PRINCIPAL ASPECTS OF XINALIQ PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOSYNTAX

by

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Department of Linguistics
The University of Utah
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ABSTRACT

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

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

The grammar, although based on a linguistic analysis informed by current linguistic theory and advances in language typology, is theory neutral. An attempt was made to analyze, interpret and synthesize phonological and morphological patterns in formats that will be useful both to linguists and to researchers from other fields, as well as Xinaliq community members. In addition to the grammar, the dissertation describes the historical and cultural background of the language and the speakers of the language.
This dissertation is primarily based on data collected during several field trips undertaken by the author between the years 2009 – 2013. It is supplemented with data from the initial visit to Xinaliq village with Dr. Harris in 2009. Limited materials available from previous research on the language have also been researched and studied. The fieldwork consisted of long-term stays in Xinaliq village, eliciting data, collecting texts, making video and audio recordings and participating in daily life activities with the community members. Different socioeconomic groups, including men, women and children of various ages were engaged in the process.

This dissertation has been partially supported by a grant from National Science Foundation, DoBes Volkswagen Foundation and The American Research Institute of the South Caucasus.
This grammar is dedicated to the Xinaliq community of Azerbaijan.

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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

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

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

According to a 1994 survey (Kibrik, 1994), at that time the three Nakh languages taken as a group had about one million speakers. The same survey numbered all Daghestanian languages taken together at 1.5 million speakers. The Daghestanian languages are divided into four main subgroups: (i) Avar-Andi-Tsezic; (ii) Lak; (iii) Dargi; and (iv) Lezgic.
Xinaliq has been classified as a member of the Lezgic subfamily. However, opinions diverge as to the correct classification of Xinaliq in relation to the languages of the Lezgic subgroup. The view that Xinaliq may belong to the Lezgic subgroup (instead of representing a subgroup in its own right) is highly disputed. Although debate continues, most scholars today regard Xinaliq as a separate branch of which Xinaliq is the only member within the Northeast Caucasian family.

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

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

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

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

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

Many attempts to provide orthographies for unwritten vernacular languages of the Caucasus have been made in the recent past, partly with emphasis on language maintenance; however, none of them has received official status so far. Since the second half of the twentieth century there have been several attempts to create a writing system for Xinaliq based on the Cyrillic and Latin alphabets. For example, the Xinaliq teacher
Rahim Alxas, an enthusiastic proponent of his native language, adapted the Lezgian Cyrillic-based alphabet for Xinaliq and proceeded to publish several books that included both poetry and teaching aids for the Xinaliq school (cf. e.g., http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/assets/texts/Alhas.zip). Another local poet, Namik, came up with his own orthography, which is the most accurate in terms of reflecting the number of phonemes that actually exist in Xinaliq. However, the system is complicated and was not accepted by most of the school teachers. Also, Namik had only a high school education, so his level of education did not give him enough prestige in the eyes of the teachers in the village to be taken seriously. In 2007, a team of scholars from Moscow University, under the leadership of Dr. Sandro Kodzasov, made a new proposal for a Xinaliq alphabet that closely follows the current Latin-based Azeri alphabet (cf. http://www.philol.msu.ru/~languedoc/assets/texts/xin-abc.pdf; the link does not always work). An alphabet was also introduced by the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in 2010. Although it is known that this alphabet ignores some phonemic distinctions in Xinaliq, it is currently the one most used, owing its success to the ease with which the orthography can be learned and its similarity to the Latin writing system used for Azeri. According to SIL, the main goal of the new alphabet is ease of learning and use. As a result, the system does not reflect several phonological distinctions that are easy for the native speakers to determine from the context but which might overcomplicate the notation if overtly represented in the writing.

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

2.2 The Xinaliq People

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

The Xinaliq people were not counted as a separate ethnic group during the Soviet era (Gardanova, 1962) due to the ideological Soviet definition of ethnicity (i.e., natsionalnost) that has persisted up to the present day in Azerbaijan. According to a 1976 census (Cliffton, 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-Dagestani=Nakh-Daghestanian; Dargi=Dargwi; Lezgic=Lezgian; Khinalug=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
   *qupːa* ‘belt buckle’
   *pːejram* ‘shirt’

3. /p’/ voiceless bilabial ejective stop
   *p’a* ‘a kiss’
   *p’ap’ɑχ* ‘Xinaliq style hat’

4. /b/ voiced bilabial stop
   *bɪj* ‘father’
   *bemb* ‘fly’

5. /f/ voiceless bilabial fricative
   *fara* ‘warm’
   *fitʃ’æ* ‘wet’

6. /v/ voiced bilabial fricative
   *vatsːumu* ‘to stay’
   *duvar* ‘wall’

7. /m/ voiced bilabial nasal
   *tsuma* ‘red’
   *q’ami* ‘spoon’

8. /t/ voiceless dental stop
toz ‘dust’
dostu ‘friends’

9. /t:/ long voiceless dental stop
   bat:u ‘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’
pfit’ ‘kitten’

14. /ts/ voiceless alveolar affricate
   tsuma ‘red’
tsuloz ‘tooth’

15. /ts:/ long voiceless alveolar affricate
   je:ts:ini ‘to stay back’

16. /ts’/ voiceless alveolar ejective affricate
   ts’u ‘name’
   ts’in ‘sweet’

17. /s/ voiceless alveolar fricative
   san ‘night’
   varusi ‘relative’
18. /z/ voiced alveolar fricative
   zuu    ‘I’
   bzi    ‘pear’ (ergative)

19. /n/ voiced alveolar nasal
   nuk’   ‘hail’
   kona   ‘old’

20. /tʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
   tfəz    ‘spring’
   tfəe    ‘tea’

21. /tʃː/ long voiceless palato-alveolar affricate
   k’utfəw    ‘heel’

22. /dʒ/ voiced palato-alveolar affricate
   dʒydzə    ‘chick’
   kundʒ    ‘corner’

23. /tʃ’/ voiceless palato-alveolar ejective affricate
   tf’æ    ‘fire’
   tf’utf’on    ‘whip’

24. /ʃ/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
   fəm    ‘sand’
   q’aməf    ‘secret’

25. /ʒ/ voiced palato-alveolar fricative
   bʒuwu    ‘to leave’
   q’aʒ    ‘tail’

26. /j/ voiced palatal glide
   jetmæ    ‘want’ (Class M.)
   majlun    ‘a fool’

27. /k/ voiceless velar stop
   kul    ‘hill’
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. /k’/ voiceless velar ejective stop

k’tl ‘arm’
t’uk’un ‘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

k’uy ‘eyebrow’
joyi ‘to shake’

35. /q/ voiceless uvular stop

qi ‘cold’

36. /q:/ long voiceless uvular stop

toqud ‘lightning’

37. /q’/ voiceless uvular ejective stop
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. inx̑a
‘field’

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

3.2. /z/ $\rightarrow$ [c]
/ḳaz/ $\rightarrow$ [ḳci]
‘snake’ $\rightarrow$ ‘snake’

3.3. /ʐ/ $\rightarrow$ [č]
/ḳaẓ/ $\rightarrow$ [ḳači]
‘tail’ $\rightarrow$ ‘tail’

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

3.4 /ʝ/ $\rightarrow$ [ʃ]
/ɛŋʝ/ $\rightarrow$ [inʃi]
‘wedding’ $\rightarrow$ ‘wedding’

3.1.2 Short and Long Voiceless Phonemes

Long voiceless stops and affricates occur only intervocally:

3.5 qȗpa ‘buckle’
3.6 bȃña ‘short’
3.7 yečini ‘to stay’
3.8 yākīl ‘mountains’
3.9 toqūd ‘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 dostūr ‘friends’
3.14 cīma ‘red’
3.15 ki ‘to burn’
3.16 orkīrī ‘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/.

$k - > kʷ/ [+round V] n___$

3.19 /gongaz/ - > [gōŋgʰaz] ‘circle’
3.20 /ung/ - > [ũŋgʰ] ‘heart’
3.21  /unk/ - > [ũŋʷ] ‘fog’

In this process, n - > ŋ

3.1.3.2 Voicing of /h/

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

3.22  /ʒähil/ - > [ʒäɦil] ‘young’

/h/ is also voiced before sonorants:

3.23  /dähnä/ - > [däɦnä] ‘ravine’

3.1.4 Consonant Distribution

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

3.1.4.1 Word-Initial

Combination of

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

+ Lateral (kla ‘who’)

Affricate + Fricative (čxar ‘buckweat’)

Stops + Fricatives + Liquids (pšlä ‘fox’, pýra ‘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 + Obstruent (lïgïld ‘man’, börç ‘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 (âski ‘towel’)
Approximant + Consonant (ayvan ‘balcony’)
Glottal stop + Consonant (sâbi ‘master’, nâñä ‘saliva’)
Obstruent + Nasal (âñi clothing, hâfmi ‘human’)

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

3.25  bzi  ‘pear’
3.26  âğzi  ‘mouth’
3.27  koksi  ‘breast’
3.28  âxta  ‘to castrate’
3.29  hâfmi  ‘human’
Ejectives can occur generally in clusters with sonorants, but not with the other obstruents:

3.30  ḳarṭa  ‘nail’
3.31  ḳli  ‘to die’
3.32  ḳnka  ‘flat rock’
3.33  ḳnq  ‘sun’

However there are some exceptions to this:

3.34  ċkas  ‘bring’
3.35  ĭṣṭarmeyram  ‘sorceress’

### 3.2 Vowels

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

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

/ö/:**  dövlät  ‘wealth’
önüri  ‘melt’

/u:/  urta  ‘middle’
ḳun  ‘cooking flower’
xu  ‘water’

/o:/  odul  ‘handful’
kona  ‘old’

/ı:/  İnka  ‘river’
bıǯ  ‘father’
bzi  ‘pear’

/a:/  aba  ‘grandfather’
тал  ‘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/ - > [ŋk] ‘leg’
3.37 /eng/ - > [ŋŋ] ‘cheese’
3.38 /inŋ̚/ - > [ŋŋ̚] ‘sun’

As compared to:

3.39 /ans/ - > [ans] ‘game’
3.40 /ant/ - > [ant] ‘earth’
3.41 /anšxwi/ - > [anšxwi] ‘to brush’
3.42 /anšviä/ - > [anšviä] ‘to throw’
3.43 /inŋ̚tmiškwı́/ - > [inŋ̚tmiškwı́] ‘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 /kukác̣/ - > [ku̥kác̣] ‘chicken’
3.45 /súftá̬/ - > [súftá̬] ‘at first’
3.46 /qı́çíz̚/ - > [qı́çíz̚] ‘nut’

3.2.1.4 High Vowel Centralization

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

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

3.47 /xı́nimkı́r̚/ - > [xı́nimkı́r̚] ‘woman’
3.48 /qim/ - > [qim] ‘hook’
3.49 /çin/ - > [çin] ‘sweet’

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

3.50 /çıkìri]/ - > [çıkìri] ‘to talk’
3.51 /šidl]/ - > [šidl] ‘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.

/ı/ - > Ø
/i/ - > Ø

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

3.52 [mìda] - > [mda] ‘mountain’
3.53 [çìma] - > [çma] ‘red’
3.54 [lìka] - > [lìka] ‘meat’
3.55 [ʒigä] - > [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 ǯıbın ‘pocket’ (SG) - > ǯıbindır ‘pockets’ (PL)
3.59 gardan ‘neck’ (SG) - > gardandır ‘necks’ (PL)

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

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

3.60 kotùk ‘stump’
3.61 culòz ‘tooth’

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

3.62 čuvàl ‘sheep’
The rules for this can be stated as follows:

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

*The distribution alternates freely.

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

3.63 güldür / güldir ‘flowers’ (PL)

3.3 Stress

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

3.64 gadá ‘boy’

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

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

3.67 kizi-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 ṣaṣqál - > ṣaṣqálir ‘back’ - > ‘on the back’

3.69 dáb - > dábxer ‘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 báśqap ‘plate’

3.72 tóqul ‘lightning’

3.73 hána ‘after’

3.74 qári ‘old lady’

3.75 qíni ‘good’

3.76 ḳávi ‘hard’

3.77 lágün ‘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 bniy - > bni compare with bniyir

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 täsir - > ĺäsi - > ĺäsi

‘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  ñi-u - > ñi-y-u ‘it became’
3.96  misi-orun -> misi-y-orun ‘when he was little’
3.97  yečini-o-i-u -> yečino-y-i-y-u ‘left?’
3.98  du-i-u -> du-y-i-y-u ‘not this one?’

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

3.99  çu ‘name’
3.100  çu-y-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 /u/ is inserted.

