

PRINCIPAL ASPECTS OF XINALIQ PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

by

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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.

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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

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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 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) Lezgi.

Xinaliq has been classified as a member of the Lezgetic subfamily. However, opinions diverge as to the correct classification of Xinaliq in relation to the languages of the Lezgetic subgroup. The view that Xinaliq may belong to the Lezgetic 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 *Fragmentsy 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.

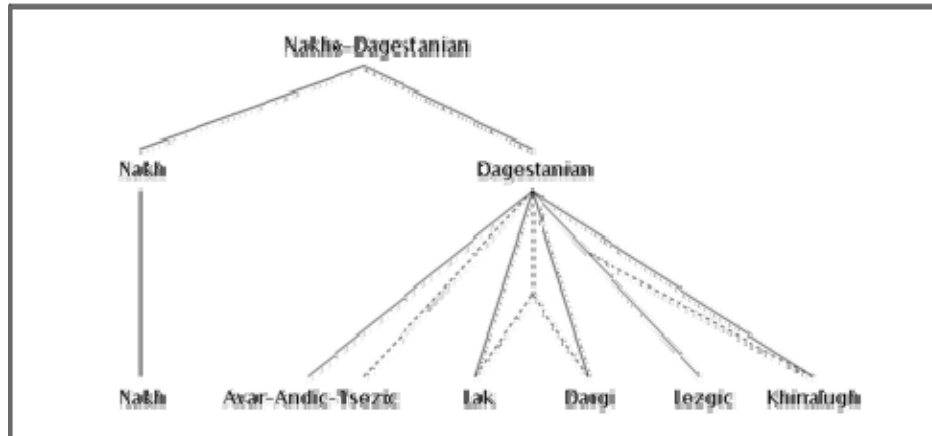


Figure 2.1 Traditional Nakh-Daghestanian Family Classification. (Nichols, 2003)

(Nakho-Dagestian=Nakh-Daghestanian; Dargi=Dargwi; Lezgi=Lezgian; Khinalugh=Xinaliq)

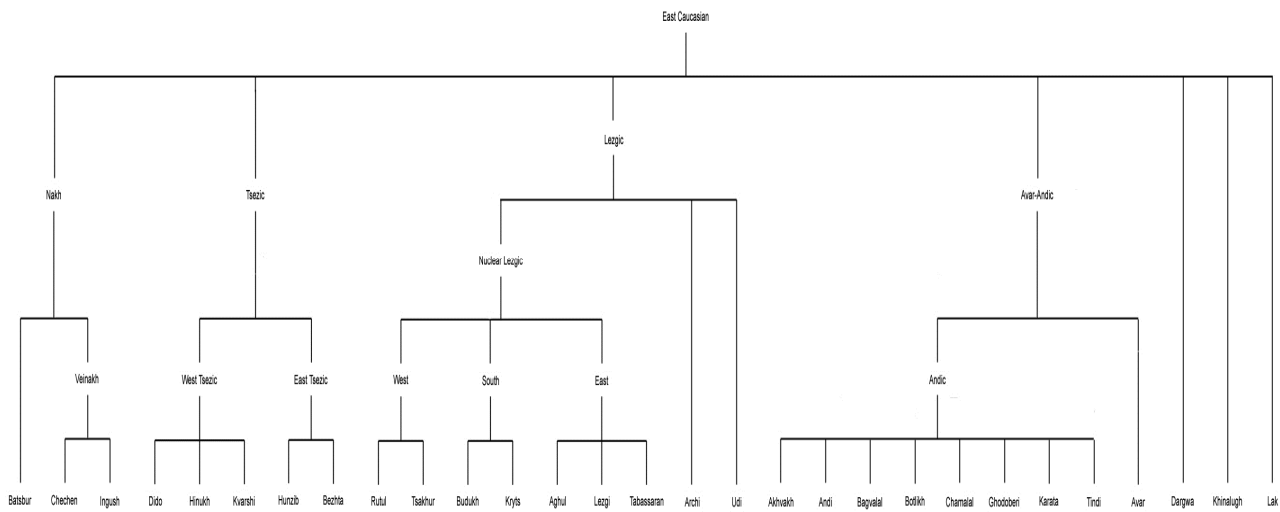


Figure 2.2 Northeast Caucasian Family Classification. (Klimov, 1994)



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

paga ‘tomorrow’

pan ‘hundred’

2. /p:/ long voiceless bilabial stop

qup:a ‘belt buckle’

p:ejram ‘shirt’

3. /pʰ/ voiceless bilabial ejective stop

pʰa ‘a kiss’

pʰapʰax ‘Xinaliq style hat’

4. /b/ voiced bilabial stop

bij ‘father’

bemb ‘fly’

5. /f/ voiceless bilabial fricative

fara ‘warm’

fitfʰæ ‘wet’

6. /v/ voiced bilabial fricative

vats:unu ‘to stay’

duvar ‘wall’

7. /m/ voiced bilabial nasal

tsuma ‘red’

qʰami ‘spoon’

8. /t/ voiceless dental stop

- toz* 'dust'
dostir 'friends'
9. /t:/ long voiceless dental stop
bat:a 'short'
t:oz 'door'
10. /r/ voiced dental trill
rang 'color'
dahari 'rock' (ergative)
11. /l/ voiced dental lateral approximant
lap 'very'
t'ali 'lip' (ergative)
12. /d/ voiced alveolar stop
dost 'friend'
mude 'mountain'
13. /t'/ voiceless alveolar ejective stop
t'al 'a lip'
psit' 'kitten'
14. /ts/ voiceless alveolar affricate
tsuma 'red'
tsuloz 'tooth'
15. /ts:/ long voiceless alveolar affricate
jets:ini 'to stay back'
16. /ts'/ voiceless alveolar ejective affricate
ts'u 'name'
ts'in 'sweet'
17. /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
san 'night'
varusi 'relative'

18. /z/ voiced alveolar fricative

<i>zu</i>	‘I’
<i>bzi</i>	‘pear’ (ergative)

19. /n/ voiced alveolar nasal

<i>nuk</i>	‘hail’
<i>kona</i>	‘old’

20. /tʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

<i>tʃoz</i>	‘spring’
<i>tʃe</i>	‘tea’

21. /tʃ:/ long voiceless palato-alveolar affricate

<i>k’utʃ:u</i>	‘heel’
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22. /dʒ/ voiced palato-alveolar affricate

<i>dʒydʒæ</i>	‘chick’
<i>kundʒ</i>	‘corner’

23. /tʃʼ/ voiceless palato-alveolar ejective affricate

<i>tʃʼæ</i>	‘fire’
<i>tʃʼutʃʼon</i>	‘whip’

24. /ʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative

<i>ʃum</i>	‘sand’
<i>qʼamaʃ</i>	‘secret’

25. /ʒ/ voiced palato-alveolar fricative

<i>bʒuvu</i>	‘to leave’
<i>qʼaʒ</i>	‘tail’

26. /y/ voiced palatal glide

<i>jetmæ</i>	‘want’ (Class M.)
<i>majlun</i>	‘a fool’

27. /k/ voiceless velar stop

<i>kul</i>	‘hill’
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- akuval* 'to go away'
28. /k:/ long voiceless velar stop
- bok:u* 'Baku'
k:uza 'snow'
29. /g/ voiced velar stop
- gada* 'boy'
dalug 'work'
30. /kʔ/ voiceless velar ejective stop
- kʔil* 'arm'
tʔukʔun 'cheek'
31. /kx/ voiceless velar affricate
- mokx* 'worm'
kxe 'wool'
32. /w/ voiced velar glide
- wa* 'it's there' (on top)
swa 'village'
33. /x/ voiceless velar fricative
- xu* 'water'
lux 'shepherd's crook'
34. /ɣ/ voiced velar fricative
- kʔuyɣ* 'eyebrow'
joyi 'to shake'
35. /q/ voiceless uvular stop
- qi* 'cold'
36. /q:/ long voiceless uvular stop
- toqud* 'lightning'
37. /qʔ/ voiceless uvular ejective stop

- q'aq'al* 'back' (body)
tilq'wi 'to milk'
38. /qX/ voiceless uvular affricate
qXuutsuz 'nut'
uunqXa 'field'
39. /χ/ voiceless uvular fricative
χolu 'uncle'
miχ 'summer'
40. /β/ voiced uvular fricative
βutsar 'god'
utab 'room'
41. /ħ/ voiceless pharyngeal fricative
ħæjæl 'child'
mæħsul 'harvest'
42. /ʕ/ voiced pharyngeal fricative
næʕnæ 'saliva'
mæʕni 'song'
43. /ʔ/ glottal stop
vaʔ 'no'
sæʔil 'here'
44. /h/ voiceless glottal fricative
hu 'he'
k'adah '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 m̃xa
 ‘field’

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

3.2. /z/ - > [ç]
 /ɤaz/ - > [kɤçi]
 ‘snake’ - > ‘snake’

3.3. /ʒ/ - > [č]
 /qaʒ/ - > [qači]
 ‘tail’ - > ‘tail’

However, in 3.4 instead of the expected /q̃/, we get /x̃/ because of the nasal /n/ preceding it:

3.4 /ǧ/ - > [x̃]
 /enǧ/ - > [iñxi]
 ‘wedding’ - > ‘wedding’

3.1.2 Short and Long Voiceless Phonemes

Long voiceless stops and affricates occur only intervocalically:

3.5 qũpa ‘buckle’

3.6 bãta ‘short’

- 3.7 yeċini ‘to stay’
 3.8 yākil ‘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 dostr ‘friends’
 3.14 cima ‘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:

k - > k^w/ [+round V] n___

- 3.19 /gongaz/ - > [gong^waz] ‘circle’
 3.20 /ung/ - > [ũng^w] ‘heart’

3.21 /unḵ/ - > [ũḥḵ^w] ‘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 /žähil/ - > [žähil] ‘young’

/h/ is also voiced before sonorants:

3.23 /dähnä/ - > [dähinä] ‘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 (*bzi* ‘pear’, *pšä* ‘bread’)

+ Lateral (*kla* ‘who’)

Affricate + Fricative (*čḵar* ‘buckweat’)

Stops + Fricatives + Liquids (*pšlä* ‘fox’, *pḵra* ‘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 (*lguld* ‘man’, *borc* ‘father’s sister’, *ant* ‘earth’)

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

3.1.4.3 Word-Medial Position

Permissible combinations of consonants include:

Sonorant + Obstruent (*kulga* ‘shadow’)

Fricative + Stop (*äski* ‘towel’)

Approximant + Consonant (*ayvan* ‘balcony’)

Glottal stop + Consonant (*sä?bi* ‘master’, *nä?nä* ‘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 aǧzı ‘mouth’

3.27 koksı ‘breast’

3.28 aḫta ‘to castrate’

3.29 häfmi ‘human’

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

3.30 ɣarta ‘nail’

3.31 ɣli ‘to die’

3.32 ɪnɣa ‘flat rock’

3.33 ɪnɣ ‘sun’

However there are some exceptions to this:

3.34 ɟɣas ‘bring’

3.35 ɪʃarmeyram ‘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/: ɪʒi ‘face’

niniɣ ‘eyelash’

ki ‘ram’

/e/: eg ‘wedding’

ɟe ‘tea’

/ä/: äɣni ‘clothing’

dädə ‘mother’

/ü/:* üs ‘year’

nüɟ ‘honey’

	sürü	‘herd’
/ö/:**	dövlät	‘wealth’
	örpüri	‘melt’
/u/:	urta	‘middle’
	ķun	‘cooking flower’
	xu	‘water’
/o/:	odul	‘handful’
	kona	‘old’
/ı/:	ınka	‘river’
	bıķ	‘father’
	bzı	‘pear’
/a/:	aba	‘grandfather’
	ķal	‘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 /inq̣/ -> [iŋq̣] 'sun'

As compared to:

- 3.39 /ans/ -> [ans] 'game'
 3.40 /ant/ -> [ant] 'earth'
 3.41 /anšxwi/ -> [anšxwi] 'to brush'
 3.42 /anxviä/ -> [anxviä] 'to throw'
 3.43 /inžitmiškwi/ -> [inžitmiškwi] '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 /kukác/ -> [kʉkác] 'chicken'
 3.45 /süftá/ -> [sʉftá] 'at first'
 3.46 /qı́cíz/ -> [qı́cíz] 'nut'

3.2.1.4 High Vowel Centralization

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

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

- 3.47 /x̣inimq̣ir/ -> [x̣ɪnimq̣ir] 'woman'

3.48 /qim/ - > [q̣im] 'hook'

3.49 /çin/ - > [ç̣in] 'sweet'

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

3.50 /çiqiri/ - > [ç̣iqiri] 'to talk'

3.51 /şidil/ - > [ş̣idil] '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 [ʒɪgä] - > [ʒgä] '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 žıbn ‘pocket’ (SG) - > žıbındır ‘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 kotük ‘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 čuvàl ‘sheep’

The rules for this can be stated as follows:

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

*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 qaqál ‘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 ɣilí-u -> ɣilú ‘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 ɣaqál -> ɣaqáɣır ‘back’ -> ‘on the back’

3.69 dáb -> dábɣer ‘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 mátiška ‘Russian woman’

3.71 bášqap ‘plate’

3.72 tóqud ‘lightning’

3.73 hána ‘after’

3.74 qári ‘old lady’

3.75 qíni ‘good’

3.76 ɣávi ‘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 biniy -> bini compare with biniyir
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 taşir -> taşı -> taşı
‘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 çwa+r -> çor 'in the house'

3.4.3 Glide Insertion

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

3.94 zaği-u -> zaği-y-u 'you see'

3.95 qi-u -> qi-y-u 'it became'

3.96 misi-orun -> misi-y-orun 'when he was little'

3.97 yeçini-o-i-u -> yeçino-y-i-y-u 'left?'

