalde **z**-i-**z**-b-šä-mä dušman
yesterday man **CM2.FEM.SG**-kill-**CM1.FEM.SG**-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
‘Yesterday a man killed his enemy’ (of woman) maybe more certainty

4.75 paga lıgılde **z**-i-**z**-b-ir-dä-**z**-i-mä xinimḳer
tomorrow man **CM2.FEM.SG**-kill-**CM1.FEM.SG**-kill-IMPERF-VCMII-**CM2.FEM.SG**-NEG-INDIC woman
‘Tomorrow a man will not kill a woman’

4.76 riše **r**-ac̄in-ı-šä-mä ç̣wa
girl **CM2.FEM.SG**-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The girl stayed home’

4.77 räše **r**-ac̄in-ı-nätt-i-šä-mä ç̣wa
girl **CM2.FEM.SG**-stay-PRFV-VCMII.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC home
‘The girl didn’t stay home’

4.78 **z-**ek-s-käku-z-u!
CM2.FEM.SG-burn-**CM2.FEM.SG**-burn-**CM1.FEM.SG**-INTER
‘Don’t burn!” (to a woman)

Examples 4.76 and 4.77 show the phonological variation that sometimes occurs with Series 2, Class FEM markers, z -> r/___syllable with a sibilant.

4.1.1.2.3 CM2.AN.SG

In the example below, because “horse” is a nonhuman animate, it belongs to Class AN. Because the verb ‘stay’ begins with a vowel, it is in Series 2. Therefore it carries the CM2.AN.SG marker *v* on the verb.

4.79 pši **v**-ac̄in-i-šä-mä ç̣wa
horse **CM2.AN.SG**-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The horse stayed home’ (own will)

4.80 pši **v**-ac̄in-i-d-i-šä-mä ç̣wa
horse **CM2.AN.SG**-PRFV-VCM.III.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC home
‘The horse didn’t stay home’

In the example below, because “lamb” is a nonhuman animate, it belongs to Class AN. Because the verb “kill” begins with a vowel, it is in Series 2. Therefore it carries the CM2.AN.SG marker *v* on the verb.

4.81 xisansan lıgılde **v**-i-b-d-i-mä č̣uval
yesterday man **CM2.AN.SG**-kill-VCMIII.SING-NEG-INDIC lamb
‘Yesterday a man did not kill a lamb’

4.82 xisansan lıgılde **v**-i-b-dä-**v**-i-mä č̣uval
yesterday man **CM2.AN.SG**-kill-VCMIII.SING-**CM2.AN.SG**-NEG-INDIC lamb
‘Yesterday a man did not kill a lamb’

4.83 pši **v**-ac̄in-d-i-šä-mä
horse **CM2.AN.SG**-stay-VCMIII.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC
‘The horse did not stay’

4.84 pši **v**-ac̄in-dä-dä-**v**-i-šä-mä
horse **CM2.AN.SG**.-stay-VCMIII.SG-VCMIII.SG-**CM2.AN.SG**-NEG-PST-INDIC
‘The horse will not stay’

4.85 hä hundur qo-**v**-i-mä
it tall is-CM2.AN.SG-NEG-INDIC

‘It (horse) is not tall’

4.86 **v**-ekkäku-i!
CM.2.AN.SG-burn-NEG
‘Don’t burn yourself!’ (animal)

4.87 **v**-ekk-ir-**va**-l-**v**-i-mä
CM2.AN.SG-burn-IMPRFV-**CM2.AN.SG**-?-**CM2.AN.SG**-NEG-INDIC
‘I am not burning (myself)’ (animal)

4.88 **v**-ibe pši
CM2.AN.SG-kill horse
‘Kill the horse’

4.1.1.2.4 CM2.MASC.PL

4.89 lıgılır ġätmiḳilanttın islanmıšbiġi-šä-mä
men all day sweated-PST-INDIC
‘Men sweated all day’

4.90 gadadiṭuzaxanskirto-mä
boys yard play-INDIC
‘Boys are playing in the yard’

4.1.1.2.5 CM2.FEM.PL

4.91 xisansan lıgılde **v**-ib-šä-mä dušman
yesterday man **CM2.FEM.PLU**-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
‘Yesterday a man killed his enemies’ (of many women)

4.1.1.2.6 CM2.INAN.SG

4.92 I putu tämizval **y**-uḳoar-mä
my hair cleanliness **CM2.INAN.SG**-love-INDIC
‘My hair loves cleanliness’

4.1.1.2.7 CM2.AN.PL

4.93 pšor ç̣wa **y**-etstsin-šä-mä
horses home **CM2.AN.PL**-stay-PST-INDIC
'Horses stayed home' (own will)

4.1.1.3 Series 3 (CM3)

Series 3 seems to be dominated by imperative constructions. Most of the Series 3 markers are used with the verb "to be" *q̇i* and other verbs that are formed from this verb. The imperative suffix in Xinaliq is *r*, and class markers in Series 3 are always placed before it as demonstrated in Table 4.3.

4.1.1.3.1 CM3.M.SG

4.94 yi-**h**-ar vavegada
love-**CM3.M.SG**-IMP your son
'Love your son!'

4.95 il ka-**Ø**-r
here come-**CM3.M.SG**-IMP
'Come here!' (to a man)

4.96 il k-enǯi-**Ø**-r
here OD-come.down-**CM3.M.SG**-IMP
'Come down from above!' (to a man)

4.1.1.3.2 CM3.F.SG

4.97 il ka-**s**
here OD-come-**CM3.FEM.SG**
'Come here!' (to woman)

4.98 il k-enǯi-**s**
here OD-come.down- **CM3.FEM.SG**

‘Come down from above!’ (to woman)

4.1.1.3.3 CM3.AN.SG

4.99 bi-yi-**f-**ar pši
CM1.AN.SG-love-**CM3.AN.SG**-IMP horse
‘Love your horse!’

4.100 ṭoč-**f**-är
stand-**CM3.AN.SG**-IMP
‘Stand up!’ (animal)

4.1.1.3.4 CM3.M.PL

4.101 il k-a-**f**-un
here OD-come-**CM3.M.PL**-PL.M.
‘Come here!’ (to many)

4.1.1.3.5 CM3.F.PL

4.102 il k-a-**f-**ir-uz
here OD-come-**CM3.FEM.PL**-IMP-PL.M
‘Come down here!’ (to women)

4.1.1.3.6 CM3.INAN.SG

4.103 dä fikir yi-**h**-ar
this idea love-**CM3.INAN.SG**-PL.M
‘Love this idea!’

4.1.1.3.7 CM3.AN.PL

4.104 il kaf-**r**-in
here idea-**CM3.AN.PL**-PL.M
‘Come here!’ (to many animals)

4.2 Case System

A language has a case system if its nouns (and sometimes other parts of the sentence) inflect (i.e., change their form) to define their relationship to the other morphemes in a statement. There are many ways to perform this function, the inflection of nouns being one of them. Languages that do have cases can be ranked according to a hierarchy. If a given case at the far left of the hierarchy does not exist in a language, none of the remaining cases to the right will either.

Nominative > accusative or ergative > genitive > dative > locative > ablative >instrumental > prepositional > others

(Blake, 2001)

Languages can also be categorized according to their treatment of agents and patients, referred to as morphosyntactic alignment. Distinctions may be made morphologically through grammatical case and verbal agreement, or syntactically through word order. Xinaliq's use of grammatical case indicates that it is an ergative-absolutive language (usually simply referred to as ergative). In ergative languages, the argument (i.e., the subject) of an intransitive verb is in the same case as the patient (i.e., direct object) of a transitive verb. This case is then called the absolutive (or nominative), with the agent (i.e., subject) of a transitive verb being in the ergative case (see Chapter 9).

Languages that use case systems vary widely in the number of cases they have. For instance, the most conservative Indo-European languages have approximately eight cases; however, in Xinaliq there are thirteen cases:

1. Nominative
2. Ergative
3. First Genitive
4. Second Genitive

5. Dative
6. Comitative
7. Locative (General)
8. Orientational locative
9. Possessive locative
10. Ablative (General)
11. Orientational ablative
12. Possessive ablative
13. Comparative

All Northeast Caucasian languages tend to have nominative, ergative, first genitive, second genitive, dative and comitative cases, which show the direct relationship with the subject or object of the clause. Locative and motion cases give information about the orientation in space or time of the subject or the object. Table 4.4 lists the affixes and phonological alternations for all the Xinaliq cases (vowel harmony applies). Table 4.5 shows examples of nouns ending in a high vowel, a low vowel, and a consonant.

The descriptions provided below follow traditional analyses and consider each case separately. It is possible to think of some cases as combinations of different morphemes from other cases. For instance, possessive ablative -*šilli* may be regarded not as an independent case but as the combination of two morphemes, marker -*š* (possessive locative) and -*illi* (ablative). This is also true for the other combinations above, although in the traditional analysis they are treated as distinct cases and separate morphemes.

4.2.1 Nominative (Absolutive)

What is called “nominative” case in Caucasian terminology is actually an “absolutive” case in modern general linguistic terminology when speaking about ergative languages (the case that signals the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a

transitive verb). The absolutive in Xinaliq has the same form as the singular noun stem; that is, it has Ø marking. It is common cross-linguistically for the absolutive case to have no overt marking, that is, to be marked by Ø. Kibrik (1994) describes cases according to their semantic roles in addition to their grammatical functions. He describes the nominative case using the term "actant," defined as a noun phrase functioning as the agent immediately associated with an intransitive verb. When associated with an intransitive verb, its nominative function changes. When the actant takes the nominative case, in other words, it expresses either the agent of an intransitive verb or main actor. Examples 4.105-4.106 show nonaccusative intransitive verbs, while (4.107) and (4.108) are examples of nonergative intransitive verbs.

4.105 ça-**ø** yavaš ḳl-i-qo-mä
fire–**NOM** slowly go.out-PRF.ASP-PRF.II-INDIC
'The fire is slowly going out'

4.106 gada-**ø** ḳ-i-šä-mä
boy.**NOM** die-PRFV-PST-INDIC
'The boy died'

4.107 bu lägäld-**ø** latkär-mæ
this man.**NOM** fall-INDIC
'This man will fall'

4.108 xisansan lägald-**ø** z-ib-šä-mä dušman
yesterday man CM2.F.SG-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
'Yesterday a man killed his enemy' (of woman)

4.109 rišɛ-**ø** r-accin-i-šä-mä
girl CM2.F.SG-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC
'The girl stayed'

When the verb is transitive, the nominative case is expressed on the direct object, while the subject takes an ergative case. This is true in what are traditionally called dative constructions as well (i.e., constructions where the direct object also takes the so-called nominative case). This construction will be discussed below. The following examples illustrate the case marking of subjects of transitive clauses, including Ø "absolutive" markers of direct objects.

4.110 yä xın-ır ḳačṇ-**ø** fatku-šä-mä
I water-LOC stone-**NOM** threw-PST- INDIC
'I threw a stone into the water'

4.111 dämirc̄-**i** ura-**ø** antk-ir-qo-mä
smith-**ERG** metal-**NOM** make- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
'The smith forges metal'

4.2.2 Ergative

The ergative case signals the subject of a transitive verb. It is marked with *-i.*

4.112 pχr-**i** zı-Ø ç̣uχ-šä-mä
dog-**ERG** me-NOM bit-PST-INDIC
'The dog bit me'

4.113 pšor-**i** ink-Ø q̇andäto-mä
horses-**ERG** grass-NOM eat-INDIC
'Horses eat grass'

The ergative case can also have the same connotation as the instrumental. The ergative and instrumental cases are homophonous. This feature is not unusual cross-linguistically. There are many languages in which the marker for the ergative case is the same in form as the marker for some other case, here the instrumental.

4.114 yä top-Ø ink-**i** fatku-šä-mä

I.ERG ball-NOM foot-**INST** hit-PST-INDIC
'I hit the ball with my foot'

4.115 ķütç-i ġaž-**i** latürku-šä-mä
snake-ERG tail- **INST** push-PST-INDIC
'The snake pushed it with its tail'

The case marking for personal nouns is discussed in Chapter 6.

4.2.3 First Genitive

Alienable vs. inalienable possession is grammatically distinct in Xinaliq and expressed through cases. The first genitive case generally is used with animate nouns to denote inalienable possession. "Inalienable" possession is generally defined as that which is always possessed. In Xinaliq this category is less straightforward, as it does not include the category of kinship. In the interests of accuracy, the term "organic" will be used to indicate inalienable possession in Xinaliq. The exact distinction between alienable and inalienable possession in Xinaliq will be discussed below. The first genitive is marked with *-i,* just as the ergative case is. It is used independently as well as with postpositions, which will be discussed later. As an independent case, first genitive is used with animate nouns only, therefore only with nouns of the noun classes I, II, and III, as well as with personal nouns, expressing inalienable possession.

4.116 pχr-**i** ġaž
dog-**GEN.1** tail
'The dog's tail'

4.117 gad-**i** ċu
boy-**GEN.1** name
'Boy's name'

4.118 gad-**i** kalla

boy-**GEN.1** head

'Boy's head'

4.119 dä bayilağ hadm-**i** kul-mä

this blind person-**GEN.1** hand-INDIC

'This is the blind person's hand'

4.120 hin-**i** xürüç mitšäš attidä-mä

he-**GEN.1** black beard has-INDIC

'He has a black beard'

Exceptions exist so that the first genitive is sometimes used with inanimate nouns, although it is always used in certain fixed expressions. Currently, there are not enough examples to determine if the use of first genitive with inanimate nouns always denotes whole-part concepts.

4.121 ınk-**i** ayağ

river-**GEN.1** mouth

'The mouth of the river'

4.2.4 Second Genitive

The second genitive case is generally used with nouns to denote "inorganic" (alienable) possession. This contrasts with the first genitive case, which is restricted mostly to inalienable possession. Kinship falls into alienable "inorganic" possession in Xinaliq. The underlying form of the second genitive affix is /e/, but it can vary. After low vowels *a* and *ä* in the noun stem, the marking is *-e.* With high vowels as well as with consonants, the marking is /i/. In Example 4.121 we know it is first genitive, because the final vowel in the stem of *ınka* is *–a*, therefore /i/ suffix would indicate first genitive. The examples below are of noun classes I, II and III using the second genitive. Example 4.124

uses /i/ form for second genitive because the stem vowel is high vowel /ɪ/. In comparison with first genitive, second genitive has more functions and a higher frequency of usage.

4.122 gad-**e** ç̣wa
boy-**GEN.2** house
'The boy's house'

4.123 pχ̣r-**e** yuva
dog-**GEN.2** kennel
'The dog's kennel'

4.124 qar-**i** ç̣wa
grandma-GEN.2 house
'The grandma's house'

In addition to describing alienable possession, second genitive is also used for describing part of a whole, the material an object is composed of, measurements and ingredients of objects, and, interestingly, for some kinship relationships. In most other languages with an alienable-inalienable distinction, kinship terms are inalienably possessed.

Relationship:

4.125 gad-**e** bıy
boy-**GEN.2** father
'The boy's father'

4.126 **e** csi χ̣inimḳir attidä-mä
my-**GEN.2** brother wife have-INDIC
'My brother has a wife'

Part of a whole:

4.127 bädr-**e** kulp
bucket-**GEN.2** handle

‘The handle of a bucket’

4.128 ḳıç-**e** qabuğ
egg-**GEN.2** shell
‘Eggshell’ (literally ‘the shell of an egg’)

Material of which an object is composed:

4.129 ur-**e** ṭoz
iron-**GEN.2** door
‘An iron door’

Measures:

4.130 pš-**e** tikä
bread-**GEN.2** piece
‘A piece of bread’

Ingredients:

4.131 paxl-**e** sup
bean-**GEN.2** soup
‘Bean soup’

4.2.5 Dative

The case traditionally called “dative” is used with subject, direct object and indirect object. When an act expresses a sensory perception, feeling, or emotional and intellectual activity, the subject takes the dative. These forms are sometimes called the dative-experiencer (or dative subject). Thus in some languages, including Xinaliq, the experiencer (i.e., the noun phrase or NP that is also the subject by the subject criteria of some languages) takes the dative case, not the case normally expected for subjects. The dative is marked by *-u*.

4.132 mäʕälim-**u** buto muxiž-mä

teacher-**DAT** everything know-INDIC
'The teacher knows everything'

4.133 bıy-**u** häne ši- Ø muxuq̇äṭṭ-i-šä-mä
father-**DAT** his son-NOM recognize-NEG-PST-INDIC
'The father didn't recognize his son'

4.134 gad-**u** yolu-Ø zabüğ-šä-mä
boy-**DAT** flames-NOM notice-PST-INDIC
'The boy noticed the flames'

4.135 šä büy-**u** sas-Ø kl-et-mä
my father-**DAT** noise-NOM hear-PRF.I-INDIC
'My father hears noise'

4.136 as qävil-Ø at-mä
I-**DAT** cold-NOM to.be.PRS.I-INDIC
'I am cold'

4.137 bua ḥädm-**u** qäläm-Ø biži z-et-mä
this person-**DAT** pencil-NOM one want-PRF.I-INDIC
'This person wants a pencil'

4.138 gad-**u** kičeb liķuvri yukuar-mä
boy-**DAT** book read love-INDIC
'A boy loves to read a book'

4.139 asür ümza at-mä
I-**DAT** hungry to.be.PRF.I-INDIC
'I am hungry'

4.140 misi ḥäyälirz-**u** pχra-šilli ünqkuar-mä
little children-**DAT** dog-ABL afraid-INDIC
'Little children are afraid of dogs'

In other instances the dative marks indirect objects.

4.141 yä e ķil-**u** kağaz-Ø šiçidä-mä

I-ERG my friend-**DAT** letter-NOM write-INDIC
'I wrote a letter to my friend'

4.142 yä puχr-**u** inḳ läḳ-ir-qo-mä
I dog-**DAT** bone give- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
'I give a bone to the dog'

4.143 pšor-**u** ink täḳä
horse- **DAT** hay give (synonyms)
'Give hay to the horses!'

Dative can also be attached to a recipient of the experience, the person or thing to whom the event is occurring, the beneficiary. Thus:

4.144 hin-i hine dost-**u** latürku-šä-mä
he-ERG his friend- **DAT** hit-PST-INDIC
'He hit his friend'

4.145 jir-i inqχerḍoy-**u** ḫyrmäthitar-mä
we-ERG elderly-**DAT** respect-INDIC
'We respect the elderly'

4.146 bıy š-**u** insaflıdu-mä
father son- **DAT** fair-INDIC
'The father is fair to his son'

4.2.6 Comitative

The comitative case signifies accompaniment, companionship. It signifies being together, accompanying someone. That could be a subject or an object. It is marked by *-išḳili* if the stem ends with a consonant, and by *-šḳili* if the stem ends with a vowel.

When used with the subject and signifying joint unidirectionality, the meaning is similar to "and," "in the company of," "together with," as in the examples below.

4.147 zı pš-**išḳili** kw-et-mä

with horse-**COM** I.come-PRF.I-INDIC

'I am coming with a horse'

4.148 gada riš-**iškili** kağ-šä-mä

boy-ABS girl-**COM** came-PST-INDIC

'The boy came with the girl'

4.149 pχ̣r-**ašḳ̣ili** ankwi

to the dog- **COM** friendly

'Don't be friendly with the dog!'

4.150 yä χ̣inimḳ̣ir-**škili** čüḳ̣r-at-mä

I wife- **COM** speaking-PRS.I-INDIC

'I am speaking with my wife'

Sometimes the comitative case, when used with the subject, signifies multidirectionality or opposition instead. In those cases the meaning is more similar to "against, versus, opposite."

4.151 jäʕiz ḥädmi ḳulağ-**oškili** daʕvaku-šä-mä

ten people two- **COM** fighting-PST-INDIC

'Ten people were fighting with (against) the two'

4.152 mıd-**aškili** e ḥudʒät aṭiʒ-i-mä

mountain- **COM** I argument have-NEG-INDIC

'I don't have arguments with (against) the mountain'

4.153 mıd-**aškili** yä ḥudʒät kitar-i-mä

mountain- **COM** I argument argue-NEG-INDIC

'The mountain and I don't argue'

The comitative case indicates the position of the thing concurrent with (accompanying) the object.

4.154 pš-**äškili** yä mits q̇ün-ž-mä

bread-**COM** I butter ate-DEF.PST-INDIC

‘I ate butter with bread’

4.155 yä če qänd-**iškili** cul-et-mä
I tea sugar-**COM** drink-PRF.I-INDIC
‘I drink tea with sugar’

There can also be spatial meaning attached to the comitative case, meaning “nearby, along the way, along.”

4.156 zı ınka-**šḳili** düz zaku-at-mä
I riverside-**COM** straight walk.along-PRS.I-INDIC
‘I am walking along the riverside’

4.157 zı dıvar-**ıšḳili** düz zaku-at-mä
I wall- **COM** straight walk.along-PRS.I-INDIC
‘I am walking along the wall’

There are two general types of local cases: locatives and ablatives.

4.2.7 Locative

Locatives generally deal with the spatial positions of an object. There are three locative cases in Xinaliqi: general locative, orientational locative and possessive locative.

4.2.7.1 General Locative

The general locative case is associated with the position of an object relative to X, roughly corresponding to the English prepositions “in,” “on,” “at,” and “by.” Animate nouns do not take the general locative case, instead taking the possessive locative. Only inalienably possessed nouns can take the general locative case, thus excluding Class I and Class II nouns. This case takes the marker *– (V)r* after a consonant and *-r* after a vowel at the end of the stem. With some place names, this locative case is the same as the nominative case, taking the *ø* marker. This is only true of place names.

4.158 maskva- **ø**
Moscow-**GEN.LOC**
‘In Moscow’

4.159 cẏa- **ø**
home-**GEN.LOC**
‘At home’

As compared to:

4.160 ḳala-r
Guba- **GEN.LOC**
‘In Guba’

Or as in the case below, where both are correct:

4.161 urta- **ø**
middle- **GEN.LOC**
‘In the middle’

4.162 urta-**r**
middle- **GEN.LOC**
‘In the middle’

4.163 bädrä-**r** x̣u qo-mä
bucket- **GEN.LOC** water is.PRF.II-INDIC
‘There is water in the bucket’

4.164 ant-**ır** mıkar qo-mä
ground- **GEN.LOC** stick is.PRF.II-INDIC
‘There is a stick on the ground’

The only time animate nouns can take the general locative case is when they are plural; otherwise they take the possessive locative case. When general locative is used with plural animates, it has the specific meaning of “among the set of entities.”