3.105  tal+r -> talrı ‘on the lip’
3.106  gis+r -> gisır ‘on the roof’
3.107  z+kišāmā -&gt; zikišāmā ‘she died’ (FEM.class)

3.108  k+a+z+gi+šā+mā -&gt; kazigšāmā ‘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-mā -&gt; nišrātmā ‘am putting on’

3.110  tu-vi-ri -&gt; tuvri ‘takes’ (INAN.class)

3.111  qi-du-mā -&gt; qidmā ‘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  čā-z-kindā -&gt; čā-s-kindā ‘the laughing one’ FEM. class

3.113  čā-b-kindā -&gt; čā-p-kindā ‘the laughing one’ ANIM. class

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

3.114  qamašbiqi -&gt;qamažbiqi ‘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 -&gt; dyzkui ‘to fix’ from the word /dyz/ ‘correct’, /kui/ - ‘to do’

3.116  dad-kui -&gt; 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-či -&gt; s-či -&gt; c-či ‘go’ FEM. class
3.118 š-x-a-bır - ğxabır ‘bellies’

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

3.119 źi-at-mā - yetmā ‘want’ MASC. class

Ejectives sometimes lose their ejective quality before voiced obstruents:

3.120 ği-q-a-l-ğī - ğ-q-a-l-ğī ‘brought’ (from below)

3.121 ği-t-a-l-ğī - ğ-t-a-l-ğī ‘brought’ (horizontally)

3.122 ği-ğu-șā-mā - ğu-ğu-șā-mā - ğu-q-șā-mā ‘tore out’

3.123 ģenți-qui-dā-mā - ģenți-qui-dā-mā - ģenți-qui-dā-mā ‘take’

3.4.5 Free Variation

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

3.124 taza / täzā ‘new’

3.125 pänād / panad ‘nostrils’

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

3.126 ačuvuri / ačuvuri ‘to lay’

3.127 yaxiri / yaxiri ‘to leave’

3.128 ḥayvan / ḥāyvan ‘animal’

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

3.129 ģenți-kuval / ģenți-kuval ‘to come down’

3.130 kakwidmā / kakudmā ‘will come’ MASC.class

3.131 ğaxulqutomā / ğaxulqwitomā ‘hangs’

3.131 kuidāmā / kudāmā / kuydāmā ‘will be’ FEM.class

Some consonants can be used interchangeably in some isolated words:
/c/ // /š/:
3.133  gic / gis  ‘roof’

/š/ // /s/:
3.134  šići / sići  ‘to write’

/t/ // /d/ and /č/ // /ʒ/ after /n/:
3.135  antrğı / andırği ‘to fall’
3.136  enžikui / enčikui ‘to come down’
Table 3.1 Comparison Chart of Xinaliq Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scientific orthography</th>
<th>Kibrik</th>
<th>Namik</th>
<th>Villag</th>
<th>Ganiev</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pača ‘leg’</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şib ‘green’</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lueoz ‘cow’</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td>ц</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ღ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bore ‘father’s sister’</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ण</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td>ц</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ღ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yečini ‘to remain’</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>ɔ</td>
<td>Ts</td>
<td>цц</td>
<td>ts:</td>
<td>ღ ღ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baçiz ‘small goat’</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>c’</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>ц’</td>
<td>ts’</td>
<td>ღ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ĉ</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>Ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mič ‘apple’</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>Ç</td>
<td>ç</td>
<td>tʃ</td>
<td>ɓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inči ‘earth’</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>çç</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>Ç</td>
<td>çç</td>
<td>tʃ:</td>
<td>Ǝ Ǝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ĉ</td>
<td>çç</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>Ç</td>
<td>çç</td>
<td>tʃ:</td>
<td>Ǝ Ǝ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fičä ‘wet’</td>
<td>ĉ</td>
<td>ç’</td>
<td>ş</td>
<td>ç’</td>
<td>ç’</td>
<td>çl</td>
<td>ç’ ç’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dădă ‘mother’</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>çç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qilez ‘salty’</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>çç</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>äjä ‘grandmother’</td>
<td>ä</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ə</td>
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<tr>
<td>čaf ‘untouched grazing’</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>ɸ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninig ‘eyelash’</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krıγ ‘eyebrow’</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>γ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aliğ ‘horse covering’</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zeeğ ‘chicken broth’</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ģ</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahar ‘a big rock’</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>ɣ</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫädmi ‘human’</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>hh</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>xl</td>
<td>ḫ</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ninig ‘eyelash’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mič ‘apple’</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunž ‘corner’</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>dʒ</td>
<td>顼</td>
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<td>Namik</td>
<td>Villag e</td>
<td>Gani ev a</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>Georgia n</td>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ku kač</strong> ‘chicken’</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mok</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘worm’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukur ‘dustpan’</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>kk</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuka</strong> ‘knot’</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nākid ‘back’ (on a body)</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>k'</td>
<td>ʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līx ‘herder’s stick’</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>k̆h</td>
<td>ʰk̆</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>k̆h</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mokx ‘worm’</td>
<td>k̆x</td>
<td>k̆x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kxe</strong> ‘wool’</td>
<td>k̆x</td>
<td>k̆x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коллектив ‘sheaf’</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>ɕo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hilam ‘donkey’</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коллектив ‘bridge’</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culoz ‘tooth’</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>ọo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōbāt ‘conversation’</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ō</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.tcp  ‘ear’</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коллектив ‘lamb’</td>
<td>ŕ̂p</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>ŕ̂p</td>
<td>pp</td>
<td>ŕ̂p</td>
<td>ŏo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tcp  ‘fur hat’</td>
<td>ŕ̂p</td>
<td>p̆'</td>
<td>p̆</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коллектив ‘field’</td>
<td>ʰx̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td>qx̆</td>
<td>x̆k̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>läxiz ‘calf’</td>
<td>ʰx̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>x̆</td>
<td>qx̆</td>
<td>x̆q̆</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toq̆d ‘lightning’</td>
<td>q̅̄</td>
<td>qq̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td>q̆k̆</td>
<td>q̆</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>коллектив ‘sun’</td>
<td>q̅̄</td>
<td>q̆'</td>
<td>ʰq̆</td>
<td>q̆'</td>
<td>q̆'</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>_TCP  ‘shirt’</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ans ‘game’</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ʒʒ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pšā ‘bread’</td>
<td>š̄</td>
<td>š̄</td>
<td>š̄</td>
<td>š̄</td>
<td>š̄f</td>
<td>ŏ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant ‘floor’</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>ʃ̄</td>
<td></td>
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Table 3.1 Continued

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<tr>
<th>Scientific orthography</th>
<th>Kibrik</th>
<th>Namik</th>
<th>Villag e</th>
<th>Ganiev a</th>
<th>IPA</th>
<th>Georgian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāřid ‘Xinaliq person’ baña ‘short’</td>
<td>ū̄</td>
<td>tt̄</td>
<td>d̄</td>
<td>ī́̄</td>
<td>t̄t̄</td>
<td>t̄:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xurţum ‘throat’</td>
<td>ți</td>
<td>t’̄</td>
<td>ū̄̄</td>
<td>t’̄</td>
<td>ți ̄̄</td>
<td>t’̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culoz ‘tooth’</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nūç ‘honey’</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ū̄</td>
<td>ū</td>
<td>ȳ̄</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čuval ‘ram’</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v̄</td>
<td>v̄</td>
<td>v̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arţac ‘yard’ (?) miţez ‘needle’</td>
<td>x̄̄</td>
<td>x̄̄</td>
<td>x̄̄</td>
<td>x̄̄</td>
<td>χ̄̄</td>
<td>χ̄̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qoyu ‘water well’</td>
<td>ȳ̄</td>
<td>ȳ̄</td>
<td>ȳ̄</td>
<td>ȳ̄</td>
<td>gesturē̄</td>
<td>gesturē̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixez ‘needle’</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
<td>z̄̄</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aţ ‘side’ (on a body) kinaţ ‘winter’</td>
<td>Ž̄</td>
<td>ž</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>ж̄</td>
<td>ž</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čaza ‘moaning’</td>
<td>ʕ̄</td>
<td>ʕ̄</td>
<td>ʕ̄̄</td>
<td>ʕ̄̄</td>
<td>ʕ̄̄</td>
<td>ʕ̄̄</td>
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</table>
Table 3.2 The Xinaliq Consonant Inventory in IPA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stop</strong></td>
<td>p pʰ b</td>
<td>t tʰ</td>
<td>D</td>
<td></td>
<td>k kʰ g</td>
<td>q qʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ejective</strong></td>
<td>pʰ</td>
<td>tʰ tsʰ</td>
<td>tfʰ'</td>
<td></td>
<td>kʰ</td>
<td>qʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricative</strong></td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>f ʒ</td>
<td></td>
<td>X γ</td>
<td>X ξ</td>
<td>h ξ</td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affricate</strong></td>
<td>ts tsʰ</td>
<td>tfʰ tfʰ ʒ</td>
<td>Kx</td>
<td></td>
<td>qX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lateral</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>approx.</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Glides</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>j</td>
<td>w</td>
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</table>
### Table 3.3 The Xinaliq Consonant Inventory in “Scientific Transcription”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p  p̄ b  t  t̄</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>k  k̄ g  q̄ q̄</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ejective</td>
<td>p̃</td>
<td>t̃  c̄</td>
<td>č̄</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>̄q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>f  v</td>
<td>s  z̄</td>
<td>š  ž̄</td>
<td>̄x  ų̆</td>
<td>̄x  ħ  ʰ ħ̆</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>c̄ č</td>
<td>č̄ ď̄  ď̄</td>
<td>ć̣ q̣̄</td>
<td>̄k̄ x̄</td>
<td>̄x̄ ĝ̄  ħ̇ ħ̆</td>
<td>ʰ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral approx.</td>
<td>l</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Glide</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Table 3.4 Xinaliq Vowel Inventory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain (nonround)</td>
<td>Round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>ü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ö</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>ä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

Class MASC – human males:

4.1 aba ‘grandfather’
4.2 bäg ‘bridegroom’
4.3 ši ‘son’

Class FEM - human females:

4.4 äžä ‘grandmother’
4.5 dädä ‘mother’
4.6 riši ‘daughter’
The nouns that are less straightforward, for instance those denoting professions and social or moral features, depend on the assumed biological gender of the person referred to. For instance, the nouns below can be either Class MASC. or Class FEM.:

4.7  gonšu  'neighbor'
4.8  dost  'friend'
4.9  dabxer  'deceiver'

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

Class AN – animate nonhumans:

4.10  gra  ‘wolf’
4.11  hilam  ‘donkey’
4.12  Ḷaḳid  ‘partridge’
4.13  mokx  ‘worm’

Class INAN - other nouns (inanimate, nonhuman):

4.14  čīza  ‘fear’
4.15  ula  ‘smell’
4.16  fikir  ‘thought’
4.17  Ḷaḳa  ‘bite’ (noun)
4.18  Ćee  ‘tea’
4.19  gis  ‘roof’

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

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

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

Most Xinaliq verbs take agreement markers that indicate both noun class and
number, but there are some exceptions. For instance some of the non-resultative verbs do
not require these agreement markers, such as: küi “to go,” küi “to be,” 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,” dalıkgüi “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> Ø / [+segment] k (see Rule 7 below), and in
INAN class it is Ø. Thus, an overt class marker does not appear in these instances.

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

Rule 1: (CM1.F)

\[ z \rightarrow z/^\_ [\text{+[voice]}]C \] (z stays z before voiced consonant)

Rule 2: (CM1.F)

\[ z \rightarrow s/^\_ [\text{[-voice]}]C \] (z becomes s before voiceless consonants)

Rule 3: (CM1.F)
z → c/ __ x (z becomes c before x in prefix-initial [word-initial only] position)

Rule 4: (CM1.AN)
 Ø →i/z__C that creates unpermitted CC cluster
 therefore CC →CiC (i is inserted between two CC that would otherwise result in a cluster that is not permitted)

Rule 5: (CM1.AN)
 b → b/__ [+voice]C (b stays b before the voiced consonants)

Rule 6: (CM1.AN)
 b → p/__ [-voice]C with the exception of Rule 7 (b becomes p before voiceless consonants)

Rule 7: (CM1.F)
 b → Ø / [+segment]__ k, p (b becomes Ø before k or p in non-word-initial position)

Rule 8: (CM1.AN)
 Ø → (i)/b__C that creates unpermitted CC cluster
 therefore CC →CiC (i is inserted to break up a consonant cluster which is not permitted in the language)

Rule 9: (CM2.F)
 z -> r/___syllable with any sibilant (c, č, z, ž, ď, š)

Rule 10: (CM3.M)
 h - >Ø/___ r

Each series will be discussed separately for each of the four noun classes.