3.98 du-i-u -> du-y-i-y-u 'not this one?'

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

3.99 çu 'name'

3.100 çu-v-i 'name' (erg.)

3.101 çu-v-ol 'names' (pl.)

3.102 çu-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 /ɪ/ is inserted.

3.105 tal+r -> talır 'on the lip'

3.106 gis+r -> gisir 'on the roof'

3.107 z+қишәмә -> зиқишәмә ‘she died’ (FEM.class)

3.108 k+a+z+ғи+шә+mә -> казиғсәмә ‘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 қи-du-mä -> қидmä ‘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 ɣä-z-kindä -> ɣä-s-kindä ‘the laughing one’ FEM. class

3.113 ɣä-b-kindä -> ɣä-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 қамашқи -> қамағқи ‘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-ɣi -> s-ɣi -> c-ɣi ‘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 či-q-a-l-ği - > č-q-a-l-ği - > č-q-a-l-ği ‘brought’ (from below)

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

3.122 č-i-qui-šä-mä - > č-i-çu-šä-mä - > č-u-č-šä-mä - > č-u-q-šämä ‘tore out’

3.123 enži-qui-dä-mä - > enži-çu-dä-mä - > enžu-qui-dämä - > enžu-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 ačuvuri / äčuvuri ‘to lay’

3.127 yaxiri / yäxiri ‘to leave’

3.128 hayvan / häyvan ‘animal’

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

3.129 enžikuval / enžikuyval ‘to come down’

3.130 kakwidmä / kakudmä ‘will come’ MASC.class

3.131 xäčülqutomä / xäčülqwitomä ‘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/ // /ž/ after /n/:

3.135 antırği / andırği 'to fall'

3.136 enžikui / enčikui 'to come down'

Table 3.1 Comparison Chart of Xinaliq Phonemes

	Scientific orthography	Kibrik	Namik	Villag e	Ganiev a	IPA	Georgia n
pača ‘leg’	a	a	a	A	a	a	ɔ
sib ‘green’	b	b	b	B	б	b	ɔ̃
lucoz ‘cow’ borc ‘father’s sister’	c	c	š	Ts	ц	ts	ɔ̃
yečini ‘to remain’	ċ	cc	ž	Ćs	цц	ts:	ʋʋ
baçiz ‘small goat’	ç	c'	ṣ̌	ts'	цл	ts'	ʋ̣
mıçäš ‘tea’ mıç ‘apple’	č	ç	ç	Ç	ч	tʃ	β
mċi ‘earth’ kuċi ‘heel’	ċ̄	çç	ĉ	Ç̣	чч	tʃ:	ʃʃ
fiçä ‘wet’	č̣	ç'	ç̣	ç'	чл	tʃ'	ʃ̣
dädä ‘mother’	d	d	d	D	д	d	ɔ̃
qilez ‘salty’	e	e	e	E	e	e	ɔ̃
äjä ‘grandmother’	ä	ə	ə	ə	аь	æ	ɔ̃
çaf ‘untouched grazing’	f	f	f	F	ф	f	ɔ̃
ninig ‘eyelash’	g	g	g	g	г	g	ɔ̃
kıy ‘eyebrow’	γ	gh	ĝ	gh	гг	γ	ɔ̃
aliğ ‘horse covering’ zeeğ ‘chicken broth’	ğ	ğ	ğ	ğ	гъ	ɸ	ɔ̃
dahar ‘a big rock’	h	h	h	h	гъ	h	ɔ̃
ħädmi ‘human’	ħ	hh	ħ	ħ	хл	ħ	ɔ̃
ninig ‘eyelash’	i	i	i	i	и	i	o
mıç ‘apple’	ı	ı	ı	ı	ы	ɯ	ɔ̃
kunž ‘corner’	ž	j	c	c	дж	dʒ	ʒ

Table 3.1 Continued

	Scientific orthograph y	Kibrik	Namik	Villag e	Ganiev a	IPA	Georgia n
kukaç ‘chicken’ mok ‘worm’	k	k	k	k	к	k ^h	ქ
mu ḱ ur ‘dustpan’	ḱ	kk	ḱ	ḱ	кк	k:	ჭ
ḱuḱa ‘knot’ nā ḱ id ‘back’ (on a body)	ḱ	k’	κ	k’	κl	k’	ჯ
l x ‘herder’s stick’	x	kh	ḥ	kh	хь	x	ბ
mok x ‘worm’ k x e ‘wool’	kx	kx				kx	ქბ
ḱ ulla ‘hammer’ cal ‘sheaf’	l	l	l	l	л	l	წ
hilam ‘donkey’	m	m	m	m	მ	m	ძ
ḱ ind ‘bridge’	n	n	n	n	н	n	წ
cul o z ‘tooth’	o	o	o	o	o	o	წ
s ö bät ‘conversation’	ö	ö	ö	ö	ობ	ø	წ
to p ‘ear’	p	p	p	p	п	p ^h	ფ
ḱ arḱa ‘lamb’	ḱ	pp	ḱ	ḱ	пп	p:	ჭ
ḱ aḱax ‘fur hat’	ḱ	p’	ḱ	p’	pl	p’	ჯ
m ḱ a ‘field’ lā ḱ iz ‘calf’	ḱ	q	x	qx	хь	qχ	ჯ
to ḱ ud ‘lightning’	ḱ	qq	q	q	кь	q:	ყ
m ḱ ‘sun’	ḱ	q’	ḱ	q’	кь	q’	ყ
ḱ eyram ‘shirt’	r	r	r	r	р	r	წ
ans ‘game’	s	s	s	s	с	s	ბ
p ḱ ā ‘bread’	ḱ	ḱ	ḱ	ḱ	ш	ʃ	შ
ant ‘floor’	t	t	t	t	т	t ^h	თ

Table 3.1 Continued

	Scientific orthograph y	Kibrik	Namik	Villag e	Ganiev a	IPA	Georgia n
kāfid ‘Xinaliq person’ baḡa ‘short’	t̄	tt	ḡ	í	тт	t:	ᄁᄁ
xurḡum ‘throat’	t̄	t'	ḡ	t'	тл	t'	ᄁ
culoḡ ‘tooth’	u	u	u	u	y	u	ᄃ
nüç ‘honey’	ü	ü	ü	ü	yь	y	ᄃ̄
çuval ‘ram’	v	v	v	v	в	v	ᄄ
arḡac ‘yard’ (?) miḡez ‘needle’	x̄	x	x	x	x	χ	ᄅ
qoyu ‘water well’	y	y	y	y	й	j	ᄆ
miḡez ‘needle’	z	z	z	z	з	z	ᄇ
aḡ ‘side’ (on a body) ḡinaḡ ‘winter’	ḡ	z,	j	j	ж	ʒ	ᄈ
ḡaza ‘moaning’	ʒ	ʒ	`	`	rl	ʕ	ᄉ
vaʔ ‘no’ sæʔil ‘here’	ʔ	ʔ				ʔ	ᄊ

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	p̰		t̰ ɕ	č		k̰	q̰		
Fricative	f v		s z	š ž		x ɣ	x̣ ɣ̣	ħ ʕ	h
Affricate			c c̄	č č̄ ž		Kx	x̣		
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 [u] 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 Lezgian 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 bāg ‘bridegroom’

4.3 ši ‘son’

Class FEM - human females:

4.4 äžä ‘grandmother’

4.5 dādā ‘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 kaqid 'partridge'

4.13 mokx 'worm'

Class INAN - other nouns (inanimate, nonhuman):

4.14 ciza 'fear'

4.15 ula 'smell'

4.16 fikir 'thought'

4.17 kaqa 'bite' (noun)

4.18 ce '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: *kiii* “to go,” *küi* “to be,” *daxi* “to see,” *kli* “to die,” as well as some compound verbs that include *küi* as one element of the compound (e.g., *ansküi* “to play,” *dahıgküi* “to work,” *paküi* “to kiss”). The three series of class markers are discussed below as can be seen in Table 4.1.

In AN class (discussed below) $b > \emptyset / [+segment] _ _ k$ (see Rule 7 below), and in INAN class it is \emptyset . 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)

$z \rightarrow z / _ _ [+voice]C$ (z stays z before voiced consonant)

Rule 2: (CM1.F)

$z \rightarrow s / _ _ [-voice]C$ (z becomes s before voiceless consonants)

Rule 3: (CM1.F)

$z \rightarrow c / _ _ x$ (z becomes c before x in prefix-initial [word-initial only] position)

Rule 4: (CM1.AN)

$\emptyset \rightarrow i/z _ _ C$ that creates unpermitted CC cluster

therefore $CC \rightarrow CiC$ (i is inserted between two CC that would otherwise result in a cluster that is not permitted)

Rule 5: (CM1.AN)

$b \rightarrow b / _ _ [+voice]C$ (b stays b before the voiced consonants)

Rule 6: (CM1.AN)

$b \rightarrow p / _ _ [-voice]C$ with the exception of Rule 7 (b becomes p before voiceless consonants)

Rule 7: (CM1.F)

$b \rightarrow \emptyset / [+segment] _ _ k, p$ (b becomes \emptyset before k or p in non-word-initial position)

Rule 8: (CM1.AN)

$\emptyset \rightarrow (i)/b _ _ C$ that creates unpermitted CC cluster

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

Rule 9: (CM2.F)

$z \rightarrow r / _ _ \text{syllable}$ with any sibilant ($c, \check{c}, z, \check{z}, \check{z}, \check{s}$)

Rule 10: (CM3.M)

$h \rightarrow \emptyset / _ _ r$

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 (*čxar* ‘buckwheat’)

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

+ Liquid (*kla* ‘who’)

(not necessary for stops to be cluster initial)

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

Word final:

No combinations of three phonemes were found.

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

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

Medial:

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

Fricative + Stop (*äsği* ‘towel’,)

Approximant + consonant (*ayvan* ‘balcony’)

Glottal + consonant (*säŋbi* ‘master’, *näŋnä* ‘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 \emptyset .

- 4.20 gada \emptyset -*ki-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 \emptyset , on the verb.

- 4.21 *ligıld-i* *hâyäl* *tuv- \emptyset -šä-mä*
 man-ABS child buy-CM1.M.SG-PST-INDIC
 ‘The man is buying a child’

- 4.22 as *ligıld* *zağ- \emptyset -šä-mä*
 I man saw-CM1.M.SG-PST-INDIC
 ‘I saw a man’

- 4.23 *ligıld-u* *hine* *ši* *yiq- \emptyset -šä-mä*
 man-ERG his son want-CM1.M.SG-PST-INDIC
 ‘The man wants his son’

- 4.24 *zar- \emptyset -k-ir-dü-mä*
 OD-CM1.M.SG-send-IMPRFV-VCMII.SG-INDIC
 ‘Someone will send him down....’

- 4.25 *yeċin- \emptyset -däd-i-mä*
 stay-CM1.M.SG-VCM-NEG-INDI
 ‘[the man] will not stay’

- 4.26 gada *yeċin- \emptyset -i-šä-mä* *çwa*
 boy stay- CM1.M.SG-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
 ‘The boy stayed at home’

- 4.27 Ø-xä qinā
 CM1.M.SG-go eat
 ‘Go eat’ (said to a man)
- 4.28 māʔālimmdar 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 *ḳ* 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-ḳ-i-šä-mä
 girl.ABS CM1.F.SG-die-PRFV-PST-INDIC
 ‘The girl died’
- 4.30 riši ḳ-ili-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 çe-zi-v-šä-mä
 sit-CM1.F.SG-sit-PST-INDIC
 ‘The woman sat down’
- 4.32 lıgıldi attı-zi-ḳ-dä-z-i-šä-mä ximḳir
 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 *lɨgɪldi* *cnas* *ʈu-zɪ-v-ʂä-mä*
 man.ABS fiancée buy-CM1.F.SG-buy-PST-INDIC
 ‘The man bought a fiancée’

4.34 *as* *e* *rɪtsɪ* *za-zɪ-ǧ-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* *zɪ* *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* *biçe* *qo-z-i-mä*
 she fat be-CM1.F.SG-NEG-INDIC
 ‘She is not fat’

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

In the examples below $z \rightarrow s/ __[-\text{voiced}]C$ (z becomes s before voiceless consonants).