4.165 pšor-**ır** gra lašilki

horse-**GEN.LOC.PL** wolf appeared

'A wolf has appeared among the horses'

4.166 nuḳurdır-**ir** yaza qo-mä

mouse- **GEN.LOC.PL** something is.PRF.II-INDIC

'There is something among the mice'

The general locative case can be used for indicating specific location.

4.167 zur kalχoz-**ır** ištämiškuar-mä

you kolxoz- **GEN.LOC.PL** work-INDIC

'You work in a kolkhoz'

4.168 hu mäktäb-**ir** lašılğid-mä

he school- **GEN.LOC.PL** admit-INDIC

'He was admitted in school'

Locative case also can be used to express location in time.

4.169 cuvaž-**ır**

autumn-**GEN.LOC**

'In autumn'

4.170 daʕva vaχt-**ır**

war time.duration-**GEN.LOC**

'During the war'

4.171 säʕät px-**ur**

hour five-**GEN.LOC.**

'At 5 o'clock'

4.2.7.2 Orientational Locative (Sometimes Referred to as the Purpose Locative)

The orientational locative case specifies an approximate location for a noun or location in the vicinity of a noun. The case is marked by *-(V)χ* after a consonant and *-χ* after a vowel. It often has the meaning of "near," "by."

4.172 mıde täp-**äx̣** kıza qo-mä
mountain top-**OR.LOC** snow is.PRF.II-INDIC
'There is snow on top (near the top, by the top) of the mountain'

4.173 viš-**äx̣** ḥädmi toxun-qo-mä
tree-**OR.LOC** person stand-PRF.II-INDIC
'A person is standing near (or by) the tree'

Sometimes the orientational locative case specifies the direction toward the location when approaching a place:

4.174 zı cuxam-**ıx̣** zakud-mä
I mill-**OR.LOC** go-INDIC
'I will go to (near) the mill'

4.175 zı mıda-**x̣** läxilkuidu-mä
I mountain-**OR.LOC**. walk.toward-INDIC
'I will walk over to (near) the mountain'

The orientational locative can have nonspatial meanings, which can be subdivided into smaller categories of purpose, reason (cause), and the equivalent in an exchange. Examples follow.

Purpose:

4.176 ästiga xın-**ıx̣** kuival lazım-mä
morning water-**OR.LOC.** go necessary-INDIC
'It is necessary to go for water in the morning'

4.177 zı pš-**ıx̣** ku-et-mä
I horse-**OR.LOC**. get-PRF.I-INDIC
'I am going to get the horse' ('I am fetching the horse')

4.178 hini azadl-**ıx̣** daʕvakwi-ž-mä
he freedom-**OR.LOC** fought-DEF.PST-INDIC

'He fought for freedom'

Reason (cause):

4.179 inxerğozu haqˈl-**ıx** yir hirl ḥırmätkitar-mä
elderly idea-**OR.LOC** we always respect-INDIC
'We always respect the elderly men's ideas'

Exchange equivalent:

4.180 abuzerisa hilam qänäʕiz manat-**ıx̣** ceḳui-šä-mä
Abuzer donkey thirty manat-**OR.LOC.** sold-NTR.PST-INDIC
'Abuzel sold the donkey for thirty manat'

4.181 va sä tšoa-**x̣** asır yä täḳirži
you this house-**OR.LOC** what me give
'What will you give me for this house?'

4.182 zı pχr-**ax̣** läḳšir-et-mä
I dog-**OR.LOC** look-PRS.I-INDIC
'I am looking at the dog'

4.183 hini sä ça-**x̣** cıḳ-šä-mä
he this house-**OR.LOC** told-NTR.PST-INDIC
'He told me about this house'

4.2.7.3 Possessive Locative

Possessive locatives denote acquired possession. Animate nouns use the possessive locative case instead of the general locative. It is signaled by the marker *-(V)š̃* after a consonant and *-š̃* after a stem ending with a vowel.

4.184 gada-**š̃**
boy-**POS.LOC**
'The boy has (it)'

4.185 i kuta-**š̃** ḳaçın at-mä

my hand-**POSS.LOC** stone is-PRS.I-INDIC
'There is a stone in my hand'

4.186 yä šä dädä-**š** ķičeb läķu-šä-mä
I my mother-**POSS.LOC**. book give-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I gave my mother a book'

4.187 hä azar hinä-**š** čiž-mä
this illness he-**POSS.LOC** has-INDIC
'He has this illness'

4.188 va ğoa riši-**š** ya läķuiži
you this girl-**POS.LOC** what give
'What did you give to this girl?'

4.189 yä ẋinibiri-**š** samavar läķu-šä-mä
I women-**POS.LOC** samovar give-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I gave a samovar to the woman'

As the differentiating factor between possessive locatives and datives, there is less sense of ownership with the possessive locatives as compared to possessive datives. The possessive locative can also have partitive meaning:

4.190 hinä güldür-**üš** sa dästä as täķä
these flower.bunch-**POSS.LOC** one flower me give
'Give me one bouquet from these flowers'

4.191 xın-**ıš** sa ţing tä
water-**POS.LOC** one drop give
'Give me one drop of water'

4.192 hine inķim-**iš** sa ķan täẋq̇ä
this rope-**POS.LOC** one piece cut
'Cut off one piece from this rope'

The possessive locative can also denote the material an object is made of:

4.193 ḳir-**iš** šalam ḳä
horse.leather-**POSS.LOC**. slippers make
'Make the slippers from horse leather'

4.194 dä vaz ur-**aš** qermišk-u-qo-mä
this knife iron-**POS.LOC** made- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
'This knife is made of iron'

Sometimes the meaning of the possessive locative matches the meaning of possessive ablative, as in the following examples:

4.195 zättäkui xin-**iš** ẋeri iẋerž-mä
streaming water-**POS.LOC** many benefits-INDIC
'There are many benefits from running water'

4.196 pẋra-**š** psä bižianku-i
dog**POS.LOC** bread ask-NEG.
'Don't ask the dog for bread'

4.197 etsi Pšor-**iš** uẋ ya yukoat
those horse-**POS.LOC** you what want
'What do you want from those horses?'

4.198 va sua ric-**iš** ya tendžġuži
you your sister-**POS.LOC** what take
'What did you take from your sister?'

The possessive locative is also used with the subject when expressing a possibility:

4.199 kš-**äš** saz žäqẋinkuar
who-**POS.LOC** saz can.play
'Who can play the saz?'

4.200 šä biž-**is** kankuid-mä
my father-**POS.LOC** might.come-INDIC

'My father might come'

4.201 hinäš cäpilinq̇ätt-i
he-**POS.LOC** run.away-NEG
'He couldn't run away'

The possessive locative can also express the reason for something:

4.202 xu far-**aš** iliğ q̇-i-qo-mä
water heat-**POS.LOC** warm become-PRF.ASP-PERF.II-INDIC
'Water becomes warm from heat'

4.2.8 Ablative

There are three different ablative cases in Xinaliqi: general ablative, orientational ablative, and possessive ablative.

4.2.8.1 General Ablative

This ablative case marks motion away, the act of withdrawal, removal. Animate nouns do not take the general ablative case; instead they take the possessive ablative. Inanimate nouns use the general ablative. The marker of the general ablative is *-lli* after a stem ending in a vowel or *–(V)lli* after a consonant-final stem:

4.203 gis-**illi** ḳaçın alk-šä-mä
roof-**GEN.ABL** rock fall-NTR.PST-INDIC
'A stone fell off the roof'

4.204 x̣ını-**lli** q̇uror qaltırku-šä-mä
water- **GEN.ABL** frog jump-NTR.PST-INDIC
'A frog jumped out of the water'

4.205 mıd-**alli** arx̣ altfaku-i-qo-mä
mountain- **GEN.ABL** creek flows- PRF.ASP-PRF.II-INDIC
'A creek flows from the mountain'

The general ablative case can also illustrate a movement over an object, as in:

4.206 ḳura-**lli** pχra-Ø čäp-ir-qo-mä
road- **GEN.ABL** dog-NOM run-PRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
'A dog is running over (along) the road'

4.207 tik ḳindir-**illi** atšukval cätinʒ-mä
steep stair-**GEN.ABL** difficult go.up-INDIC
'It is difficult to go up the steep stairs'

The general ablative can also illustrate the beginning of something, as in:

4.208 šä bıy cuvaž-**ılli** azallı-mä
my father autumn-**GEN.ABL** ill-INDIC
'My father has been ill since autumn'

4.209 säʕät pxu-**lli**
time five- **GEN.ABL**
'From (since) five o'clock'

The general ablative case can also express the origin of a person or a thing:

4.210 dur šire so-**li**-mä
they our village- **GEN.ABL**-INDIC
'They are from our village'

4.211 zı kätš-**ili**-mä
I Xinaliq-**GEN.ABL**-INDIC
'I am from Xinaliq'

The general ablative can also express the means of realizing an action, similar to one function of the instrumental case:

4.212 zı ḳala-**lli** pši-**lli** kağud-mä
I kuba- **GEN.ABL** horse- **GEN.ABL** arrived-INDIC
'I arrived from Guba by horse'

4.213 ğoz lıgılır zicalğ-**illi** ʒımak-ir-qo-mä

these men music-**GEN.ABL** dance-IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
'These men are dancing to the music'

4.214 hinäš cešm-**illi** liḳuvunkuar-mä
he-POS.LOC glasses(with glasses on)-**GEN.ABL** read(can)-INDIC
'He can read with his glasses on'

4.215 pil-**illi** pši tuvunkuidä-mä
for money-**GEN.ABL** horse can.buy-INDIC
'For money it is possible to buy a horse'

The general ablative also marks an object that is currently undergoing an action involving touch, as in:

4.216 hini ḳıṭır-**ılli** yä itirku-šä-mä
him nose-**GEN.ABL** I tapped-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I tapped him on the nose'

4.217 dädi riši iža-**lli** ṗaku-šä-mä
mother daughter face-**GEN.ABL** kissed-NTR.PST-INDIC
'The mother kissed daughter's face'

4.218 ğua gadi I kokus-**ulli** latırku-šä-mä
this man my chest- **GEN.ABL** hit-NTR.PST-INDIC
'This man hit me in the chest'

Some other uses of the general ablative case are seen in the following:

4.219 Sabiri c̄uv-**ılli** kutša attidä-mä
Sabiri named-**GEN.ABL** street is-INDIC
'There is the street named Sabiri'

4.220 spartak c̄uv-**ılli** kamanda
Spartak named- **GEN.ABL** team
'A team with the name of "Spartak"'

4.221 kättidi mic̄-**illi**

Xinaliq language- **GEN.ABL**

'In the Xinaliq language' (Xinaliq is also translated as Ketish)

4.2.8.2 Orientational Ablative (Purpose Ablative)

The orientational ablative case is used to specify movement from the vicinity of a noun. It works in conjunction with the orientational locative case. In fact it is marked by -*ɪχ̣illi,* which is created by joining the orientational locative marking - *ɪχ̣* with the general ablative case marker -*illi.* The case can be used to indicate movement away from the space that the object occupies:

4.222 çwa-**χ̣illi** liχ̣i
house-**OR.ABL** go
'Go away from the house'

4.223 hine pχ̣ra-**χ̣illi** liχ̣i
his dog-**OR.ABL** go
'Walk away from his dog'

The orientational ablative can indicate movement "past something," "along something," "nearby something":

4.224 zı cuχ̣am-**ɪχ̣illi** laāχ̣id-mä
I mill-**OR.ABL** walk-INDIC
'I walked past the mill'

4.225 zı ınk**a-χ̣illi** havar aχ̣-šä-mä
I river-**OR.ABL** up go-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I was going up along the river'

The orientational ablative case can be used with an object, the distance of which from the subject is being determined, as in:

4.226 nadir v-**iχ̣illi** uzaχ̣ toχ̣un-qo-mä

Nadir you- **OR.ABL** far stand-PRS.II-INDIC
'Nadir stands far away from you'

4.227 čuval ınk**a-x̣illi** uzax̣ qo-mä
sheep river **OR.ABL** far is.PRS.II-INDIC
'The sheep is far from the river'

Sometimes the orientational ablative case is determined by a strong directional verb, which is similar to "touching verbs" that take the general ablative case. With Example 4.228 there is a stronger sense of the directionality and orientation of the objects involved:

4.228 yä hini kut-**ax̣illi** čux-šä-mä
I him hand- **OR.ABL** grab-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I grabbed him by the hand'

4.2.8.3 Possessive Ablative

The possessive ablative case indicates the state of no longer being in possession of a noun. Animate nouns use the possessive ablative instead of the general ablative case. It is used with the possessive locative marker of *-š* and the ablative marker *-lli,* which combine to form *-šilli*. There is an important difference in meaning between the general ablative vs. possessive ablative in their most common function of indicating "from," "withdrawal," "away," etc. Although both express "withdrawal" from an object, the possessive ablative is used specifically with objects that are possessed by someone/something else in the sentence. Example 4.229 falls out of that category because it is an animate object and therefore cannot use the general ablative. Since "boy" is animate, it automatically takes possessive ablative. However, all other examples that are inanimate are "possessed" in one sense or another. Of course some of those inanimate

examples could be expressed using the general ablative case, but that case would not indicate possession.

4.229 gada-**šilli**
boy-**POSS.ABL**
'From/away from the boy'

4.230 yä csı-**šilli** pši tenčuq-šä-mä
I my.brother-**POS.ABL** horse take-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I took the horse from my brother'

4.231 hu kirağ daıg-**ıšilli** ǯetsin-šä-mä
he today work-**POS.ABL** stayed-NTR.PST-INDIC
'He stayed from his work'

Similarly to the possessive locative case, the possessive ablative can imply "withdrawal from," "receiving from."

4.232 hini i kut-**ašilli** vaz tuv-šä-mä
he my hand-**POS.ABL** knife took-NTR.PST-INDIC
'He took a knife out of my hands'

4.233 jä pχr-**ašilli** inķ čuq-šä-mä
I dog-**POS.ABL** bone snatch-NTR.PST-INDIC.
'I snatched the bone from the dog'

The possessive ablative case can have the meaning of portability, or certain change:

4.234 gyly-**šilli** ksan ula talku-i-qo-mä
flower-**POS.ABL** good smell come- PRF.ASP-PRF.II-INDIC
'There is a good smell coming from the flower'

4.235 hinä mıdaš-**illi** heč sa zärär aṭṭi-ž-i-mä
this mountain-**POS.ABL** none one harm is-DEF.PST-NEG-INDIC
'There is no harm from this mountain'

Similarly to the possessive locative case, the possessive ablative can represent the material that an object is made of or extracted from, as in:

4.236 dä çwa ḳaçın-**ıšilli**-mä
this house stone-**POS.ABL**-INDIC
'This house is built of stone'

4.237 mıkar-**ıšilli** zäḳ kwar-mä
wood-**POS.ABL** ash derived-INDIC
'Ash is derived from wood'

4.238 qaǯmağı mast-**ıšilli** mic iχer kwar-mä
sour.cream matsoni-**POS.ABL** butter much is-INDIC
'From yogurt there is usually a lot of butter'

4.239 dä ustul mıkar-**ıšilli**-mä
this table wood-**POS.ABL**-INDIC
'This table is (made) out of wood'

The possessive ablative can also have a causal sense, like "due to" or "because of" in English:

4.240 zı sas-**ıšilli** ailmıšq̇i-šä-mä
I noise-**POS.ABL** wake up-NTR.PST-INDIC
'I woke up because of the noise'

4.241 hini ḳıc̄-**ašilli** c̄arku-šä-mä
he snake-**POS.ABL** scream-NTR.PST-INDIC
'He screamed because of the snake'

4.242 ungum-**ıšilli** yä hämišä škwajätkitar-mä
heart-**POS.ABL** I always suffer-INDIC
'I always suffer due to the heart'

Possessive ablative can have partitive meaning:

4.243 xın-**išilli** sa ṭıng tä

water-**POS.ABL** one drop give

'Give me one drop of water'

4.244 vıts ır-**ıšilli** sin zı ḳalar zak̄oar-mä

month-**POS.ABL** once I Guba go-INDIC

'Once a month I go to Guba'

There are also examples indicating "of something," with a meaning similar to "about something":

4.245 misi ḥäyäliryu pχtad-**išilli** ınqχ-qo-mä

little children dog-**POS.ABL** afraid-PRF.II-INDIC

'Little children are afraid of dogs'

4.246 dädi ḥäyäl-**išilli** iχer cıḳ-šä-mä

mother child-**POS.ABL** much spoke-NTR.PST-INDIC

'Mother spoke a lot about her child'

4.2.9 Comparative

The comparative case is used to make comparisons between different objects. In a clause, the object with which a comparison is being made takes this case. It is marked by *-q̇* or *-q̇illi*. The question of which marker is chosen in which environment needs to be investigated further.

4.247 ure vaz mis vza-**q̇illi** ksandä-mä

iron knife bronze knife- **COMP** better.is-INDIC

'An iron knife is better than a bronze knife'

4.248 šire mıdad ksanžmä sure mıdad-**ıq̇illi**

our mountains better your mountain-**COMP**

'Our mountains are better than your mountains'

4.249 vac-**ıq̇illi** ys viχäž-mä

month- **COMP** year longer-INDIC

‘A year is longer than a month’

The comparative case is used specifically when referring to things that show spatial distance and/or comparison:

4.250	ẋınaliğ	maskv-**aġilli**	iẋer	uzaẋ-šä-mä
	Xinaliq	Moscow- **COMP**	very	far-NTR.PST-INDIC

‘Xinaliq is very far from Moscow’

4.3 Nouns - Plurality

Plural formation in Xinaliq is semisystematic with regular nouns, but it follows a different set of rules for irregular nouns. With regular nouns Xinaliq has no marker for singular number; thus, singular is identical to the noun stem. Plural is marked and has several different forms and is governed by Xinaliq vowel harmony (see Chapter 3), briefly reviewed below:

- ı after back, unrounded vowels ı or a
- i after front, unrounded vowels i, e, ä
- u after back, rounded vowels u or o
- ü after front rounded ü

Plural case in Xinaliq depends on the class to which the particular noun belongs. Some of the general rules for plural case follow:

i. Class M and Class F nouns (human animate nouns) ending in all vowels except *a* and *ä* take *-lır, -lir, -lur,* or *-lür* (depending on vowel harmony). For instance:

4.251	s̀̌i	‘son’
	ši-lir	‘son-s’
4.252	rıšı	‘sister’
	rıc̄ı-lır	‘sister-s’

In Example 4.251 the last stem-vowel is *-i-,* thus the plural marker *-lir* is used.

ii. The remainder of Class M and Class F nouns (ending in the vowel *-a* or *-ä)* take *-d* as the plural marker.

4.253 aba ‘grandfather’
aba-d ‘grandfather-s’

4.254 dädä ‘mother’
dädä-d ‘mother-s’

In Example 4.253 the last vowel is *a*, and thus the *-d* plural marker is used.

iii. Class M and Class F nouns ending in any consonant take *-ır, -ir, -ur* or *-ür*, depending on vowel harmony:

4.255 xıdıl ‘grandchild’
xıdıl-ır ‘grandchildr-en’

4.256 ḫäyäl ‘child’
ḫäyäl-ir ‘childr-en’

4.257 dušman ‘enemy’
dušman-ır ‘enemies’

4.258 halamx̣er ‘shepherd’
halamx̣er-ir ‘shepherd-s’

4.259 borts ‘aunt’ (from father’s side)
borts-ır ‘aunt-s’

Exception: Some M and F class nouns take *-in.* This phenomenon needs to be investigated more thoroughly to develop a systematic explanation.

4.260 bıy ‘father’
4.261 bıy-ın ‘father-s’

4.262 k'ili ‘friend’
4.263 k'ili-y-in ‘friends’

(The *-y-* is inserted epenthetically to avoid hiatus.)

iv. Class AN. and Class INAN. nouns ending in any vowel take *-d*.

4.264 taka ‘goat’
taka-d ‘goat-s’

4.265 višä ‘tree’
višä-d ‘tree-s’

4.266 ximi ‘smoke’
ximi-d ‘smoke’ PL

4.267 bzı ‘pear’
bzı-d ‘pear-s’

v. Class AN. and Class INAN. nouns ending in *l, r* or *n* take either *-dır, -dir, -dur* or *-dür*.

4.268 gül ‘flower’
gül-dür ‘flower-s’

4.269 ḥayvan ‘animal’
ḥayvan-dır ‘animal-s’

4.270 kixir ‘drop’
kixir-dir ‘drop-s’

vi. Class AN. and INAN. nouns ending in voiced consonants as well as in *h, y*, or *m* take *-ırdır, -irdir, -urdur* or *ürdür.*

4.271 kunʒ ‘corner’
kunʒ-urdur ‘corner-s’

4.272 ḳadah ‘milk container’ (pail)
ḳadah-ırdır ‘milk container-s’ (pail-s)

4.273 ḳiγ ‘brow’
ḳiγ-ırdır ‘brow-s’

4.274 eng ‘cheese’

engirdir ‘cheese’ PL

4.3.1 Plural Forms with Noun Declension

During the noun declension plural forms change according to different types of plural formation schemes. There is a general declension scheme and a few varieties, which are characteristic of a limited number of nouns.

Class AN. and INAN. nouns during declension take the same forms of plurality as their nominative counterparts, as illustrated in Table 4.6.

Class M and F nouns that also take- *d* for plurality, during declension take the same forms of plurality as their nominative counterparts, as shown in Table 4.7.

There are two types of declensions that diverge from the regular declension type described above. The first deals with Class I and II nouns that take -*ir/ır/ur/ür*, -*lir/lır/lur/lür*, *or* -*in* for plurality. They take -*z* as an infix before their respective declension suffixes, as shown in Table 4.8.