Examples with all possible affixes are presented.

Permitted consonant clusters in Xinaliq:
Word initial:

Combination of

Stop + Affricate (čxar ‘buckwheat’)

+ Fricative(bzı ‘pear’, pšā ‘bread’)

+ Liquid (kla ‘who’)

(not necessary for stops to be cluster initial)

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

Word final:

No combinations of three phonemes were found.

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

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

Medial:

Sonorant + Obstruent (kulga ‘shadow’,)

Fricative + Stop (ąski ‘towel,)

Approximant + consonant (ayvan ‘balcony’)

Glottal + consonant (sąšbi ‘master’, nąšnă ‘saliva’)

Obstruent + Sonorant (ağıni ‘clothing’, hąfmi ‘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 Class Markers Series 1 Class MASC. (CM1.MASC.SG)

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

4.20 gada Ø-ki-şä-mä
boy.ABL CM1.M.SG-die.PRFV-PST-INDIC
‘The boy died’

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

4.21 lieğild-i ḥäyäl ṭuv-Ø-şä-mä
‘The man is buying a child’

4.22 as lieğild zağ-Ø-şä-mä
I man saw-CM1.M.SG-PST-INDIC
‘I saw a man’

4.23 lieğild-u hine ši yiğ-Ø-şä-mä
man-ERG his son want-CM1.M.SG-PST-INDIC
‘The man wants his son’

4.24 zar-Ø-k-ir-dü-mä
‘Someone will send him down….’

4.25 yeçin-Ø-däd-i-mä
stay-CM1.M.SG-VCM-NEG-INDI
‘[the man] will not stay’

4.26 gada yeçin-Ø-i-şä-mä čwa
boy stay-CM1.M.SG-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The boy stayed at home’
4.27 Ø-xä qinä  
CM1.M.SG-go eat  
‘Go eat’ (said to a man)

4.28 mä?älîmmdar lağn 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 k 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-k-i-šä-mä  
girl.ABS CM1.F.SG-die-PRFV-PST-INDIC  
‘The girl died’

4.30 riši k-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 çë-zí-v-šä-mä  
sit-CM1.F.SG-sit-PST-INDIC  
‘The woman sat down’

4.32 l alcançi attu-zí- quà-dä-z-i-šä-mä  
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 ligildi cnas ṭu-zi-v-šä-mä  
man.ABS fiancée buy-CM1.F.SG-buy-PST-INDIC  
‘The man bought a fiancée’

4.34 as e ritsi za-zi-ġ-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-VCMI.SG-INDIC daughter  
‘The man will have a daughter’

4.36 uxur zi za-z-y-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-y-i-du  
you mom see-CM1.F.SG-see-PRFV-VCM.I.SG  
‘Did you see Mom?’

4.38 hä biče ṭo-z-i-mä  
she fat be-CM1.F.SG-NEG-INDIC  
‘She is not fat’

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

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

4.40 Xeyraddini xinimķir ḷur-s-qen-šä-mä  
Xeyraddine wife forget-CM1.F.SG-forget-PST-INDIC
‘Xeyraddine forgot the wife’

4.41 Xeyraddini kur-s-qink-
ir-dä-mä xinimkip
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
‘I will not forget (woman)’

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

4.44 ligildi xinimkip or-s-k-ir-mä tukanip
man.ABS wife send-CM1.F.SG-send-IMPRV-INDIC store
‘The man will certainly send the wife to the store’

z → c/ __ x

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

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

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

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

4.49 mâ?älim mdar laqin c-xi-dä-mä
‘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 $k$ are not permitted together in a consonant cluster in Xinaliq, $i$ is inserted to break up the cluster.

4.50 hilam bi-k-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-iquék-i-r-dä-mä pši
    Xeyraddine forget-CM1.AN.SG-forget-IMPRFV-VCM.III.SG-INDIC horse
    ‘Xeyraddine will forget the horse’

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

4.52. Tom-u za-b-ɣ-dä-mä mda
    Toma-DAT. OD-CM1.AN.SG.-saw-VCMIII.SG-INDIC mountain
    ‘Toma saw a mountain’

4.53 Xeyraddine kur-p-iquék-i-r-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-q-dä-šä-mä pši
man-GEN have-CM1.AN.SG-have-VCMIII.SG-PST-INDIC horse

‘The man had a horse’

4.55 ligild-i att-bi-t-dä-v-i-šä-mä pši
man-GEN have-CM1.AN.SG-have-VCMIII.SG-CM2.AN.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC horse

‘The man did not have a horse’

4.56 kur-p-qink-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-y-i-d-u?
you OD-CM1.AN.SG-see-PRFV-VCM.III.SG-INTER.

‘Did you see me?’ (animal speaking)

4.58 piše antr če-bi-šä-mä
horse floor sit-CM1.AN.SG-PST.INDIC

‘The horse sat down on the floor’

4.59 p-xä qinä
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-qink-ir-dur-v-i-mä

‘I will not forget them’ (males of females)

4.61 mäʔālimir midar laġin p-xi-dur-mä
teachers mountain yesterday CM1.M.PL.-went-VCM.I.PL-INDIC

‘Teachers went to the mountain yesterday’
4.1.1.5 CM1.INAN.SG

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

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

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

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

4.1.1.6 CM1.AN.PL.

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

4.65 qurqordri înküüstüllü täxirkitar-Ø-mä
frog lake above jump-CM1.AN.PL-INDIC
‘Frogs jump above the lake’

4.66 kaz al buğrur taçoar-Ø-mä
snake water near are- CM1.AN.PL-INDIC
‘Snakes are near the water’

4.67 čxibaaliği müsi balığı qantar-Ø-mä
big fish small fish eats-CM1.AN.PL-INDIC
‘Big fish eat little fish’
4.1.1.7 CM1.INAN.PL.

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

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

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

4.70 inq hær ḳä qaltuxkoar-Ø-mä
sun every day rise-CM1.INAN.PL-INDIC
‘The sun rises every day’

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

4.1.1.2 Series 2 (CM 2)

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

4.1.1.2.1 CM2.MASC.SG

In the example below because “man” is a human male, it belongs to Class MASC.

Because the verb “kill” begins with a vowel, it is in Series 2. Therefore it carries the CM2.MASC.SG marker y on the verb.

4.71 ligild łigild y-ib-šä-mä
man man CM2.MASC.SG-kill-PST-INDIC
‘Yesterday a man killed a man’

4.72 y-eḵẖāku-i
CM2.MASC.SG-burn-NEG
‘Don’t burn!’ (talking to a man)

4.1.1.2 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 ligalde z-ib-ša-ma dušman
yesterday man CM2.FEM.SG-kill-PST-INDIC enemy
‘Yesterday a man killed his enemy’ (of woman)

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

4.75 paga ligilde z-i-z-b-ir-da-z-i-ma xinimker
tomorrow man CM2.FEM.SG-kill-CM1.FEM.SG-kill-IMPERF-VCMII-
CM2.FEM.SG-NEG-INDIC woman
‘Tomorrow a man will not kill a woman’

4.76 riše r-ačin-i-ša-ma čwa
girl CM2.FEM.SG-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The girl stayed home’

4.77 rāše r-ačin-i-nätt-i-ša-ma čwa
girl CM2.FEM.SG-stay-PRFV-VCMII.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC home
‘The girl didn’t stay home’

4.78 z-ek-s-kāku-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-ačin-i-šä-mä čwa
horse CM2.AN.SG-stay-PRFV-PST-INDIC home
‘The horse stayed home’ (own will)

4.80 pši v-ačin-i-d-i-šä-mä 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-mä 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-dä-v-i-mä 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-ačin-d-i-šä-mä
horse CM2.AN.SG-stay-VCMIII.SG-NEG-PST-INDIC
‘The horse did not stay’

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

4.85 hä hundur qo-v-i-mä
it tall is-CM2.AN.SG-NEG-INDIC
‘It (horse) is not tall’

4.86 v-ekkāku-i!
CM2.AN.SG-burn-NEG
‘Don’t burn yourself!’ (animal)

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

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

4.1.1.2.4 CM2.MASC.PL

4.89 ĥgilhr ātmikǐlanttin īslanmišbiqi-šā-mā
men all day sweated-PST-INDIC
‘Men sweated all day’

4.90 gadadiţuxanskirto-mā
boys yard play-INDIC
‘Boys are playing in the yard’

4.1.1.2.5 CM2.FEM.PL

4.91 xisansan ĥgilde v-ib-šā-mā 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 ṭamu tāmizval y-ukoar-mā
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-šä-mä
   horses home CM2.AN.PL-stay-PST-INDIC
   ‘Horses stayed home’ (own will)

4.1.1.3 Series 3 (CM3)

Series 3 seems to be dominated by imperative constructions. Most of the Series 3 markers are used with the verb “to be” ʔi 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-enţi-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-enţi-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 ḫa
CM1.AN.SG-love-CM3.AN.SG-IMP horse
‘Love your horse!’

4.100 ṭoĉ-f-ār
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 dā fikir yi-h-ar
this idea love-CM3.INAN.SG-PL.M
‘Love this idea!’

4.1.1.3.7 CM3.AN.PL

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

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

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

(Blake, 2001)

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

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

1. Nominative
2. Ergative
3. First Genitive
4. Second Genitive
5. Dative
6. Comitative
7. Locative (General)
8. Orientational locative
9. Possessive locative
10. Ablative (General)
11. Orientational ablative
12. Possessive ablative
13. Comparative

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

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

4.2.1 Nominative (Absolutive)

What is called “nominative” case in Caucasian terminology is actually an “absolutive” case in modern general linguistic terminology when speaking about ergative languages (the case that signals the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a
transitive verb). The absolutive in Xinaliq has the same form as the singular noun stem; that is, it has Ø marking. It is common cross-linguistically for the absolutive case to have no overt marking, that is, to be marked by Ø. Kibrik (1994) describes cases according to their semantic roles in addition to their grammatical functions. He describes the nominative case using the term “actant,” defined as a noun phrase functioning as the agent immediately associated with an intransitive verb. When associated with an intransitive verb, its nominative function changes. When the actant takes the nominative case, in other words, it expresses either the agent of an intransitive verb or main actor.

Examples 4.105-4.106 show nonaccusative intransitive verbs, while (4.107) and (4.108) are examples of nonergative intransitive verbs.

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

4.106 gada-ø ḳ-i-šā-mā
boy–NOM die–PRFV–PST–INDIC
‘The boy died’

4.107 bu lägäld-ø latkär-mæ
this man–NOM fall–INDIC
‘This man will fall’

4.108 xisansan lägald-ø z-ib-šā-mā dušman
yesterday man CM2.F.SG-kill–PST–INDIC enemy
‘Yesterday a man killed his enemy’ (of woman)

4.109 riš-ø r-accin-i-šā-mā
girl CM2.F.SG-stay–PRFV–PST–INDIC
‘The girl stayed’
When the verb is transitive, the nominative case is expressed on the direct object, while the subject takes an ergative case. This is true in what are traditionally called dative constructions as well (i.e., constructions where the direct object also takes the so-called nominative case). This construction will be discussed below. The following examples illustrate the case marking of subjects of transitive clauses, including Ø “absolutive” markers of direct objects.