4.40 *Xeyraddini* *xinimķir* *ķur-s-qen-ʂä-mä*
 Xeyraddine wife forget-CM1.F.SG-forget-PST-INDIC

‘Xeyraddine forgot the wife’

4.41 Xeyraddini $\text{\textasciixcur-s-qink-ir-dä-mä}$ xinimķir

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-VCM.II.SG-CM2.F.SG-NEG-INDIC

‘I will not forget (woman)’

4.43 dä xinimķir al-s-kır-dä-mä

this wife OD-CM1.F.SG-fall-VCM.II.SING-INDIC

‘This wife will fall from above’

4.44 lğıldı xinimķir 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’

$z \rightarrow c/ _ _ x$

4.45 dä xinimķir za-c-xir-dä-mä

this wife OD-CM1.F.SG-fall-VCM.II.SING.-INDIC

‘This woman will fall forward’

4.46 dä xinimķer la-c-xır-dä-mä

this wife OD-CM1.F.SG-fall-VCM.II.SING-INDIC

‘This woman will fall to the side’

4.47 dä xinimķer a-c-xir-dä-mä

this wife OD-CM1.F.SG-fall-VCM.II.SING-INDIC

‘This woman will fall back’

4.48 c-xä qınä

CM1.F.SG-go eat

‘Go eat’ (to a woman)

4.49 māʔālim mdar lağın c-xi-dä-mä

teacher mountain yesterday CM1.F.SG-go-VCMI.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 *ḳ* are not permitted together in a consonant cluster in Xinaliq, *i* is inserted to break up the cluster.

4.50 hilam **bi-ḳ-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 $b \rightarrow p$ before the voiceless consonant, in this case before *q*, of the verb stem.

4.51 Xeyraddine kur-**p**-ḳink-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**-y-dä-mä mīda
 Toma-DAT. OD-CM1.AN.SG.-saw-VCMI.SG-INDIC mountain
 ‘Toma saw a mountain’

4.53 Xeyraddine kur-**p**-ḳink-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-**bi**-ḳ-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-**b**ı-đ-dä-v-i-šä-mä pşı
 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 kur-**p**-đink-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**-ı-i-d-u?
 you OD-CM1.AN.SG-see-PRFV-VCMI.III.SG-INTER.
 ‘Did you see me?’ (animal speaking)
- 4.58 piše antrı çe-**b**i-šä-mä
 horse floor sit-CM1.AN.SG-PST-INDIC
 ‘The horse sat down on the floor’
- 4.59 **p**-xä đinä
 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 $b \rightarrow p$ before the voiceless consonant, in this case before q , of the verb stem.

- 4.60 Kur-**p**-đink-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 mä?älımir mıdar lađın **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 \emptyset .

- 4.62 kitab ustuli üstür çäf- \emptyset -qo-mä
 book table top laying- CM1.INAN.SG-IS-INDIC
 ‘The book is lying on the table’
- 4.63 kätši žämä?ätixer çe cular- \emptyset -mä
 inxinaliq people a lot tea drink- CM1.INAN.SG-INDIC
 ‘People in Xinaliq drink a lot of tea’
- 4.64 dädänziketışir ixer çe cular- \emptyset -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 \emptyset .

- 4.65 qurqordri mkiüstüllü täxirkitar- \emptyset -mä
 frog lake above jump-CM1.AN.PL-INDIC
 ‘Frogs jump above the lake’
- 4.66 qaz al buğrur taqoar- \emptyset -mä
 snake water near are- CM1.AN.PL-INDIC
 ‘Snakes are near the water’
- 4.67 cıxıbaalıği misi balığ qantar- \emptyset -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 \emptyset .

- 4.68 kätışir iüni vcır gül äcmişkitar- \emptyset -mä
 inxinalıq in june month flowers grow-CM1.INAN.PL-INDIC
 ‘Flowers grow in June in Xinalıq’
- 4.69 misi fikir sin-sin c̄xi fikir qoar- \emptyset -mä
 small ideas often big idea become- CM1.INAN.PL-INDIC
 ‘Small ideas often become big ideas’
- 4.70 inq här qä qaltıxqoar- \emptyset -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-şä-mä
 man man CM2.MASC.SG-kill-PST-INDIC
 ‘Yesterday a man killed a man’
- 4.72 y -ekqākū-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 duşman
 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 duşman
 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 lıgilde **z**-i-**z**-b-ir-dä-**z**-i-mä xınımķer
 tomorrow man **CM2.FEM.SG-kill-CM1.FEM.SG-kill-IMPERF-VCMI-**
CM2.FEM.SG-NEG-INDIC woman

‘Tomorrow a man will not kill a woman’

4.76 rişe **r**-aċin-i-šä-mä çwa
 girl **CM2.FEM.SG-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC** home
 ‘The girl stayed home’

4.77 räşe **r**-aċin-i-nätt-i-šä-mä çwa
 girl **CM2.FEM.SG-stay-PRFV-VCMI.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-ačīn-i-šā-mā čwa
horse CM2.AN.SG-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The horse stayed home’ (own will)

4.80 pši v-ačīn-i-d-i-šā-mā čwa
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 lıgilde v-i-b-d-i-mā čuval
yesterday man CM2.AN.SG-kill-VCMIII.SING-NEG-INDIC lamb
‘Yesterday a man did not kill a lamb’

4.82 xisansan lıgilde v-i-b-dā-v-i-mā čuval
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-ačīn-d-i-šā-mā
horse CM2.AN.SG-stay-VCMIII.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC
‘The horse did not stay’

4.84 pši v-ačīn-dā-dā-v-i-šā-mā
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-mā
it tall is-CM2.AN.SG-NEG-INDIC

‘It (horse) is not tall’

4.86 v-ekkäku-i!

CM2.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 qätmiqilantın islanmıšbiqi-šä-mä

men all day sweated-PST-INDIC

‘Men sweated all day’

4.90 gadadițuzaxanskirto-mä

boys yard play-INDIC

‘Boys are playing in the yard’

4.1.1.2.5 CM2.FEM.PL

4.91 xisansan lıgilde 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-uqoar-mä

my hair cleanliness CM2.INAN.SG-love-INDIC

‘My hair loves cleanliness’

4.1.1.2.7 CM2.AN.PL

- 4.93 pšor çwa y-etstsin-šã-mã
 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” *qi* 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-enži-**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-enži-**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 ʈoč-**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 \emptyset marking. It is common cross-linguistically for the absolutive case to have no overt marking, that is, to be marked by \emptyset . 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 $\text{çä-}\emptyset$ yavaš $\text{ql-i-}\text{qo-mä}$
 fire-NOM slowly go.out-PRF.ASP-PRF.II-INDIC
 ‘The fire is slowly going out’
- 4.106 $\text{gada-}\emptyset$ q-i-šä-mä
 boy.NOM die-PRFV-PST-INDIC
 ‘The boy died’
- 4.107 bu $\text{lägäld-}\emptyset$ latkär-mæ
 this man.NOM fall-INDIC
 ‘This man will fall’
- 4.108 xisansan $\text{lägäld-}\emptyset$ z-ib-šä-mä dušman
 yesterday man CM2.F.SG-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
 ‘Yesterday a man killed his enemy’ (of woman)
- 4.109 $\text{riš}\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$ 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 \emptyset “absolutive” markers of direct objects.

4.110 yā xın-ır ƙačın- \emptyset fatku-šă-mă
 I water-LOC stone-NOM threw-PST-INDIC
 ‘I threw a stone into the water’

4.111 dämirc-i ura- \emptyset antk-ır-qo-mă
 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 pɣr-i zı- \emptyset çuɣ-šă-mă
 dog-ERG me-NOM bit-PST-INDIC
 ‘The dog bit me’

4.113 pšor-i ink- \emptyset qandäto-mă
 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- \emptyset ink-i fatku-šă-mă

I.ERG ball-NOM foot-INST hit-PST-INDIC

‘I hit the ball with my foot’

4.115 kütç-i qaz-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 p̄x̄r-i qaz̄
dog-GEN.1 tail
‘The dog's tail’

4.117 gad-i çu
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 *mk-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 *inka* 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 /i/. In comparison with first genitive, second genitive has more functions and a higher frequency of usage.

4.122 gad-e çwa
 boy-GEN.2 house
 ‘The boy's house’

4.123 p̄xr-e yuva
 dog-GEN.2 kennel
 ‘The dog's kennel’

4.124 qar-i çwa
 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 b̄iy
 boy-GEN.2 father
 ‘The boy's father’

4.126 e csi ẁinimķir attidā-mā
 my-GEN.2 brother wife have-INDIC
 ‘My brother has a wife’

Part of a whole:

4.127 bādr-e kulp
 bucket-GEN.2 handle

‘The handle of a bucket’

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

Material of which an object is composed:

- 4.129 *ur-e* *toz*
 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 *mäſälim-u* *buto* *muxiž-mä*

- teacher-DAT everything know-INDIC
 ‘The teacher knows everything’
- 4.133 biy-u häne ši-Ø muxuqätt-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 hədm-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 liquvri 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 həyälirz-u pıra-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 kil-u kağaz-Ø šiçidä-mä

- I-ERG my friend-DAT letter-NOM write-INDIC
‘I wrote a letter to my friend’
- 4.142 yä puḡr-**u** inḡ lăḡ-ir-qo-mă
I dog-DAT bone give- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘I give a bone to the dog’
- 4.143 pšor-**u** ink tăḡă
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-šă-mă
he-ERG his friend- DAT hit-PST-INDIC
‘He hit his friend’
- 4.145 jir-i inḡerḡoy-**u** ḡyrmăthitar-mă
we-ERG elderly-DAT respect-INDIC
‘We respect the elderly’
- 4.146 by š-**u** insafıdu-mă
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 *-iškili* if the stem ends with a consonant, and by *-şkili* 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-**iškili** kw-et-mă

- 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 p̄r-**aškili** ankwi
to the dog- COM friendly
‘Don't be friendly with the dog!’
- 4.150 yä x̄nimq̄ir-**škili** çüqr-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 j̄aʕiz h̄admi k̄ulağ-**oškili** daʕvaku-šä-mä
ten people two- COM fighting-PST-INDIC
‘Ten people were fighting with (against) the two’
- 4.152 mid-**aškili** e h̄udžät aʕiž-i-mä
mountain- COM I argument have-NEG-INDIC
‘I don’t have arguments with (against) the mountain’
- 4.153 mid-**aškili** yä h̄udžät 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 p̄š-**äškili** yä mits q̄ün-ž-mä
bread-COM I butter ate-DEF.PST-INDIC

‘I ate butter with bread’

- 4.155 yā če qānd-**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 mka-**şkili** düz zaku-at-mä
 I riverside-COM straight walk.along-PRS.I-INDIC
 ‘I am walking along the riverside’

- 4.157 zı dıvar-**işkili** 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 \emptyset marker. This is only true of place names.

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

4.159 cya- **Ø**
 home-GEN.LOC
 ‘At home’

As compared to:

4.160 **ḡala-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 bādrā-**r** ḡu qo-mā
 bucket- GEN.LOC water is.PRF.II-INDIC
 ‘There is water in the bucket’

4.164 ant-**ir** mīkar qo-mā
 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-**ir** gra lašilki

horse-GEN.LOC.PL wolf appeared
 ‘A wolf has appeared among the horses’

- 4.166 nuḡurdır-**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 kalḡoz-**ir** ištämiškuar-mä
 you kolḡoz- 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-**ir**
 autumn-GEN.LOC
 ‘In autumn’

- 4.170 daḡva vaḡt-**ir**
 war time.duration-GEN.LOC
 ‘During the war’

- 4.171 säḡät 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 $-(V)\chi$ after a consonant and $-\chi$ after a vowel. It often has the meaning of “near,” “by.”

4.172 mīde tāp-äx kīza 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-äx hədmi toḡun-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 cuḡam-ıx zakud-mä
 I mill-OR.LOC go-INDIC
 ‘I will go to (near) the mill’

4.175 zı mīda-x 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-ıx kuival lazım-mä
 morning water-OR.LOC. go necessary-INDIC
 ‘It is necessary to go for water in the morning’

4.177 zı pš-ıx 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-ıx daşvakwi-ž-mä
 he freedom-OR.LOC fought-DEF.PST-INDIC

‘He fought for freedom’

Reason (cause):

- 4.179 inxerğozu haql-**ix** yir hirl Һirmätkitar-mä
 elderly idea-**OR.LOC** we always respect-INDIC
 ‘We always respect the elderly men’s ideas’

Exchange equivalent:

- 4.180 abuzerisa hilam qännäſiz manat-**ix** ceķui-šä-mä
 Abuzer donkey thirty manat-**OR.LOC.** sold-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘Abuzel sold the donkey for thirty manat’

- 4.181 va sä tšoa-**x** asır yä täķirži
 you this house-**OR.LOC** what me give
 ‘What will you give me for this house?’

- 4.182 zı p̄r-**aḡ** läķšir-et-mä
 I dog-**OR.LOC** look-PRS.I-INDIC
 ‘I am looking at the dog’

- 4.183 hini sä çua-**x** cıķ-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)š* after a consonant and *-š* after a stem ending with a vowel.