The second variety is formed in two possible ways, (a) and (b):

(a) i. adding (-*V)* (usually the same as that of the root),

ii. then the declension suffix or

iii. plural suffixes such as -*l; - b(i/ı)r;*

or

(b) i. adding (-*V)m* (vowel usually the same as that of the root),

ii. then the declension suffix or

iii. plural suffixes such as -*z(i/ı)r.*

Examples appear below, beginning with examples of formation (a) (the rules of distribution between [a] and [b] have not yet been determined):

(a):

4.275	ġam	‘spoon’	NOM.SG.
	ġam-a-r		LOC.SG.
	ġam-al		NOM.PL
4.276	qac	‘stick’	NOM.SG.
	qac-a-r		LOC.SG.
	qc-al		NOM.PL.
4.277	vaz	‘knife’	NOM.SG.
	vaz-a-r		LOC.SG.
	vzal		NOM.PL.
4.278	ċu	‘name’	NOM.SG.
	ċu-r		LOC.SG.
	ċuv-ol		NOM.PL.
4.279	bemb	‘fly’	NOM.SG.
	bemb-ir		LOC.SG.
	bimb-el		NOM.PL.
4.280	qintš	‘toe’	NOM.SG.
	qintš-ir		LOC.SG.
	qintš-al		NOM.PL.

-bir/bır:

4.281	toz	‘door’	NOM.SG.
	toz-or		NOM.SG.
	toza-bır		NOM.PL.
4.282	nik	‘knee’	NOM.SG.
	nik-ir		NOM.SG.
	nikibir		NOM.PL.
4.283	ink	‘grass’	NOM.SG.
	ink-ir		NOM.SG.

	inkebir	NOM.PL.
4.284	ınqa ‘field’	NOM.SG.
	ınqa-r	NOM.SG.
	ınqabır	NOM.PL.
4.285	ınka ‘river’	NOM.SG.
	ınka-r	NOM.SG.
	ınkabır	NOM.PL.
4.286	nuq̇a ‘toilet’	NOM.SG.
	nuq̇a-r	NOM.SG.
	nuq̇abır	NOM.PL.
4.287	q̇ä ‘day’	NOM.SG.
	q̇ä-r	NOM.SG.
	q̇äbir	NOM.PL.

If the noun ends with *m* or *b* the oblique suffix is no longer necessary. In most cases the relationship is *b*>*m*. Also the stem often shows irregular consonant alternations, and some stem suppletion occurs. The following are some examples of formation (b):

4.288	hilam ‘donkey’	NOM.SG.
	hilam-am-i	ERG.SG.
	hilm-zır	NOM.PL.
4.289	q̇ab ‘bone’	NOM.SG.
	q̇am-i	ERG.SG.
	q̇am-zır	NOM.PL.
4.290	kitšeb ‘book’	NOM.SG.
	kitše-m-i	ERG.SG.
	kitšem-zir	NOM.PL.
4.291	ḳıl ‘hand’	NOM.SG.
	ḳıl-am-i	ERG.SG.

ḳıl am žır NOM.PL.

There are some instances of plural formations that do not fit into either of the above patterns:

4.292 pši ‘horse’
pš-or ‘horse-s’

4.293 ki ‘sheep’
ki-rin ‘sheep’ PL.

4.294 pχra ‘dog’
Px-tad ‘dog-s’

4.295 ḳu ‘lamb’
ḳi-tšir ‘lamb-s’

4.296 ċol ‘goat’
ċı-tan ‘goat-s’

4.297 ḳiyä ‘guest’
ḳiyä-n ‘guest-s’

4.298 miḳir ‘head’
mıḳı-z ‘head-s’

4.299 Xinimḳir ‘woman’
Xını-bır ‘women’

An explanation for these patterns is still being determined.

As seen in the data examples above, plurality can be marked on all noun classes, human and nonhuman animates, as well as inanimates. It is expressed through suffixation. However, in Xinaliq there are also instances when the expected plural marker is dropped. To express collectives (i.e., a group of objects), singular is used instead of plural:

4.300 ḥayvan antır latırbığı
animals pasture went
'The animals went to pasture'

Table 4.9 illustrates the Xinaliq plurality paradigm.

There is noun-verb agreement in number (see Chapter 7) as well as with independent adjectives (Chapter 5).

4.5 Noun Phrase

In this section some general remarks are made on the structure and composition of noun phrases in Xinaliq, with special reference to the order of words within the noun phrase. A NP can consist of a noun with different modifiers: adjectives (4.301-4.303), numerals (4.304), quantifiers (4.305), attributive interrogative pronouns (4.306), genitive (4.307), or relative clauses (4.308-4.309). The common, unmarked word order has the head at the end of the phrase.

The following examples feature adjectives as NP modifiers:

4.301 azarri ḥadmi
sick.ADJ man.NOUN
'A sick man'

4.302 čixi kısan ailä
big.ADJ beautiful.ADJ family.NOUN
'A big, beautiful family'

4.303 Hundur khırıc̣ kona cẉa
tall.ADJ white.ADJ. old.ADJ. house
'A tall, white, old house'

Example 4.304 shows a numeral as modifier:

4.304 Pxu pşi

five.NUM horses.NOUN

'Five horses'

Example 4.305 shows a quantifier as modifier:

4.305 Bitin tələbən.

all.QUAN students.NOUN

'All students'

In Example 4.306, an attributive interrogative pronoun is the modifier:

4.306 t̄a mäktäb?

which.INTER. school.NOUN

'Which school?'

In Example 4.307, a genitive is the modifier:

4.307 čuval-i mıṭ-ır

sheep-GEN dropping-PL.

'Sheep droppings'

The following two examples show a relative clause as the modifier:

4.308 Hä blıška qonši ṭuvšämä

that.one.which dress neighbor bought

'The dress which the neighbor bought'

4.309 ka-bı-ği ḳiyanz-u

have.come-CM.FEM.PL.-SUBST. guests-DAT.

'Guests who have come'

Table 4.1 Xinaliq Class Markers

Class number	Series 1 Affix	Series 2 Affix	Series 3 Affix
MASC , INAN singular; AN, INAN plural	Ø	y	h (Ø)
FEM singular	z (s/c/zi)	z (r)	S
AN singular; MASC, FEM plural	b (p/Ø/bi)	v	F

Table 4.2 Series 1 Class Markers

Class	number	‘died’	‘went’	‘bought’	‘was’	‘became’
MASC	SG	**Ø**-ḳišämä	**Ø**-x̣išämä	tu-**Ø**-vi	**Ø**-q̇i-d-mä	**Ø**-q̇išämä
FEM	SG	**zi**-ḳišämä	**c**-x̣išämä	tu-**z**-vi	**zi**-q̇i-dä-mä	**zi**-q̇išämä
AN	SG	**bi**-ḳišämä	**p**-x̣išämä	tu-**Ø**+vi	**bi**-q̇i-dä-mä	**bi**-q̇išämä
INAN	SG	**Ø**-ḳišämä	**Ø**-x̣išämä	tu-**Ø**-vi	**Ø**-q̇i-ž-mä	**Ø**-q̇išämä
M & F	PL	**bi**-ḳišämä	**p**-x̣išämä	tu-**Ø**+vi	**b**-q̇-i-dur-mä	**bi**-q̇išämä
AN & INAN	PL	**Ø**-ḳišämä	**Ø**-x̣išämä	tu-**Ø**-vi	**Ø**-q̇i- žit-mä	**Ø**-q̇išämä

Table 4.3 Series 3 Class Markers

class	number	‘be’	‘love’	‘go’	come down
M	SG	**h**-a-r	**Ø**-yi-**h**-a-r	la-**h**-ɪ-r	enʒi-**Ø**-r
F	SG	**s**-a-r	**r**-i-yi-**s**-a-r	la-**s**-ɪ-r	enʒi-**s**-i-r
AN.	SG	**f**-a-r	**b**-i-yi-**f**-a-r	la-**f**-ɪ-r	enʒi-**f**-i-r
INAN.	SG	**h**-a-r	**Ø**-yi-**h**-a-r	la-**Ø**-r	enʒi-**Ø**-r
M & F	PL	**f**-a-r	**b**-i-yi-**f**-a-r	la-**f**-ɪ-r	enʒi-**f**-i-r
AN & INAN	PL	**h**-a-r	**Ø**-yi-**h**-a-r	la-**Ø**-r	enʒi-**Ø**-r

Table 4.4 Xinaliq Case System Phonological Alternations

Case	Affix	After a vowel	After a consonant
Nominative	+ Ø	all V + Ø -> V (no change)	all C + Ø -> C (no change)
Ergative	+ i	all V + i -> i	Ø -> i /C __
Genitive 1	+ i	all V + i -> i	Ø -> i / C__
Genitive 2	+ e	a/ä + e -> e ı/i/i + e -> i	Ø -> i / C__
Dative	+ u	all V + u -> u	Ø -> u /C__
Comitative	+škili	all V + škili -> Vškili *	Ø → Vškili /C__ *
Locative	+ r	all V + r -> Vr *	Ø → Vr /C__ *
Ablative	+lli	all V + lli /Vlli *	Ø → Vlli /C__ *
Orientational Locative	+x̣	all V + x̣ -> Vx̣ *	Ø → Vx̣/C__ *
Orientational Ablative	+ x̣illi	all V + x̣illi -> Vx̣illi *	Ø → Vx̣illi/C__*
Possessive Locative	+š	all V+š -> Vš *	Ø → Vš/C__ *
Possessive Ablative	+ šilli	All V + šilli -> Všilli *	Ø → Všilli/C__ *
Comparative 1	+ q̇	All V + q̇ -> Vq̇	Ø → Vq̇/C___ *
Comparative2	+ q̇illi	All V + q̇illi -> Vq̇illi	Ø → Vq̇illi/C___ *

*The vowel is determined according to vowel harmony from the last syllable of the word.

Table 4.5 Noun Conjugations

Case	Nouns ending with a low vowel	Nouns ending with a high vowel	Nouns ending with a consonant
	‘mother’	‘neighbor’	‘rock’
Nominative	Dada	qonšu	ḳaçün
Ergative	Dädi	qonšuyi	ḳaçüni
Genitive 1	Dädi	qonšuyi	ḳaçüni
Genitive 2	Däde	qonšuyi	ḳaçüni
Dative	Dädu	qonšu	ḳaçünu
Comitative	Dädäškili	qonšuškili	ḳaçünüškili
General Locative			ḳaçünür
General Ablative			ḳaçünülli
Orientational locative	Dädäx̣	qonšux̣	ḳaçünüx
Possessive Locative	Dädäš	qonšuš	ḳaçünüš
Orientational Ablative	Dädäx̣illi	qonšux̣illi	ḳaçünüx̣illi
Possessive Ablative	Dädäšilli	qonšušilli	ḳaçünüšilli
Comparative 1	dädäq̇	qonšuq̇	ḳaçünüq̇
Comparative 2	dädäq̇illi	qonšuq̇illi	ḳaçünüq̇illi

Table 4.6 Declension in Plural for Classes AN. and INAN.

Class AN and INAN	Mountains	Roads	Mice	Dogs
Nominative	mıdad	ḳurabır	nuḳurdur	puxtad
Ergative	mıdadi	ḳurabri	nuḳurduri	puxtadi
Genitive 1	mıdadi	ḳurabri	nuḳurduri	puxtadi
Genitive 2	mıdadi	ḳurabri	nuḳurduri	puxtadi
Dative	mıdadu	ḳurabru	nuḳurduru	puxtadu
Comitative	mıdadıškili	ḳurabrıškili	nuḳurduruškili	puxtadiškili
Locative	mıdadır	ḳurabrır	nuḳurdurur	puxtadur
Ablative	mıdadılli	ḳurabrılli	nuḳurdurulli	puxtadıllı
Orientational Locative	mıdadır	ḳurabrıx̣	nuḳurdurux̣	puxtadıx̣
Orientational Ablative	mıdadıx̣illi	ḳurabrıx̣illi	nuḳurdurux̣ili	puxtadıx̣ıllı
Possessive Locative	mıdadıš	ḳurabrıš	nuḳurduruš	puxtadıš
Possessive Ablative	mıdadıšilli	ḳurabrıšilli	nuḳurdurušilli	puxtadıšilli
Comparative 1	mıdadıq̇	ḳurabrıq̇	nuḳurduruq̇	
Comparative 2	mıdadıq̇illi	ḳurabrıq̇illi	nuḳurduruq̇illi	puxtadıq̇ıllı

Table 4.7 Class M and Class F Plural Declension

Class M and F	Mothers	Grandfathers
Nominative	Dädäd	abad
Ergative	Dädädi	abadi
Genitive 1	Dädädi	abadi
Genitive 2	Dädädi	abadi
Dative	Dädädu	abadu
Comitative	Dädädiškilli	abadıškilli
Ablative	Dädädilli	abadıllı
Orientational Locative	Dädädix̣	abadıx
Orientational Ablative	Dädädix̣illi	abadıx̣ıllı
Possessive Locative	Dädädiš	abadıš
Possessive Ablative	Dädädišilli	abadıšilli
Comparative 2	dädädiq̇illi	Abadilli

Table 4.8 Irregular Class M and Class F Plural Declension

Class M and F	sheep herder (male)	neighbor (female)
Nominative	Halamχerir	gonšin
Ergative	Halamχerinzi	gonšinzi
Genitive 1	Halamχerinzi	gonšunzi
Genitive 2	Halamχerinzi	gonšunzi
Dative	halamχerinu zu	gonšudu
Comitative	Halamχerinziškili	gonšinziškilli
Locative		gonšiniž
Ablative		gonšudurullu
Orientational Locative		gonšuduχ
Orientational Ablative		gonšinziχilli
Possessive Locative	Halamχerinziš	gonšuduš
Possessive Ablative	Halamχerinzišilli	gonšinzišilli
Comparative 1	halamχerinziq̇	gonšinziq̇
Comparative 2	halamχerinziq̇illi	gonšinziq̇illi

Table 4.9 Xinaliq Plurality Paradigm

	Classes M and F	Classes AN and INAN
- l(v)r	after i ı u ű e o ö	
-d	after a, ä	after all vowels
-(v)r	after all cons.	
-d(v)r		after l n r
-(v)rd(v)r		after h y m
-(i/ı)n		

CHAPTER 5

ADJECTIVES

An adjective is generally a word that specifies certain properties of a noun. In Xinaliq adjectives can also take a form of a noun, in the substantivized adjectives, where they take on morphological behavior of a noun. Morphologically and syntactically adjectives in Xinaliq are split into two main categories: dependent and independent (substantivized) adjectives. Those called dependent adjectives are attributive adjectives, dependent on a noun as it were, specifying attributes of the noun they modify, as in "yellow bird." The substantivized adjectives are in effect nouns themselves (substantives, another name for nominal, hence the name substantivized). In Xinaliq it is possible to say, for example, "the red fell" in the sense of "the red one fell." These substantivized adjectives (syntactically nouns) take nominal morphology.

5.1 Dependent Adjective

These adjectives can express a variety of properties, including age, dimension, value, color, physical characteristics, shape, human propensity and speed. As the name suggests, this type of adjective needs a noun. Dependent adjectives are invariant in form and have no number, case or class distinctions. Below are some examples of dependent adjectives:

5.1 bäs ḫädmi
deaf man
‘A deaf man‘

5.2 xırıç lık
white meat
‘The white meat’

5.3 inkär pšı
old horse
‘An old horse’

5.4 ksan hava
nice weather
‘Nice weather’

5.2 Independent Adjective

Independent adjectives are called substantivized adjectives, in which the main semantic content is expressed by an adjective. Syntactically it occupies any NP slot – subject, object, indirect object, object of an adposition or predicate nominal. An independent adjective takes all the functions of the adjective-noun phrase. Substantivized adjectives bear suffixes indicating class and number, corresponding directly with the noun class of a noun. They are constructed by the addition of a VCM (Verb Class Marker) to a dependent adjective, as illustrated in Table 5.1 for “white” in the nominative case.

5.5 lağın sa bajlağ**-du** asır ḳijä kağudžämä
yesterday one blind-V
VCM.I.SG to.me as.a.guest came
‘Yesterday one blind (man) came over to be my guest’

5.6 lağın sa bajlağ**-dä** asır ḳijä kağudžämä

yesterday one blind-VCM.II.SG to.me as.a.guest came
'Yesterday one blind (woman) came over to be my guest'

5.7 šire sor varlı-**dur** iχer durmä
village our rich-VCM.I.PL many are
'In our village there are many rich people'

Now we examine substantivized adjectives declined for case. This variation is shown in Table 5.2.

5.8 varl-**ğıš** va ja çiriʒi
rich-**POSS.LOC.VCM.I.SG** you what say
'What will you say to the rich one?'

5.9 jä varl-**ığzıš** sa riši eikiridämä
I rich-**POSS.LOC.VCM.I.PL** one daughter will.marry
'I will marry the rich one's daughter'

5.10 varl-**ığozıšilli** pıl tentšqäkwi
rich.ones-**POSS.ABL.VCM.I.PL** money don't.take
'Don't take money from the rich ones'

5.11 varl-**ıq̇** zı ksanmä
rich.one -**COMP.VCM.I.SG** me better
'I am better than the rich one'

5.12 varl-**ığožiq̇** zı ksanmä
rich.ones-**COMP.VCM.I.PL** me better
'I am better than the rich ones'

5.13 varl-**ığilli** kašib ksanmä
rich-**ABL.VCM.I.SG** poor better
'The poor one is better than the rich one'

5.14 oti dʒähil-**ğozχilli** sa gada talamä
from young.ones-**OR.ABL.I.PL** one guy coming
'From those young ones one guy is coming'

5.15 varl-**ɪǧoži** ç̣wa ḥ̣äjardäʒmä
rich-**ERG.VCM.I.PL** house pretty.is
‘The rich people’s house is pretty’

Table 5.1 Sample Declension of the Substantivized Adjective *xırıç* “white”

Xırıç	White
xırıç-du	VCM.M.SG.
xırıç-dä	VCM.F.SG.
xırıç-dä	VCM.ANIM.SG.
xırıç-ǯi	VCM.INAN.SG.
xırıç-dur	VCM.M.PL. & VCM.F.PL.
xırıç-ǯit	VCM.ANIM.PL. & VCM.INAN. PL.

Table 5.2 Conjugated Examples of the Substantivized Adjective *ḳok* “thick”

	S I N G U L A R				P L U R A L	
Singular	I	II	III	IV	I II	III IV
Absolutive	kok-du	kok-dä	kok-dä	kok-ži	kok-dur	kok-žit
Ergative	kok- ğ-i	kok- ğw-i	kok-s-i	koksi	kokğozi	koksedri
Genitive 1	kok- ğ-i	kok- ğwi	kok-si	koksi	kokğozi	koksedri
Genitive 2	kok- ğ-e	kok- ğwe	kokse	kokse	kokğozi	koksedri
Dative	kok- ğ-u	kok-ğu	kok- su	kok- su	kokğozu	koksedru
Comitative	kok-ğoškili	kok- ğäškili	kok-säškili	kok-säškili	kokğozıškili	koksedrišk ili
Orientational Locative	kok- ğoẋ	kokğäẋ	koksäẋ	koksäẋ	kokğozıẋ	koksedriẋ
Orientational Ablative	kok-ğoẋilli	kokğäẋilli	koksäẋilli	koksäẋilli	kokğozıẋilli	koksedriẋilli
Possessi ve Locative	kok- ğoš	kokğäš	koksäš	kokseš	kokğozıš	koksedriš
Possessive Ablative	kok-ğošilli	kokğäšilli	koksäšilli	koksäšilli	kokğozıšilli	koksedrišilli
Comparative 1	kok- ğoġ	kokğäġ	koksäġ	koksäġ	kokğozıġ	koksedriġ
Comparative 2	kok-ğoġilli	kokğäġilli	koksäġilli	koksäġilli	kokğozıġilli	koksedriġilli

CHAPTER 6

PRONOUNS

The system of pronouns in Xinaliq is complex. In this chapter, the various types of pronouns and their morphology are discussed: personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, quantifier affirmative and negative. Some of the pronouns show class and number agreement while others do not. Pronouns play the same role as the nouns in agreement with the verbs. For instance, in Example 6.1 below the verb agrees with the third-person pronoun, which represents an animate class in singular. In (6.2), the verb agrees with the pronoun as well, which is a female class, singular.

6.1 kur- p^{h}-qxink^{h}u-dæ-v-i-mæ
forget-CM1.III.SG-forget-VCMIII.SG-CM2.III-NEG-INDIC
'I didn't forget it' (animal)

6.2 zar –s-k^{h}-ir-dæ-mæ
OD-CM1.II.SG-send-IMPRFV-VCMII.SG-INDIC
'A husband sent her down'

6.1 Personal Pronouns

Xinaliq has first- and second-person personal pronouns, but there are no independent pronouns for the third person; instead, the demonstrative pronouns are used to signal third person (see Sec. 6.2). First-person plural pronouns can contrast in terms of the concept of inclusive versus exclusive.

i. ‘Inclusive we’ includes ‘you’, the addressee, and, therefore, can include ‘you’ and ‘I’ and possibly others.

ii. ‘Exclusive we’ excludes ‘you’, the addressee, and therefore, includes ‘he/she/they’ and ‘I’, but not ‘you’.

Personal pronouns conjugate like the nouns. Just as with animate nouns, there is no locative or ablative case for personal pronouns. Table 6.1 presents a partial paradigm for the personal pronouns. Nominative, ergative, and dative cases show an irregular declension, while other cases fall into the familiar Xinaliq declension pattern known for nouns.

6.2 Demonstrative Pronoun Deixis

There are dependent and independent (substantivized) demonstrative pronouns, similar to the distinction made for adjectives (see Chapter 5).

6.2.1 Dependent Demonstrative Pronouns

The dependent pronouns are *du,* “this” (meaning close) and *hu,* “that” (meaning distant), which can be used for different functions, including creating independent adjectives. They inflect for class and number (see Table 6.2), and have two case forms:

(i) Direct form (i.e., the form used when the head noun is in the nominative case);

(ii) Oblique form (i.e., the form used when the noun it modifies is in an oblique case).

In certain functions, when more specificity is wanted by the speaker, the dependent demonstratives with orientation/direction markers (see Table 6.3) can be used. In contrast to dependent demonstrative pronouns, these pronouns do not inflect for class, number or case. There are five semantic dimensions denoting spatial relationships

involving location relative to the speaker:

(i) Horizontal proximity (distance) of the referent in relation to the speaker: far
(ii) Horizontal proximity (distance) of the referent in relation to the speaker: near
(iii) Vertical proximity (position) of the referent in relation to the speaker: above
(iv) Vertical proximity (position) of the referent in relation to the speaker: below
(v) Vertical proximity (position) of the referent in relation to the speaker: on the same level

The verbal prefixes in Xinaliq (see Chapter 10 on verbal prefixes) for orientation/direction markers are the same markers as the ones used with the pronouns.