4.110 yä xin-ir kačn-Ø fatku-šä-mä
   I water-LOC stone-NOM threw-PST-INDIC
   ‘I threw a stone into the water’

4.111 đämirc-ı ura-Ø antk-ir-qo-mä
   smith-ERG metal-NOM make- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
   ‘The smith forges metal’

4.2.2 Ergative

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

4.112 pxr-ı zi-Ø čux-šä-mä
   dog-ERG me-NOM bit-PST-INDIC
   ‘The dog bit me’

4.113 pšor-ı ink-Ø qandäto-mä
   horses-ERG grass-NOM eat-INDIC
   ‘Horses eat grass’

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

4.114 yä top-Ø ink-i fatku-šä-mä
I. ERG ball-NOM foot-INST hit-PST-INDIC

‘I hit the ball with my foot’

4.115 kütç-i qaž-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 pxr-i qaž
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
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 xüruç 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 İnk-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 ā 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 biy
boy-GEN.2 father
‘The boy's father’

4.126 e csi ẖinim Kirk 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 ƙic-e qabuğ
egg-GEN.2 shell
‘Eggshell’ (literally ‘the shell of an egg’)

Material of which an object is composed:

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

Measures:

4.130 pși-e tikā
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 màšâlim-u buto muxiž-mā
teacher-DAT everything know-INDIC
‘The teacher knows everything’

4.133 buy-u häne ši- Ø muxuqät-t-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 zabüg-šä-mä
boy-DAT flames-NOM notice-PST-INDIC
‘The boy noticed the flames’

4.135 šä buy-u sas-Ø kl-et-mä
my father-DAT noise-NOM hear-PRF.1-INDIC
‘My father hears noise’

4.136 as qävil-Ø at-mä
I-DAT cold-NOM to.be.PRS.1-INDIC
‘I am cold’

4.137 bua ḥäd-m-u qäläm-Ø biži z-et-mä
this person-DAT pencil-NOM one want-PRF.1-INDIC
‘This person wants a pencil’

4.138 gad-u kičeb likuvri ykuvar-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.1-INDIC
‘I am hungry’

4.140 misi ḥayälriz-u pṛra-šilli üńqkuar-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 puxr-u ink läk-ir-qo-mä
I dog-DAT bone give- IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘I give a bone to the dog’

4.143 pšor-u ink tākā
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-šā-mā
he-ERG his friend- DAT hit-PST-INDIC
‘He hit his friend’

4.145 jir-i inqxerįjoy-u hyrmāthitar-mā
we-ERG elderly-DAT respect-INDIC
‘We respect the elderly’

4.146 bıy š-u insaflıdu-mā
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 -škili 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-mā
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.”
‘I ate butter with bread’

4.155  yä če qänd-ıškili  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  zi ınka-škili  düz  zaku-at-mä
       I  riverside-COM  straight  walk.along-PRS.I-INDIC
‘I am walking along the riverside’

4.157  zi  āvar-ıškili  düz  zaku-at-mä
       I  wall-COM  straight  walk.along-PRS.I-INDIC
‘I am walking along the wall’

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

4.2.7 Locative

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

4.2.7.1 General Locative

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

4.159 cya- ø
home-GEN.LOC
‘At home’

As compared to:

4.160 ḷala-ɾ
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-ɾ
middle-GEN.LOC
‘In the middle’

4.163 bädrä-ɾ  xu  qo-mä
bucket-GEN.LOC  water  is.PRF.II-INDIC
‘There is water in the bucket’

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

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

4.165 pšor-ɾ  gra  lašilki
horse-GEN.LOC.PL  wolf  appeared
‘A wolf has appeared among the horses’

4.166  nükürdîr-ir  yaza  qo-mä
mouse- GEN.LOC.PL  something  is.PR.F.INDIC
‘There is something among the mice’

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

4.167  zur  kalxoz-ir  iştämişkar-mä
you  kolxoz- GEN.LOC.PL  work-INDIC
‘You work in a kolkhoz’

4.168  hu  mäktäb-ir  laşlığid-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  cuvaţ-ir
   autumn-GEN.LOC
‘In autumn’

4.170  daşva  vaştx-ir
   war   time.duration-GEN.LOC
‘During the war’

4.171  sâşät 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)x after a consonant and -x
after a vowel. It often has the meaning of “near,” “by.”
‘There is snow on top (near the top, by the top) of the mountain’

‘A person is standing near (or by) the tree’

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

‘I will go to (near) the mill’

‘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:**

‘It is necessary to go for water in the morning’

‘I am going to get the horse’ (‘I am fetching the horse’)

‘I am fighting for freedom’
‘He fought for freedom’

Reason (cause):

4.179 inxergožu haql-IX yir hirl ḥirmätkitar-mā
elderly idea-OR.LOC we always respect-INDIC
‘We always respect the elderly men’s ideas’

Exchange equivalent:

4.180 abuzerisa hilam qännä siz manat-IX cęłui-ša-mā
Abuzer donkey thirty manat-OR.LOC. sold-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘Abuzel sold the donkey for thirty manat’

4.181 va sä tšoa- xa asir yä täkirži
you this house-OR.LOC what me give
‘What will you give me for this house?’

4.182 zi pçr-aX läkšir-et-mā
I dog-OR.LOC look-PRS.I-INDIC
‘I am looking at the dog’

4.183 hini sä cu-ša cık-ša-mā
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)s after a consonant and -s after a stem ending with a vowel.

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

4.185 i kuta-s kaçın at-mā
my hand-POS.LOC stone is-PRS.1-INDIC
‘There is a stone in my hand’

4.186 yä šā dädä-š kičeb läku-šā-mā
I my mother-POS.LOC book give-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘I gave my mother a book’

4.187 hä azar hinā-š čič-mā
this illness he-POS.LOC has-INDIC
‘He has this illness’

4.188 va ġoa riši-š ya läkuži
you this girl-POS.LOC what give
‘What did you give to this girl?’

4.189 yä xinibiri-š samavar läku-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-ūš sa dāstā as tākā
these flower.bunch-POS.LOC one flower me give
‘Give me one bouquet from these flowers’

4.191 xin-iš sa ċing tā
water-POS.LOC one drop give
‘Give me one drop of water’

4.192 hine inkim-iš sa čan tāxqā
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:
Sometimes the meaning of the possessive locative matches the meaning of possessive ablative, as in the following examples:

4.195  zätzäkui  xin-iš  iddleware  xer  xerq-mä
streaming water-POS.LOC  many  benefits-INDIC
‘There are many benefits from running water’

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

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

4.198  va  sua  ric-iš  ya  tendžçuži
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-ää  saz  žaqxinkuar
who-POS.LOC  saz  can.play
‘Who can play the saz?’

4.200  šä  biž-is  kankuid-mä
my  father-POS.LOC  might.come-INDIC
‘My father might come’

4.201 hinäš cäpilinquätt-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 ilig q-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-lli kačin alk-ša-mä
roof-GEN.ABL rock fall-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘A stone fell off the roof’

4.204 x.ini-lli quror qaltırku-ša-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 ḳura-lli ṁpxra-Ø čāp-ir-qo-mā
road- GEN.ABL dog-NOM run-PRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘A dog is running over (along) the road’

4.207 tik ḳindir-illi atšukval cātin3-mā
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 šā biy cuvaž-illi azallī-mā
my father autumn-GEN.ABL ill-INDIC
‘My father has been ill since autumn’

4.209 sāšāt 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-mā
they our village- GEN.ABL-INDIC
‘They are from our village’

4.211 zi kātš-illi-mā
I Xinaliq-GEN.ABL-INDIC
‘I am from Xinaliq’

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

4.212 zi ḳala-lli pši-lli kağud-mā
I kuba- GEN.ABL horse- GEN.ABL arrived-INDIC
‘I arrived from Guba by horse’

4.213 ḡoz lients zicalg-illi ẓimak-ir-qo-mā
these men music-GEN.ABL  dance-IMPRF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘These men are dancing to the music’

4.214 hinäš cešm-illi likuvunkuar-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 tuvunkidä-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 k̄šur-illi  yä itirku-šä-mä
him nose-GEN.ABL  I tapped-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘I tapped him on the nose’

4.217 dädi riši iža-lli  ḫaku-šä-mä
mother daughter face-GEN.ABL  kissed-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘The mother kissed daughter’s face’

4.218 ġua gadi I kokus-ulli latrku-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 attidä-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 -ı̝xilli, which is created by joining the orientational locative marking -ı̝x 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-ı̝xilli lixi
    house-OR.ABL go
    ‘Go away from the house’

4.223 hine p̣xra-ı̝xilli 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 cu̡xam-ı̝xilli laʃaxïd-måä
    I mill-OR.ABL walk-INDIC
    ‘I walked past the mill’

4.225 zı nka-xillï havar aʃ-ʃä-måä
    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-ı̝xilli uzax toxun-go-måä
Nadir you- **OR.ABL** far stand-PRS.II-INDIC

‘Nadir stands far away from you’

4.227 čuval inka-čilli uzax 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-ačilli 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-POS.ABL
   ‘From/away from the boy’

4.230  yä  csi-šilli  pši  tenčuq-ša-mä
   I  my.brother-POS.ABL  horse  take-NTR.PST-INDIC
   ‘I took the horse from my brother’

4.231  hu  kirağ  darg-śilli  żetsin-ša-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-ša-mä
   he  my  hand-POS.ABL  knife  took-NTR.PST-INDIC
   ‘He took a knife out of my hands’

4.233  jä  pxr-ašilli  inku  čuq-ša-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  heč  sa  zärär  aṭṭi-ži-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 kačin-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵-mā
this house stone-POS.ABL-INDIC
‘This house is built of stone’

4.237 mkar-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵 zāk kwar-mā
wood-POS.ABL ash derived-INDIC
‘Ash is derived from wood’

4.238 qaẓmağı mast-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵 mic iḫer kwar-mā
sour.cream matsoni-POS.ABL butter much is-INDIC
‘From yogurt there is usually a lot of butter’

4.239 dā ustul mkar-𝐀𝐥𝚕孵-mā
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-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵 ailmiṣqi-šā-mā
I noise-POS.ABL wake up-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘I woke up because of the noise’

4.241 hini kīč-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵 čarku-šā-mā
he snake-POS.ABL scream-NTR.PST-INDIC
‘He screamed because of the snake’

4.242 ungum-𝐀𝐥𝐥孵 yā hāmišā škwajátktar-mā
heart-POS.ABL I always suffer-INDIC
‘I always suffer due to the heart’

Possessive ablative can have partitive meaning:

4.243 xin-𝐀𝐥ļ孵 sa ṭing tā
water-POS.ABL one drop give
‘Give me one drop of water’

4.244 vts ir-išilli sin zi kalar zaʔoar-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 ḥāyāliryu pxtad-išilli inq̣x-qo-mä
little children dog-POS.ABL afraid-PRF.II-INDIC
‘Little children are afraid of dogs’

4.246 dädi ḥāyāl-išilli i̧xeć c̣ĭk-šā-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 -q̣ or -q̣illi. The question of which marker is chosen in which environment needs to be investigated further.

4.247 ure vaz mis vza-q̣illi 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-i̧q̣illi
our mountains better your mountain-COMP
‘Our mountains are better than your mountains’

4.249 vac-i̧q̣illi ys vixāž-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 xinaliq maskv-ağilli iţer uzax-şā-mā
Xinaliq Moscow- COMPA 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:

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

Plural case in Xinaliq depends on the class to which the particular noun belongs.

Some of the general rules for plural case follow:

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

4.251 şı ‘son’

ši-lir ‘son-s’

4.252 riş ‘sister’

riţ-lir ‘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 -ı, -ir, -ur or -ür, depending on vowel harmony:

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

4.256 häyäl ‘child’
häyäl-ır ‘childr-en’

4.257 dušman ‘enemy’
dušman-ır ‘enemies’

4.258 halamxlabel ‘shepherd’
halamxlabel-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 bïy ‘father’
4.261 bïy-ın ‘father-s’

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

(The -y- is inserted epenthetically to avoid hiatus.)
iv. Class AN. and Class INAN. nouns ending in any vowel take -\textit{d}.

4.264 taka ‘goat’
   taka-d ‘goat-s’

4.265 vi\text{"}\text{"}\text{"}ä ‘tree’
   vi\text{"}\text{"}\text{"}ä-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 \textit{l}, \textit{r} or \textit{n} take either -\textit{dı}, -\textit{dir}, -\textit{dur} or -\textit{dür}.

4.268 gül ‘flower’
   gül-dür ‘flower-s’

4.269 ħayvan ‘animal’
   ħayvan-dir ‘animal-s’

4.270 kixir ‘drop’
   kixir-dir ‘drop-s’

vi. Class AN. and INAN. nouns ending in voiced consonants as well as in \textit{h}, \textit{y}, or \textit{m} take -\textit{irdır}, -\textit{irdir}, -\textit{urdur} or ü\textit{rdür}.

4.271 kun\text{"}ʒ ‘corner’
   kun\text{"}ʒ-urdur ‘corner-s’

4.272 kadah ‘milk container’ (pail)
   kadah-irdir ‘milk container-s’ (pail-s)

4.273 kiγ ‘brow’
   kiγ-irdir ‘brow-s’

4.274 eng ‘cheese’
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 \(-ir/ir/ur/ür,\) \(-lir/lır/lur/lür,\) 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 \(-l; -b(ı/ı)r;\)

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 \(-z(ı/ı)r.\)

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

engirdir ‘cheese’ PL
(a):

4.275 ʔam ‘spoon’ NOM.SG.
  ʔam-a-r LOC.SG.
  ʔam-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/bir:

4.281 toz ‘door’ NOM.SG.
  toz-or NOM.SG.
  toza-bir 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 inqa ‘field’ NOM.SG.
inqa-r NOM.SG.
inqabir NOM.PL.

4.285 inka ‘river’ NOM.SG.
inka-r NOM.SG.
inkabir NOM.PL.

4.286 nuqa ‘toilet’ NOM.SG.
nuqa-r NOM.SG.
nuqabir NOM.PL.