- 4.184 gada-**š**
 boy-**POS.LOC**
 ‘The boy has (it)’

- 4.185 i kuta-**š** kaçın at-mä

- my hand-POSS.LOC stone is-PRS.I-INDIC
‘There is a stone in my hand’
- 4.186 yā šā dādā-š kičeb lāḳu-šā-mā
I my mother-POSS.LOC. book give-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘I gave my mother a book’
- 4.187 hā azar hinā-š cīž-mā
this illness he-POSS.LOC has-INDIC
‘He has this illness’
- 4.188 va ḡoa riši-š ya lāḳuiži
you this girl-POS.LOC what give
‘What did you give to this girl?’
- 4.189 yā xīnibiri-š samavar lāḳu-šā-mā
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 hinā güldür-üš sa dāstā as tāḳā
these flower.bunch-POSS.LOC one flower me give
‘Give me one bouquet from these flowers’
- 4.191 xīm-iš sa ṭing tā
water-POS.LOC one drop give
‘Give me one drop of water’
- 4.192 hine inḳim-iš sa ḳan tāxḳā
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 *ķir-iš* *šalam* *ķä*
horse.leather-**POSS.LOC.** slippers make
‘Make the slippers from horse leather’

4.194 *dä* *vaz* *ur-aš* *qermišķ-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* *ᶑeri* *iᶑerž-mä*
streaming water-**POS.LOC** many benefits-INDIC
‘There are many benefits from running water’

4.196 *pᶑra-š* *psä* *bižianku-i*
dog**POS.LOC** bread ask-NEG.
‘Don’t ask the dog for bread’

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

4.198 *va* *sua* *ric-iš* *ya* *tendžquži*
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* *žäqᶑinkuar*
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 hinăș cāpilinqätt-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** kaçın alk-šä-mä
 roof-GEN.ABL rock fall-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘A stone fell off the roof’
- 4.204 xını-**lli** q̇uror qaltırku-šä-mä
 water- GEN.ABL frog jump-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘A frog jumped out of the water’
- 4.205 mid-**alli** arx 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 **qura-*lli*** **pxra-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** **qindir-*illi*** **atšukval** **cätiŋz-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-*illi*** **azallı-mä**
 my father autumn-**GEN.ABL** ill-INDIC
 ‘My father has been ill since autumn’

- 4.209 **säfat 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** **qala-*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*** **žımak-ir-qo-mä**

- these men music-GEN.ABL dance-IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
 ‘These men are dancing to the music’
- 4.214 hināš 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 tuvunkuidā-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 ḳıtır-**illi** yä itirku-šä-mä
 him nose-GEN.ABL I tapped-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘I tapped him on the nose’
- 4.217 dādi riši iža-**lli** paku-šä-mä
 mother daughter face-GEN.ABL kissed-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘The mother kissed daughter's face’
- 4.218 ḡua gadi I kokus-**ulli** latirku-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 čuv-**illi** kutša attidā-mä
 Sabiri named-GEN.ABL street is-INDIC
 ‘There is the street named Sabiri’
- 4.220 spartak čuv-**illi** kamanda
 Spartak named- GEN.ABL team
 ‘A team with the name of “Spartak”’
- 4.221 kättidi mič-**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 *-ixilli*, which is created by joining the orientational locative marking *-ix* 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-xilli lixi*
house-OR.ABL go
‘Go away from the house’

4.223 *hine pxra-xilli lixi*
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 cuşam-ixilli laṭaxid-mä*
I mill-OR.ABL walk-INDIC
‘I walked past the mill’

4.225 *zı inka-xilli havar aḫ-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-ixilli uzax toḫun-qo-mä*

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

4.227 *čuval mka-**xilli** uzaḡ 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-**aḡilli** 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 csi-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 daig-išilli žetsin-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 pɣr-ašilli inḵ ċuq-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 midaš-illi hec sa zārār 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 dā çwa kaçın-**išilli**-mä
 this house stone-**POS.ABL**-INDIC
 ‘This house is built of stone’
- 4.237 mīkar-**išilli** zāḳ kwar-mä
 wood-**POS.ABL** ash derived-INDIC
 ‘Ash is derived from wood’
- 4.238 qaḷmaḡi mast-**išilli** mic iḡer kwar-mä
 sour.cream matsoni-**POS.ABL** butter much is-INDIC
 ‘From yogurt there is usually a lot of butter’
- 4.239 dā ustul mīkar-**išilli**-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 zī sas-**išilli** ailmišqi-šä-mä
 I noise-**POS.ABL** wake up-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘I woke up because of the noise’
- 4.241 hini ḳiḱ-**ašilli** ḱarku-šä-mä
 he snake-**POS.ABL** scream-NTR.PST-INDIC
 ‘He screamed because of the snake’
- 4.242 ungum-**išilli** 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 xīn-**išilli** sa ṭing tä

- water-POS.ABL one drop give
 ‘Give me one drop of water’
- 4.244 vıts ır-**işilli** sin zı ƙalar zaƙoar-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 ƙäyäliryu pxtad-**işilli** inqƣ-qo-mä
 little children dog-POS.ABL afraid-PRF.II-INDIC
 ‘Little children are afraid of dogs’
- 4.246 dädi ƙäyäl-**işilli** iƣer cıƣ-şä-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 *-q* or *-qilli*. The question of which marker is chosen in which environment needs to be investigated further.

- 4.247 ure vaz mis vza-**qilli** ksandä-mä
 iron knife bronze knife- COMP better.is-INDIC
 ‘An iron knife is better than a bronze knife’
- 4.248 šire midad ksanžmä sure midad-**ıqilli**
 our mountains better your mountain-COMP
 ‘Our mountains are better than your mountains’
- 4.249 vac-**ıqilli** ys viƣäž-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	ḡinaliḡ	maskv- aḡilli	iḡer	uzax-ṡā-mā
	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:

- ɪ after back, unrounded vowels ɪ 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:

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

4.251	ṡi	‘son’
	ṡi-lir	‘son-s’
4.252	rɪṡi	‘sister’
	rɪṡi-lɪr	‘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 həyäl ‘child’
həyäl-ir ‘childr-en’

4.257 duşman ‘enemy’
duşman-ır ‘enemies’

4.258 halamxer ‘shepherd’
halamxer-ır ‘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-in ‘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	göl	‘flower’
	göl-dür	‘flower-s’
4.269	hayvan	‘animal’
	hayvan-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 *-urdur*, *-irdir*, *-urdur* or *ürdür*.

4.271	kunǰ	‘corner’
	kunǰ-urdur	‘corner-s’
4.272	qadah	‘milk container’ (pail)
	qadah-ırdır	‘milk container-s’ (pail-s)
4.273	qıy	‘brow’
	qıy-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	qam	‘spoon’	NOM.SG.
	qam-a-r		LOC.SG.
	qam-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	çu	‘name’	NOM.SG.
	çu-r		LOC.SG.
	çuv-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	m̄qa ‘field’		NOM.SG.
	m̄qa-r		NOM.SG.
	m̄qabır		NOM.PL.
4.285	m̄ka ‘river’		NOM.SG.
	m̄ka-r		NOM.SG.
	m̄kabır		NOM.PL.
4.286	nuqa ‘toilet’		NOM.SG.
	nuqa-r		NOM.SG.
	nuqabır		NOM.PL.
4.287	q̄a ‘day’		NOM.SG.
	q̄a-r		NOM.SG.
	q̄abır		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	hılam ‘donkey’		NOM.SG.
	hılam-am-i		ERG.SG.
	hılm-zır		NOM.PL.
4.289	q̄ab ‘bone’		NOM.SG.
	q̄am-i		ERG.SG.
	q̄am-zır		NOM.PL.
4.290	kitşeb ‘book’		NOM.SG.
	kitşe-m-i		ERG.SG.
	kitşem-zır		NOM.PL.
4.291	qıl ‘hand’		NOM.SG.
	qıl-am-i		ERG.SG.

qıl 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 pᵛra ‘dog’
Px-tad ‘dog-s’

4.295 qu ‘lamb’
qi-tšir ‘lamb-s’

4.296 çol ‘goat’
çı-tan ‘goat-s’

4.297 qiyä ‘guest’
qiyä-n ‘guest-s’

4.298 miqir ‘head’
miqı-z ‘head-s’

4.299 Xinimqir ‘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 həyvan anır latırbıği
 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 hədmi
 sick.ADJ man.NOUN
 ‘A sick man’
- 4.302 čixi kisan ailā
 big.ADJ beautiful.ADJ family.NOUN
 ‘A big, beautiful family’
- 4.303 Hundur khırıc. kona cwa
 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 ĩa mǎktǎb?

which.INTER. school.NOUN

‘Which school?’

In Example 4.307, a genitive is the modifier:

4.307 čuval-i mıt-ır

sheep-GEN dropping-PL.

‘Sheep droppings’

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

4.308 Hǎ bliška qonši tuvšǎmä

that.one.which dress neighbor bought

‘The dress which the neighbor bought’

4.309 ka-bı-ğı kıyanz-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-kišämä	Ø-ḫišämä	tu- Ø -vi	Ø-qi-d-mä	Ø-qišämä
FEM	SG	zi-kišämä	c-ḫišämä	tu- z -vi	zi-qi-dä-mä	zi-qišämä
AN	SG	bi-kišämä	p-ḫišämä	tu- Ø +vi	bi-qi-dä-mä	bi-qišämä
INAN	SG	Ø-kišämä	Ø-ḫišämä	tu- Ø -vi	Ø-qi-ž-mä	Ø-qišämä
M & F	PL	bi-kišämä	p-ḫišämä	tu- Ø +vi	b-qi-i-dur-mä	bi-qišämä
AN & INAN	PL	Ø-kišämä	Ø-ḫišämä	tu- Ø -vi	Ø-qi-žit-mä	Ø-qišämä

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 -i-r	enži- Ø -r
F	SG	s-a-r	r-i-yi-s-a-r	la- s -i-r	enži- s -i-r
AN.	SG	f-a-r	b-i-yi-f-a-r	la- f -i-r	enži- f -i-r
INAN.	SG	h-a-r	Ø-yi-h-a-r	la- Ø -r	enži- Ø -r
M & F	PL	f-a-r	b-i-yi-f-a-r	la- f -i-r	enži- f -i-r
AN & INAN	PL	h-a-r	Ø-yi-h-a-r	la- Ø -r	enži- 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__ *
Orientalional Locative	+x	all V + x -> Vx *	Ø → Vx / C__ *
Orientalional Ablative	+ xilli	all V + xilli -> Vxilli *	Ø → Vxilli / 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	kaçün
Ergative	Dädi	qonšuyi	kaçüni
Genitive 1	Dädi	qonšuyi	kaçüni
Genitive 2	Däde	qonšuyi	kaçüni
Dative	Dädu	qonšu	kaçünu
Comitative	Dädäškili	qonšuškili	kaçünüškili
General Locative			kaçünür
General Ablative			kaçünülli
Oriental locative	Dädäx	qonšux	kaçünux
Possessive Locative	Dädäš	qonšuš	kaçünüš
Oriental Ablative	Dädäxilli	qonšuxilli	kaçünuxilli
Possessive Ablative	Dädäšilli	qonšušilli	kaçünüšilli
Comparative 1	dädäq	qonšuq	kaçünüq
Comparative 2	dädäqilli	qonšuqilli	kaçünüqilli

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

Class AN and INAN	Mountains	Roads	Mice	Dogs
Nominative	mıdad	qurabır	nuqurdur	puxtad
Ergative	mıdadi	qurabri	nuqurduri	puxtadi
Genitive 1	mıdadi	qurabri	nuqurduri	puxtadi
Genitive 2	mıdadi	qurabri	nuqurduri	puxtadi
Dative	mıdadu	qurabru	nuqurduru	puxtadu
Comitative	mıdadişkili	qurabrişkili	nuqurduruşkili	puxtadişkili
Locative	mıdadır	qurabrır	nuqurdurur	puxtadur
Ablative	mıdadılli	qurabrılli	nuqurdurulli	puxtadılli
Orientalional Locative	mıdadır	qurabrıx	nuqurduruq	puxtadıx
Orientalional Ablative	mıdadıxilli	qurabrıxilli	nuqurduruqılli	puxtadıxılli
Possessive Locative	mıdadıř	qurabrıř	nuqurduruř	puxtadıř
Possessive Ablative	mıdadıřilli	qurabrıřilli	nuqurduruřilli	puxtadıřilli
Comparative 1	mıdadıq	qurabrıq	nuqurduruq	
Comparative 2	mıdadıqılli	qurabrıqılli	nuqurduruqılli	puxtadıqılli

Table 4.7 Class M and Class F Plural Declension

Class M and F	Mothers	Grandfathers
Nominative	Dādād	abad
Ergative	Dādādi	abadi
Genitive 1	Dādādi	abadi
Genitive 2	Dādādi	abadi
Dative	Dādādu	abadu
Comitative	Dādādiškili	abadiškili
Ablative	Dādādilli	abadilli
Orientational Locative	Dādādiḡ	abadıḡ
Orientational Ablative	Dādādiḡilli	abadıḡilli
Possessive Locative	Dādādiš	abadiš
Possessive Ablative	Dādādišilli	abadišilli
Comparative 2	dādādiḡilli	Abadilli

Table 4.8 Irregular Class M and Class F Plural Declension

Class M and F	sheep herder (male)	neighbor (female)
Nominative	Halamxerir	gonšin
Ergative	Halamxerinzi	gonšinzi
Genitive 1	Halamxerinzi	gonšunzi
Genitive 2	Halamxerinzi	gonšunzi
Dative	halamxerinu zu	gonšudu
Comitative	Halamxerinziškili	gonšinziškili
Locative		gonšiniž
Ablative		gonšudurullu
Orientalional Locative		gonšuduş
Orientalional Ablative		gonšinzişilli
Possessive Locative	Halamxerinziş	gonšuduş
Possessive Ablative	Halamxerinzişilli	gonšinzişilli
Comparative 1	halamxeriniq	gonšinziq
Comparative 2	halamxeriniqilli	gonšinziqilli

Table 4.9 Xinaliq Plurality Paradigm

	Classes M and F	Classes AN and INAN
-l(v)r	after i i u ú 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/i)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 hədmi
 deaf man
 ‘A deaf man’
- 5.2 xırıç lık
 white meat
 ‘The white meat’
- 5.3 inkār pşı
 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 kıjā kağudžāmā
 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 kıjā kağudžāmā

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** iḡer 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 varlı-**ḡiṣ** va ja çiriži
 rich-POSS.LOC.VCM.I.SG you what say
 ‘What will you say to the rich one?’