6.2.2 Independent Demonstrative Pronouns

The dependent pronouns *du* and *hu* are the same as the independent pronouns *du* 'this one' and *hu* 'that one' in their nominative form. Their oblique cases are the same as well. They decline for class and for all cases (see Table 6.4 and 6.5). The oblique cases are created by adding the affix *dur* (often actualized as *dr*) and the appropriate case marker. These independent pronouns are used as third-person pronouns.

Similarly, the dependent demonstrative pronouns with orientation/directional specifications (see Table 6.3) can also form independent (substantivized) demonstrative pronouns with orientation/direction distinctions. This can be done by adding dependent demonstrative pronouns, as is done with independent adjectives (see Chapter 5 on adjectives). Some examples of independent demonstrative pronouns are the following:

6.3 otudu
'He who is far and at about the same level'

6.4 otudä
'She who is far and at about the same level'

6.5 otuʒi

‘It that is far and at the same level’

Below is an example of an independent orientation/direction demonstrative pronoun:

6.6 hini sa mäʕni liḳuviyä tudäm baštamıšku-šä-mä
he one song sung that.other start-PST-INDIC
‘He, having sung one song, started that (other) one’

6.3 Possessive Pronouns

There are three categories of possession: alienable, inalienable, and kinship. Inalienable possession refers to things that cannot be removed from the possessor, like “John’s nose.” It equates with Genitive 1. Alienable possession denotes things that can be dissociated from their owner, like “a cup” or “a broom”; it equates with Genitive 2. Kinship is a specific marker that can only be used with things that are owned within the kinship unit (see Table 6.6). It can refer to actual things as well as to certain concepts or ideas. Kinship can be interpreted as an immediate family unit, as well as larger group of people united by blood ties.

By applying the forms in Table 6.6, a phrase like “our horse” can have four different possession constructions, as shown in the examples below:

6.7 šä pši
‘Our horse’
Used when the horse belongs to the speaker's family and the listener is not a family member.

6.8 ḳä pši
‘Our horse’
Used when the horse belongs to the speaker's family and the listener is a member of that family.

6.9 širè pši

‘Our horse’

‘Our’ exclusive, used when the horse belongs to a group of people who are not family and when the speaker is included but not the hearer.

6.10 ḳire pši

‘Our horse’

‘Our’ inclusive, used when the horse belongs to a group of people, a group that includes both the speaker and hearer.

The examples below show the use of inalienable and alienable possession:

6.11 i bıy ıstal vzi tuṭšämä

my big finger knife cut

‘My big finger is cut by a knife’

6.12 e qonši čχi riši qomä

my neighbor grown.up daughter have

‘My neighbor has a grown up daughter’

6.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask a question, the equivalent of what are called “wh-questions” in English linguistics. Languages differ both in the number of interrogative pronouns they have and their function. In Xinaliq, interrogatives are formed with demonstratives. The finite verb loses its indicative marker *mä*. The independent demonstrative pronoun takes *kla* “who” for CM.I and CM.II and *ya* “what” for CM.III and CM.IV. They inflect for class and case but not for number (see Table 6.7). Interrogative *ta* takes a function of pronominal adjective and does not have an inflected paradigm.

6.5 Indefinite Pronouns

There are independent indefinite pronouns that refer to "someone" *klaq̇i*, "something" *yaq̇i* and "no one" *sa.* The pronouns *klaqi* and *yaqi* are formed by adding the suffix *-qi* to interrogatives *kla* and *ya.* These are pronouns that inflect for case. There is no number distinction (see Table 6.8). The pronoun *sa* inflects for class by combining with independent demonstrative pronoun *du* and has both singular and plural forms (see Table 6.9). The pronouns *du* and *sa* thus function in a manner similar to definite versus indefinite article.

6.6 Quantifier Affirmative Pronouns

Quantifier affirmative pronouns are created by adding the quantifier *här* "each"/ "every" to the interrogatives *kla* "who" and *ja* "what." The dependent affirmative quantifiers are listed in Table 6.10. When *här* is attached to the interrogative marker *ta* "which," it can be used independently in certain situations and has a meaning similar to "each" and "every." It does not inflect for class, case or number. Further investigation is needed to determine when this independent quantifier is used as compared to quantifiers that combine with other interrogatives and always inflect for case and class (see Table 6.11). There is no plural option for this quantifier.

6.7 Negative Quantifier Pronouns

To create negative quantifier pronouns the word *hečˇ* is used, which could mean any of the following: "absolutely not," "never," or "none." When attached to the interrogative pronoun *ta*, forming *hečˇta*, it means "none," "not any." When attached to the interrogative pronoun *kla*, forming *hečˇkla*, it means "no one," "not any of the ones." When attached to the interrogative pronoun *ya*, forming *hečˇä*, it means "nothing," "not

one thing.” The case forms of the dependent negative quantifiers are listed in Table 6.12. Independent negative quantifier pronouns can also be formed with certain indefinites, such as *hečsa* “none,” “not one,” or *hečsa{du},* which means “nobody,” “nothing.” This independent pronoun inflects for case and number, as can be seen in Table 6.13.

Table 6.1 Personal Pronoun Declensions

	I	you singular	you plural	we exclusive	we inclusive
Nominative	zɪ	Vɪ	Zur	yir	kin
Ergative	yä	va	Zur	yir	kin
1st Genitive	ɪ	Vi	Suri	širì	kiri
2nd Genitive	e	ve	Sure	šire	kire
Dative	as/asɪr	oẋ/oẋɪr/oẋur/uẋur	Suru	širu	kiru
Comitative	ɪškili	viškili	suräškili	širäškili	kiräškili
Orientational Locative	ɪẋ	vix	Suräẋ	širäẋ	kiräẋ
Orientational Ablative	ɪẋilli	viẋilli	Suräẋilli	širäẋilli	kiräẋilli
Possessive Locative	ɪš	viš	Suräš	širäš	kiräš
Possessive Ablative	ɪšilli	višilli	Suräšilli	širäšilli	kiräšilli
Comparative 1	iq̇	viq̇	Suräq	širäq̇	kiräq̇
Comparative 2	iq̇illi	viq̇illi	suräq̇illi	širäq̇illi	kiräq̇illi

Table 6.2 Forms of the Dependent Demonstrative Pronouns *du* “this” and *hu* “that”

	SINGULAR				PLURAL
	I	II	III	IV	I-II
du ‘this’					
Direct form	du	Dä	dä	ʔi	dur
Oblique form	ğo/ ğä	ğo/ ğä	sä	sä	ğoz
hu ‘that’					
Direct form	hu	Hä	hä	hä	hozi
Oblique form	hinä	hunä	hinä	hinä	hinä

Table 6.3 Dependent Orientation/Direction Demonstrative Pronouns

Position relative to speaker	MARKER	'this'	'that'
Far - on same level	-t-	oti/otu	twi/tü
Far - lower	-q-	oqwi/oqu	qwi
Far - above	-ṭ-	oṭi/oṭu	ṭwi/ṭü
Near	-k-	okwi/oku*	

**okwi/oku* is equivalent to *du* but refers only to things that can be physically contacted at the time of the speech act. This pronoun does not have forms that are distinguished by the vertical orientation to the speaker.

Table 6.4 Full Paradigm for Independent Demonstrative *du* “this-he/she/it”

	SINGULAR				**PLURAL**	
	I	II	III	IV	I-II	III-IV
Nominative	du	Dä	dä	ǯi	dur	ǯit
Erg/Gen -1	ǧi	Ǧwi	si	si	ǧoz-i	sedr-i
Gen-2	ǧe	Ǧwe	se			
Dative	ǧu	Ǧu	su	su	ǧoz-u	sedr-u
Comitative	ǧoškili	Ǧäškili	säškili	säškili	ǧoz-i-škili	sedr-i-škili
Locative	ǧor	Ǧär	sär	sär	ǧoz-i-r	sedr-i-r
Ablative	ǧolli	Ǧälli	sälli	sälli	ǧoz-i-lli	sedr-i-lli
Orientational Locative	ǧoχ̣	Ǧäχ̣	säχ̣	säχ̣	ǧoz-i-χ̣	sedr-i-χ̣
Orientational Ablative	ǧoχ̣illi	Ǧäχ̣illi	säχ̣illi	säχ̣illi	ǧoz-i-χ̣illi	sedr-i-χ̣illi
Possessive Locative	ǧoš	Ǧäš	säš	säš	ǧoz-i-š	sedr-i-š
Possessive Ablative	ǧošilli	Ǧäšilli	säšilli	säšilli	ǧoz-i-šilli	sedr-i-šilli
Comparative 1	ǧoq̇	ǧäq̇	säq̇	säq̇	ǧoz-i-q̇	sedr-i-q̇
Comparative2	ǧoq̇illi	ǧäq̇illi	säq̇illi	säq̇illi	ǧoz-i-q̇illi	sedr-i-q̇illi

Table 6.5 Full Paradigm for Independent Demonstrative *hu* "that-he/she/it"

	SINGULAR			**PLURAL**	
	I	II	III IV	I-II	III-IV
Nominative	Hu	hä	hä	hoz	hed
Erg/Gen-1	hin-i	hin-i	hun-i	hoz-i	hin-edr-i
Gen-2	hin-e	hin-e	hun-e	hoz-i	hin-edr-i
Dative	hin-u	hin-u	hun-u	hoz-u	hin-edr-u
Comitative	hinä-škili	hinä-škili	hunä-škili	hoz-i-škili	hin-edr-i-škili
Locative	hinä –r	hinä-r	hunä-r	hoz-i-r	hin-edr-i-r
Ablative	hinä-lli	hinä-lli	hunä-lli	hoz-i-lli	hin-edr-i-lli
Orientational Locative	hinä-x̣	hinä-x̣	hunä-x̣	hoz-i-x̣	hin-edr-i-x̣
Orientational Ablative	hinä-x̣illi	hinä-x̣illi	hunä-x̣illi	hoz-i-x̣illi	hin-edr-i-x̣illi
Possessive Locative	hinä-š	hinä-š	hunä-š	hoz-i-š	hin-edr-i-š
Possessive Ablative	hinä-šilli	hinä-šilli	hunä-šilli	hoz-i-šilli	hin-edr-i-šilli
Comparative 1	hinä-q̇	hinä-q̇	hunä-q̇	hoz-i-q̇	hin-edr-i-q̇
Comparative2	hinä-q̇illi	hinä-q̇illi	hunä-q̇illi	hoz-i-q̇illi	hin-edr-i-q̇illi

Table 6.6 Possessive Pronouns

		INALIENABLE (GEN 1)	ALIENABLE (GEN 2)	KINSHIP
'my'		I	E	
'your'		vi	Ve	
'his' 'her' 'its'	NEAR	ğ̈i (CM.MASC) ğ̈wi (CM.FEM)	ğ̈e (CM.MASC) ğ̈we (CM.FEM)	
'his' 'her' 'its'	FAR	hin (CM.MASC) huni (CM.FEM)	hine (CM.MASC) hune (CM.FEM)	
'our'	EXCL	širi	širè	šä
'our'	INCL	kʰ'iri	kʰ'ire	kʰ'ä
'your'		Suri	Sure	so
'their'	NEAR	ğ̈ozi	ğ̈ozi	ğ̈otur
'their'	FAR	hozi	Hozi	hotur

Table 6.7 Interrogatives

Cases	**'who'**	**'what'**
Nominative	kla	ya/yaza**
Ergative	kši	čini
Genitive 1	kši	čini
Genitive 2	kše	čine
Dative	kšu	činu
Comitative	kšäškili	činäškili
Locative *		
Ablative		činilli
Orientational Locative	kšäx̣	činäx
Orientational Ablative	kšäx̣illi	činäx̣illi
Possessive Locative	kšäš	činäš
Possessive Ablative	kšäšilli	činäšilli
Comparative 1	kšäq̇	činäq̇
Comparative 2	kšäq̇illi	činäq̇illi

*Interrogative pronouns do not have locative case forms in Xinaliq.

** Both *ya* and *yaza* can be used interchangeably.

Table 6.8 Independent Indefinite Pronouns *klaq̇i* and *yaq̇i*

	Singular/Plural ‘someone’	Singular/Plural ‘something’
Cases	Class I (MASC) Class II (FEM)	Class III (ANIM) Class IV (INAN)
Nominative	klaq̇i	yaq̇i
Ergative	kšiq̇i	činäq̇i
Genitive 1	kšiq̇i	činäq̇i
Genitive 2	kšeq̇i	čineq̇i
Dative	kšuq̇i	činuq̇i
Comitative	kšäškiliq̇i	činäškiliq̇i
Locative *		činäq̇i
Ablative		činälliq̇i
Orientational Locative	kšäx̣iq̇i	činäx̣iq̇i
Orientational Ablative	kšäx̣illiq̇i	činäx̣illiq̇i
Possessive Locative	kšäšiq̇i	činäšiq̇i
Possessive Ablative	kšäšilliq̇i	činäšilliq̇i
Comparative 1	kšäq̇iq̇i	činäq̇iq̇i
Comparative 2	kšäq̇illiq̇i	činäq̇illiq̇i

Table 6.9 Independent Indefinite Pronoun *sa*

	Singular 'no one', 'nothing'	Singular 'no one', 'nothing'	Singular 'no one', 'nothing'	Plural 'no one', 'nothing'	Plural 'no one', 'nothing'
Cases	Class I (MASC)	Class II (FEM) Class III (ANIM)	Class IV (INAN)	Class I and Class II	Class III and Class IV
Nominative	sadu	sadä	Saži	sätkädur	sätkäžit
Ergative	činäğwi	činäğwi	Činäsi	sätkäğozi	sätkäsädri
Genitive 1	činäğwi	činäğwi	Činäsi	sätkäğozi	sätkäsädri
Genitive 2	činäğwe	činäğwe	Činäse	sätkäğozi	sätkäsädri
Dative	činäğu	činäğu	Činäsu	sätkäğozu	sätkäsädru
Comitative	činäğoškili	činäğäškili	Činäsäškili	sätkäğozıškili	sätkäsädrišKilli
Orientational Locative	činäğoẋ	činäğäẋ	Činäsäẋ	sätkäğozıẋ	sätkäsädriẋ
Orientational Ablative	činäğoẋilli	činäğäẋilli	Činäsäẋilli	sätkäğozıẋilli	sätkäsädriẋilli
Possessive Locative	činäğoš	činäğäš	Činäsäš	sätkäğozıš	sätkäsädriš
Possessive Ablative	činäğošilli	činäğäšilli	Činäsäšilli	sätkäğozıšilli	sätkäsädrišilli
Comparative 1	činäğoġ	činäğäġ	činäsäġ	sätkäğozıġ	sätkäsädriġ
Comparative 2	činäğoġilli	činäğäġilli	činäsäġilli	sätkäğozıġilli	sätkäsädriġilli

Table 6.10 Dependent Affirmative Quantifiers

	härkla 'each'/'every'		härya 'each' /'every'
	SINGULAR		
	I	II	III IV
Nominative	härkla	härkla	härya
Erg/Gen-1	härkši	härkši	Härčini
Gen-2	härkš-e	härkš-e	härčin-e
Dative	härkš-u	härkš-u	härčin-u
Comitative	härkšä-škili	härkšä-škili	härčinä-škili
Locative			
Ablative			härčinä-lli
Orientational Locative	härkšä-x̣	härkšä-x̣	härčinä-x̣
Orientational Ablative	härkšä-x̣illi	härkšä-x̣illi	härčinä-x̣illi
Possessive Locative	härkšä-š	härkšä-š	härčinä-š
Possessive Ablative	härkšä-šilli	härkšä-šilli	härčinä-šilli
Comparative 1	härkšä-q̣	härkšä-q̣	härčinä-q̣
Comparative 2	härkšä-q̣illi	härkšä-q̣illi	härčinä-q̣illi

Table 6.11 Independent Affirmative Quantifiers

	Singular 'each', 'every'	Singular 'each', 'every'	Singular 'each', 'every'	Plural 'no one', 'nothing'	Plural 'no one', 'nothing'
Cases	Class I (MASC)	Class II (FEM) Class III (ANIM)	Class IV (INAN)	Class I and Class II	Class III and Class IV
Nominative	härdu	härä	Härži	härdur	häržit
Ergative	härğwi	härğwi	Härsi	härğozi	härsädri
Genitive 1	härğwi	härğwi	Härsi	härğozi	härsädri
Genitive 2	härğwe	härğwe	Härse	härğozi	härsädri
Dative	härğu	härğu	Härsu	härğozu	härsädru
Comitative	härğoškili	härğäškili	Härškili	härğozıškili	härsädriškilli
Orientational Locative	härğoẋ	härğäẋ	Härsäẋ	härğozıẋ	härsädriẋ
Orientational Ablative	härğoẋilli	härğäẋilli	Härsäẋilli	härğozıẋilli	härsädriẋilli
Possessive Locative	härğoš	härğäš	Harass	härğozıš	härsädriš
Possessive Ablative	härğošilli	härğäšilli	Härsäšilli	härğozıšilli	härsädrišilli
Comparative 1	härğoq̇	härğäq̇	härsäq̇	härğozıq̇	härsädriq̇
Comparative 2	härğoq̇illi	härğäq̇illi	härsäq̇illi	härğozıq̇illi	härsädriq̇illi

Table 6.12 Dependent Negative Quantifiers

	hečkla ‘nobody’/‘nothing‘		*hečä* ‘nobody’/‘nothing’
	SINGULAR		
	I	II	III IV
Nominative	hečkla	hečkla	hečä
Erg/Gen-1	hečkši	härkši	Hečini
Gen-2	härkš-e	härkš-e	hečin-e
Dative	härkš-u	härkš-u	hečin-u
Comitative	härkšä-škili	härkšä-škili	hečinä-škili
Ablative			hečinä-lli
Orientational Locative	härkšä-x̣	härkšä-x̣	hečinä-x̣
Orientational Ablative	härkšä-x̣illi	härkšä-x̣illi	hečinä-x̣illi
Possessive Locative	härkšä-š	härkšä-š	hečinä-š
Possessive Ablative	härkšä-šilli	härkšä-šilli	hečinä-šilli
Comparative 1	härkšä-q̇	härkšä-q̇	hečinä-q̇
Comparative 2	härkšä-q̇illi	härkšä-q̇illi	hečinä-q̇illi

Table 6.13 Independent Negative Quantifiers

	Singular 'nobody'/'nothing'	Singular 'nobody'/'nothing'	Singular 'nobody'/'nothing'	Plural 'nobody'/'nothing'	Plural 'nobody'/'nothing'
Cases	Class I (MASC)	Class II (FEM) Class III (ANIM)	Class IV (INAN)	Class I and Class II	Class III and Class IV
Nominative	hečsadu	hečsadä	Hečsaži	hečsätkädur	hečsätkäžit
Ergative	hečinäğwi	hečinäğwi II hečinäsi III	Hečinäsi	hečsätkäğozi	hečsätkäsädri
Genitive 1	hečinäğwi	hečinäğwi II hečsi III	Hečsi	hečsätkäğozi	hečsätkäsädri
Genitive 2	hečinäğwe	hečinäğwi II hečse III	Hečse	hečsätkäğozi	hečsätkäsädri
Dative	hečinäğu	hečinäğwi II hečsu III	Hečsu	hečsätkäğozu	hečsätkäsädru
Comitative	hečinäškili	hečinäğwi II hečškili III	Hečškili	hečsätkäškili	hečsätkäsäškilli
Orientational Locative	hečinäğoχ	hečinäğwi II hečsäχ III	Hečsäχ	hečsätkäzıχ	hečsätkäsädriχ
Orientational Ablative	hečinäğoχilli	hečinäğwi II hečsäχilli III	Hečsäχilli	hečsätkäχilli	hečsätkäsäχilli
Possessive Locative	hečinäğoš	hečinäğwi II hečsäš III	Hečsäš	hečsätkäzıš	hečsätkäsädriš
Possessive Ablative	hečinäğošilli	hečinäğwi II hečsäšilli III	Hečsäšilli	hečsätkäzıšilli	hečsätkäsäšilli
Comparative 1	hečinäğoq̇	hečinäğwi II hečsäq̇ III	hečsäq̇	hečsätkäzıq̇	hečsätkäsäq̇
Comparative 2	hečinäğoq̇illi	hečinäğwi II hečsäq̇illi III	hečsäq̇illi	hečsätkäzıq̇illi	hečsätkäsäq̇illi

CHAPTER 7

THE VERB

This chapter is devoted to the Xinaliq verb and its morphology. Verbs are the most complex grammatical category in the Xinaliq language, and for that reason they are very important to understanding the overall morphosyntax of Xinaliq. This chapter begins with a discussion of the different verb types in Xinaliq, followed by a discussion of aspect, tense and modality. The final section of this chapter explains how these different elements are combined and structured in Xinaliq verb morphology.

7.1 Verb Types

There are both simple and complex verbs in the verb system.

7.1.1 Simple Verbs

The simple verbs, which consist of just the root form, are few in number. Some of them are the following:

kwi – ‘to do’
q̇i – ‘to be’
x̣i* – ‘to go’
ki – ‘to burn’
cuvi – ‘to drink’

* *x̣i* often gets realized as *ğ̣i* in complex verbs.