4.287 qä ‘day’ NOM.SG.
qä-r NOM.SG.
qäbir NOM.PL.

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

4.288 hilam ‘donkey’ NOM.SG.
hilam-am-i ERG.SG.
hilm-zir NOM.PL.

4.289 qäb ‘bone’ NOM.SG.
qäm-i ERG.SG.
qäm-zir NOM.PL.

4.290 kitšeb ‘book’ NOM.SG.
kitše-m-i ERG.SG.
kitšem-zir NOM.PL.

4.291 kül ‘hand’ NOM.SG.
külm-am-i ERG.SG.
There are some instances of plural formations that do not fit into either of the above patterns:

4.292 pš ‘horse’
   pš-or ‘horse-s’

4.293 ki ‘sheep’
   ki-rin ‘sheep’ PL.

4.294 pxra ‘dog’
   Px-tad ‘dog-s’

4.295 ḳu ‘lamb’
   ḳi-tšir ‘lamb-s’

4.296 çol ‘goat’
   çi-tan ‘goat-s’

4.297 ḳiyā ‘guest’
   ḳiyā-n ‘guest-s’

4.298 miḳir ‘head’
   miḳi-z ‘head-s’

4.299 Xinimḳir ‘woman’
   Xin-bir ‘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:
The animals went to pasture

Table 4.9 illustrates the Xinaliq plurality paradigm.

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

4.5 Noun Phrase

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

The following examples feature adjectives as NP modifiers:

4.301 azarri ḥadmi
sick.ADJ man.NOUN
‘A sick man’

4.302 čixi kisan ailä
big.ADJ beautiful.ADJ family.NOUN
‘A big, beautiful family’

4.303 Hundur kırcı kona cywa
tall.ADJ white.ADJ old.ADJ house
‘A tall, white, old house’

Example 4.304 shows a numeral as modifier:

4.304 Pxu pși
five.NUM horses.NOUN
‘Five horses’

Example 4.305 shows a quantifier as modifier:

4.305 Bitin təlobən.
all.QUAN students.NOUN
‘All students’

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

4.306 ūa mäktäb?
which.INTER. school.NOUN
‘Which school?’

In Example 4.307, a genitive is the modifier:

4.307 čuval-i mıt-ir
sheep-GEN dropping-PL.
‘Sheep droppings’

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

4.308 Hä bliška qonši ṭuvšämä
that.one.which dress neighbor bought
‘The dress which the neighbor bought’

4.309 ka-bi-ĝi ğiyanz-u
have.come-CM.FEM.PL.-SUBST. guests-DAT.
‘Guests who have come’
Table 4.1 Xinaliq Class Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class number</th>
<th>Series 1 Affix</th>
<th>Series 2 Affix</th>
<th>Series 3 Affix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASC, INAN singular; AN, INAN plural</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>h (Ø)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM singular</td>
<td>z (s/c/zi)</td>
<td>z (r)</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN singular; MASC, FEM plural</td>
<td>b (p/Ø/bi)</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2 Series 1 Class Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>‘died’</th>
<th>‘went’</th>
<th>‘bought’</th>
<th>‘was’</th>
<th>‘became’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Ø-kišāmā</td>
<td>Ø-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-Ø-vi</td>
<td>Ø-qi-d-mā</td>
<td>Ø-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>zi-kišāmā</td>
<td>c-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-z-vi</td>
<td>zi-qi-dā-mā</td>
<td>zi-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>bi-kišāmā</td>
<td>p-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-Ø+vi</td>
<td>bi-qi-dā-mā</td>
<td>bi-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Ø-kišāmā</td>
<td>Ø-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-Ø-vi</td>
<td>Ø-qi-ž-mā</td>
<td>Ø-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>bi-kišāmā</td>
<td>p-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-Ø+vi</td>
<td>b-qi-i-dur-mā</td>
<td>bi-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN &amp; INAN</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>Ø-kišāmā</td>
<td>Ø-xišāmā</td>
<td>tu-Ø-vi</td>
<td>Ø-qi- žit-mā</td>
<td>Ø-qišāmā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.3 Series 3 Class Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>class</th>
<th>number</th>
<th>‘be’</th>
<th>‘love’</th>
<th>‘go’</th>
<th>come down</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>h-a-r</td>
<td>Ø-yi-h-a-r</td>
<td>la-h-i-r</td>
<td>enţi-Ø-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>s-a-r</td>
<td>r-i-yi-s-a-r</td>
<td>la-s-i-r</td>
<td>enţi-s-i-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN.</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>f-a-r</td>
<td>b-i-yi-f-a-r</td>
<td>la-f-i-r</td>
<td>enţi-f-i-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN.</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>h-a-r</td>
<td>Ø-yi-h-a-r</td>
<td>la-Ø-r</td>
<td>enţi-Ø-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>f-a-r</td>
<td>b-i-yi-f-a-r</td>
<td>la-f-i-r</td>
<td>enţi-f-i-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AN &amp; INAN</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>h-a-r</td>
<td>Ø-yi-h-a-r</td>
<td>la-Ø-r</td>
<td>enţi-Ø-r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.4  Xinaliq Case System Phonological Alternations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Affix</th>
<th>After a vowel</th>
<th>After a consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>+ Ø</td>
<td>all V + Ø -&gt; V (no change)</td>
<td>all C + Ø -&gt; C (no change)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>all V + i -&gt; i</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; i /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>+ i</td>
<td>all V + i -&gt; i</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; i /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>+ e</td>
<td>a/ä + e -&gt; e</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; i /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>i/i/i + e -&gt; i</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; i /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>+ u</td>
<td>all V + u -&gt; u</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; u /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>+škili</td>
<td>all V + škili -&gt; Vškili</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vškili /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>+ r</td>
<td>all V + r -&gt; Vr</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vr /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>+lli</td>
<td>all V + lli /Vlli</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vlli /C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Locative</td>
<td>+x</td>
<td>all V + x -&gt; Vx</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vx/C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Ablative</td>
<td>+ šilli</td>
<td>all V + šilli -&gt; Všilli</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Všilli/C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Locative</td>
<td>+š</td>
<td>all V+š -&gt; Vš</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vš/C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Ablative</td>
<td>+ šilli</td>
<td>All V + šilli -&gt; Všilli</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Všilli/C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 1</td>
<td>+ ţ</td>
<td>All V + ţ -&gt; Vq</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vq/C__</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 2</td>
<td>+ ţlli</td>
<td>All V + ţlli -&gt; Vqlli</td>
<td>Ø -&gt; Vqlli/C__</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The vowel is determined according to vowel harmony from the last syllable of the word.*
Table 4.5  Noun Conjugations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nouns ending with a low vowel</th>
<th>Nouns ending with a high vowel</th>
<th>Nouns ending with a consonant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mother’</td>
<td>‘neighbor’</td>
<td>‘rock’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍa qonšu</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
<td>Ḍaḍe qonšuyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍid</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>Ḍaḍid</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>Ḍaḍe</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
<td>Ḍaḍi qonšuyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍu</td>
<td>Ḍaḍu qonšu</td>
<td>Ḍaḍu qonšu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Locative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Ablative</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāškili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational locative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāx</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāx qonšux</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāx qonšux</td>
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<td>Ḍaḍāš</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāš qonšu</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāš qonšu</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orientational Ablative</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāxili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāxili</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ḍaḍāšili</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāšili</td>
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<td>Ḍaḍāq</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāq qonšuq</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāq qonšuq</td>
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<td>Ḍaḍāqilli</td>
<td>Ḍaḍāqilli</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.6 Declension in Plural for Classes AN. and INAN.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class AN and INAN</th>
<th>Mountains</th>
<th>Roads</th>
<th>Mice</th>
<th>Dogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>mıdad</td>
<td>kūrabır</td>
<td>nukurdur</td>
<td>puxtad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>mıdadi</td>
<td>kūrabrı</td>
<td>nukurduri</td>
<td>puxtadı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>mıdadi</td>
<td>kūrabrı</td>
<td>nukurduri</td>
<td>puxtadı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>mıdadi</td>
<td>kūrabrı</td>
<td>nukurduri</td>
<td>puxtadı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>mıdadu</td>
<td>kūrabru</td>
<td>nukurduru</td>
<td>puxtadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>mıdadiškili</td>
<td>kūrabriškili</td>
<td>nukurduruškili</td>
<td>puxtadiškili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mıdadır</td>
<td>kūrabrıır</td>
<td>nukurdurır</td>
<td>puxtadur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>mıdadılli</td>
<td>kūrabrılli</td>
<td>nukurdurılli</td>
<td>puxtadılli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational</td>
<td>mıdadır</td>
<td>kūrabrıx</td>
<td>nukurduruχ</td>
<td>puxtadiχ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mıdadišxilli</td>
<td>kūrabrıšxilli</td>
<td>nukurdurušxili</td>
<td>puxtadišxilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
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<td>kūrabrıš</td>
<td>nukurduruš</td>
<td>puxtadiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>mıdadišili</td>
<td>kūrabrıšili</td>
<td>nukurdurušili</td>
<td>puxtadišili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 1</td>
<td>mıdadiq</td>
<td>kūrabrıq</td>
<td>nukurduruq</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 2</td>
<td>mıdadiqili</td>
<td>kūrabrıqili</td>
<td>nukurduruqili</td>
<td>puxtadiqili</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4.7 Class M and Class F Plural Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class M and F</th>
<th>Mothers</th>
<th>Grandfathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Dādād</td>
<td>abad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Dādādi</td>
<td>abadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>Dādādi</td>
<td>abadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>Dādādi</td>
<td>abadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>Dādādu</td>
<td>abadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>Dādādiškilli</td>
<td>abadiškilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>Dādādišilli</td>
<td>abadišilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Locative</td>
<td>Dādādiš</td>
<td>abadešiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Ablative</td>
<td>Dādādišilli</td>
<td>abadešišilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Locative</td>
<td>Dādādiš</td>
<td>abadiš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Ablative</td>
<td>Dādādišilli</td>
<td>abadišilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 2</td>
<td>dādādiqilli</td>
<td>Abadilli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.8 Irregular Class M and Class F Plural Declension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Class M and F</th>
<th>Class F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Halamx'erir</td>
<td>gonšin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>Halamx'erinzi</td>
<td>gonšinzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>Halamx'erinzi</td>
<td>gonšunzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
<td>Halamx'erinzi</td>
<td>gonšunzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>halamx'erinu zu</td>
<td>gonšudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>Halamx'erinziškili</td>
<td>gonšinziškili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>gonšiniž</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>gonšudurullu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Locative</td>
<td>gonšudux</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Ablative</td>
<td>gonšinzišilli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Locative</td>
<td>Halamx'erinziš</td>
<td>gonšuduš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Ablative</td>
<td>Halamx'erinzišilli</td>
<td>gonšinzišilli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 1</td>
<td>halamx'erinziq</td>
<td>gonšinziq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 2</td>
<td>halamx'erinziqíllí</td>
<td>gonšinziqíllí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 4.9 Xinaliq Plurality Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Classes M and F</th>
<th>Classes AN and INAN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- l(v)r</td>
<td>after i, u, ü, e, o, ö</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d</td>
<td>after a, ä</td>
<td>after all vowels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(v)r</td>
<td>after all cons.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-d(v)r</td>
<td>after l, n, r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(v)rd(v)r</td>
<td>after h, y, m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(i/i)n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 ḥāḍmi
deaf man
‘A deaf man’

5.2 xırıç ık
white meat
‘The white meat’

5.3 inkär pši
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 laġın sa bajlaġ-du asır Ḳijā kaḡudžămā
yesterday one blind-v
to.me as.a.guest came
‘Yesterday one blind (man) came over to be my guest’

5.6 laġın sa bajlaġ-dā asır Ḳijā kaḡudžămā
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 varl-\textit{dur} içer durmä
village our rich-VCM.I.PL many are
‘In our village there are many rich people’

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

5.8 varl-\textit{ğiś} va ja çiriği
rich-POSS.LOC.VCM.I.SG you what say
‘What will you say to the rich one?’