- 5.9 jä varlı-**iḡziṣ** sa riši eikiridämä
 I rich-POSS.LOC.VCM.I.PL one daughter will.marry
 ‘I will marry the rich one’s daughter’

- 5.10 varlı-**ḡoziṣilli** pıl tentşqäkwi
 rich.ones-POSS.ABL.VCM.I.PL money don’t.take
 ‘Don’t take money from the rich ones’

- 5.11 varlı-**iḡ** zı ksanmä
 rich.one -COMP.VCM.I.SG me better
 ‘I am better than the rich one’

- 5.12 varlı-**iḡoziḡ** zı ksanmä
 rich.ones-COMP.VCM.I.PL me better
 ‘I am better than the rich ones’

- 5.13 varlı-**iḡilli** kaşib ksanmä
 rich-ABL.VCM.I.SG poor better
 ‘The poor one is better than the rich one’

- 5.14 oti džähil-**ḡozıilli** sa gada talamä
 from young.ones-OR.ABL.I.PL one guy coming
 ‘From those young ones one guy is coming’

- 5.15 varl-**iğoži** çwa həjardəžmä
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-ži	VCM.INAN.SG.
xırıç-dur	VCM.M.PL. & VCM.F.PL.
xırıç-žit	VCM.ANIM.PL. & VCM.INAN. PL.

Table 5.2 Conjugated Examples of the Substantivized Adjective *kok* “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- ġ-i	kok- ġw-i	kok-s-i	koksi	kokġozi	koksedri
Genitive 1	kok- ġ-i	kok- ġwi	kok-si	koksi	kokġozi	koksedri
Genitive 2	kok- ġ-e	kok- ġwe	kokse	kokse	kokġozi	koksedri
Dative	kok- ġ-u	kok- ġu	kok- su	kok- su	kokġozu	koksedru
Comitative	kok- ġoškili	kok- ġäškili	kok-säškili	kok-säškili	kokġoziškili	koksedriškili
Orientalional Locative	kok- ġoḡ	kokġäḡ	koksäḡ	koksäḡ	kokġoziḡ	koksedriḡ
Orientalional Ablative	kok- ġoḡilli	kokġäḡilli	koksäḡilli	koksäḡilli	kokġoziḡilli	koksedriḡilli
Possessi ve Locative	kok- ġoš	kokġäš	koksäš	kokseš	kokġoziš	koksedriš
Possessive Ablative	kok- ġošilli	kokġäšilli	koksäšilli	koksäšilli	kokġozišilli	koksedrišilli
Comparative 1	kok- ġoċ	kokġäċ	koksäċ	koksäċ	kokġoziċ	koksedriċ
Comparative 2	kok- ġoċilli	kokġäċilli	koksäċilli	koksäċilli	kokġoziċilli	koksedriċilli

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^hu-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 otudā
‘She who is far and at about the same level’
- 6.5 otuži

‘It that is far and at the same level’

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

- 6.6 hini sa māṅni liḳuviyā tudām baštamišku-šā-mā
 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 šā pši
 ‘Our horse’

Used when the horse belongs to the speaker's family and the listener is not a family member.

- 6.8 kā 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 *ķire 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 biy istal vzi tuššämä*

my big finger knife cut

‘My big finger is cut by a knife’

6.12 *e qonši čxi 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” *klaqi*, “something” *yaqi* 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 *heč* is used, which could mean any of the following: “absolutely not,” “never,” or “none.” When attached to the interrogative pronoun *ta*, forming *hečta*, it means “none,” “not any.” When attached to the interrogative pronoun *kla*, forming *hečkla*, it means “no one,” “not any of the ones.” When attached to the interrogative pronoun *ya*, forming *hečä*, 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	zi	Vi	Zur	yir	kin
Ergative	yä	va	Zur	yir	kin
1st Genitive	i	Vi	Suri	širi	kiri
2nd Genitive	e	ve	Sure	šire	kire
Dative	as/asır	oᵽ/oᵽır/oᵽur/uᵽur	Suru	širu	kiru
Comitative	iškili	viškili	suräškili	širäškili	kiräškili
Orientalional Locative	iᵽ	vix	Suräᵽ	širäᵽ	kiräᵽ
Orientalional Ablative	iᵽilli	viᵽilli	Suräᵽilli	širäᵽilli	kiräᵽilli
Possessive Locative	iš	viš	Suräš	širäš	kiräš
Possessive Ablative	išilli	višilli	Suräšilli	širäšilli	kiräšilli
Comparative 1	iᵽ	viᵽ	Suräᵽ	širäᵽ	kiräᵽ
Comparative 2	iᵽilli	viᵽilli	suräᵽilli	širäᵽilli	kiräᵽilli

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

	SINGULAR				PLURAL
	I	II	III	IV	I-II
<i>du</i> ‘this’					
<i>Direct form</i>	du	Dä	dä	ḡi	dur
<i>Oblique form</i>	ḡo/ ḡä	ḡo/ ḡä	sä	sä	ḡoz
<i>hu</i> ‘that’					
<i>Direct form</i>	hu	Hä	hä	hä	hozi
<i>Oblique form</i>	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	ži	dur	žit
Erg/Gen -1	ği	Ğwi	si	si	ğoz-i	sedr-i
Gen-2	ğe	Ğwe	se			
Dative	ğu	Ğu	su	su	ğoz-u	sedr-u
Comitative	ğoškili	Ğäškili	säškili	säškili	ğoz-i-škili	sedr-i-škili
Locative	ğor	Ğär	sär	sär	ğoz-i-r	sedr-i-r
Ablative	ğolli	Ğälli	sälli	sälli	ğoz-i-lli	sedr-i-lli
Orientalional Locative	ğox	Ğäx	säx	säx	ğoz-i-x	sedr-i-x
Orientalional Ablative	ğoxilli	Ğäxilli	säxilli	säxilli	ğoz-i-xilli	sedr-i-xilli
Possessive Locative	ğoš	Ğäš	säš	säš	ğoz-i-š	sedr-i-š
Possessive Ablative	ğošilli	Ğäšilli	säšilli	säšilli	ğoz-i-šilli	sedr-i-šilli
Comparative 1	ğoq	Ğäq	säq	säq	ğoz-i-q	sedr-i-q
Comparative2	ğoqilli	Ğäqilli	säqilli	säqilli	ğoz-i-qilli	sedr-i-qilli

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
Orientalional Locative	hinä-ḡ	hinä-ḡ	hunä-ḡ		hoz-i-ḡ	hin-edr-i-ḡ
Orientalional Ablative	hinä-ḡilli	hinä-ḡilli	hunä-ḡilli		hoz-i-ḡilli	hin-edr-i-ḡilli
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-ḡ	hinä-ḡ	hunä-ḡ		hoz-i-ḡ	hin-edr-i-ḡ
Comparative2	hinä-ḡilli	hinä-ḡilli	hunä-ḡilli		hoz-i-ḡilli	hin-edr-i-ḡilli

Table 6.6 Possessive Pronouns

	INALIENABLE (GEN 1)	ALIENABLE (GEN 2)	KINSHIP
‘my’	I	E	
‘your’	vi	Ve	
‘his’ ‘her’ ‘its’ NEAR	ǵi (CM.MASC) ǵwi (CM.FEM)	ǵe (CM.MASC) ǵwe (CM.FEM)	
‘his’ ‘her’ ‘its’ FAR	hin (CM.MASC) huni (CM.FEM)	hine (CM.MASC) hune (CM.FEM)	
‘our’ EXCL	širi	širè	šă
‘our’ INCL	k ^h iri	k ^h ire	k ^h ă
‘your’	Suri	Sure	so
‘their’ NEAR	ǵozi	ǵozi	ǵotur
‘their’ FAR	hozi	Hози	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	kšāškili	čināškili
Locative *		
Ablative		činilli
Orientalional Locative	kšāx	čināx
Orientalional Ablative	kšāxilli	čināxilli
Possessive Locative	kšāš	čināš
Possessive Ablative	kšāšilli	čināšilli
Comparative 1	kšāq	čināq
Comparative 2	kšāqilli	čināqilli

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

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

Table 6.8 Independent Indefinite Pronouns *klaqi* and *yaqi*

	Singular/Plural 'someone'	Singular/Plural 'something'
Cases	Class I (MASC) Class II (FEM)	Class III (ANIM) Class IV (INAN)
Nominative	klaqi	yaqi
Ergative	kšiqi	čināqi
Genitive 1	kšiqi	čināqi
Genitive 2	kšeqi	čineqi
Dative	kšuqi	činuqi
Comitative	kšāškiliqi	čināškiliqi
Locative *		čināqi
Ablative		činālliqi
Orientalional Locative	kšāxiqi	čināxiqi
Orientalional Ablative	kšāxilliqi	čināxilliqi
Possessive Locative	kšāšiqi	čināšiqi
Possessive Ablative	kšāšilliqi	čināšilliqi
Comparative 1	kšāqiqi	čināqiqi
Comparative 2	kšāqilliqi	čināqilliqi

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	sadā	Saži	sātkādur	sātkāžit
Ergative	čināḡwi	čināḡwi	Čināsi	sātkāḡozi	sātkāsādri
Genitive 1	čināḡwi	čināḡwi	Čināsi	sātkāḡozi	sātkāsādri
Genitive 2	čināḡwe	čināḡwe	Čināse	sātkāḡozi	sātkāsādri
Dative	čināḡu	čināḡu	Čināsu	sātkāḡozu	sātkāsādru
Comitative	čināḡoškili	čināḡāškili	Čināsāškili	sātkāḡoziškili	sātkāsādriškili
Orientational Locative	čināḡoḡ	čināḡāḡ	Čināsāḡ	sātkāḡoziḡ	sātkāsādriḡ
Orientational Ablative	čināḡoḡilli	čināḡāḡilli	Čināsāḡilli	sātkāḡoziḡilli	sātkāsādriḡilli
Possessive Locative	čināḡoš	čināḡāš	Čināsāš	sātkāḡoziš	sātkāsādriš
Possessive Ablative	čināḡošilli	čināḡāšilli	Čināsāšilli	sātkāḡozišilli	sātkāsādrišilli
Comparative 1	čināḡoḡ	čināḡāḡ	čināsāḡ	sātkāḡoziḡ	sātkāsādriḡ
Comparative 2	čināḡoḡilli	čināḡāḡilli	čināsāḡilli	sātkāḡoziḡilli	sātkāsādriḡilli

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	
Orientalional Locative	härkšä-ḡ	härkšä-ḡ	härčinä-ḡ	
Orientalional Ablative	härkšä-ḡilli	härkšä-ḡilli	härčinä-ḡilli	
Possessive Locative	härkšä-š	härkšä-š	härčinä-š	
Possessive Ablative	härkšä-šilli	härkšä-šilli	härčinä-šilli	
Comparative 1	härkšä-ḡ	härkšä-ḡ	härčinä-ḡ	
Comparative 2	härkšä-ḡilli	härkšä-ḡilli	härčinä-ḡilli	

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	Härzi	härdur	härzit
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	härğozışkili	härsädriškili
Orientational Locative	härğoı	härğäı	Härsäı	härğozıı	härsädriı
Orientational Ablative	härğoıilli	härğäıilli	Härsäıilli	härğozııilli	härsädriıilli
Possessive Locative	härğoš	härğäš	Harass	härğozış	härsädriš
Possessive Ablative	härğošilli	härğäšilli	Härsäšilli	härğozışilli	härsädrišilli
Comparative 1	härğoıı	härğäıı	härsäıı	härğozııı	härsädriıı
Comparative 2	härğoııilli	härğäııilli	härsäııilli	härğozıııilli	härsädriııilli

Table 6.12 Dependent Negative Quantifiers

	<i>hečkla</i>		<i>hečä</i>	
	‘nobody’/‘nothing’		‘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-ḡ	härkšä-ḡ	hečinä-ḡ	
Orientational Ablative	härkšä-ḡilli	härkšä-ḡilli	hečinä-ḡilli	
Possessive Locative	härkšä-š	härkšä-š	hečinä-š	
Possessive Ablative	härkšä-šilli	härkšä-šilli	hečinä-šilli	
Comparative 1	härkšä-ḡ	härkšä-ḡ	hečinä-ḡ	
Comparative 2	härkšä-ḡilli	härkšä-ḡilli	hečinä-ḡilli	

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	hečsätkägozi	hečsätkäsädiri
Genitive 1	hečinäğwi	hečinäğwi II hečsi III	Hečsi	hečsätkägozi	hečsätkäsädiri
Genitive 2	hečinäğwe	hečinäğwi II hečse III	Hečse	hečsätkägozi	hečsätkäsädiri
Dative	hečinäğu	hečinäğwi II hečsu III	Hečsu	hečsätkägozu	hečsätkäsädru
Comitative	hečinäškili	hečinäğwi II hečškili III	Hečškili	hečsätkäškili	hečsätkäsäškili
Orientalional Locative	hečinäğox	hečinäğwi II hečsäx III	Hečsäx	hečsätkäzıx	hečsätkäsädrix
Orientalional Ablative	hečinäğoxilli	hečinäğwi II hečsäxilli III	Hečsäxilli	hečsätkäxilli	hečsätkäsäxilli
Possessive Locative	hečinäğoš	hečinäğwi II hečsäš III	Hečsäš	hečsätkäziš	hečsätkäsädriš
Possessive Ablative	hečinäğošilli	hečinäğwi II hečsäšilli III	Hečsäšilli	hečsätkäzišilli	hečsätkäsäšilli
Comparative 1	hečinäğoq	hečinäğwi II hečsäq III	hečsäq	hečsätkäziq	hečsätkäsäq
Comparative 2	hečinäğoqilli	hečinäğwi II hečsäqilli III	hečsäqilli	hečsätkäziqilli	hečsätkäsäqilli