7.1.2 Complex Verbs

Most verb stems have two or three affixes, creating complex verbs. In a complex verb, affixes, which can be other verbs, are attached to the root. Depending on the root, complex verbs are further split into composite and noncomposite verbs. In composite verbs, a verb root can exist as an independent word. Those verb roots are the simple verbs described above. The following are examples of composite verbs:

7.1 taχır-kwi
jump-to.do
'to jump'

7.2 uvuldamıšbi-q̇i
howl-to.be
'to howl'

7.3 latχa-χ̣i
away-go
'to go away'

7.4 enǯi-kwi
down-to.do
'to bring down'

7.5 enǯi-ğ̌i
down-to.go
'to come down'

7.6 čχ̣i-q̇i
grow-to.be
'to grow'

Noncomposite verbs generally do not contain a verb component that can exist independently. Instead, noncomposite verbs are composed of a verb root which can be

conjugated and another verb component which is nonconjugable. The nonconjugable element usually is attached as a prefix to the root:

7.7 čı-ḳi
‘to speak’

7.8 ni-ši
‘to put on’

7.9 yä-γi
‘to dig’

7.10 češx̂ini
‘to stick to’

7.11 čixwi
‘to hold’

The nonconjugable part of the complex verb is usually composed of smaller morphemes (see Section 7.5). The verb class markers generally appear in front of the verb as well as between the two elements (see Sections 7.5.1 and 7.5.4), as in the following examples:

7.12 lat-Ø-q̇wi
LOC.M-CM1.M.SG-fall.AOR
‘He fell down’

7.13 lat-Ø-q̇wi
LOC.M-CM1.INAN.SG-fall.AOR
‘It fell down’

7.14 lat-zi-q̇wi
LOC.M-CM1.F.SG-fall.AOR
‘She fell down’

7.2 Aspect

Aspect refers to the manner in which the action takes place in a given situation from the speaker's point of view. Grammatical aspect can be signaled in languages by affixes, changes in the stem or independent words. In Xinaliq it is marked by changes in the stem, which are shown by inflecting the verb. When aspect is marked formally in a language, it is very common to draw a distinction between the perfective and imperfective aspects. Essentially, the perfective aspect looks at an event as a complete (i.e., completed) action, while the imperfective aspect views an event as a process that is still unfolding, in other words, as an ongoing, repeated or habitual event.

The typology of languages varies broadly. Some languages have grammatical markers of both aspect and tense, some have neither aspect nor tense grammatically, and many have tense or aspect, but not both, signaled by the grammar. In Xinaliq, different tense forms attach to different aspects signaled by an inflected verb. Tense forms can be treated as interior suffixes.

There are two general aspectual distinctions in Xinaliq: perfective and imperfective, as well as two other, subsidiary aspects known as Perfective I and Imperfective I. In one previous work (Kibrik, 1972), the distinction between perfective and imperfective is referred to as Resultative and Non-Resultative. The two aspect forms in Xinaliq, perfective and imperfective, form the majority of tense forms, although Imperfective I also takes some (see Section 7.5.3.3). Perfective cannot be used with any notion of the future in Xinaliq. This is partially due to the fact that the perfective aspect denotes an event whose result is present at the time of speaking. Therefore it cannot be situated at the same time in the future, as it can in Russian or English – there is no direct

equivalent to English *he will have completed the task in one month*. Certain verbs such as "to start," "to want," "to continue" cannot bear perfective morphology because the semantics of those verbs indicate processes that in Xinaliq cannot be considered perfective.

It is important to note that the same morphological markers (with the same phonetic representation) can have different meanings depending on whether they are combined with the verbs in the perfective or imperfective aspect. Four different aspectual inflections are possible in the Xinaliq verb. In general, tenseless markings for aspect in Xinaliq are the following:

- *i* – for perfective
-*iri* / - *ɪri* (-*i*) after front vowels, (-*ɪ*) after back vowels for imperfective

kwi vs. kiri * ('to finish' vs. 'to do')
läχ̣wi vs. läχ̣-iri * ('to carried' vs. 'to carry')
lıḳ-i vs. lıḳ-ıri ('hidden' vs. 'to hide')
šäf-i vs. šäf-iri ('stricken'/'struck' vs.'strike')

* If a root ends with a -*w*, the *w* tends to disappear in the Imperfective.

Xinaliq is compositional in its verb morphology, the final meaning resulting from the combination of the meanings of the parts. More specifically, when the aspect and the tense combine, the result is exactly what one would expect from that aspect and that tense. For example, when one puts together perfective and past, one gets a past perfective. The marking of aspect is always conflated with the marking of tense and mood. Each one of the four aspectual distinctions is restricted to specific tenses and moods, discussed in a section on the Xinaliq verb's morphological structure (see Section 7.5.2).

7.3 Tense

There are eighteen tense forms in Xinaliq language. Tense forms can be treated as interior suffixes. Different tense forms attach to different aspects signaled by the inflected verb. The function and morphology of each is discussed in Section 7.5.3. Table 7.1 gives a general list of Xinaliq tense forms.

7.4 Modality

Xinaliq's eighteen tense forms follow predicates inflected with aspect and precede the mood marker. Thus, which mood marker is used as a Xinaliq verb's final suffix is determined by a tense form, which in turn is determined by an aspect. This distribution is discussed in Section 7.5.8 as part of Xinaliq verb structure.

Mood signals morphological modality in the language; modality involves expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he or she is saying. Languages vary as to how many moods they express. Some common moods found in languages are: conditional, imperative, indicative, injunctive, optative, potential, and subjunctive. Kibrik identifies seven moods for Xinaliq. The typology of mood often splits moods into two general kinds: realis moods and irrealis moods. Realis mood describes something that actually exists, that can be seen, pointed at, or referenced in the physical world. Irrealis mood describes something not actual, not real, so essentially everything else, such as necessity, possibility, wish, desire, etc. The most common realis mood is the indicative. Xinaliq has one realis mood (the indicative) and six irrealis moods. These moods and their respective affixes are listed in Table 7.2.

7.5 Morphological Structure

The structure of Xinaliq verb formation is complex, and is similar to other Northeast Caucasian languages. Xinaliq verbs can be marked morphologically for tense, negation, class, and number. Tense and negation are signaled by independent suffixes, which have no other function, while class and number are indicated by agreement markers, which come before the conjugable parts of composite verbs. This means that the agreement markers then show up as prefixes with simple verbs and as interior affixes with composite verbs.

The general morphological structure of the Xinaliq verb, including all of the necessary and possible components, is presented in Figure 7.1. The actual hypothetical examples are given in Table 7.3. As one can see, the Xinaliq verb is split into six possible morphological areas. Depending on different factors to be discussed, some of those areas may be necessary while others are not. Some only work in specific combinations with other morphological areas. In this chapter we will examine all the elements in Figure 7.1. The discussion will bypass Area I, which represents class-number markers. This area begins before the conjugated verb, and was discussed in detail in Section 4.1. It will be briefly mentioned again in 7.5.4. It is important to note that the class marker in the prefix position is not always present. Area II represents the conjugated verb, and that is where the discussion will begin. It will be followed by a discussion of Area III, which encompasses a variety of tenses: past/nonpast tenses, other tenses, tenses with tense class markers and tenses with orientation/direction markers. For Area IV we will discuss negation in the verb. Area V is marked by the past/nonpast marker, and we will finish the

chapter with a discussion of modality, which is in the last position (Area VI) of the Xinaliq verb.

7.5.1 Area II: Aspect

Xinaliq verbs are grouped in four different ways in terms of how they form aspect. These are presented in Table 7.4.

In Group I, the stem must contain a back vowel (i.e., ɪ, a, u or o), but not all the verbs that contain back vowels belong to Group I. It is also the only group with *w* in the perfective aspect.

In Group II, the stem can contain a front or back vowel. In the perfective aspect *w* is absent, unlike Group I.

In Group III, the root ends with an *n.*

In Group IV, if the root is composed of a single consonant, the marker for imperfective and imperfective I is *-ili* or *-izi*. The verb adds on a prefix *(y)ä-* in perfective I.

A few generalizations can be made:

(i) If a root ends with a *-w*, the *w* tends to disappear in the imperfective:

7.15 läχ̣wi ‘carry’

7.16. läχ̣-iri ‘to carry’ (imperfective)

(ii) If a root ends with *-n*, it adds *-dä* in the imperfective:

7.17 toχ̣un-dä ‘to die’ (imperfective)

(iii) If a root is composed of a single consonant, the marker for imperfective is *-ili* or *-izi*.

7.18 ḳ-izi ‘to burn’ (imperfective)

7.19 č̣-ili ‘sowing (seed)’ (imperfective)

7.20 x̣-i ‘go’ (perfective) vs. kwi ‘go’ (imperfective)

7.21 q̇i ‘become’ (perfective) vs. kwi ‘become’ (imperfective)

7.22 zağ̌i ‘see’ (perfective) vs. dax̣i ‘see’ (imperfective)

(iv) A handful of verbs seem to change their root suppletively in the imperfective. Some examples of these, shown in Table 7.5, include the following: aorist tense with perfective, imperative mood (2nd person) with perfective I, simple present with imperfective, and imperative mood (in 3rd person) with imperfective I. Aorist and simple present both have ø marker, while the imperative mood has -*a/ä* marker in second person and -*wa* in third.

It is possible to think of both perfective and imperfective as underlying forms for the perfective I and imperfective I tenses. Both possibilities are examined in Tables 7.6 and 7.7.

If we refer to Figure 7.1, we can see that after the verb has been inflected, it is followed by a tense/class/number/OD marker in Area III. All the markers in Area III create different tenses, depending on how the verb is inflected in Area II. Tense interacts with and often combines with the category of aspect. While aspect indicates how the action, state, or event indicated by a verb takes place, tense deals directly with the time of the action, state, or event expressed by the verb.

There are eighteen tense forms in Xinaliq (see Section 7.3). As has been established already, each tense form is possible only with a specific aspect form. Before we look at Area III, Figures 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 summarize which tenses are attached to

which aspectual inflections. A discussion will follow on the phonetic representation of those tenses with examples.

Perfect I aspect does not take tense forms.

7.5.2 Area III

Once the verb is inflected for aspect, four different categories of tenses can be attached to it (see Figure 7.1). They all represent different tense forms and are split into different groupings based on their uniting qualities within the group as well as uniting qualities for combining with other affixes from Groups IV, V and VI. We will look separately at the four options within Area III. They are: i. past/nonpast indicator; ii. tense; iii. tense class marker; and iv. orientation/direction tense marker.

7.5.2.1 Past/Nonpast Indicator

The tenses in this area have a simple twofold distinction. First we look at where they fit in the morphology (refer to Figure 7.5 or 7.1).

This marker has two forms *ø* (present, which also includes future) and *šä* (past). In other words, the form is the same for both the present and future tenses, as shown in Table 7.8.

Henceforward these markers will be referred to as nonpast and past. Although here we are discussing how they are used independently (occupying Area III), these two markers play a crucial role in forming other tense forms later on, as will be shown below. Because all tenses have two time distinctions (nonpast and past), we first look at how this basic distinction is exemplified in all of the tenses, as shown in Figures 7.6, 7.7 and 7.8.

As far as the past/nonpast marker being used independently, the simple present, aorist, neutral past and future I tenses have only the past/nonpast indicator. Therefore in

all these tenses the past/nonpast marker is phonetically realized as *ø* or *šä*. As can be seen from Table 7.9, three of them have a nonpast *ø* marker, while one has past marker *šä*.

If we refer to Figure 7.1, we can see that those tense forms that have only the past/nonpast indicators (above) bypass Areas IV and V; instead they directly connect to Area VI, which is characterized either by *ø* marker or by modality category (to be discussed in Section 7.5.6). As can be seen in Table 7.9., simple present and future I both attach to the same aspect and have the same phonetic representation. However, there are a number of ways to tell them apart: (i) the future I tense is only formed with verbs from Groups I and II ending in *-ri*; (ii) simple present has no modality indicator, while future I does. Each of these tense forms will be considered separately below. As is shown in Figure 7.1, those tense forms that have only the Past/Nonpast indicators (above) bypass Areas IV and V. Instead they connect directly to Area VI, which is characterized either by *ø* marker or by modality category (to be discussed in Section 7.5.8). As can be seen in Table 7.9, simple present and future I both attach to the same aspect and have the same phonetic representation. However, there are a number of ways to tell them apart: (i) future I is only formed with verbs from Groups I and II ending in *-ri*; (ii) simple present has no modality indicator, while future I does. Below we look at each of these tense forms separately.

7.5.2.1.1 Simple Present= -Ø

Figure 7.9 shows where simple present fits morphologically in the verb. The simple present tense is seldom used. It denotes action that takes place at the time of speaking, but it is used less often than the present I and present II tenses (see below). Some examples are:

7.23 gäš-iri-**Ø**
falling-IMPF.ASP-**SMP.PRS.**
'It is falling'

7.24 äväl yä hä xl-i-**Ø** hana ḳandäžmä
first I this boil-IMPF.ASP-**SMP.PRS.** then eat
'First I boil it, then I eat it'

7.25 ätčmiškirval iχer zı inǯitmišku-i-**Ø**
untying very I suffer-IMPF.ASP-**SMP.PRS.**
'I suffer from untying (the rope)'

7.5.2.1.2 Aorist= -Ø

Figure 7.10 shows where the aorist tense fits morphologically in the verb. The "aorist" tense usually represents a finished event that took place in a short period of time. It is commonly used in narrations, especially describing events that "replaced" one another. For example, in (7.26) the tooth goes from being loose to falling out. In (7.27) the action of staying home is replaced by someone coming over.

7.26 sa culoz çıtkwi hinänulli qašk-i-**Ø**
one tooth hurting loose fall-PRF.ASP-**AOR.**
'One hurting loose tooth, fell out by itself'

7.27 hu hinä ǯigär yecini-**Ø** zı taltχaχ-i-**Ø**
he his house stay-**AOR.** I come-PRF.ASP-**AOR.**
'He stayed at his house, I came'

7.28 yä ḳaçın fatkw-**Ø**
I rock throw-**AOR.**
'I threw the rock'

7.5.2.1.3 Future I= -Ø

Figure 7.11 shows where the future I tense fits morphologically in the verb. The future I tense represents events that will occur after the time at which the speech event is situated. This tense is formed only with the verbs from Groups I and II (verbs ending in -*ri*). Some examples appear in (7.29) and (7.30).

7.29 yä oχur dä pıl hana latıq̇-ir-**Ø**-mä
I this later money you give-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I**-INDIC.
'I shall give you that money later'

7.30 č̣inä q̇ä totuχ̣ lä-r-**Ø**-mä
one day after return-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I.**-INDIC.
'I will return it after a day'

The future I is also often used with "immediate action" verbs, as in (7.31).

7.31 hine azar oχur läχ̣p-ir-**Ø**-mä
you illness this catch-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I.**-INDIC.
'You will catch this illness'

With verbs of "prolonged action," the future I tense indicates the completion of this action in the future, as in (7.32-7.34).

7.32 pogoč̣u gisili kıza orph-ir-**Ø**-mä
tomorrow roof.from snow melt-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I.**-INDIC.
'Tomorrow the snow will melt from the roof'

7.33 yä räḥimi säfirdir dyzk-ir-**Ø**-mä
I Ragim mistakes correct-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I.**-INDIC.
'I will correct Ragim's mistakes'

7.34 yä sa ḳınığ därzahır istraʕätk-ir-**Ø**-mä
I one week sea.by vacation-IMPF.ASP-**FUT.I.**-INDIC.
'I will vacation by the sea for a week'

7.5.2.1.4 Neutral Past= *-šä*

Figure 7.12 shows where the neutral past tense fits morphologically in the verb. The neutral past tense is semantically the least marked of all past tenses. The main difference between it and the aorist is that the neutral past often marks a longer resultative action.

7.35 hini ḳu säγät sup ẋ-i-**šä-**mä
he two hours soup boil-PRF.ASP-**PST**-INDIC
'He was boiling the soup for two hours'

7.36 inqer šinimḳiri därtli mäγäni liḳuv-**šä-**mä
old lady sad song sing-**PST**-INDIC
'The old lady was singing a sad song'

7.37 hini iẋer ċark-u-**šä-**mä yä hinäẋ ṭopčaẋunät-i-**šä-**mä
he a.lot scream-PRF.ASP.-**NTR.PST.** I to.him listen-NEG-**PST**-INDIC
'He screamed a lot, I didn't listen to him'

The neutral past can be used generally where the aorist tense marker would be expected, as in (7.38) and (7.39).

7.38 yä hini pšä borǯ läḳ-u-**šä-**mä
I him bread lend give-PRF.ASP-**PST**-INDIC
'I lent him some bread'

7.39 zı baylağğoq̇ daẋ talğ-i-**šä-**mä
I blind faster come-PRF.ASP-**PST**-INDIC
'I came faster than the blind one'

The neutral past can also be used where one would expect the past perfect, as in (7.40) and (7.41).

7.40 ustuli ank q̇-u-**šä-**mä
chair leg break-PRF.ASP-**PST**-INDIC

‘A chair’s leg broke off’

7.41 pχ̣tadi zı ʧ̣ux-**šä-**mä
dogs me bite-**PST**-INDIC
‘Dogs bit me’

The neutral past can be used in sentences where the time frame is without exact concreteness, as in (7.42) and (7.43).

7.42 miķilga hozi daʕva loχ̣un-**šä-**mä
evening their fighting end-**PST**-INDIC
‘In the evening their fighting ended’

7.43 yir mıdar apıχ̣sın hinel ķaz zabığ-**šä-**mä
we mountains went when snake see-**PST**-INDIC
‘When we went to the mountains, we saw a snake there’

We now look at the other tenses in Area III.

7.5.2.2 Other Tenses

These are the tenses that do not fall into any other category. They require more than past/nonpast distinction, and they take neither tense class markers nor orientation/direction markers. First we look at where they fit in the morpology (see Figure 7.13 or 7.1).

These tenses have marker forms *at* and *ar*. Four tenses are formed, as can be seen in Table 7.10. Each one of these tenses is looked at separately below.

7.5.2.2.1 Present I= -*at*

Figure 7.14 shows where the present I tense fits morphologically in the verb. The present I tense denotes action that takes place at the time of speaking; it describes an

event just about to happen in the very near future, or indicates a state of being at the current moment. Some examples are presented in (7.44-7.47).

7.44 yä taza peyram niš-r-**at**-mä
I new shirt am.putting-IMPF.ASP-**PRS.I**-INDIC
'I am putting on a new shirt'

7.45 mıč višälli alk-r-**at**-mä
tree apple fall.off-IMPF.ASP-**PRS.I**-INDIC
'An apple is about to fall off the tree'

7.46 i ṭupor ınke sas lık-**at**-mä
my ear river noise enters-**PRS.I**-INDIC
'In my ear the noise of the river is entering'

7.47 i miḳir çıtku-**at**-mä
my head hurt-**PRS.I**-INDIC
'My head hurts'

7.5.2.2.2 Perfect I= *-at*

Figure 7.15 shows where the perfect I tense fits morphologically in the verb. Perfect I indicates a state at the moment of the speech, which is the result of past actions. This tense can represent a state current during the time of the speech act or a state that is current at the present moment. It combines tense (past) and aspect (perfect/completive), representing a state that has finished (resulted) before the time of speaking:

7.48 lağın yä iχer čıḳıžmä säʕälätir sacaχq̇-**at**-mä
yesterday I a.lot speak today am.quiet-**PRF.I**-INDIC
'Yesterday I spoke a lot, but today I am quiet'

7.49 zı daχ-daχ ḳatkwisäš čurç-**at**-mä
I fast-fast walked tiered-**PRF.I**-INDIC
'Because I walked really fast, I am tired'

7.50 i ċuloz x̣arabq̇**-at-**mä
my tooth bad**-PRF.I-**INDIC
'My tooth went bad'

7.5.2.2.3 Imperfect I= *-a*

Figure 7.16 shows where the imperfect I tense fits morphologically in the verb. Imperfect I describes an activity in the past, in which the outcome is unspecified.

7.51 äḥmädi nadır-šḳili dalıgḳ-ir**-a-**šä**-**mä
Ahmed Nadir-with work-IMPF.ASP–**IMPF.I-**PST-INDIC
'Ahmed was working with Nadir'

7.52 hini lağın pšor ḫysabk-ir**-a-**šä**-**mä
he yesterday horses count-IMPF.ASP**-IMPF.I-**PST-INDIC
'He was counting horses yesterday'

The imperfect I tense can be used with prolonged activities that continue through the point of another activity being completed, as in (7.53-7.55).

7.53 zı lağin kağisın hini sup xl**-a-**šä**-**mä
I yesterday came he soup boil**-IMPF.I-**PST-INDIC
'When I came yesterday, he was boiling (making) soup'

7.54 jir xisili alkorun q̇ula gäš-r**-a**-šä-mä
we vislan came rain pour-IMPF.ASP**-IMPF.I-**PST-INDIC
'When we came from Vislan, it was raining'

7.55 zı kakorın hu ḳl**-a**-šä**-**mä
I walked.in he die**-IMPF.I-**PST-INDIC
'When I walked in, he was dying'

The imperfect I tense can also indicate an activity in the past that occurred prior to another activity.

7.56 hozi iš lišämäki hini ċälḳ**-**ir**-a**-šä-mä

they me told she was-IMPF.ASP-**IMPF.I**-PST-INDIC
'They told me that she was here'

Similarly, it can be used to in a construction to emphasize two opposing activities, as, for example, in (7.57) and (7.58).

7.57 hu q̇ä ḳl-**a**-šä-mä hana ksanq̇išämä
he last.year die-**IMPF.I**-PST-INDIC but got.better
'He was dying last year, but got better'

7.58 doχtur ksan ätšuv-r-**a**-šä-mä ama hu jaχatišämä
doctor well sleep-IMPF.ASP-**IMPF.I**-PST-INDIC but he not.allowed
'The doctor slept well, but they didn't let him'

7.5.2.2.4 Pluperfect I= *-a*

Figure 7.17 shows where the pluperfect I tense fits morphologically in the verb. The pluperfect I tense describes an act in the past, sometimes one which results in another act, also in the past (see 7.60 and 7.61).