5.9 jä varl-\textit{ğıziś} sa rişi eikiridämä
I rich-POSS.LOC.VCM.I.PL one daughter will.marry
‘I will marry the rich one’s daughter’

5.10 varl-\textit{ıgozišill}i pil tentşqäkwi
rich.ones-POSS.ABL.VCM.I.PL money don’t.take
‘Don’t take money from the rich ones’

5.11 varl-\textit{iuq} zi ksanmä
rich.one -COMP.VCM.I.SG me better
‘I am better than the rich one’

5.12 varl-\textit{ıgoziq} zi ksanmä
rich.ones-COMP.VCM.I.PL me better
‘I am better than the rich ones’

5.13 varl-\textit{iğili} kašib ksanmä
rich-ABL.VCM.I.SG poor better
‘The poor one is better than the rich one’

5.14 oti džähil-\textit{gozišill}i sa gada talamä
from young.ones-OR.ABL.I.PL one guy coming
‘From those young ones one guy is coming’
‘The rich people’s house is pretty’
Table 5.1 Sample Declension of the Substantivized Adjective xirıç “white”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Xırıç</th>
<th>White</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-du</td>
<td>VCM.M.SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-dā</td>
<td>VCM.F.SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-dä</td>
<td>VCM.ANIM.SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-ǯi</td>
<td>VCM.INAN.SG.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-dur</td>
<td>VCM.M.PL. &amp; VCM.F.PL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xırıç-ǯii</td>
<td>VCM.ANIM.PL. &amp; VCM.INAN.PL.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2 Conjugated Examples of the Substantivized Adjective *kok* “thick”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>S</th>
<th>I</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>L</th>
<th>U</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>kok-đu</td>
<td>kok-dā</td>
<td>kok-dā</td>
<td>kok-ži</td>
<td>kok-dur</td>
<td>kok-žit</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>kok-ğ-i</td>
<td>kok-ğw-i</td>
<td>kok-s-i</td>
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<td>kokgozi</td>
<td>koksedri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive 1</td>
<td>kok-ğ-i</td>
<td>kok-ğwi</td>
<td>kok-si</td>
<td>koksi</td>
<td>kokgozi</td>
<td>koksedri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Genitive 2</td>
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<td>kok-ğwe</td>
<td>kokse</td>
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<td>kokgozi</td>
<td>koksedri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>kok-ğ-u</td>
<td>kok-ğu</td>
<td>kok-su</td>
<td>kok-su</td>
<td>kokgozu</td>
<td>koksedru</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>kok-goškili</td>
<td>kok-ğāškili</td>
<td>kok-sāškili</td>
<td>kok-sāškili</td>
<td>kokgoziškili</td>
<td>koksedriškili</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational Locative</td>
<td>kok-ğox</td>
<td>kok-ğāx</td>
<td>koksāx</td>
<td>koksāx</td>
<td>kokgozi</td>
<td>koksedri</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orientational Ablative</td>
<td>kok-ğoxilli</td>
<td>kok-ğāšxilli</td>
<td>koksāšxilli</td>
<td>koksāšxilli</td>
<td>kokgozišxilli</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive ve Locative</td>
<td>kok-ğoš</td>
<td>kok-ğāš</td>
<td>koksāš</td>
<td>koksāš</td>
<td>kokgoziš</td>
<td>koksedriš</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive Ablative</td>
<td>kok-ğošilli</td>
<td>kok-ğāšxilli</td>
<td>koksāšxilli</td>
<td>koksāšxilli</td>
<td>kokgozišxilli</td>
<td>koksedrišxilli</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 1</td>
<td>kok-ğoj</td>
<td>kok-ğāj</td>
<td>koksāj</td>
<td>koksāj</td>
<td>kokgozi</td>
<td>koksedri</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative 2</td>
<td>kok-ğojilli</td>
<td>kok-ğāšjilli</td>
<td>koksāšjilli</td>
<td>koksāšjilli</td>
<td>kokgozišjilli</td>
<td>koksedrišjilli</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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- pʰ-qxinkʰu-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-kʰ-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-directional distinctions. This can be done by adding dependent demonstrative pronouns, as is done with independent adjectives (see Chapter 5 on adjectives). Some examples of independent demonstrative pronouns are the following:

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

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

6.5 otuți
‘It that is far and at the same level’

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

6.6  hini sa  māšni liḵuviyā 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  ḱā  pši
    ‘Our horse’
    Used when the horse belongs to the speaker's family and the listener is a member of that family.

6.9  širē  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 ḍire pṣi
‘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 ḃy istal vzi tuṭšāmā
my big finger knife cut
‘My big finger is cut by a knife’

6.12 e qonši čxi riši qomā
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 mā. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
<th>1st Genitive</th>
<th>2nd Genitive</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Comitative</th>
<th>Orientational Locative</th>
<th>Orientational Ablative</th>
<th>Possessive Locative</th>
<th>Possessive Ablative</th>
<th>Comparative 1</th>
<th>Comparative 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>zi</td>
<td>V̄</td>
<td>Zur</td>
<td>yir</td>
<td>kín</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>yā</td>
<td>va</td>
<td>Zur</td>
<td>yir</td>
<td>kín</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st Genitive</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>Vi</td>
<td>Suri</td>
<td>širi</td>
<td>kiri</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd Genitive</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ve</td>
<td>Sure</td>
<td>šire</td>
<td>kire</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>as/asr</td>
<td>ox/oẋr/oẋr/uẋr</td>
<td>Suru</td>
<td>širu</td>
<td>kiru</td>
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</tr>
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<td>viškili</td>
<td>suräškili</td>
<td>širäškili</td>
<td>kiräškili</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orientational</td>
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<td>vix</td>
<td>Suräš</td>
<td>širäš</td>
<td>kiräš</td>
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<td>višilli</td>
<td>Suräšilli</td>
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<td>viš</td>
<td>Suräš</td>
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<td>Suräšilli</td>
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<td>viq</td>
<td>Suräq</td>
<td>širäq</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.2 Forms of the Dependent Demonstrative Pronouns *du* “this” and *hu* “that”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tr>
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<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I-II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>du</em> “this”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct form</td>
<td>du</td>
<td>Đă</td>
<td>dă</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>dur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique form</td>
<td>ğo/ ğă</td>
<td>ğo/ ğă</td>
<td>să</td>
<td>să</td>
<td>ğoz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hu</em> “that”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct form</td>
<td>hu</td>
<td>Hă</td>
<td>hă</td>
<td>hă</td>
<td>hoz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oblique form</td>
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<td>hună</td>
<td>hină</td>
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<td>hină</td>
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</table>
Table 6.3 Dependent Orientation/Direction Demonstrative Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position relative to speaker</th>
<th>MARKER</th>
<th>‘this’</th>
<th>‘that’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Far - on same level</td>
<td>-t-</td>
<td>oti/otu</td>
<td>twi/tü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far - lower</td>
<td>-q-</td>
<td>oqwi/oqu</td>
<td>qwi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Far - above</td>
<td>-t-</td>
<td>oti/otu</td>
<td>ṭtwi/tü</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near</td>
<td>-k-</td>
<td>okwi/oku*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I-II</td>
<td>III-IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nominative</strong></td>
<td>du</td>
<td>ḏā</td>
<td>ḏā</td>
<td>ḏi</td>
<td>ḏu</td>
<td>ḏit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Erg/Gen -1</strong></td>
<td>ġi</td>
<td>ġwi</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>si</td>
<td>ġoz-i</td>
<td>sedr-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen-2</strong></td>
<td>ġe</td>
<td>ġwe</td>
<td>se</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Dative</strong></td>
<td>ġu</td>
<td>ġu</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>su</td>
<td>ġoz-u</td>
<td>sedr-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Comitative</strong></td>
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<td>ġāškili</td>
<td>sāškili</td>
<td>sāškili</td>
<td>ġoz-i-škili</td>
<td>sedr-i-škili</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td>ġor</td>
<td>ġār</td>
<td>sār</td>
<td>sār</td>
<td>ġoz-i-r</td>
<td>sedr-i-r</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ablative</strong></td>
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<td>ġālli</td>
<td>sālli</td>
<td>sālli</td>
<td>ġoz-i-lli</td>
<td>sedr-i-lli</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Oriental Locative</strong></td>
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<td>ġāx</td>
<td>sāx</td>
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<td><strong>Possessive Locative</strong></td>
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<td>ġāš</td>
<td>sāš</td>
<td>sāš</td>
<td>ġoz-i-š</td>
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<td>sāq</td>
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</table>
Table 6.5 Full Paradigm for Independent Demonstrative *hu* “that-he/she/it”

<table>
<thead>
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<th>PLURAL</th>
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<td>II</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>I-II</td>
<td>III-IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>hä</td>
<td>hä</td>
<td>hoz</td>
<td>hed</td>
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<td>hun-i</td>
<td>hoz-i</td>
<td>hin-edr-i</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hinä-š</td>
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Table 6.6 Possessive Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive Pronouns</th>
<th>INALIENABLE (GEN 1)</th>
<th>ALIENABLE (GEN 2)</th>
<th>KINSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘my’</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>E</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Ve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his’ ‘her’ ‘its’</td>
<td>ği (CM.MASC)</td>
<td>ğe (CM.MASC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ğwi (CM.FEM)</td>
<td>ğwe (CM.FEM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘his’ ‘her’ ‘its’</td>
<td>hin (CM.MASC)</td>
<td>hine (CM.MASC)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>huni (CM.FEM)</td>
<td>hune (CM.FEM)</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘our’ EXCL</td>
<td>širi</td>
<td>širê</td>
<td>šä</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘our’ INCL</td>
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<td>kʰire</td>
<td>kʰä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>Suri</td>
<td>Sure</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘their’ NEAR</td>
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<td>ğozi</td>
<td>ğotur</td>
</tr>
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<td>‘their’ FAR</td>
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<td>Hozí</td>
<td>hotur</td>
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Table 6.7 Interrogatives

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<tr>
<th>Cases</th>
<th>‘who’</th>
<th>‘what’</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>kla</td>
<td>ya/yaza**</td>
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<td>čini</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>činu</td>
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*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

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<thead>
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<th>Cases</th>
<th>Singular/Plural ‘someone’</th>
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<td>Ablative</td>
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<td>činälliqi</td>
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<td>činäxiqi</td>
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<td>činäqi</td>
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<th>Singular</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<td>‘no one’, ‘nothing’</td>
<td>‘no one’, ‘nothing’</td>
<td>‘no one’, ‘nothing’</td>
<td>‘no one’, ‘nothing’</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cases</td>
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<td>Class II (FEM)</td>
<td>Class IV (INAN)</td>
<td>Class I and Class II</td>
<td>Class III and Class IV</td>
</tr>
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<td>Nominative</td>
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<td>sadä</td>
<td>Saži</td>
<td>sātkādur</td>
<td>sātkāžit</td>
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<td>čināğiwi</td>
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<td>sātkāгоzi</td>
<td>sātkāʔadni</td>
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<td>čināğiwi</td>
<td>Čināsi</td>
<td>sātkāгоzi</td>
<td>sātkāʔadni</td>
</tr>
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<td>čināğiwe</td>
<td>Čināse</td>
<td>sātkāгоzi</td>
<td>sātkāʔadni</td>
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<td>čināgü</td>
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<td>Čināšškili</td>
<td>sātkāгоziškili</td>
<td>sātkāʔadriškili</td>
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<td>čināغوš</td>
<td>Čināšš</td>
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<td>sātkāʔadriš</td>
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<td>čināغوš</td>
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<td>sātkāʔadriq</td>
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Table 6.10 Dependent Affirmative Quantifiers

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>‘each’/‘every’</th>
<th>‘each’/‘every’</th>
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<td>hārkla</td>
<td>hārya</td>
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<td>hārkši</td>
<td>Hārčini</td>
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<td>Gen-2</td>
<td>hārkš-e</td>
<td>hārkš-e</td>
<td>hārčin-e</td>
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<td>hārkš-u</td>
<td>hārčin-u</td>
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</tr>
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<td>hārkšä-škili</td>
<td>hārkšä-škili</td>
<td>hārčinä-škili</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Locative</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
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<td>hārčinä-χ</td>
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<td>hārčinä-š</td>
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<td>hārkšä-šilli</td>
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<td>Class III (ANIM)</td>
<td>Class IV (INAN)</td>
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<td>Härsu</td>
<td>härгоzu</td>
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### Table 6.12 Dependent Negative Quantifiers

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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
<td>III</td>
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</table>
Table 6.13 Independent Negative Quantifiers

<table>
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<th>Cases</th>
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<th>Singular ‘nobody’/‘nothing’</th>
<th>Singular ‘nobody’/‘nothing’</th>
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<td>Class II (FEM)</td>
<td>Class III (ANIM)</td>
<td>Class I and Class II</td>
<td>Class III and Class IV</td>
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<td>hečsadā</td>
<td>Hečsaži</td>
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<td>hečsātkāžīt</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
<td>Hečināısı</td>
<td>hečsātkāgozi</td>
<td>hečsātkāsādri</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
<td>Hečsi</td>
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<td>hečsātkāsādri</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
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<td>hečsātkāsādri</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
<td>Hečškili</td>
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<td>hečsātkāškāškili</td>
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<td>hečsātkāsādriš</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
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<td>hečināğiwi II</td>
<td>Hečsāqilli</td>
<td>hečsātkāzqžilli</td>
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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’
qi – ‘to be’
xi* – ‘to go’
ki – ‘to burn’
cuvi – ‘to drink’

* xi often gets realized as ği 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 taχir-kwi
   jump-to.do
   ‘to jump’

7.2 uvludαmišbi-qi
   howl-to.be
   ‘to howl’

7.3 latxa-χi
   away-go
   ‘to go away’

7.4 enži-kwi
   down-to.do
   ‘to bring down’

7.5 enži-ği
   down-to.go
   ‘to come down’

7.6 čxi-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 či-ki
   ‘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-qwi
   LOC.M-CM1.M.SG-fall.AOR
   ‘He fell down’

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

7.14 lat-zi-qwi
   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’*)
lįk-i vs. lįk-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
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 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 läḫwi ‘carry’

7.16. läḫ-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 ḳ-izi ‘to burn’ (imperfective)
7.19  č-ili  ‘sowing (seed)’ (imperfective)
7.20  x-i  ‘go’ (perfective) vs. kwi ‘go’ (imperfective)
7.21  q̇i  ‘become’ (perfective) vs. kwi ‘become’ (imperfective)
7.22  zaği  ‘see’ (perfective) vs. dax̣i ‘see’ (imperfective)

(iv) A handful of verbs seem to change their root suppletively in the imperfective.
Some examples of these, shown in Table 7.5, include the following: aorist tense with perfective, imperative mood (2nd person) with perfective I, simple present with imperfective, and imperative mood (in 3rd person) with imperfective I.