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’

q̄i – ‘to be’

xi* – ‘to go’

ki – ‘to burn’

cuvi – ‘to drink’

* xi often gets realized as ġi 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 taḡır-kwi

jump-to.do

‘to jump’

7.2 uvuldamišbi-qi

howl-to.be

‘to howl’

7.3 latḡa-ḡi

away-go

‘to go away’

7.4 enži-kwi

down-to.do

‘to bring down’

7.5 enži-ḡi

down-to.go

‘to come down’

7.6 čḡi-qi

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-ķi

‘to speak’

7.8 ni-ši

‘to put on’

7.9 yä-γi

‘to dig’

7.10 češxini

‘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-ǰwi

LOC.M-CM1.M.SG-fall.AOR

‘He fell down’

7.13 lat-Ø-ǰwi

LOC.M-CM1.INAN.SG-fall.AOR

‘It fell down’

7.14 lat-zi-ǰwi

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* / - *iri* (-*i*) after front vowels, (-*i*) after back vowels for imperfective

kwi vs. kiri * (‘to finish’ vs. ‘to do’)

läxwi vs. läx-iri * (‘to carried’ vs. ‘to carry’)

lık-i vs. lık-iri (‘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., *i*, *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 *läxwi* ‘carry’

7.16. *läx-iri* ‘to carry’ (imperfective)

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

7.17 *toxun-dä* ‘to die’ (imperfective)

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

7.18 *ķ-izi* ‘to burn’ (imperfective)

- 7.19 *č-ili* ‘sowing (seed)’ (imperfective)
 7.20 *x-i* ‘go’ (perfective) vs. *kwi* ‘go’ (imperfective)
 7.21 *qi* ‘become’ (perfective) vs. *kwi* ‘become’ (imperfective)
 7.22 *zaği* ‘see’ (perfective) vs. *daği* ‘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 \emptyset 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 \emptyset (present, which also includes future) and $\check{s}\check{a}$ (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 \emptyset or $\check{s}\check{a}$. As can be seen from Table 7.9, three of them have a nonpast \emptyset marker, while one has past marker $\check{s}\check{a}$.

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 \emptyset 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 \emptyset 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= $-\emptyset$

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 ävāl yā hä xl-i-Ø hana qandāžmä
first I this boil-IMPF.ASP-SMP.PRS. then eat
'First I boil it, then I eat it'
- 7.25 ätčmiškirval iḡer zı inžitmišku-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 žigär yecini-Ø zı taltḡaḡ-i-Ø
he his house stay-AOR. I come-PRF.ASP-AOR.
'He stayed at his house, I came'
- 7.28 yä kaçın 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 oḡur dä pıl hana latıq-ir-Ø-mä*
 I this later money you give-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I-INDIC.
 ‘I shall give you that money later’

7.30 *çinä qä totux 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 oḡur läxp-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 *pogoçu 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 räḡimi säfirdir dyzk-ir-Ø-mä*
 I Ragim mistakes correct-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I-INDIC.
 ‘I will correct Ragim’s mistakes’

7.34 *yä sa kıniğ därezhır istrafatk-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 ku säyät sup x-i-šä-mä
 he two hours soup boil-PRF.ASP-PST-INDIC
 ‘He was boiling the soup for two hours’

7.36 inqer šinimqiri därtli mäyāni liquv-šä-mä
 old lady sad song sing-PST-INDIC
 ‘The old lady was singing a sad song’

7.37 hini iḡer çark-u-šä-mä yä hinäḡ topçaḡunät-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 borž läḡ-u-šä-mä
 I him bread lend give-PRF.ASP-PST-INDIC
 ‘I lent him some bread’

7.39 zı baylağğoḡ daḡ 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 q-u-šä-mä
 chair leg break-PRF.ASP-PST-INDIC

‘A chair’s leg broke off’

- 7.41 pxtadi zı çux-šă-mă
 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 miqilga hozi daşva loxun-šă-mă
 evening their fighting end-PST-INDIC
 ‘In the evening their fighting ended’

- 7.43 yir mıdar apıxsın hinel qaz zabığ-šă-mă
 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 morphology (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 yā 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 mič 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 tupor inke 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 miķir çitku-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 iḫer çıkızmä säşälätir sacaḫq-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 daḫ-daḫ katkwisäš çurç-at-mä
 I fast-fast walked tired-PRF.I-INDIC
 ‘Because I walked really fast, I am tired’

- 7.50 i çuloz xarabq-**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 aḥmädi nadır-şkili dalıgk-ir-**a**-şä-mä
 Ahmed Nadir-with work-IMP.F.ASP-**IMP.F.I**-PST-INDIC
 ‘Ahmed was working with Nadir’

- 7.52 hini lağın pşor ḥysabk-ir-**a**-şä-mä
 he yesterday horses count-IMP.F.ASP-**IMP.F.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 lağın kağısın hini sup xl-**a**-şä-mä
 I yesterday came he soup boil-**IMP.F.I**-PST-INDIC
 ‘When I came yesterday, he was boiling (making) soup’

- 7.54 jir xisili alkorun çula gäş-r-**a**-şä-mä
 we vislan came rain pour-IMP.F.ASP-**IMP.F.I**-PST-INDIC
 ‘When we came from Vislan, it was raining’

- 7.55 zı kakorın hu kl-**a**-şä-mä
 I walked.in he die-**IMP.F.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 iş lişämäki hini çalk-ir-**a**-şä-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 qä kl-**a**-šä-mä hana ksanqışämä
 he last.year die-**IMPF.I**-PST-INDIC but got.better
 ‘He was dying last year, but got better’

7.58 doxtur ksan ätšuv-r-**a**-šä-mä ama hu jaḫatišämä
 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 toḫun-**a**-šä-mä
 I you between stand-**PLPRF.I**-PST-INDIC
 ‘I was standing between you’

7.60 hini lağın çä yib-**a**-šämä hanımzağı cwa qaranığqışämä
 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 miçä unḫ qula gäširsäqilli 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 liqıv-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 tıpu kl-ar-i-mä*
 he ear hear.not-**PRS.HAB**-NEG-INDIC
 ‘His ear is not hearing’

7.64 *häki kire žämäſät ksan yaſamıſku-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 tal izäkorun dayva k-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 daḡ qız-ar-mä*
 sun.in dirt fast dries-**PRS.HAB**-INDIC
 ‘In the sun, dirt dries fast’

7.67 *ıkaqandä inqer lıgılır macıgır 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 *h̄ayāl* *vaxt* *hu* *daḡ-daḡ* *ḡisilli* *alk-tar-šā-mā*
 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-šā-mā*
 he well football play-IMP.F.ASP-PST.**HAB**-PST-INDIC
 ‘He played football well’

7.70 *yā* *qabaḡır* *e* *qonşıš* *daḡ-daḡ* *pši* *lāk-i-tar-šā-mā*
 I before my neighbor often horse lend-IMP.F.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 yā paga qāt miqil anṭın rıç-ır-**ž**-mä
 I tomorrow all.day night till laundry-IMP.F.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
 ‘I will be doing laundry all day (till evening) tomorrow’

7.72 hini futbol ansk-ır-**ž**-mä
 he football play-IMP.F.ASP-VCM.FUT.II -INDIC
 ‘He will play football’

7.73 yā žuğab läkuqığili yā k-iri-**ž**-mä
 I word gave I do-IMP.F.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
 ‘If I gave my word, I will do it’

7.74 kin avgustır lanṭını dalıgk-iri-**ž**-mä
 we august will work-IMP.F.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 ağār qandäži hāzırqıqāšin yā viḫ sask-ır-**ž**-šä-mä
 if food ready I you call-IMP.F.ASP-VCM.IRR-PST-INDIC
 ‘If food had been ready, I would have called you’

7.76 va lindäqāšin i qırqindä-**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 qula gäššämä
 we volleyball play-IMP.F.ASP-VCM.IRR-PST-INDIC but rain came
 ‘We were going to play volleyball, but it rained’

7.78 jä çık-ir-**ž**-šä-mä amma v1 atizağili jä çıkatišämä
 I say-IMP.F.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 ziki-**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 həyäl vaxt z1 bıyışkili mıkıxı-**d**-mä
 childhood time I father listen-VCM.DEF.PST.-INDIC.
 ‘During my childhood I listened to my father’

7.82 hu kıcıqan yaş yaşamişqi-**du**-mä
 he sixty years live-VCM.DEF.PST.-INDIC.

‘He lived sixty years’

- 7.83 hākīm i hā qurqin-**ž**-i-mā
 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 iḡer 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 bombardmanışili berlinir iḡer çıtabır dağılmışq-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 ḡäyäl vaḡt hu gisilli alkıyā pača qwidä-**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 qä sa hadisä q-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 tagađi yā ođur ıkıısını vı bařtaziđi-**dä**-řä-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 r̄nde t̄ap̄āx̄ yanaš̄i k̄ıza erp-ir-**o**-m̄a
 mountain top next snow thaw-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘Next to the top of the mountain snow is thawing’
- 7.90 t̄ıng-t̄ıng ɟula ḡāš-ir-**to**-m̄a
 rain unusual rain-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘It is raining unusually’
- 7.91 halamx̄eri halam enž̄ik-ir-**qo**-m̄a
 shepherd sheep bring.down-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘The shepherd is bringing down the sheep’
- 7.92 m̄ıde dibili sa h̄ādmi atx̄aku-i-**qo**-m̄a
 mountain below one man walking-IMP.F.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 m̄ıq̄ımi ɟanıɟ ɟuvzabi hini miɟir iɟer ɟıtku-i-**qo**-m̄a
 sun because sit he head very hurt-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘Because he sat in the sun, his head hurts a lot’
- 7.94 h̄āyāl hotur d̄ādāš ɟāvi t̄ān-i-**qo**-m̄a
 child for mother very.much cry-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘The child is crying very much for his mother’
- 7.95 k̄ıza erp-ir-**qo**-m̄a
 snow thaw-IMP.F.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-IMP.F.ASP-**PRS.II**-INDIC
 ‘The cat is meowing’

7.97 kulak uvuldamišku-i-**qo**-mä
 wind howl-IMP.F.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 addressee implied)

to - addressee is same level as the speaker

7.98 tuzar mısır xəçulq-u-**to**-mä
 line yard hang-PRF.ASP-**PRF.II**-INDIC
 ‘In the yard the line was hung’

7.99 halam mıdar çığ-**qo**-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 daşvar hini kılsım 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 uraş qermişku-**qo**-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 pıri ağyır sa çxi inç çuxujä qandä-**qo**-şä-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 vāxiržigä laçkorun şämşir yä şärfi hohozi ižabır vāx-ir-**qo**-şä-mä

yesterday I go barber.shop where Şemshir and Sheref their faces shave-**IMPF.ASP-IMPF.II**-PST-INDIC

‘Yesterday when I went to the barber shop, Şemshir 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 addressee 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 çwa laxsın hu çwa toyišämä čuqi kãtkwi x-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 ähmäd qalar 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 \emptyset 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 anşırval oḡ daḡ-et-u*
 I play you see-PRES.I-INTER.
 'Do you see (that) I am playing?'
- 7.107 *ḡi-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 ƙalali taga qaltırbž-ir-du
 he Quba when come.back-IMPERF.ASP-VCM.M.SG
 ‘When does he come back from Quba?’

7.109 ɕwa 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-**qı** yä vı ɕolli latırqirmä
 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-**qı** alku-d-i-**qı** 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 ɕula gäš-ät-**qı** ʔazaqı
 night rain came-PRS.I-COND probably
 ‘At night it probably rained’

7.5.5.2.3 Unexpected Mood

This mood is marked with *-qimis̃-*. It denotes an event or action not previously known to the speaker, as in:

- 7.113 as muxwi-ž-i-mä hä hasım xäkin-tar-**qimiš**
 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 häyälu bälkä 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 pežram 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 Xinalıq. 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 *tık*

to raise

‘To raise’

7.119 *tık-a*

raise-IMP.SG.

‘Raise!’

7.120 *tık-a-lun*

raise-IMP.-IMP.PL.

‘Raise!’ (to a group)

A small number of verbs take the marker -*il/il* for singular and -*in/in* for plurals.

7.121 *alk-ıl*

fall-IMP.SG.

‘Fall!’

7.122 *alk-ıl-in*

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 *toḫuni-∅*

to stand-AOR.