7.59 zı sure arar toχun-**a**-šä-mä
I you between stand-**PLPRF.I**-PST-INDIC
'I was standing between you'

7.60 hini lağın č̣ä yib-**a**-šämä hanımzağı c̣wa qaranığq̇išämä
he light off turn.off-**PLPRF.I**-PST-INDIC that's.why house dark
'He turned the light off yesterday, that's why it got dark in the house'

7.61 mičị̇ä unḳ q̇ula gäširsäq̇illi qabağır kilğ-**a**-šä-mä
black clouds rain come before gather-**PLPRF.I**-PST-INDIC
'Black clouds gathered, right before the rain came'

7.5.2.2.5 Present Habitual= *-(t)ar*

Figure 7.18 shows where the present habitual tense fits in the morphological structure of the verb. The present habitual tense represents habitual, typical or continually occurring action, as in the following examples:

7.62 šä än misi csı hala mäktäbir liḳuv**-tar-**i-mä
my most young brother yet school study**-PRS.HAB**-NEG-INDIC
'My youngest brother is not studying in school yet'

7.63 hini ṭupu kl**-ar-**i-mä
he ear hear.not**-PRS.HAB-**NEG-INDIC
'His ear is not hearing'

7.64 häki kire ǯämäʕät ksan yašamıšku**-ar-**mä
now our people well live**-PRS.HAB** -INDIC
'Now our people live well'

The present habitual tense can also indicate repetitive (not continual) action, as in:

7.65 gus ṭal izäkorun daγva ḳ-i-**tar-**mä
upper lip itches when happens**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.HAB**-INDIC
'When the upper lip itches, a fight happens'

7.66 ınqımır maqal daχ qiz**-ar-**mä
sun.in dirt fast dries**-PRS.HAB-**INDIC
'In the sun, dirt dries fast'

7.67 ıkaqandä inqer lıgılır macigır laku**-ar-**mä
on.fridays old men mosque go**-PRS.HAB-**INDIC
'On Fridays old men go to the mosque'

7.5.2.2.6 Past Habitual= *-(t)ar*

Figure 7.19 shows where the past habitual fits into the morphological structure of the verb. The past habitual indicates something that habitually happened in the past, similarly to the "present habitual" tense. Some examples are in (7.68 – 7.70).

7.68 ḥäyäl vaχt hu daχ-daχ ğisilli alk**-tar-**šä**-**mä
childhood time he often roof.off fall**-PST HAB-**PST-INDIC
'In childhood he fell off the roof very often'

7.69 hini ksan futbol ansk**-i-tar-**šä**-**mä
he well football play-IMPF.ASP-**PST.HAB-**PST-INDIC
'He played football well'

7.70 yä qabağır e qonšıš daχ-daχ pši läķ**-i-tar-**šä**-**mä
I before my neighbor often horse lend-IMPF.ASP-**PST.HAB-**PST-INDIC
'I used to lend my horse to the neighbor often'

7.5.2.3 Tenses with Verb Class Markers

Figure 7.20 shows the general structural location of VCM tenses in the verb (see also Figure 7.1). VCM tenses (tenses with verb class markers) change their form depending on the noun class and number. They function the same as noun class markers. There are four categories: masculine, feminine, animate and inanimate. Each category has singular and plural markers, as demonstrated in Table 7.11.

The VCM marker is used with the future II, irrealis past, definite past and indefinite past tenses. The future II and irrealis past are formed with imperfective aspect. Definite past and indefinite past are formed with the perfective aspect. Thus, markers in Table 7.11 indicate tense and class category. Below we discuss each one of these tenses in more detail.

7.5.2.3.1 Future II **(**VCM Tense)

Figure 7.21 shows where the future II tense fits morphologically in the verb. The future II tense is more commonly used than future I. It often indicates action that will take place in the future without completion. For example:

7.71 yä paga ġät miķil anṭın rıc**-**ır**-ž-**mä
I tomorrow all.day night till laundry**-**IMPF.ASP-**VCM.FUT.II-**INDIC
'I will be doing laundry all day (till evening) tomorrow'

7.72 hini futbol ansk**-**ir**-ž-**mä
he football play-IMPF.ASP-**VCM.FUT.II -**INDIC
'He will play football'

7.73 yä ǯuğab läķuġağili yä k**-**iri**-ž-**mä
I word gave I do-IMPF.ASP-**VCM**.**FUT.II-**INDIC
'If I gave my word, I will do it'

7.74 kin avgustır lanṭıni dalıgk**-**iri**-ž-**mä
we august will work-IMPF.ASP-**VCM.FUT.II-**INDIC
'We will work until August'

7.5.2.3.2 Irrealis Past **(**VCM Tense)

Figure 7.22 shows where the irrealis past fits morphologically in the verb. The irrealis past indicates what could/should/would have happened if certain conditions were met. Therefore it indicates a possible future within the past. Irrealis is always followed by *šä* to indicate past tense, while future II is only followed by the mood marker.

7.75 äğär ġandäži ḥäzırġiġäšin yä viχ sasķ**-**ir**-ž-**šä**-**mä
if food ready I you call**-**IMPF.ASP-**VCM**.**IRR**-PST-INDIC
'If food had been ready, I would have called you'

7.76 va lindäġäšin i ķurqindä**-ž-**šä**-**mä
you say.not I forget-**VCM.IRR**-PST-INDIC

‘If you didn’t say, I would have forgotten’

The irrealis past marker also gets used when in addition to an activity not being resultative, the activity never begins, as in (7.77) and (7.78).

7.77 jir velejboli ansk-ir-**ž-**šä-mä amma q̇ula gäššämä
we volleyball play-IMPF.ASP-**VCM.IRR**-PST-INDIC but rain came
‘We were going to play volleyball, but it rained’

7.78 jä čıḳ-ır-**ž-šä-**mä amma vı atizağili jä čıḳatišämä
I say-IMPF.ASP-**VCM.IRR**-PST-INDIC but you because I say.not
‘I was about to say, but because you were (here), I didn’t’

7.5.2.3.3 Definite Past (VCM Tense)

Figure 7.23 shows where the definite past fits in verb morphology. As suggested by its name, the definite past is used when a specific time frame, referring to a more concrete time of the event compared to the neutral past tense, is indicated.

7.79 hu lağın ğisilli alku-**d**-mä
he yesterday roof fall-**VCM.DEF.PST**.-INDIC
'Yesterday he fell off the roof'

7.80 hu misi-yorun hotur dädä ziḳi-**dä-**mä
he little his mother die-**VCM.DEF.PST.**-INDIC
‘When he was little, his mother died’

The definite past tense can be used to describe a period of time during that an event occurred or was occurring.

7.81 ḫäyäl vaχt zı bıyiškili mıḳıχi-**d-**mä
childhood time I father listen-**VCM.DEF.PST.**-INDIC.
‘During my childhood I listened to my father’

7.82 hu kıčiqan yaš yašamıšqi-**du-**mä
he sixty years live-**VCM.DEF.PST.**-INDIC.

‘He lived sixty years’

7.83 häkim i hä ḳurqin**-ž-**i**-**mä
even.now I this forget**-VCM.DEF.PST-**NEG-INDIC
‘Even now I didn’t forget it’

Sometimes specific concrete time indicators may be absent, but only when the time can be assumed from the context, as in Examples 7.84 and 7.85. Although it is not mentioned when the game was played (7.84), it is assumed that the hearer knows the time frame. Likewise, even though the date and time of the bombings is not mentioned, it is assumed the hearer knows which time frame the speaker is referring to in Example 7.85.

7.84 london kire kamandi iχer ksan ansk**-u-ž-**mä
london our team very well play**-**PRF.AS**-VCM.DEF.PST-**INDIC
‘In London our team played very well’

7.85 bombardmanıšili berlinir iχer çıtabır dağılmıšq̇**-**i**-ž-**mä
bombings berlin many homes destroy-PRF.ASP**-VCM.DEF.PST-**INDIC
‘Many homes were destroyed by the bombings in Berlin’

7.5.2.3.4 Indefinite (Long Ago) Past (INDIC.)

Figure 7.24 shows where the indefinite past tense fits morphologically in the verb. The indefinite past tense tells us something about the time of the event, but it does so in a nonspecific, indefinite way, usually referring to a distant time in the past, as in:

7.86 ḥäyäl vaχt hu gisilli alkıyä pača q̇wi**dä-**šä**-**mä
childhood during he room from leg break**-VCM.INDEF.PST-**PST-INDIC
‘In childhood, falling off the roof, he broke his leg’

7.87 iyul vıçır sä q̇ä sa hadisä q̇**-**i**-ž-**šä**-**mä
july month one time one event happen**-**PRF.ASP**-VCM.INDEF.PST-**PST-INDIC
‘In July once this event happened’

7.88 tagaq̇i yä oχur čıq̇ısini vı baštaziq̇i**-dä-**šä**-**mä
at.one.point I you tell you understand**-VCM.INDEF.PST-**PST-INDIC
'At some point when I was telling you, you understood'

7.5.2.4 Tenses with Orientation/Direction Markers

Figure 7.25 shows where these tenses fall within the larger morphological structure (see also Figure 7.1). The independent orientation/direction marker, or OD marker, has an underlying form *o,* which alternates depending on the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker. The two other forms are *qo* and *to*.

o - addressee is higher than the speaker

qo- addressee is lower than the speaker (or no spatial orientation of addressee is implied)

to - addressee is at the same level as the speaker

These OD markers form the present II, imperfect II, perfect II, and pluperfect II tenses. Present II and imperfect II are formed with the imperfective aspect. Perfect II and pluperfect II are formed with the perfective aspect.

7.5.2.4.1 Present II= -*o*

Figure 7.26 shows where the present II tense fits morphologically in the verb. The present II tense refers to actions that take place at the time of speaking, but, in addition, it gives information about the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker.

o – addressee is higher than the speaker

qo – addressee is lower than the speaker

to – addressee is at the same level as the speaker

Some examples are:

7.89 m̈ıde täpäx̌ yanašı kıza erp-ir**-o-**mä
mountain top next snow thaw-IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'Next to the top of the mountain snow is thawing'

7.90 ṭıng-ṭıng q̇ula gäš**-**ir**-to-**mä
rain unusual rain**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'It is raining unusually'

7.91 halamx̣eri halam enǯik**-**ir**-qo-**mä
shepherd sheep bring.down-IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'The shepherd is bringing down the sheep'

7.92 mıde dibili sa ḥädmi atx̣aku**-**i**-qo-**mä
mountain below one man walking**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'There is a man walking below the mountain'

The present II tense can also be used to indicate a state of being, with emphasis on longevity of action. When there is no spatial orientation implied, the neutral form with *-qo-* is used, as seen in the following:

7.93 ınq̇ımi ḳanıḳ čuvzabi hini miḳir ix̣er çıtku**-**i**-qo-**mä
sun because sit he head very hurt**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'Because he sat in the sun, his head hurts a lot'

7.94 ḥäyäl hotur dädäš ḳävi ṭän**-**i**-qo-**mä
child for mother very.much cry**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'The child is crying very much for his mother'

7.95 kıza erp**-**ir**-qo-**mä
snow thaw-IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
'Snow is thawing'

The present II tense can also indicate certain properties that are "innate" to the subject, as in (7.96) and (7.97).

7.96 nin mälämišku**-**i**-qo-**mä
cat meow**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II-**INDIC
'The cat is meowing'

7.97 kulak uvuldamışku**-**i**-qo-**mä
wind howl**-**IMPF.ASP-**PRS.II-**INDIC
'Wind is howling'

7.5.2.4.2 Perfect II= *-(q/t)o*

Figure 7.27 shows how the perfect II tense fits morphologically into the verb. The perfect II tense refers to actions that took place at the time of speaking, but, in addition (similarly to present II), it gives information about the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker. The most commonly used form of perfect II seems to be *-qo-,* and as a result it will be analyzed here as an underlying form. If one is unsure of an addressee's exact spatial location, the *-qo-* marker is used. For instance:

o – addressee is higher than the speaker

qo - addressee is lower than the speaker (or no spatial orientation of adressee implied)

to - addressee is same level as the speaker

7.98 tuzar mısır ẋäčulq̇**-**u**-to-**mä
line yard hang**-**PRF.ASP**-PRF.II-**INDIC
'In the yard the line was hung'

7.99 halam mıdar ç̣ığ**-q̇o-**mä
goats mountain climb**-PRF.II-**INDIC
'Goats climbed up the mountains'

Present II can also be used to indicate a state of being, with emphasis on longevity of action.

7.100 daʕvar hini ḳilsım aram tuv-**to**-mä
during.war he deadly wound receive-**PRF.II-**INDIC
'During the war he received a deadly wound'

Present II can also indicate certain properties of the subject, for instance what it is made out of:

7.101 dä vaz uraš ḳermišku-**ġo**-mä
this knife iron.of made-**PRF.II-**INDIC
'This knife is made out of iron'

7.5.2.4.3 Imperfect II= *-qo*

Figure 7.28 shows where the imperfect II tense fits morphologically in the verb. The imperfect II tense is rarely used. One of its limitations is that it cannot be used in first-person statements. Below are examples of sentences where it is used.

7.102 pχ̣ri ağyır sa çχ̣i inḳ çuxujä ḳandä-**qo**-šä-mä
dog mouth one big bone taken eat-**IMPF.II**-PST-INDIC
'The dog, with the big bone (taken) in his mouth, was eating'

7.103 lağın zı iži väχ̣irǯigä laçkorun šämšir yä šäräfi hohozi ižabır väχ̣-ir-**qo**-šä-mä
yesterday I go barber.shop where Shemshir and Sheref their faces shave-IMPF.ASP-**IMPF.II**-PST-INDIC
'Yesterday when I went to the barber shop, Shemshir and Sheref were shaving their faces'

7.5.2.4.4 Pluperfect II= *-(q/t)o*

Figure 7.29 shows where the pluperfect II tense fits morphologically in the verb. The pluperfect II refers to actions that took place in the past, but, in addition (similarly to

perfect II), it gives information about the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker. Below are the affixes for specific spatial relationships:

ošä – addressee is higher than the speaker

qošä – addressee is lower than the speaker (or the spatial location of the addrressee is not indicated)

tošä – addressee is on the same level as the speaker

When there is no spatial orientation implied, the neutral form is – *qoma.*

7.104 zı hotur ҫwa laχsın hu ҫwa toyišämä čuq̇i ḳatkwi χ̣**-i-to-**šä**-**mä
I his house come he house was.not somewhere walk go-PRF.ASP-**PLPRF.II-**PST-INDIC
'When I came to his house, he was not at home, he had gone somewhere for a walk'

7.105 äḥmäd ḳalar yecin**-qo-**sä**-**mä
Ahmed Guba stay**-PLPRF.II-**PST-INDIC
'Ahmed stayed in Guba'

7.5.3 Area IV

Area IV in Xinaliq morphology is designated for negation in the verb. It is expressed as an internal suffix that follows tense forms and precedes mood suffixes. According to Figure 7.1, if negation is formed with an OD tense marker, it requires another CM as a morpheme before the negation. An example is illustrated in Table 7.12.

7.5.4 Area V

Area V is taken by the past/nonpast markers *Ø* or *šä*. All tenses in this position (exceptions are the tenses that only have past/nonpast markers). Tables 7.13 and 7.14 show which tense forms take which marker.

7.5.5 Area VI

This area, the final verb segment in Xinaliq, is occupied by a mood marker, briefly discussed in Section 7.4. In this section we look at individual mood markers and their morphology within the Xinaliq verb.

7.5.5.1 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is marked with *-mä-* in Xinaliq and is used to indicate events that are (or are not) factual or actual. It also indicates action that is (or is not) taking place in the future. It is the most commonly used mood in Xinaliq and every language is known to have indicative mood, though often it is not marked morphologically in an overt way. Most examples cited above are in the indicative mood.

7.5.5.2 Irrealis Moods

There are, as mentioned, six irrealis moods in Xinaliq.

7.5.5.2.1 Interrogative Mood

Generally interrogative mood is used for asking questions. This mood is rare in the world's languages. Most languages use change in word order or some other syntactic device to form yes-no questions. In Xinaliq the interrogative mood marker is *-yu-* after a vowel and *-u-* after a consonant, illustrated in the following:

7.106 yä ansḳirval oẋ daẋ-et-**u**
I play you see-PRES.I-**INTER.**
'Do you see (that) I am playing?'

7.107 ẋi-ž-**u**?
cook-DEF.PST-**INTER**.
'Did you cook it?'

If the sentence contains a "question word," such as *čim* "how," *taga* "when," *kla* "who," etc., the interrogative marker is not used, as in:

7.108 hu ḳalali taga qaltırbž-ir-du
he Quba when come.back-IMPERF.ASP-VCM.M.SG
'When does he come back from Quba?'

7.109 çwa čim gäčš-ir-ži
house how build-IMPERF.ASP-VCM.INAN.SG.
'How to build a house?'

7.5.5.2.2 Conditional Mood

This mood describes situations when certain conditions are set and the outcome depends on those conditions, as in (7.110) and (7.111).

7.110 äğär va hä cul-et-**ġi** yä vı cọlli latırġirmä
if you this drink-PRS.I-**COND**. I you from.house drive
'If you drink it, I shall drive you out of the house'

7.111 hu alku-du-**ġı** alku-d-i-**ġi** as muxw-et-i-mä
he arrive-VCM.M.SG-**COND** arrive-VCM.M.SG-NEG-**COND** I know-PRS.I-NEG-INDIC
'I don't know if he will arrive or not arrive'

Conditional construction can also be used with the meaning "probably," as in (7.112).

7.112 san ġula gäš-ät-**ġi** ʔazaġi
night rain came-PRS.I-**COND** probably
'At night it probably rained'

7.5.5.2.3 Unexpected Mood

This mood is marked with *–ġimiš-*. It denotes an event or action not previously known to the speaker, as in:

7.113 as muxwi-ž-i-mä hä hasım ẋäkin-tar-**q̇imiš**
I know-DEF.PST-NEG-INDIC he like.this would.laugh-PRES.HAB-**UNEXP**
'I didn't know he would laugh like that'

7.5.5.2.4 Potential Mood - *kwa*

This mood indicates something that has a potential for becoming a reality (or being realized), but has not yet been realized. It indicates the probability or the likelihood of an event's occurrence. It is often used with words such as *gäräg* "should," *bälkä* "possibly/perhaps." Some examples are shown in (7.114-7.116).

7.114 hini hinänne ḥäyälu bälḳä tärbiyäk-iri-ž-**kwa**
he his child perhaps raise-IMPERF-FUT.II-**POTEN.**
'Perhaps he will raise his child'

7.115 bälkä tuv-tar-**kwa**
perhaps buy-PRES.HAB-**POTEN.**
'Maybe he will buy'

7.116 va gäräg dalıgk-ir-et-**kwa**
you should work-IMPERF.ASP-PERF.I-**POTEN**
'You should work'

When used in the past tense, it generally represents the unfulfilled dreams or desires of the speaker.

7.117 yä gäräg lağın taza peʒram nišre-šä-**kwa**
I should yesterday new shirt wear-PST-**POTEN**
'I was supposed to wear a new shirt yesterday'

7.5.5.2.5 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood indicates direct commands, requests or prohibitions. Its use is often considered impolite in Xinaliq. The morphology for commands varies according

to person and number. For singular number it is marked by - *a/ä*. The plural is formed by *-lun/-lus* (the distribution between those two forms is difficult to figure out; they seem freely distributed). Examples include:

7.118 tıḳ
to raise
'To raise'

7.119 tıḳ**-a**
raise**-IMP.SG.**
'Raise!'

7.120 tıḳ-a**-lun**
raise**-**IMP.**-IMP.PL.**
'Raise!' (to a group)

A small number of verbs take the marker *-il/ıl* for singular and **-***in/ın* for plurals.

7.121 alk**-ıl**
fall**-IMP.SG.**
'Fall!'

7.122 alk-ıl**-ın**
fall**-**IMP.SG-**IMP.PL.**
'Fall!' (to a group)

Verb roots which end in *-n* are not marked for imperative in singular or plural, as in, for example (7.123) and (7.124).

7.123 toḳuni**-Ø**
to stand**-AOR.**
'To stand'

7.124 toḳun**-Ø**
to stand**-IMP.SG/IMP.PL.**
'Stand!' (to a group)

Let us turn now to look at the variation that occurs within first-, second- and third-person imperatives.

In the first-person, when the speaker is addressing his/her wishes to an addressee, the marker - *nä* is used as an imperative form:

7.125 Rafik ve mıḳı čağız täḳä i kala anšpχi**-nä**
Rafik you me comb give my head brush**-IMP.**
'Rafik, give me your comb, I should brush my hair'

Some examples of second-person imperative were given above; others are in (7.126) and (7.127).

7.126 xını ṭıngıbır tämisk**-ä**
water drops clean**-IMP.SG**
'Clean the drops of water'

7.127 ǯabkä**-lus** daʕv**-ä**
stop**-IMP.PL** fight-IMP.SG
'Stop fighting!'

In third-person imperative, wishes are being expressed toward another person; the sentiment is expressed that some third person should do what is indicated in the verb, as in:

7.128 as ǯetmäki χinimḳiri pšä vaχ ḍiz**-wa**
I want woman bread should bake**-IMP.SG**
'I want the woman should bake the bread'

7.5.5.2.6 Prohibitive Mood

This mood is a negative version of imperative mood. In Xinaliq the prohibitive mood has its own distinct grammatical marker, which is not the case for most languages. The prohibitive mood indicates an action that is not permitted. The marker for it in

singular is *-kwi* and for plural *-ku-vus*. There are some cases where the imperative marker is used also in combination with the prohibitive marker and other examples where only the prohibitive marker is used. It is not possible to have first-person prohibitive markers in Xinaliq. Examples of the second-person prohibitive marker are:

7.129 liḳuv**-kwi**
read-PROH
'Don't read!'

7.130 latıḳ-ä**-kwi**
hit-IMP**-PROH**
'Don't hit!'

In Example 7.132, the prohibitive marker attaches directly to the root, while Example 7.131 attaches the imperative mood marker followed by the prohibitive mood marker. This variation might be conditioned by the final consonant of the root or the vowels involved in the root. The following examples show the use of the third-person prohibitive marker:

7.132 kirağ hä mašın ḥälil näšk-ä**-si**
Xalil this car today drive**-IMP-PROH**
'Today Xalil should not drive this car'

7.133 talamıšarki xınır zıkın**-si**
try water fall**-PROH**
'Try for him not to fall in the water'

Figures 7.30, 7.31 and 7.32 show which mood markers are permissible with a given aspect of the verb.