Aorist and simple present both have ø marker, while the imperative mood has -a/ä marker in second person and -wa in third.

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

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

There are eighteen tense forms in Xinaliq (see Section 7.3). As has been established already, each tense form is possible only with a specific aspect form. Before we look at Area III, Figures 7.2, 7.3, and 7.4 summarize which tenses are attached to
which aspectual inflections. A discussion will follow on the phonetic representation of those tenses with examples.

Perfect I aspect does not take tense forms.

7.5.2 Area III

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

7.5.2.1 Past/Nonpast Indicator

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

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

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

As far as the past/nonpast marker being used independently, the simple present, aorist, neutral past and future I tenses have only the past/nonpast indicator. Therefore in
all these tenses the past/nonpast marker is phonetically realized as ø or šā. As can be seen from Table 7.9, three of them have a nonpast ø marker, while one has past marker šā.

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

7.5.2.1.1 Simple Present= -Ø

Figure 7.9 shows where simple present fits morphologically in the verb. The simple present tense is seldom used. It denotes action that takes place at the time of speaking, but it is used less often than the present I and present II tenses (see below). Some examples are:
7.23 gāš-iri-Ø
falling-IMPF.ASP-SMP.PRS.
‘It is falling’

7.24 āvāl yā hā xl-i-Ø hana āndāzmā
first I this boil-IMPF.ASP-SMP.PRS. then eat
‘First I boil it, then I eat it’

7.25 ātčmāškirval īxer zī ānžimšku-i-Ø
untying very I suffer-IMPF.ASP-SMP.PRS.
‘I suffer from untangling (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 čtkw hinānulli qašk-i-Ø
one tooth hurting loose fall-PRF.ASP-AOR.
‘One hurting loose tooth, fell out by itself’

7.27 hu hinā āgār yecini-Ø zī taltəx-i-Ø
he his house stay-AOR. I come-PRF.ASP-AOR.
‘He stayed at his house, I came’

7.28 yā kačin 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 -\textit{ri}). Some examples appear in (7.29) and (7.30).

7.29 yä oşur dā pil hana latîq-ir-Ø-mā
I this later money you give-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I-INDIC.
‘I shall give you that money later’

7.30 činâ qā totux lâ-r-Ø-mā
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 oşur läxp-ir-Ø-mā
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 kîza orph-ir-Ø-mā
tomorrow roof.from snow melt-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I.-INDIC.
‘Tomorrow the snow will melt from the roof’

7.33 yä râhimi sâfîrdir dyzk-ir-Ø-mā
I Ragim mistakes correct-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I.-INDIC.
‘I will correct Ragim’s mistakes’

7.34 yä sa ḵînîg dârzahr istraṭk-ir-Ø-mā
I one week sea.by vacation-IMPF.ASP-FUT.I.-INDIC.
‘I will vacation by the sea for a week’
7.5.2.1.4 Neutral Past= -šä

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

7.35  hini ḳu sāyāt sup x-i-šā-mā
he   two hours soup boil-PRT-PST.INDIC
‘He was boiling the soup for two hours’

7.36  inqer şinimķiri dārtli māyāni liḵuv-šā-mā
old lady sad song sing-PST.INDIC
‘The old lady was singing a sad song’

7.37  hini ixer çark-u-šā-mā yā hīnāx ṭopčaḵunāt-i-šā-mā
he   a.lot scream-PRT-PST.INDIC. 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  yā hini pšā borž lāk-u-šā-mā
I   him bread lend give-PRT-PST.INDIC
‘I lent him some bread’

7.39  zī baylaḵgoq daḵ talḵ-i-šā-mā
I blind faster come-PRT-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 ġ-u-šā-mā
chair leg break-PRT-PST.INDIC
‘A chair’s leg broke off’

7.41 pxtadi zi čuš-šä-mä
dogs me bite-PST-IND
‘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 miñilga hozi daʾva loxun-šä-mä
evening their fighting end-PST-INDIC
‘In the evening their fighting ended’

7.43 yir midar apixsun hinel kaž zabīš-šä-mä
we mountains went when snake see-PST-INDIC
‘When we went to the mountains, we saw a snake there’

We now look at the other tenses in Area III.

7.5.2.2 Other Tenses

These are the tenses that do not fall into any other category. They require more than past/nonpast distinction, and they take neither tense class markers nor orientation/direction markers. First we look at where they fit in the 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  ya taza peyram niʃ-r-at-mä
     I new shirt am.putting-IMPF-ASP-PRS.I-INDIC
     ‘I am putting on a new shirt’

7.45  mič višalli 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 ḫupor inke sas lik-at-mä
       my ear river noise enters-PRS.I-INDIC
       ‘In my ear the noise of the river is entering’

7.47  i mikid çɨtku-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  lağin ya ixer čikižmä säʕälātir sacaʃ-q-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  zi daʃ-daʃ званisäs çurq-at-mä
       I fast-fast walked tiered-PRF.I-INDIC
       ‘Because I walked really fast, I am tired’
7.50 ิ คูโอล ขาระบัต-มี
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 ้ยมัดิ นัดิร์-ซิลิ ดัลิก-ธร-อ-สส-มี
Ahmed Nadir-with  work-IMPF.ASP-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC
‘Ahmed was working with Nadir’

7.52 ถิน ลั้ก อิน ปสอร ฮยสับธร-อ-สส-มี
he yesterday horses count-IMPF.ASP-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC
‘He was counting horses yesterday’

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

7.53 ถิน ลั้ก อิน กาสิลิน ฮิ ซิล อิน ซัล อิน ซัล อ-สส-มี
I yesterday came he soup boil-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC
‘When I came yesterday, he was boiling (making) soup’

7.54 จิร ใบปลรอลุก การ์รู ธำร-อ-สส-มี
we vislan came rain pour-IMPF.ASP-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC
‘When we came from Vislan, it was raining’

7.55 ถิน กาสิลิน ฮุ คลิ-อ-สส-มี
I walked in he die-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC
‘When I walked in, he was dying’

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

7.56 ถินิสิ ลิสัมอคิฮีนี ซัลธร-อ-สส-มี
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 ḡa ḱ-a-šā-mā hana ksanğišāmā
he last.year die-IMPF.I-PST-INDIC but got.better
‘He was dying last year, but got better’

7.58 doxṭur ksan āṭsvu-r-a-šā-mā ama hu jaḥatišāmā
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=

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 zi sure arar toxun-a-šā-mā
I you between stand-PLPRF.I-PST-INDIC
‘I was standing between you’

7.60 hini lağin ča yib-a-šāmā hanımzağı čwa qaranğığišāmā
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 miča unq quḷa gāširsāqīlli qabaqir kilğ-a-šā-mā
black clouds rain come before gather-PLPRF.I-PST-INDIC
‘Black clouds gathered, right before the rain came’
7.5.2.2.5 Present Habitual – -(t)ar

Figure 7.18 shows where the present habitual tense fits in the morphological structure of the verb. The present habitual tense represents habitual, typical or continually occurring action, as in the following examples:

7.62 šä än misi csı hala mäktäbir liḳuv-tar-i-mä
my most young brother yet school study-PRS.HAB-NEG-INDIC
‘My youngest brother is not studying in school yet’

7.63 hini ṭupu kl-ar-i-mä
he ear hear.not-PRS.HAB-NEG-INDIC
‘His ear is not hearing’

7.64 häki kire ẓāmäʕät ksan yašamišku-ar-mä
now our people well live-PRS.HAB-INDIC
‘Now our people live well’

The present habitual tense can also indicate repetitive (not continual) action, as in:

7.65 gus ṭal izakorun daγva ƙ-i-tar-mä
upper lip itches when happens-IMPF.ASP-PRS.HAB-INDIC
‘When the upper lip itches, a fight happens’

7.66 inqimir maqal dax Ɂić-ar-mä
sun.in dirt fast dries-PRS.HAB-INDIC
‘In the sun, dirt dries fast’

7.67 ḥakaændä ṭinçer liğiɾ macigir 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 ḥāyāl vaḵt hu daḵ-dax ǧisilli  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-IMPF.ASP-PST.HAB-PST-INDIC
‘He played football well’

7.70 yā qabaḵīr e qonšiš daḵ-daḵ pši läḵ-i-tar-šā-mā
I before my neighbor often horse lend-IMPF.ASP-PST.HAB-PST-INDIC
‘I used to lend my horse to the neighbor often’

7.5.2.3 Tenses with Verb Class Markers

Figure 7.20 shows the general structural location of VCM tenses in the verb (see also Figure 7.1). VCM tenses (tenses with verb class markers) change their form depending on the noun class and number. They function the same as noun class markers. There are four categories: masculine, feminine, animate and inanimate. Each category has singular and plural markers, as demonstrated in Table 7.11.

The VCM marker is used with the future II, irrealis past, definite past and indefinite past tenses. The future II and irrealis past are formed with imperfective aspect. Definite past and indefinite past are formed with the perfective aspect. Thus, markers in Table 7.11 indicate tense and class category. Below we discuss each one of these tenses in more detail.
7.5.2.3.1 Future II (VCM Tense)

Figure 7.21 shows where the future II tense fits morphologically in the verb. The future II tense is more commonly used than future I. It often indicates action that will take place in the future without completion. For example:

7.71 yä paga qät mikiq anțin ric-ir-ž-mä
I tomorrow all.day night till laundry-IMPF.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
‘I will be doing laundry all day (till evening) tomorrow’

7.72 hini futbol ansk-ir-ž-mä
he football play-IMPF.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
‘He will play football’

7.73 yä ğuğab lâkuğağli yä k-iri-ž-mä
I word gave I do-IMPF.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
‘If I gave my word, I will do it’

7.74 kin avgust lântını dalıgk-iri-ž-mä
we august will work-IMPF.ASP-VCM.FUT.II-INDIC
‘We will work until August’

7.5.2.3.2 Irrealis Past (VCM Tense)

Figure 7.22 shows where the irrealis past fits morphologically in the verb. The irrealis past indicates what could/should/would have happened if certain conditions were met. Therefore it indicates a possible future within the past. Irrealis is always followed by šä to indicate past tense, while future II is only followed by the mood marker.

7.75 āğär qandäži ḥâzirqiqäsın yä vix sâsk-ir-ž-sä-mä
if food ready I you call-IMPF.ASP-VCM.IRR-PST-INDIC
‘If food had been ready, I would have called you’

7.76 va lindäqäsın i kurqindä-ž-sä-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 āula gäššämä
we volleyball play-IMPF.ASP-VCM.IRR-PST-INDIC but rain came

‘We were going to play volleyball, but it rained’

7.78 já čık-ir-ž-šä-mä amma vi ati(639,358),(755,396)(833,357),(950,397)gil jā čıkatišämä
I say-IMPF.ASP-VCM.IRR-PST-INDIC but you because I say.not

‘I was about to say, but because you were (here), I didn’t’

7.5.2.3.3 Definite Past (VCM Tense)

Figure 7.23 shows where the definite past fits in verb morphology. As suggested by its name, the definite past is used when a specific time frame, referring to a more concrete time of the event compared to the neutral past tense, is indicated.