‘To stand’

7.124 *toḫun-∅*

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 mıkı çağız tākā i kala anšpxi-**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 ıngıbir tāmisk-**ä**

water drops clean-IMP.SG

‘Clean the drops of water’

7.127 žabkă-**lus** daŋv-**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 žetmäki xınimkiri pšä vaḡ qiz-**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 mašin ḥälil năšk-ä-si*
 Xalil this car today drive-IMP-PROH
 ‘Today Xalil should not drive this car’

7.133 *talamışarki 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
---	----	-----	----	---	----

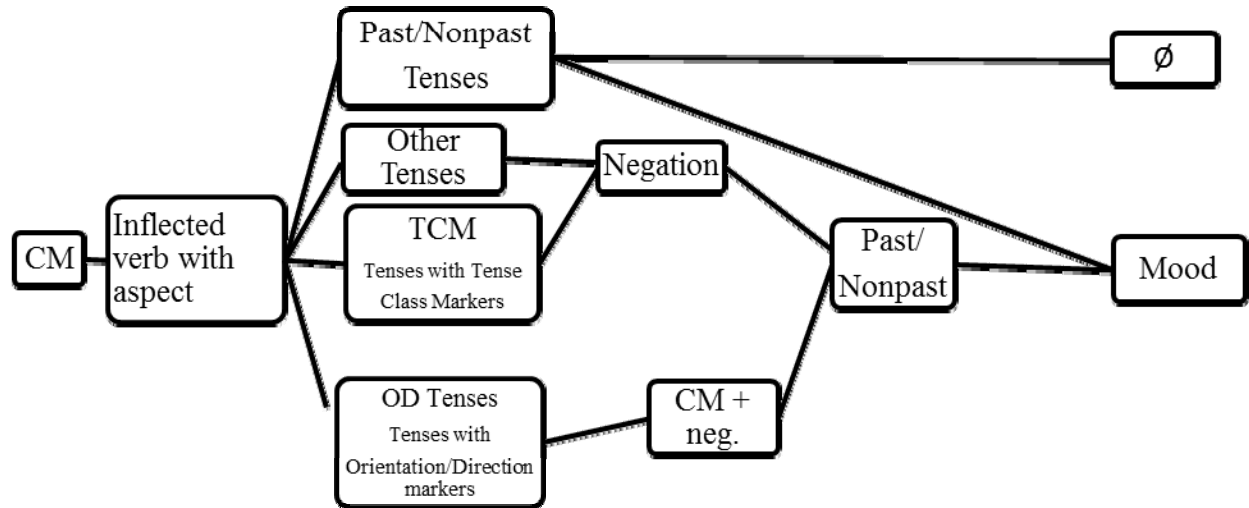


Figure 7.1 Morphological Structure of the Xinaliq Verb

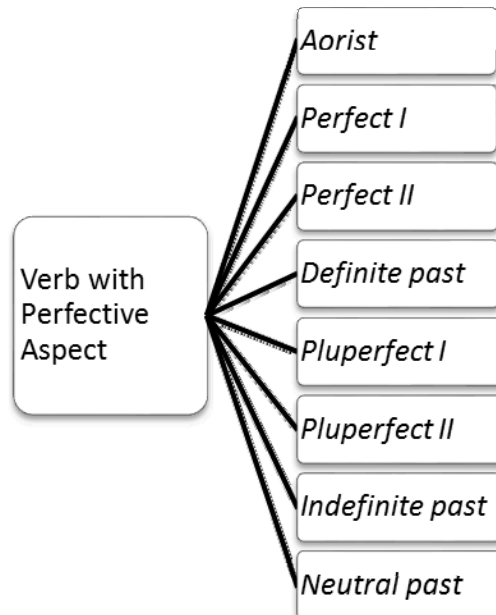


Figure 7.2 Perfective Aspect Tenses

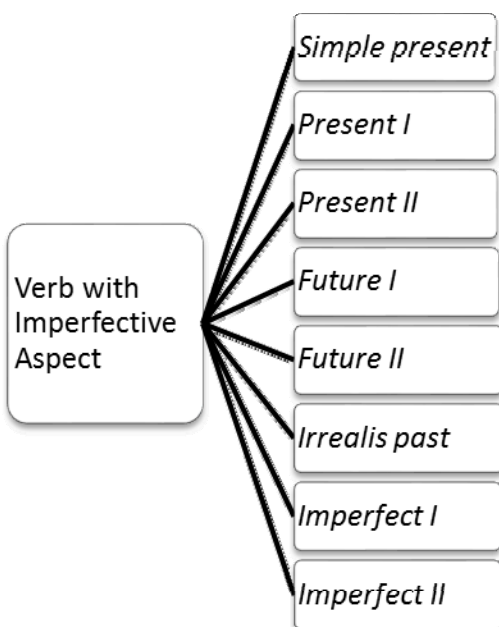


Figure 7.3 Imperfective Aspect Tenses

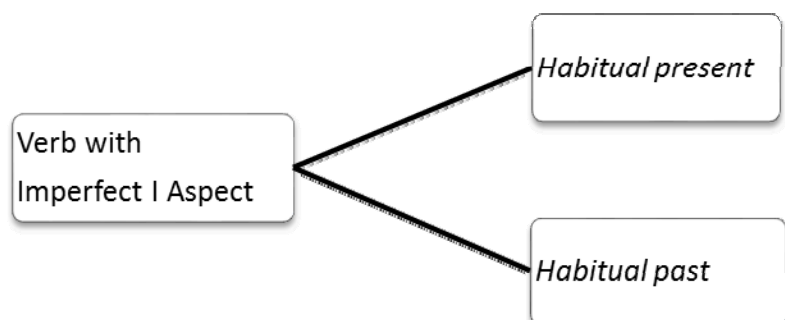


Figure 7.4 Imperfective I Aspect Tenses



Figure 7.5 Past/Nonpast Indicators

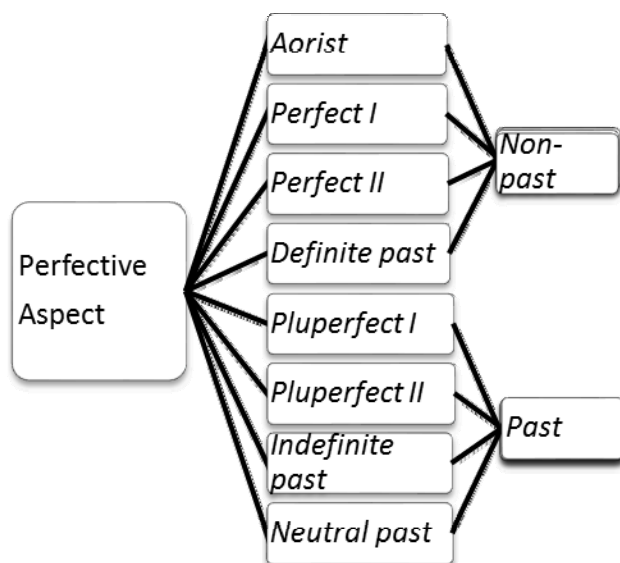


Figure 7.6 Past/Nonpast Perfective Aspect Tenses

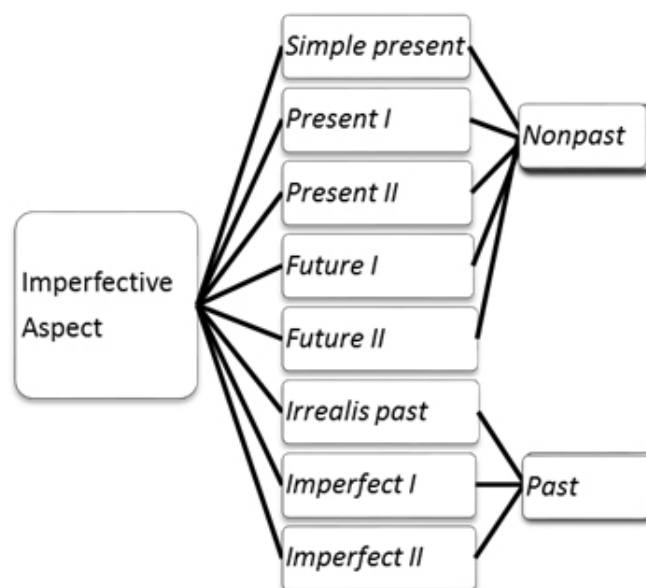


Figure 7.7 Past/Nonpast Imperfective Aspect Tenses

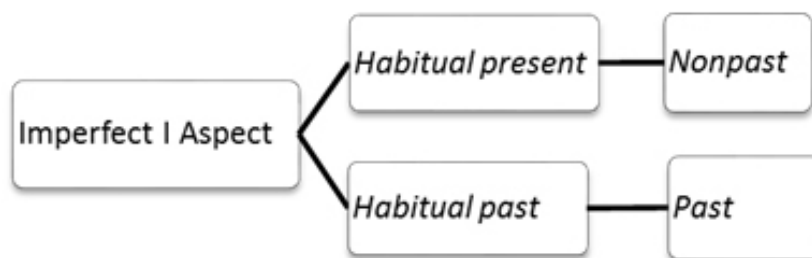


Figure 7.8 Past/Nonpast Imperfective I Aspect Tenses

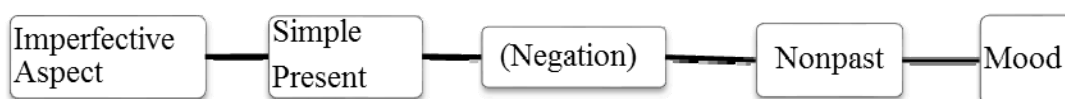


Figure 7.9 Simple Present Tense Composition

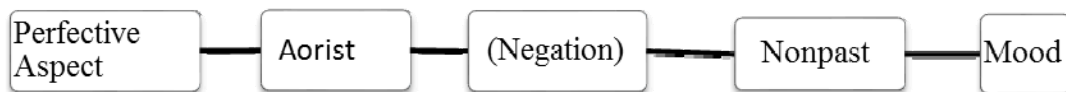


Figure 7.10 Aorist Tense Composition

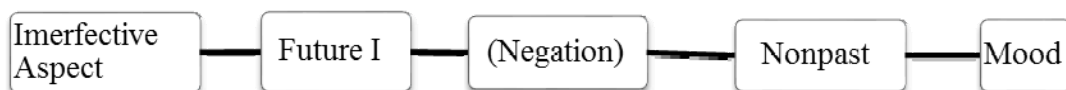


Figure 7.11 Future I Tense Composition

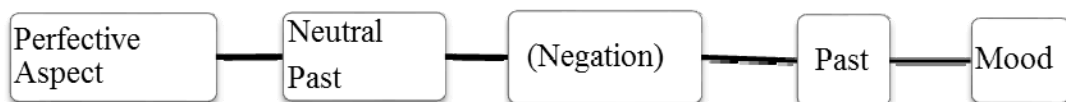


Figure 7.12 Simple Present Tense Composition



Figure 7.13 General Tense Location

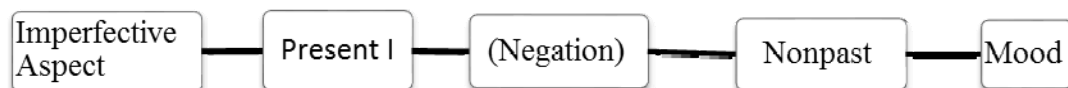


Figure 7.14 Present I Tense Composition

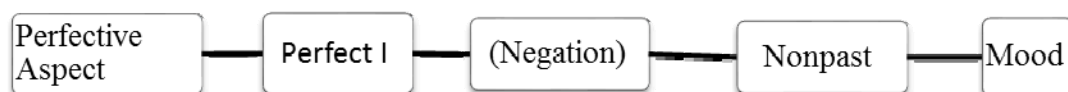


Figure 7.15 Perfect I Tense Composition

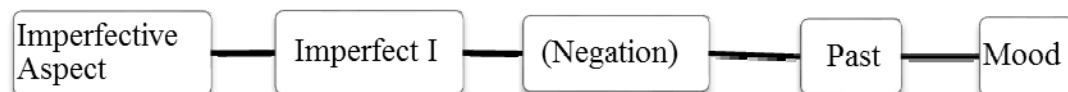


Figure 7.16 Imperfect I Tense Composition

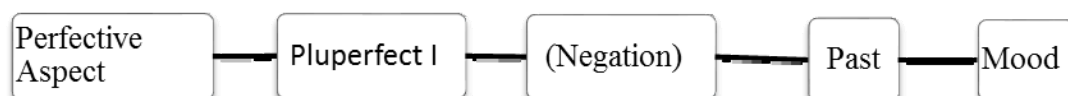


Figure 7.17 Pluperfect I Tense Composition

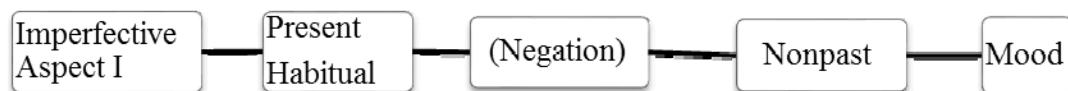


Figure 7.18 Simple Present Tense Composition

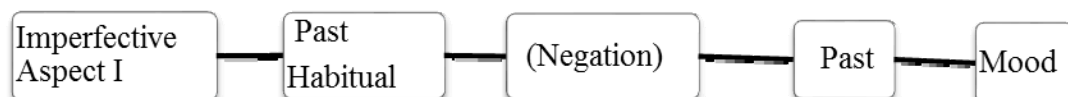


Figure 7.19 Past Habitual Tense Composition



Figure 7.20 VCM General Location

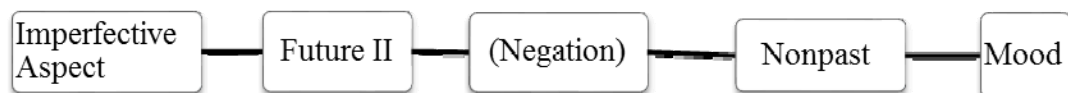


Figure 7.21 Future II Tense Composition

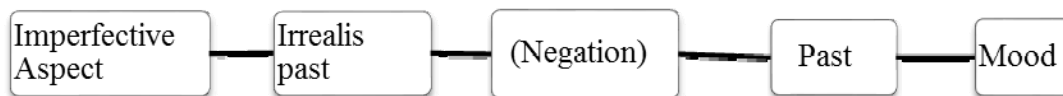


Figure 7.22 Irrealis Past Tense Composition

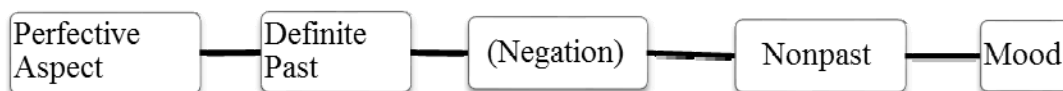


Figure 7.23 Definite Past Tense Composition

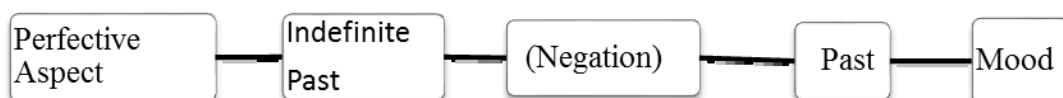


Figure 7.24 Indefinite Past Tense Composition

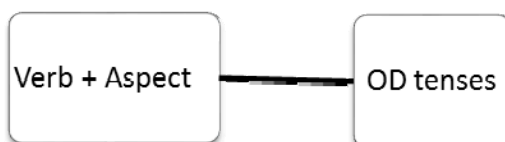


Figure 7.25 General OD Tense Location

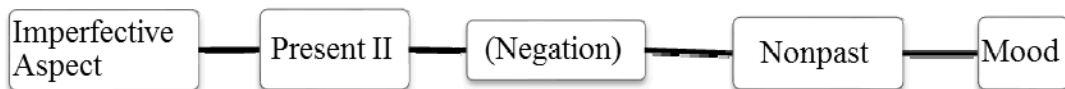


Figure 7.26 Present II Tense Composition

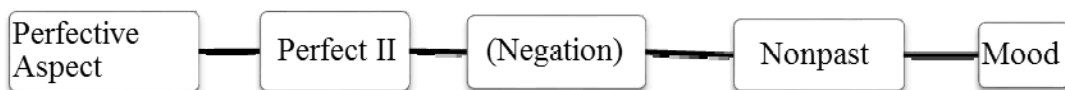


Figure 7.27 Perfect II Tense Composition

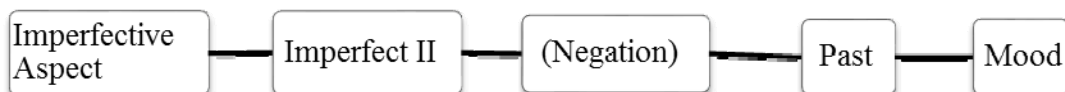


Figure 7.28 Imperfect II Tense Composition

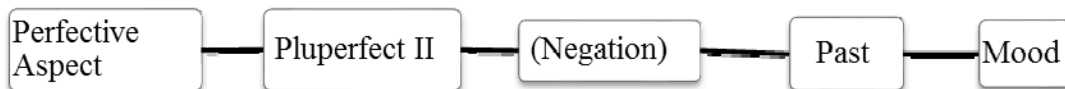


Figure 7.29 Pluperfect II Tense Composition

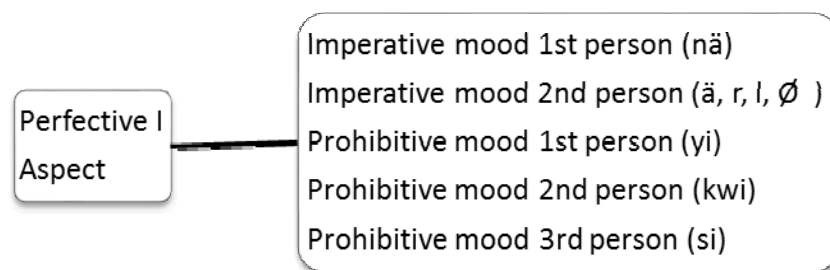


Figure 7.30 Moods with Perfective I Aspect

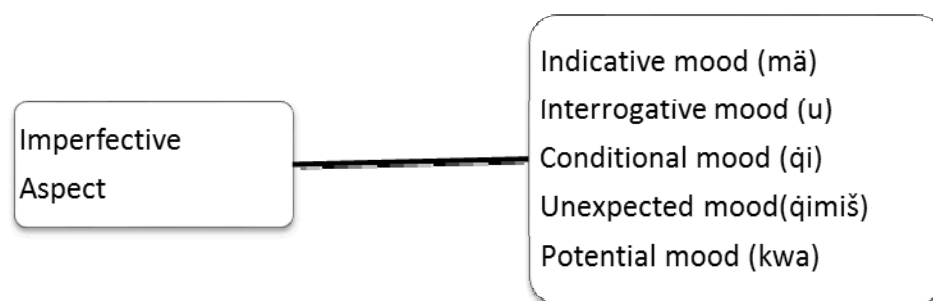


Figure 7.31 Moods with Imperfective Aspect

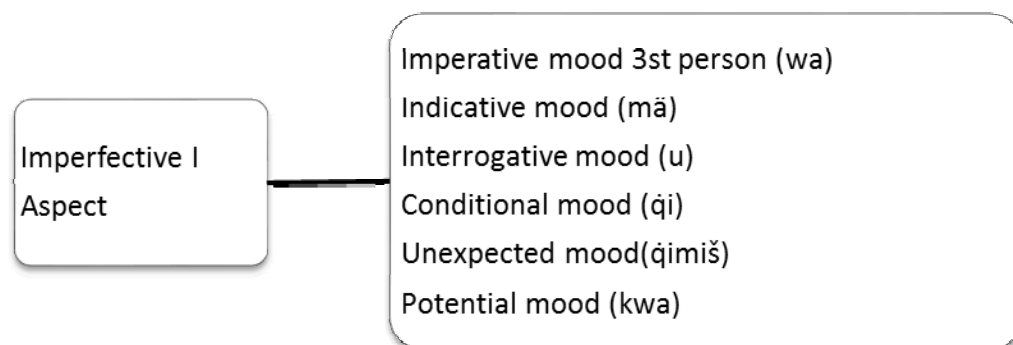


Figure 7.32 Moods with Imperfective I Aspect

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	mā
Interrogative mood	(y)u or ø
Conditional mood	qī
Unexpected mood	qīmiš
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)
<i>kir-et-mä</i>	‘he does’	∅	kiri (IMPF.ASP)	at (PRS.I)		∅	mä (INDIC)
<i>kir-et-i-mä</i>	‘he doesn’t’	∅	kiri (IMPF.ASP)	at (PRS.I)	i		mä (INDIC)
<i>ki-tar-šä-mä</i>	‘he did’ (habitually)	∅	ki (PRF.ASP)	tar (HAB)		šä (PST)	mä (INDIC)
<i>bi-ḡ-e-šä-mä</i>	‘it became’	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ḡ (PRF.ASP)	e (PLPRF.I)		šä (PST)	mä (INDIC)
<i>bi-ḡi-dä-š-u</i>	‘did it become?’	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ḡi (PRF.ASP)	dä (TCM.III.SG)		š (PST)	u (INTER)
<i>bi-ḡi-qo-v-i- mä</i>	‘it didn’t become’	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ḡi (PRF.ASP)	qo (PRF.II))	v+i (CM2.AN.SG)		mä (INDIC)
<i>bi-ḡi-qo- šä- mä</i>	‘would’ve become’	bi (CM1.AN.SG)	ḡi (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/1) back C + 1	front C + (i/1) back C + 1	front C + (i/1) + ri back C + 1 + ri	front C + {i/1} + t back C + 1 + 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	väx-wi	väx-ä	väx-iri	väx-it-wa	to shave
II	yib-i ric-i	yib-ä ric-ä	yib-i-ri ric-i-ri	yib-i-t-wa ric-i-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/i)	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	šă
Simple Present Imp. asp.	Neutral Past Perf. asp.
Aorist Perf. asp.	
Future I Imp. asp.	

Table 7.10 Tenses with *at* and *ar* Markers

<i>at</i>	<i>ar</i>
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	dä	dur	dä	žit	ži/ž	žit

Table 7.12 Example of Xinaliq Negative Verb

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	Word	translation