I	II	III	IV	V	VI

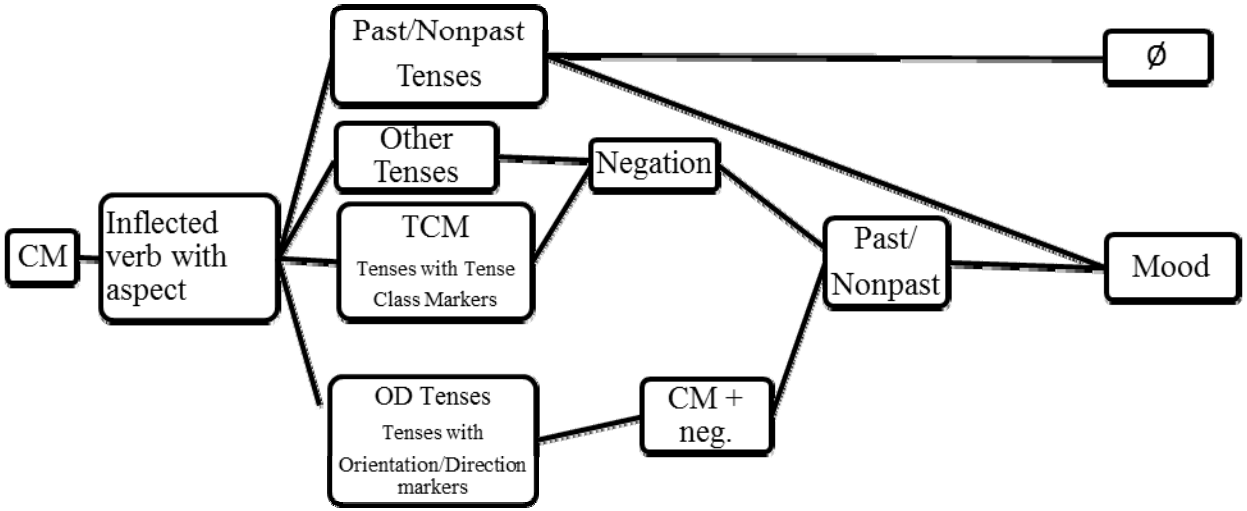

Figure 7.1 Morphological Structure of the Xinaliq Verb

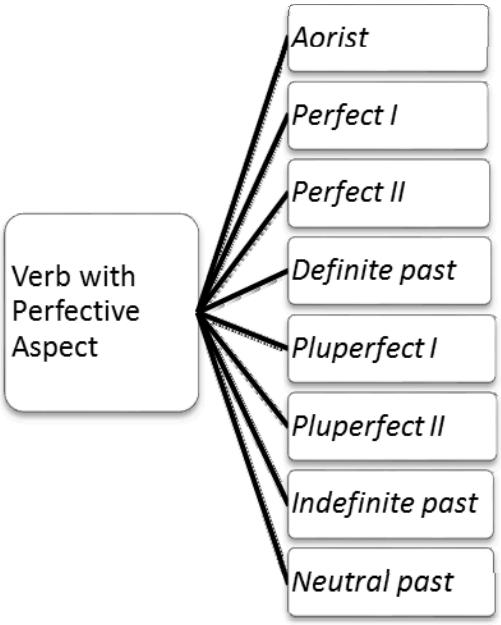

Figure 7.2 Perfective Aspect Tenses

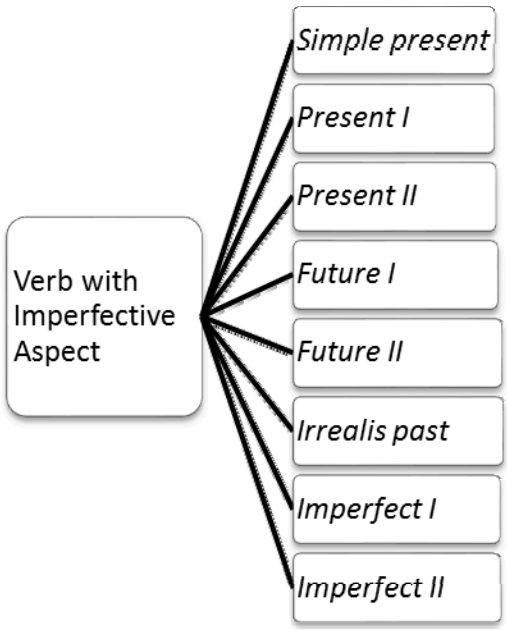

Figure 7.3 Imperfective Aspect Tenses

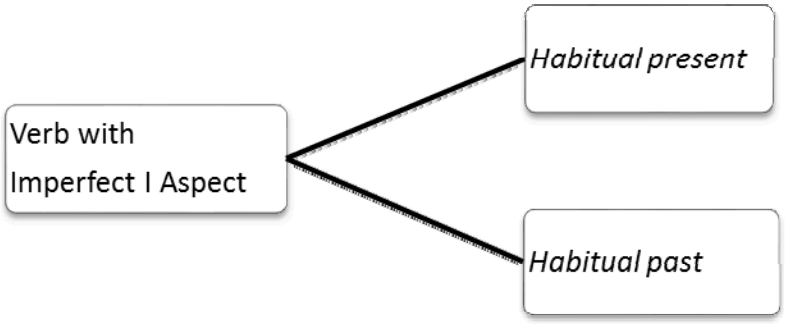

Figure 7.4 Imperfective I Aspect Tenses

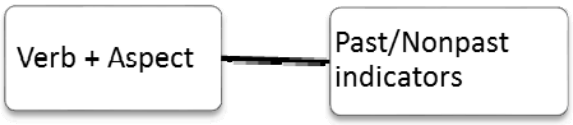

Figure 7.5 Past/Nonpast Indicators

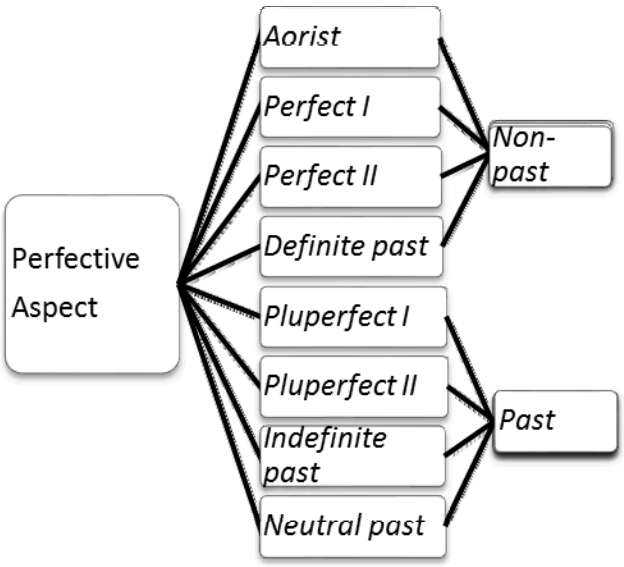

Figure 7.6 Past/Nonpast Perfective Aspect Tenses

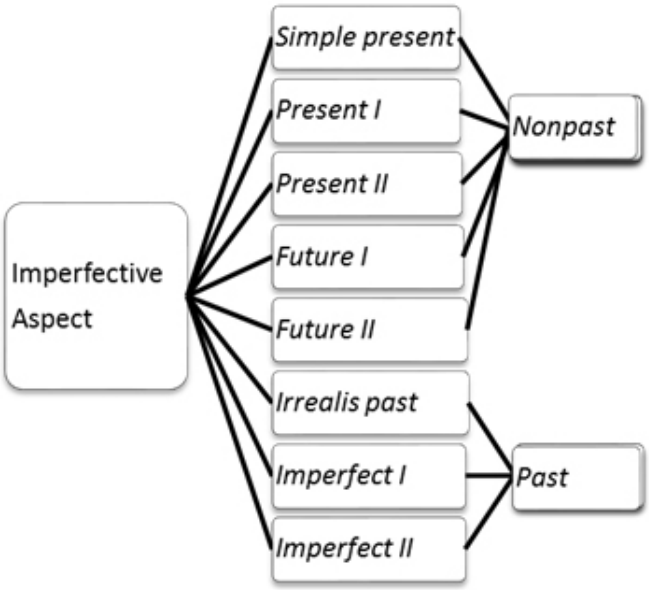

Figure 7.7 Past/Nonpast Imperfective Aspect Tenses

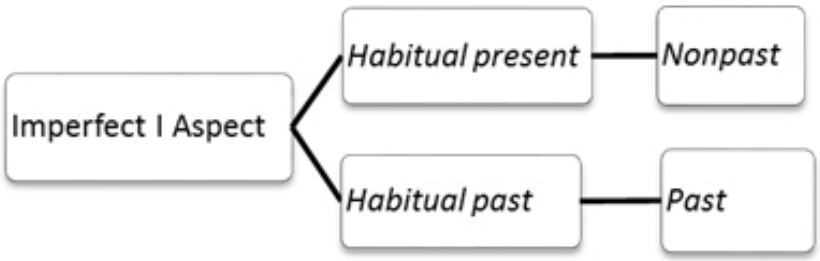

Figure 7.8 Past/Nonpast Imperfective I Aspect Tenses

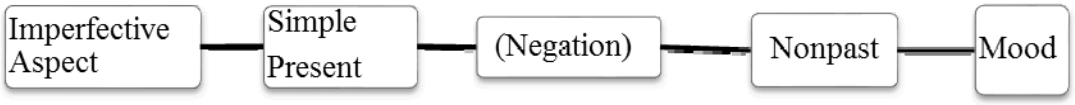

Figure 7.9 Simple Present Tense Composition

Figure 7.10 Aorist Tense Composition

Figure 7.11 Future I Tense Composition

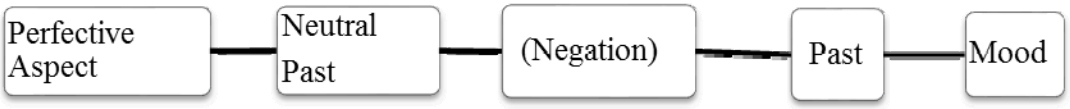

Figure 7.12 Simple Present Tense Composition

Figure 7.13 General Tense Location

Figure 7.14 Present I Tense Composition

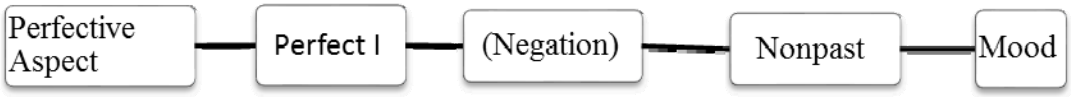

Figure 7.15 Perfect I Tense Composition

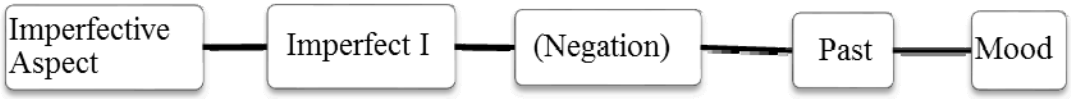

Figure 7.16 Imperfect I Tense Composition

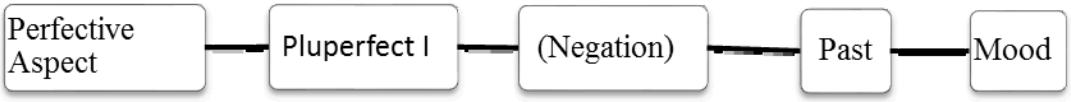

Figure 7.17 Pluperfect I Tense Composition

Figure 7.18 Simple Present Tense Composition

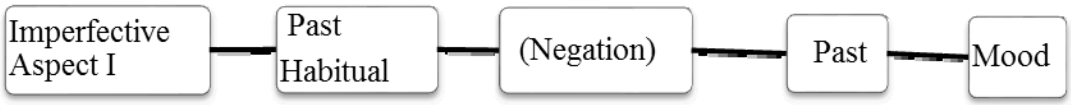

Figure 7.19 Past Habitual Tense Composition

Figure 7.20 VCM General Location

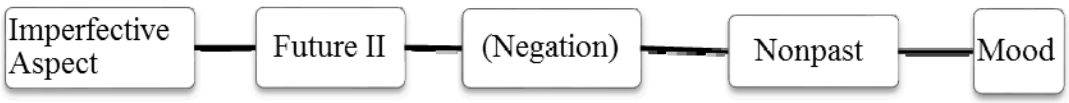

Figure 7.21 Future II Tense Composition

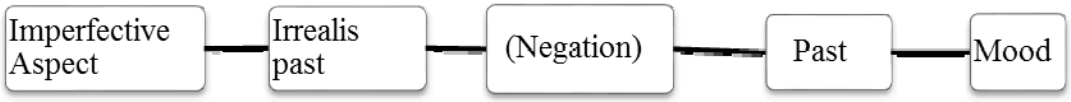

Figure 7.22 Irrealis Past Tense Composition

Figure 7.23 Definite Past Tense Composition

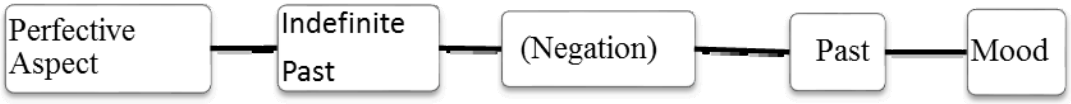

Figure 7.24 Indefinite Past Tense Composition

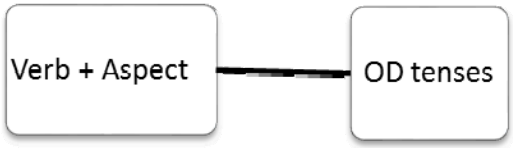

Figure 7.25 General OD Tense Location

Figure 7.26 Present II Tense Composition

Figure 7.27 Perfect II Tense Composition

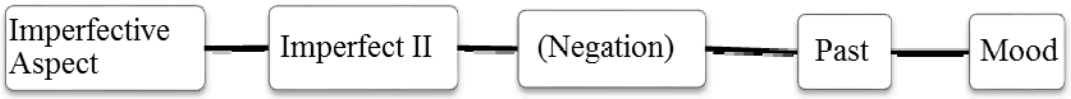

Figure 7.28 Imperfect II Tense Composition

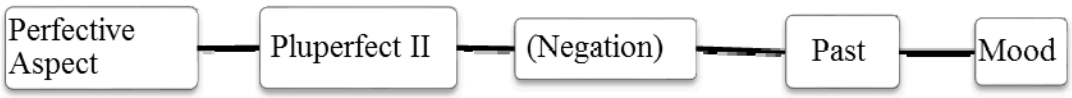

Figure 7.29 Pluperfect II Tense Composition

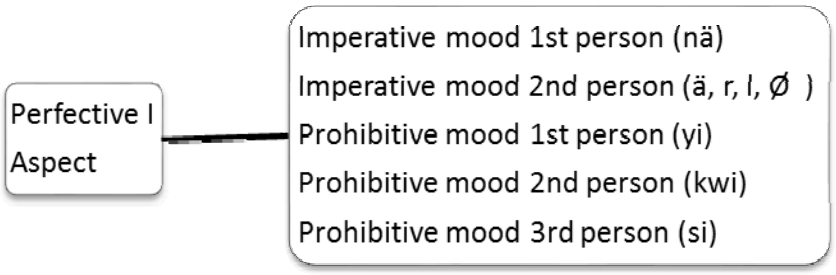

Figure 7.30 Moods with Perfective I Aspect

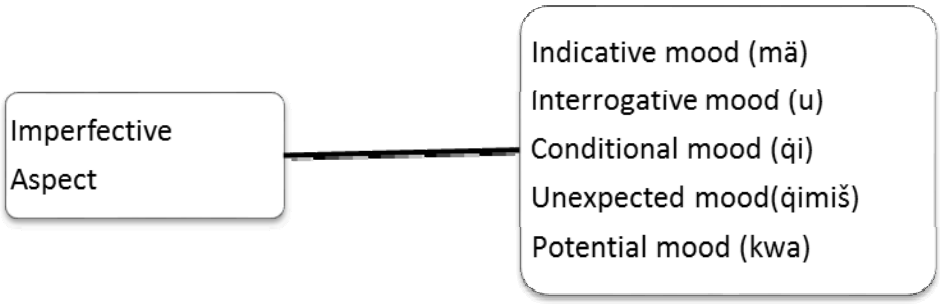

Figure 7.31 Moods with Imperfective Aspect

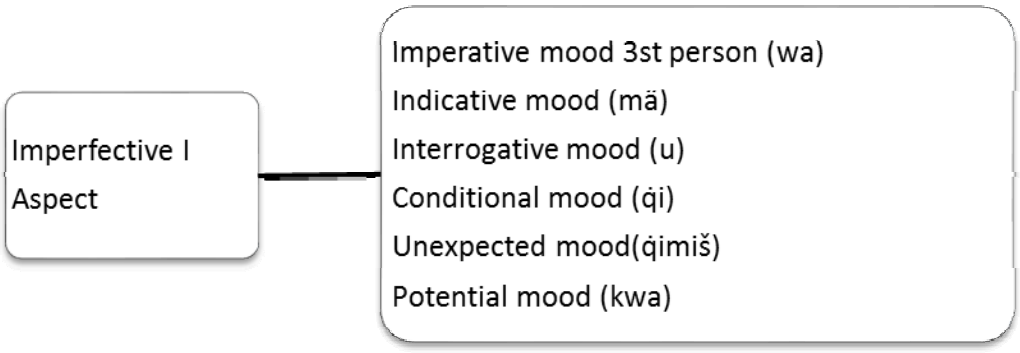

Figure 7.32 Moods with Imperfective I Aspect

Table 7.1 Tense Forms of Xinaliq

Present tense
Aorist
Present I
Present II
Perfect I
Perfect II
Simple Present
Habitual present
Future tense
Future I
Future II
Past tense
Neutral past
Imperfect I
Imperfect II
Pluperfect I
Pluperfect II
Irrealis past
Definite past
Indefinite past
Habitual past

Table 7.2 Xinaliq Moods

Indicative mood	mä
Interrogative mood	(y)u or ø
Conditional mood	qïi
Unexpected mood	qïmiš
Potential mood	kwa
Imperative mood	a/ä
Prohibitive mood	kwi

Table 7.3 Examples of the Morphological Structure of the Xinaliq Verb

example	**gloss**	**I**	**II**	**III**	**IV**	**V**	**VI**
		CM	**inflected verb**	**tense/class/number/spatial marker**	**(CM)+negation**	**time indicator**	**mood (+negation)**
kir-et-mä	'he does'	ø	kiri (IMPF. ASP)	at (PRS.I)		ø	mä (INDIC)
kir-et-i-mä	'he doesn't'	ø	kiri (IMPF. ASP)	at (PRS.I)	i		mä (INDIC)
ki-tar-šä-mä	'he did' (habitually)	ø	ki (PRF.ASP)	tar (HAB)		šä (PST)	mä (INDIC)
bi- ġ-e-šä-mä	'it became'	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ġ (PRF.ASP)	e (PLPRF.I)		šä (PST)	mä (INDIC)
bi-ġi-dä-š-u	'did it become?	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ġi (PRF.ASP)	dä (TCM.III.SG)		š (PST)	u (INTER)
bi-ġi-qo-v-i- mä	'it didn't become'	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ġi (PRF.ASP)	qo (PRF.II))	v+i (CM2.AN.SG)		mä (INDIC)
bi-ġi-qo- šä- mä	'would've become'	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ġi (PRF.ASP)	qo (PRF.II))		šä (PST)	mä (INDIC)

Table 7.4 Verb Inflections for Aspect

Group	Perfective	Perfective I	Imperfective	Imperfective I
I	back C + wi	back C + i	back C + iri	back C + it
II	front C + (i/ɪ) back C + ɪ	front C + (i/ɪ) back C + ɪ	front C + (i/ɪ) + ri back C + ɪ + ri	front C + {i/ɪ} + t back C + ɪ + t
III	ni	n	ndä	nt
IV	CV	(y) ä CV	CV (l/r/z) + i	CV (l/r/z)

Table 7.5 Examples of Aspect Formations

Group	Perfective	Perfective I	Imperfective	Imperfective I	gloss
I	väx̣-wi	väx̣-ä	väx̣-iri	väx̣-it-wa	to shave
II	yib-i rɪc-i	yib-ä rɪc-ä	yib-i-ri rɪc-ɪ-ri	yib-i-t-wa rɪc-ɪ-t-wa	to extinguish to wash
III	toxu-ni	toxu-n	toxu-ndä	toxu-nt-wa	to stand
IV	xi ki	y-ä-xä y-ki-l	xi-l-i ki-z-i	xi-l-wa ki-z-wa	to boil to burn

Table 7.6 Rules for Formation of Perfective I

Group	Perfective Underlying form	Perfective I
I	Cwi	wi -> i
II	C + (i/ɪ)	i -> Ø
III	ni	i -> Ø
IV	CV	__CV -> (y) ä

Table 7.7 Rules for Formation of Imperfective I

Group	Imperfective Underlying form	Imperfective I
I	Ciri	ri -> it
II	Ciri	ri -> t
III	Ndä	dä -> t
IV	CV l/r/z + i	i -> ø

Table 7.8 Past/Nonpast Markers

Present/Future (nonpast)	Past
ø	Šä

Table 7.9 Past/Nonpast Indicator Tenses

ø	šä
Simple Present Imp. asp.	Neutral Past Perf. asp.
Aorist Perf. asp.	
Future I Imp. asp.	

Table 7.10 Tenses with *at* and *ar* Markers

at	*ar*
Present I (Imp. asp)	Habitual Present (Imp. I asp)
Perfect I (Perf. asp)	Habitual Past (Imp. I asp)
Imperfect I (Imp. asp)	
Pluperfect I (Perf. asp)	

Table 7.11 VCM Distribution

M.SG	M.PL	F.SG	F.PL	AN.SG	AN.PL	INAN.SG	INAN.PL
du	dur	dă	dur	dă	žit	ži/ž	žit

Table 7.12 Example of Xinaliq Negative Verb

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Word	translation
b	q̇i	qo	vi	Ø	mä	biq̇iqovimä	didn't become

Table 7.13 Past/Nonpast Distinction between Tenses

Ø	*šä*
Present I	Perfect I
Present II	Perfect II
Future II	Pluperfect I
Perfect I	Pluperfect II
Perfect II	Irrealis past
Definite past	Indefinite past
Habitual present	Habitual past

Table 7.14 Tense-Aspect Markers

	Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect	Perfective aspect	Imperfective aspect
	ø	Ø	šä	šä
ø	PERF.ASP-ø Aorist	IMPRF.ASP-ø Simple present		
atmä	PERF.ASP-atmä Perfect I	IMPRF.ASP-atmä Present I	PERF.ASP-e-šämä Pluperfect I	IMPRF.ASP-e-šämä Imperfect I
(q)omä	PERF.ASP-(q)omä Perfect II	IMPRF.ASP-(q)omä Present II	PERF.ASP-(q)ošämä Pluperfect II	IMPRF.ASP-(q)ošämä Imperfect II
žmä	PERF.ASP-(ž)mä Definite past	IMPRF.ASP-(ž)mä Future II	PERF.ASP-(ž)šämä Indefinite past	IMPRF.ASP-(ž)šämä Irrealis past
mä		IMPRF.ASP-r(i)-mä* Future I	PERF.ASP-šämä Neutral past	

armä	NO ASP-armä Habitual present	NO ASP-aršämä Habitual past

*Future I is used with verbs that end with *–ri* only.

CHAPTER 8

VERB PHRASE

In the verb chapter (see Chapter 7) verb inflection was described; here, structures with predicates are analyzed. We first look at sentences with nominal predicates. Sentences with a nominal predicate include four auxiliary verbs discussed below. Auxiliary verbs play an important part in Xinaliq verb phrase structure. They are used in verb morphology in tense formations, as well as to make sentences with nominal predicates. There are four auxiliaries in Xinaliq, each with a distinct function. None of them inflect for aspect. This absence of aspect contrasts with regular verbs, which are marked for aspect. Auxiliaries have only a twofold tense distinction: past and nonpast. The four different auxiliary verbs are described below.

8.1 Auxiliary I

Present tense suffix in indicative: *Ø-mä* 'is'

Past tense suffix in indicative: *ša-mä* 'was'

In the indicative mood, this auxiliary attaches word-finally to the noun which functions as predicate complement, as demonstrated in Examples 8.1-8.3.

8.1 zı häki mäʕäll im-mä
I now teacher am-AUX.I.PRES.
'I am a teacher now'

8.2 ʧuval xeyirl ḥäyvan-mä
sheep useful animal-AUX.I.PRES.

‘The sheep is a useful animal’

8.3 hu ksan ḥädmi-sämä
he good man-AUX.I.PST
‘He was a good man’

If a sentence with Auxiliary I is negative, Series II class markers (see Chapter 4) are used in combination with the negation article *–i-,* as in (8.4).

8.4 hu ksan ḥädmi-y-i-šämä
he good man-CM2.M.SG-NEG-AUX.I.PST
‘He is not a good man’

8.2 Auxiliary II

Auxiliary II combines Verb Class Markers (VCM) with Auxiliary I in the indicative mood (Table 8.1). Auxiliary II is usually added to a predicate adjective (an adjective that functions as the complement of the copular construction), thus acting like an independent (substantivized, i.e., nominalized) adjective (see Chapter 5).

8.5 hu azerbayǯandä-dumä
he azerbaijanian-AUX.II.VCM.I.SG
‘He is Azerbaijanian’

8.6 sä mıde hündürval čuṯon-ži
this mountain height what.INTER-AUX.II.VCM.IV.SG
‘What height is this mountain?’

Negatives are formed by inserting negation marker *-i-* into auxiliary II between the VCM and auxiliary I markers, as in Example 8.7.

8.7 asır murdar ḥäyvani ḳir lıka lazım-ž-i-mä
for.me non-edible animals skin meat necessary-AUX.II.VCM.IV.SG-NEG-AUX.II.VCM.IV.SG
‘For me the skin and meat of nonedible animals are not necessary’

Auxiliary II can also be added to a noun in a genitive case or a possessive pronoun, agreeing with the noun, as in Examples 8.8-8.11.

8.8 dä kul baylağğw-i-žmä
this hand blind.man-GEN.I-AUX.II.VCM.IV.SG
'This is a blind man's hand'

8.9 hä ǯigä e-žmä
this place mine.GEN.2-AUX.II.VCM.IV.SG
'This place is mine'

8.10 dä pši baylağğwi-dämä
this horse blind.man.GEN-AUX.II.VCM.III.SG
'This is a blind man's horse'

8.3 Auxiliary III

Auxiliary III *-atmä* means "to exist," or "to be available." This auxiliary can function in the role of an independent verb or of a copula. Both Auxiliary III and Auxiliary IV are used with animate nouns in a genitive case to express the possessive, and with inanimate nouns to express locative case. Below are examples (8.11-8.12) of Auxiliary III functioning as an auxiliary.

8.11 ve čuṯon pıl at-Ø
how much money have-AUX.III.INTER.
'How much money do you have?'

8.12 vi kallar iχer miçä fikirdir atmä
your head very dark thoughts exist.AUX.III
'You have very dark thoughts in your head' (literally 'your head has dark thoughts')

Negation is formed similarly to other auxiliaries. An *-i-* marker is added to Auxiliary III, as shown in Examples 8.13-8.14.

8.13 x̣inimḳiri liki mulli ç̣wa at̄-i-mä
wife answer mullah home AUX.III-NEG-AUX.III
'The wife answered that Mullah is not home'

8.14 ma ǯure yä at? če at-mä
so else what have.INTER.AUX.III tea have-AUX.III
'So, what else do you have?' 'Tea.'

This auxiliary can act similarly to Auxiliary II, attaching itself to an adjective, as in Examples 8.15-8.16.

8.15 xu max̣a at-mä
water hot is-AUX.III
'The water is hot'

8.16 dä mıč miç̣ at-mä
this apple sour is-AUX.III
'This apple is sour'

8.4 Auxiliary IV

The meaning of Auxiliary IV *-qomä-* is the same as the meaning of Auxiliary III, "to exist," "to be available"; however, orientation/directional markers are added to the semantics of this auxiliary. Xinaliq has a rich system of derivational spatial prefixes that can occur with this auxiliary or with the verbs of motion (see Chapter 10). They indicate geographic orientation between the speaker and the addressee, and the location of the subject relative to a reference point on a vertical plane. They can also indicate direction; however, with Auxiliary III, only the orientation is specified. There seems to be a higher frequency of *-qomä-* as compared to other markers in the data. It seems to have become the form used when physical orientation information is lacking. Thus the form *-qomä-* often occurs spatially unmarked. As mentioned above, Auxiliary IV is used with animate

nouns in the genitive to express the possessive, and with inanimate nouns to express the locative case. OD markers for Auxiliary IV are as follows:

-qo- addressee is physically lower in location than the speaker

-o- addressee is physically higher in location than the speaker

-to- addressee is physically on the same level in location as the speaker

-qomä- as an auxiliary:

8.17 šire swi üstür unḳ omä
our village above cloud is.AUX.IV
'There is a cloud above our village'

8.18 dä riši ḥäyardä qomä
this girl beautiful is.AUX.IV
'This girl is beautiful'

The negative is formed, as with Auxiliaries I, II and III, by adding the negation marker *-i-* after the spatial marker; /v/ is inserted to break up two vowels, as in Example 8.19.

8.19 mıdar käl ov-i-šämä
mountain.PL mountain.goat is.AUX.IV.PST-NEG-AUX.IV.PST
'There was no mountain goat in the mountains'

-qomä- with animate nouns in possessive constructions:

8.20 ğe riši ḥäyardä miḉä pılor qomä
this girl beautiful black eye.PL have.AUX.IV
'This girl has beautiful black eyes'

8.21 hini ṭupor qıyıl sirğa qošämä
her ears gold earrings have.AUX.IV.PST
'In her ears she had gold earrings' (literally 'her ears had gold earrings')

8.22 kalla tomä hinäš

head have.AUX.IV he

'He has a head' (i.e., 'he is smart')

-qomä- with inanimate nouns in the locative:

8.23 vi kallar iχer miča fikirdir atmä

your head.LOC very black thoughts there.are-AUX.IV

'There are very black thoughts in your head'

8.25 bädrär χu qomä

bucket.LOC water there.is-AUX.IV

'There is water in the bucket'

Table 8.1 Auxiliary II

	I	II	III	IV
	pres. past	pres. past	pres. past	pres. past
singular	dumä dušämä	dämä däšämä	dämä däšämä	žimä žišämä
plural	durmä durmä	durmä durmä	žitmä žitšämä	žitmä žitšämä

CHAPTER 9

VERB ALIGNMENT AND AGREEMENT

9.1 Verb Alignment

Morphosyntactic verb alignment refers to the system (rules) used to distinguish between arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs in a language, and how the subjects and objects of verbs pattern with respect to one another. In the basic sentence structure, there are three main "players": verb, subject, and object. Perhaps more accurately, these categories are defined by Comrie (1978) as "semantico-syntactic roles":

i. The most agent-like argument of a transitive clause
ii. The only argument of an intransitive clause
iii. The patient argument (the less agent-like argument of transitive verbs)

Transitive and intransitive verbs of course differ from one another in their arguments. Intransitive verbs have one core argument, the *subject* or "only core argument of an intransitive clause"; (ii) above, hereafter referred to as (S). There is generally no controversy concerning subject status in intransitive constructions. Transitive verbs have two core arguments, the subject and direct object; however, they are more accurately referred to as the *agent* or "most agent-like argument," hereafter referred to as (A), and the *patient*, hereafter referred to as (O), corresponding to (i) and (iii) above. Thus, languages can be characterized in terms of A, S, O, and V rather than simply S, O, and V. This allows us to know if we are dealing with transitive or intransitive verbs, providing us with tools of reference for more detailed description of grammatical relations.

Depending on what case markings are used on nouns (and forms that function as nominals), we can differentiate one type of structure from another. The morphological markings that distinguish the roles these arguments play can occur on nouns, pronouns, or verbs (and, incidentally anything that is nominalized, thus on nominalized verbs or adjectives, too). In Xinaliq the marking is on verbs, pronouns and certain types of adjectives (those that are nominalized, that is, function as nominls). Most languages have only two contrastive markers for the three core arguments S, A and O, either using one marking for S and A and another for O, or one marking for S and O and a different one for A, thus treating two arguments the same way and the third distinctly. Other variations in alignment are also possible in the world's languages. Some alignments are much more common than others. The most common alignment is accusative alignment (nominative-accusative), in which S and A are treated the same and O is treated differently (S=A). Ergative alignment (ergative-absolutive) is less common. In this alignment, S and O are treated the same and A is treated differently (S=O). The case shared by S and O in this alignment is called "absolutive," while the case that encodes A is called "ergative." Xinaliq's morphosyntactic alignment is ergative, as can be seen in Example 9.1.

9.1 pχ̣r-i zı çuxšämä
dog-ERG me.ABS bit
'The dog bit me'

Ergative in the Xinaliq noun is marked by the suffix *-i*. In Example 9.1 'the dog' has ergative marking with *-i,* which indicates ergative-absolutive in this transitive sentence. The paradigm of Xinaliq personal pronouns (Example 9.2) shows ergative marking as well:

9.2 yä xınır ķačın fatkušämä

I.ERG water stone.ABS throw
'I threw a stone into the water'

9.2 Verb Agreement

Verb agreement in Xinaliq is determined by the noun in the absolutive. The intransitive verb agrees in class and number with the S of the sentence, which is in an absolutive case. The transitive verb agrees with the O of the sentence, the noun that is in the absolutive case in transitive constructions, as can be seen in Examples (9.3-9.10).

9.3 gada çwa ka-Ø-ğ-šä-mä
boy.ABS.CM.M.SG home came-CM.M.SG-came-PST-INDIC
'The boy came home'

9.4 riši çwa ka-zı-ğ-šä-mä
girl.ABS.CM.F.SG home came-CM.F.SF-came-PST-INDIC
'The girl came home'

9.5 as csı za-Ø-ği-d-mä
I.DAT brother-ABS.CM.M.SG saw-CM.M.SG-saw-TCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
'I saw my brother'

9.6 as rıcsı za-zı-ğ-dä-mä
my.DAT sister.ABS.CM.F.SG saw-CM.F.SG-saw-TCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
'I saw my sister'

9.7 yä bıy ḳur-Ø-qin-Ø-ku-d-mä
my.ERG father.ABS.CM.M.SG forget-CM.M.SG-forget-CM.M.SG-forget-VCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
'I forgot my father'

9.8 yä dädä ḳur-p-qin-s-ku-dä-mä
my-ERG mother.ABS.CM.F.SG forgot- CM.F.SG-forgot-CM.F.SG-VCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
'I forgot my mother'

9.9 dädu ḥäyäl Ø-yukwar-mä

mother male.child CM.M.SG CM.M.SG-love-INDIC
'Mother loves her son'

9.10 dädu ḥäyäl ri-ž-ikwar-mä
mother female.child-CM.M.SG love-CM.M.SG-love-INDIC
'Mother loves her daughter'

There seems to be only one transitive verb (Examples 9.11-9.12) that, instead of agreeing with the noun in the absolutive, agrees with the noun in the ergative case. It seems to function as both a transitive and intransitive verb. As a transitive verb it requires A to be in ergative, but as an intransitive verb it agrees with the S instead of O:

9.11 hım-i xu čka-Ø-ğ-šä-mä
father-ERG.CM.M.SG water.ABS bring-CM.M.SG-bring-PST-INDIC
'Father brought water'

9.12 däd-i xu čka-zı-ğ-šä-mä
mother-ERG.CM.F.SG water.ABS bring-CM.F.SG-bring-PST-INDIC
'Mother brought water'

CHAPTER 10

MOTION ORIENTATION MARKERS

Xinaliq has an extensive system of prefixes with directional and spatial connotations. They predominantly occur with verbs of motion. This group of prefixes is often referred to as preverbs. They are attached to the beginning of verbs and generally indicate either (see Table 10.1):

i. Location of the subject in relation to a fixed point on a vertical plane (e.g., above, below, level with)
ii. Direction of the verb (usually indicating approach toward or departure away from a fixed point)

The OD morphemes can be further broken into smaller segments, which can be found in other parts of Xinaliq grammar. If we look at Table 10.2, *-al-* is consistent in the category of "to," "approach," and *-a-* is consistent in the category of "from," "departure." We can assume that the general semantics of *-al-* indicates the directionality of the movement, specifically "approach." On the other hand, *-a-* indicates the movement of "departure." This leaves us with separate morphemes specifying the direction of the movement, regardless of the orientation.

The rest of the markers attach as prefixes and add information about orientation, specifically about location (i.e., above, below, level with or unspecified), as shown in Table 10.3.

Most of these orientation markers can be seen in other parts of Xinaliq grammar: to form the present II, imperfect II, perfect II, and pluperfect II tenses (see Sec. 7.5.3), or as prefixes to dependent OD demonstrative pronouns (see Chapter 6) and to Auxiliary IV (see Chapter 9). The only inconsistency lies with the demonstrative pronouns, which at times use the marker *-ṭ-* to indicate "above," while the motion/orientation morphemes as well as Auxiliary IV and the tenses leave the morpheme for "above" unmarked (Tables 6.3 and 10.1). Also, *-z-* and *-l-* prefixes are not utilized in other parts of the grammar. Thus, we can analyze them as additional morphemes necessary when the direction is combined with the spatial orientation.

If we combine orientation markers with the directional markers discussed above, we have the following possibilities:

1. Event is below the fixed point
2. Event is above the fixed point
3. Event is on the same level as the fixed point
4. Event's orientation to the fixed point is unspecified

Regarding directionality, there are the following possibilities:

5. Event is approaching the fixed point
6. Event is departing from the fixed point

Because there is no marker for receding direction with unspecified orientation, there are seven possibilities as demonstrated in Table 10.4.

As mentioned, these morphemes appear as prefixes before the verbs. When followed by a vowel in the verb, the vowel in the directional/orientational markers adapts to the first vowel of the verb, in vowel harmony, as seen in Example 10.1.

10.1 qal-iχğ -> qil-iχğ

APP.BL-move -> APP.BL-move

'to move over in the direction of and below the speaker'

The initial vowel of the verb can remain or be dropped; there is evidence of both happening in the data (Example 10.2). If the /l/ of the 'to' directionality morphemes would otherwise form a disallowed consonant cluster with the first consonant of the verb, then this /l/ drops as for example:

10.2 kal-tırğı -> ka-tırğı

APP.UNS-exit -> APP.UNS-exit

'to exit in the direction of the speaker'

10.1 Point of Reference

The point of reference is not static. It can change according to different factors discussed below. The most common point of reference is that of the speaker, discussed below.

10.1.1 The Speaker as a Point of Reference

Cases with the speaker as point of reference for the orientation and direction of the event can have two manifestations, depending on whether the event being described occurs at the same time as the speech act, or on whether the speaker is referring to an event that took place previously. If the speaker is describing an event that is occurring at the same time as the speech act, it is the speaker's current geographic position that is used as a point of reference (see Example 10.3). When the speaker is referring to another time, it is still his/her current geographic position that is used as a point of reference, rather than his/her position at the time of the event. In other words, when the events do not

coincide with the time of speaking, the point of reference is usually the speaker's location at the time of speaking, projected onto the situation being evoked (see Example 10.6).

10.3 rišilir pšori koli la-kwatmä
girls horses to(near) DEP.LV-walk
'The girls are walking to the horses'
(They are moving away from the speaker on a horizonal plane)

10.4 ačığ pänʒäräli kulak qal-kwetmä
open window wind APP.BL-blow
'the wind is blowing through an open window'
(The wind comes from below toward the speaker.)

10.5 ḥäyäl mıde ayağılli a-c̄ukwi
child mountain bottom DEP.AB-climb
'the child is climbing from the bottom of the mountain'
(The child is climbing away, departing from the speaker. The speaker is below the child or the mountain.)

10.6 zı çwa la-çğisämä
I house DEP.LV-go
'I went in the house'
(When the act happened the speaker departed from his/her current physical position into the house, which is not where the speaker is currently.)

10.7 si zı çwa č-kal-ğisämä
he me home bring-APP.UNS-bring
'He brought me home'
(He brought me home, which is toward, approaching the speaker as a point of reference at the time of the speech act. The speaker is inside the house currently.)

10.8 ınke sa täräfir tal-tıfiyä činä misi täpi gus yärläšmišbiqi
river one side APP.LV-cross where little hill on set.up
'They set up on one little hill, once they crossed to one side of the river'

(The speaker at the time of speaking is at the same location as where they approached during the act of crossing. If the speaker was on the other side of the river during speaking, orientation/direction departure language, or OD.DL would have been used. Also, if the point of reference was determined by the actant, OD.DL would have to be used as they would be departing from themselves toward the hill on the shore.)

10.1.2 The Actant as a Point of Reference

The point of reference changes from the speaker to a main actant of the event when the action physically takes up a smaller physical space as compared to the actant itself. In other words, it is used when the scale of the action is containable and smaller than the person committing the action. For example, see (10.9 and 10.10).

10.9 gadi ǯıbınılli ačar qal-tırviyä toz äčmiškušämä
boy pocket key APP.BL-take.out door opened
'A boy who just got a key out of the pocket, opened the door'
(A movement of the key from the pocket was toward the boy, from below him, because his pocket was below. The boy himself is the point of reference, instead of the speaker)

10.10 hu pogoču sa ḳu säʕät q̇uli ḳanıḳ toχunq̇aği maq̇al ze-nǯikužmä
he tomorrow one two hours under rain stand dirt DEP.BL-come.off
'Tomorrow, if he stands under the rain an hour or two, the dirt will come off'
(The dirt on the person is smaller than the person, therefore the person himself is used as a point of reference. The dirt is departing from the person and is presumably traveling lower, below, toward the earth.)

10.1.3 Location as a Point of Reference

If the speaker was not present during the act being described, the point of reference is generally the place where it is assumed that the next action will take place. This is especially common in narratives, describing events in which the speaker did not take part. The orientation of each successive event is aligned with the place where the next event is to occur:

10.11 ẋinimḳir ç̣wa tal-ç̣kwi
woman home APP.LV-went
'A woman went into the house'
(Because one can assume that next action would also be in the house, the point of reference is the house. Thus, the woman walked in toward/approaching the house.)

It is important to note that not all verbs of motion automatically take direction-orientation markers, and with some verbs the original meaning of directionality and orientation is lost. In those instances the morphology is maintained but the meaning is not. For example: *qalvi* 'to smoke' does not alternate between different OD markers; however, the *qal-* of *qalvi* most likely started as an OD.AB. Also, *qaltrğ̌i* 'to grow' most likely started with the OD meaning of growth from below.

Table 10.1 The Orientational/Directional (OD) Verbal Categories

	TO (approach)	Abbreviation	FROM (depart)	Abbreviation
above	(a)l	APP.AB.	(a)	DEP.AB.
below	q(a)l	APP.BL.	z(a)	DEP.BL.
level with	t(a)l	APP.LV.	l(a)	DEP.LV.
unspecified	k(a)l	APP.UNS.		

Table 10.2 Direction Markers

To (Approach)	From (Depart)
-al	-a

Table 10.3 Orientation Markers

Position relative to speaker	MARKER
above	Ø-
below	q-
level with	t-
unspecified	k-

Table 10.4 Orientation/Direction Markers Extended

The verb	**With OD marker**	**The meaning of OD**	**The meaning of the verb with OD**
'to go'	al-ği	direction – approaching toward orientation - from above APP.AB.	event is approaching, moving toward, from above to below in the direction of a point of reference
	qal-ği	direction – approaching toward orientation - from below APP.BL.	event is approaching, moving toward, from below to above in the direction of a point of reference
	tal-ği	direction – approaching toward orientation – on the same level APP.LV.	event is approaching, moving toward, on the same horizontal plane as a point of reference
	kal-ği	direction – approaching toward orientation - unspecified APP.UNS.	event is approaching, moving toward, unspecified relation to a point of reference other than the direction of the movement
	a-ẋi	direction – depart orientation - from above DEP.AB.	event is departing, moving away, from above to below from the direction of a fixed point
	ža-ẋi	direction – depart orientation - from below DEP.BL.	event is departing, moving away, from below to above from the direction of a fixed point
	la-ẋi	direction – depart orientation – on the same level DEP.LV.	event is departing, moving away, on the same horizontal plane as a point of reference

CHAPTER 11

WORD ORDER

Some languages have relatively strict word orders, while others can rely on other devices to convey important grammatical information. Some convey grammatical information through inflection (with case marking on nouns or agreement cross-reference marking on verbs) and have flexible word order. That said, most languages have a preferred basic word order which is used most frequently (Comrie, 1981). The neutral word order in Xinaliq is SOV, as seen in Example 11.1 below.

11.1 läqäld-i muzdur-Ø ṭuv-šä-mä
man-ERG slave-NOM buy-PST-INDIC
'The man is buying a slave'

Although SOV word order is dominant in Xinaliq, there are a few examples of SVO as well, as in (73).

11.2 rišu za-ɣ-šæ-mæ gada
girl OD.DB-saw-PST-INDIC boy
'a girl saw a boy'

There are no examples of OVS, OSV, VSO or VOS in the data collected.

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