b	qi	qo	vi	Ø	mă	biqiqovimă	didn't become

Table 7.13 Past/Nonpast Distinction between Tenses

\emptyset	<i>šā</i>
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
	∅	∅	šā	šā
∅	PERF.ASP-∅ Aorist	IMPRF.ASP-∅ Simple present		
atmä	PERF.ASP-atmä Perfect I	IMPRF.ASP-atmä Present I	PERF.ASP-e-šāmā Pluperfect I	IMPRF.ASP-e-šāmā Imperfect I
(q)omä	PERF.ASP-(q)omä Perfect II	IMPRF.ASP-(q)omä Present II	PERF.ASP-(q)ošāmā Pluperfect II	IMPRF.ASP-(q)ošāmā Imperfect II
žmä	PERF.ASP-(ž)mä Definite past	IMPRF.ASP-(ž)mä Future II	PERF.ASP-(ž)šāmā Indefinite past	IMPRF.ASP-(ž)šāmā Irrealis past
mä		IMPRF.ASP-r(i)-mä* Future I	PERF.ASP-šāmā Neutral past	
armä	NO ASP-armä Habitual present		NO ASP-aršāmā 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 mäñäll im-mä*
 I now teacher am-AUX.I.PRES.
 ‘I am a teacher now’
- 8.2 *çuval xeyirl həyvan-mä*
 sheep useful animal-AUX.I.PRES.

‘The sheep is a useful animal’

- 8.3 hu ksan ḥādmi-sāmā
 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 ḥādmi-y-i-šāmā
 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 azerbayžandā-dumā
 he azerbaijani-AUX.II.VCM.I.SG
 ‘He is Azerbaijani’
- 8.6 sā mīde hündürval čuṭon-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 ḥāyvani kı̄r lıka lazım-ž-i-mā
 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 žigä 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 čuŋon pıl at-Ø*
 how much money have-AUX.III.INTER.
 ‘How much money do you have?’
- 8.12 *vi kallar iḡer mičä 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 x̣inim̄kiri liki mulli ɕwa ā-i-mä
 wife answer mullah home AUX.III-NEG-AUX.III
 ‘The wife answered that Mullah is not home’

8.14 ma žure yä at? ɕe 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 maɕa at-mä
 water hot is-AUX.III
 ‘The water is hot’

8.16 dā mič miç 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 unḡ omä
our village above cloud is.AUX.IV
‘There is a cloud above our village’

8.18 dä riši ḡäyardä 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 mīdar 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 ḡe riši ḡäyardä mičä pīlor qomä
this girl beautiful black eye.PL have.AUX.IV
‘This girl has beautiful black eyes’

8.21 hini ṭpor qīyīl sirḡa 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 iḡer miċa fikirdir atmä
 your head.LOC very black thoughts there.are-AUX.IV
 ‘There are very black thoughts in your head’

8.25 bädrär ɣu 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	dumā		dāmā		dāmā		žimā	
	dušāmā		dāšāmā		dāšāmā		žišāmā	
plural	durmā		durmā	durmā	žitmā		žitmā	
	durmā				žitšāmā		žitšāmā	

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 nominals). 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 p̄x̄r-i zɪ çuxšämā
 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 kaçın fatkušämā

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-şä-mä
 boy.ABS.CM.M.SG home came-CM.M.SG-came-PST-INDIC
 ‘The boy came home’
- 9.4 rişi çwa ka-zı-ğ-şä-mä
 girl.ABS.CM.F.SG home came-CM.F.SF-came-PST-INDIC
 ‘The girl came home’
- 9.5 as cıı 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 ƙur-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 ƙur-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 həyäl Ø-yukwar-mä

mother male.child CM.M.SG CM.M.SG-love-INDIC

‘Mother loves her son’

9.10 dādu 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 ḥim-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 dād-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 *-t-* 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-iḡḡi -> qil-iḡḡi

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-tırḡi -> ka-tırḡi

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 horizontal plane)
- 10.4 ačıǵ pänžärälli 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 häyäl mıde ayaǵılli a-čukwi
 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-çǵisämä
 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-ǵisämä
 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 mke 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 žıbınıllı açar qal-tırviyā toz āčmiškušāmā
 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 ƙu sāŕāt ƙuli ƙanıƙ toƙunƙaƙi maƙal ze-nžikužmā
 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 *ɣinimɣir ɕwa tal-ɕkwi*

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, *qaltırđi* ‘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-ıı	direction – depart orientation - from above DEP.AB.	event is departing, moving away, from above to below from the direction of a fixed point
	ža-ıı	direction – depart orientation - from below DEP.BL.	event is departing, moving away, from below to above from the direction of a fixed point
	la-ıı	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 lāqāld-i muzdur-Ø tıv-šā-mā
 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-γ-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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