7.79 hu lağn ğisilli alku-d-mä
he yesterday roof fall-VCM.DEF.PST.-INDIC

‘Yesterday he fell off the roof’

7.80 hu misi-yorun hotur dādā ziki-dā-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 ḥāyāl vaxt zī biyiškili mīḵiš-d-mä
childhood time I father listen-VCM.DEF.PST.-INDIC.

‘During my childhood I listened to my father’

7.82 hu kūčiʃan yaʃ yašamiʃqi-du-mä
he sixty years live-VCM.DEF.PST.-INDIC.
‘He lived sixty years’

7.83 ħākim i hā ḳurqin-ż-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 ixer ksan ansk-u-ż-mā  
london our team very well play-PRF.AS-VCM.DEF.PST-INDIC  
‘In London our team played very well’

7.85 bombardmanışili berlinir ixer čıtâbur dağılmışq-i-ż-mā  
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 ħäyäl vaşt hu gisilli alkıyā paça รวidā-šā-mā  
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 vičir să qā sa hadisā รว-i-ż-šā-mā  
July month one time one event happen-PRF.ASP-VCM.INDEF.PST-PST-INDIC  
‘In July once this event happened’
7.88 tagaqi yă oxur čikṣini vi baštaziqi-dă-šă-mă
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 ımdede tāpāx yanaşı kıza erp-ir-o-mā
mountain top next snow thaw-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘Next to the top of the mountain snow is thawing’

7.90 ţing-ţing qula gāş-ir-to-mā
rain unusual rain-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘It is raining unusually’

7.91 halamşeri halam enţik-ir-qo-mā
shepherd sheep bring.down-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘The shepherd is bringing down the sheep’

7.92 ımdede dibili sa ḥādmi atxaku-i-qo-mā
mountain below one man walking-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘There is a man walking below the mountain’

The present II tense can also be used to indicate a state of being, with emphasis on longevity of action. When there is no spatial orientation implied, the neutral form with -qo- is used, as seen in the following:

7.93 inţiımı kanık čuvzabi hini mişir ixer čıtku-i-qo-mā
sun because sit he head very hurt-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘Because he sat in the sun, his head hurts a lot’

7.94 ḥayal hotur dādāş kāvi ṭān-i-qo-mā
child for mother very.much cry-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘The child is crying very much for his mother’

7.95 kıza erp-ir-qo-mā
snow thaw-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘Snow is thawing’

The present II tense can also indicate certain properties that are “innate” to the subject, as in (7.96) and (7.97).
7.96 nin mälämišku-i-qo-mä
cat meow-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘The cat is meowing’

7.97 kulak uvulamišku-i-qo-mä
wind howl-IMPF.ASP-PRS.II-INDIC
‘Wind is howling’

7.5.2.4.2 Perfect II= -(q/t)o

Figure 7.27 shows how the perfect II tense fits morphologically into the verb. The perfect II tense refers to actions that took place at the time of speaking, but, in addition (similarly to present II), it gives information about the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker. The most commonly used form of perfect II seems to be -qo-, and as a result it will be analyzed here as an underlying form. If one is unsure of an addressee’s exact spatial location, the -qo- marker is used. For instance:

- o – addressee is higher than the speaker
- qo - addressee is lower than the speaker (or no spatial orientation of addressee implied)
- to - addressee is same level as the speaker

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

7.99 halam.midar čiğ-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 dâšvar hini ƙilism aram tuv-tô-mâ

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 dâ vaz uraš Âermišku-ţo-mâ

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 pxrî aḡyrîr sa çxi inê çuxujâ qandâ-ţo-şâ-mâ

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 zi iţi wâxîrîţîgâ laçkorun şâmşir yâ šärâfi hohozî iţâbir wâx-îr-ţo-şâ-mâ

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

‘Yesterday when I went to the barber shop, Shemshir and Sheref were shaving their faces’

7.5.2.4.4 Pluperfect II= -(q/t)o

Figure 7.29 shows where the pluperfect II tense fits morphologically in the verb.

The pluperfect II refers to actions that took place in the past, but, in addition (similarly to
perfect II), it gives information about the spatial orientation of the subject of the event in relation to the speaker. Below are the affixes for specific spatial relationships:

- **ošä** – addressee is higher than the speaker
- **qošä** – addressee is lower than the speaker (or the spatial location of the 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 zi hotur çwa laḥsın hu çwa toyişämä čuqi PrimaryKey: x-i-to-šä-mä
I his house come he house was.not somewhere walk go-PRF.ASP-PFLPRF.II-PST-INDIC
‘When I came to his house, he was not at home, he had gone somewhere for a walk’

7.105 äḥmäd Қalar yecin-qo-sä-mä
Ahmed Guba stay-PLPRF.II-PST-INDIC
‘Ahmed stayed in Guba’

7.5.3 Area IV

Area IV in Xinaliq morphology is designated for negation in the verb. It is expressed as an internal suffix that follows tense forms and precedes mood suffixes. According to Figure 7.1, if negation is formed with an OD tense marker, it requires another CM as a morpheme before the negation. An example is illustrated in Table 7.12.

7.5.4 Area V

Area V is taken by the past/nonpast markers Ø or šä. All tenses in this position (exceptions are the tenses that only have past/nonpast markers). Tables 7.13 and 7.14 show which tense forms take which marker.
7.5.5 Area VI

This area, the final verb segment in Xinaliq, is occupied by a mood marker, briefly discussed in Section 7.4. In this section we look at individual mood markers and their morphology within the Xinaliq verb.

7.5.5.1 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is marked with -mä- in Xinaliq and is used to indicate events that are (or are not) factual or actual. It also indicates action that is (or is not) taking place in the future. It is the most commonly used mood in Xinaliq and every language is known to have indicative mood, though often it is not marked morphologically in an overt way. Most examples cited above are in the indicative mood.

7.5.5.2 Irrealis Moods

There are, as mentioned, six irrealis moods in Xinaliq.

7.5.5.2.1 Interrogative Mood

Generally interrogative mood is used for asking questions. This mood is rare in the world’s languages. Most languages use change in word order or some other syntactic device to form yes-no questions. In Xinaliq the interrogative mood marker is -yu- after a vowel and -u- after a consonant, illustrated in the following:

7.106 yä anṣirval ox dax̣-et-ŭ
I play you see-PRES-I-INTER.
‘Do you see (that) I am playing?’

7.107 x̣i-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 čalali taga qalturbbz-ir-du
   he Quba when come.back-IMPERF.ASP-VCM.M.SG
   ‘When does he come back from Quba?’

7.109  čwa 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  ägär va hä cul-eti-qi   yä vî colli latırçirmä
   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-qi    alku-d-i-qi 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 qula gäš-ät-qi    azaqi
   night rain came-PRS.I-COND probably
   ‘At night it probably rained’

7.5.5.2.3 Unexpected Mood

This mood is marked with –qimis-. It denotes an event or action not previously known to the speaker, as in:
7.113 as muxwi-ž-i-mä hâ hasım ŵäkin-tar-qiniš
   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 ḥäyälü 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 daligk-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 lagün taza pežram nişre-šä-kwa
   I should yesterday new shirt wear-PST-POTEN
   ‘I was supposed to wear a new shirt yesterday’

7.5.5.2.5 Imperative Mood

   The imperative mood indicates direct commands, requests or prohibitions. Its use is often considered impolite in Xinaliq. The morphology for commands varies according
to person and number. For singular number it is marked by -a/ä. The plural is formed by
-lun/-lus (the distribution between those two forms is difficult to figure out; they seem
freely distributed). Examples include:

7.118 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/ı for singular and -in/ın for plurals.

7.121 alk-ıll
   fall-IMP.SG.
   ‘Fall!’

7.122 alk-ıll-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 toşuni-ıı
   to stand-AOR.
   ‘To stand’

7.124 toşun-ıı
   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 mıği çağız tākā i kala anşpxi-nā
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 xıni şingibir tāmisk-ä
water drops clean-IMP.SG
‘Clean the drops of water’

7.127 žabkā-lus daşv-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 şetmäki xinimkıri pšā vaş 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 l̄ikw̄-kwi
read-PROH
‘Don't read!’

7.130 latik-ā-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 hā mašin ḥālīl nāsk-ā-si
Xalil this car today drive-IMP-PROH
‘Today Xalil should not drive this car’

7.133 talamšarki xur zikin-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.
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

- Imperative mood 1st person (nā)
- Imperative mood 2nd person (ā, r, l, 罟)
- Prohibitive mood 1st person (yi)
- Prohibitive mood 2nd person (kwi)
- Prohibitive mood 3rd person (si)

Figure 7.31 Moods with Imperfective Aspect

- Indicative mood (mā)
- Interrogative mood (u)
- Conditional mood (qi)
- Unexpected mood (qimiš)
- Potential mood (kwa)
Figure 7.32 Moods with Imperfective I Aspect

- Imperative mood 3st person (wa)
- Indicative mood (mā)
- Interrogative mood (u)
- Conditional mood (qi)
- Unexpected mood (qimish)
- Potential mood (kwa)
Table 7.1 Tense Forms of Xinaliq

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<td>Present I</td>
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<th>Future tense</th>
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<td>Future II</td>
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<td>Irrealis past</td>
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Table 7.2 Xinaliq Moods

<table>
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<th>Mood</th>
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<td>Indicative mood</td>
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<td>Interrogative mood</td>
<td>(y)u or ø</td>
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<td>Conditional mood</td>
<td>qī</td>
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<td>Unexpected mood</td>
<td>qīmiš</td>
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<td>Potential mood</td>
<td>kwa</td>
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<td>Prohibitive mood</td>
<td>kwi</td>
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<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>kir-et-mä</td>
<td>‘he does’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kir-et-i-mä</td>
<td>‘he doesn’t’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-tar-šä-mä</td>
<td>‘he did’ (habitually)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi- q-e-šä-mä</td>
<td>‘it became’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-qi-dä-š-u</td>
<td>‘did it become?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-qi-qo-v-i- mä</td>
<td>‘it didn’t become’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-qi-qo- šä- mä</td>
<td>‘would’ve become’</td>
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Table 7.4 Verb Inflections for Aspect

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<th>Group</th>
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<th>Imperfective I</th>
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<td>back C + wi</td>
<td>back C + i</td>
<td>back C + iri</td>
<td>back C + it</td>
</tr>
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<td>II</td>
<td>front C + (i/i)</td>
<td>front C + (i/i)</td>
<td>front C + (i/i) + ri</td>
<td>front C + {i/i} + t</td>
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<tr>
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<td>back C + 1</td>
<td>back C + 1</td>
<td>back C + 1 + ri</td>
<td>back C + 1 + t</td>
</tr>
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<td>III</td>
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<td>n</td>
<td>ndä</td>
<td>nt</td>
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<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>(y) ̣ CV</td>
<td>CV (l/ř/z) + i</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5 Examples of Aspect Formations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Perfective I</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperfective I</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>vāx-wi</td>
<td>vāx-ā</td>
<td>vāx-iri</td>
<td>vāx-it-wa</td>
<td>to shave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>yib-i</td>
<td>yib-ā</td>
<td>yib-ri</td>
<td>yib-i-t-wa</td>
<td>to extinguish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rč-i</td>
<td>rč-ā</td>
<td>rč-1-ri</td>
<td>rč-1-t-wa</td>
<td>to wash</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>toxu-ni</td>
<td>toxu-n</td>
<td>toxu-ndä</td>
<td>toxu-nt-wa</td>
<td>to stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>xi</td>
<td>y-ā-xā</td>
<td>xi-l-i</td>
<td>xi-l-wa</td>
<td>to boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ki</td>
<td>y-ki-l</td>
<td>ki-z-i</td>
<td>ki-z-wa</td>
<td>to burn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.6 Rules for Formation of Perfective I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Perfective I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Underlying form</td>
<td>wi -&gt; i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Cwi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>C + (i/i)</td>
<td>i -&gt; Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>ni</td>
<td>i -&gt; Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>CV</td>
<td>_CV -&gt; (y) å</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.7 Rules for Formation of Imperfective I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Imperfective I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Underlying form</td>
<td>ri -&gt; it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Ciri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Ciri</td>
<td>ri -&gt; t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Ndä</td>
<td>dä -&gt; t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>CV l/r/z + i</td>
<td>i -&gt; Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.8 Past/Nonpast Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Future</th>
<th>Past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(nonpast)</td>
<td>Šä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.9 Past/Nonpast Indicator Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ø</th>
<th>šä</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Simple Present</td>
<td>Neutral Past</td>
<td>Neutral Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp. asp.</td>
<td>Perf. asp.</td>
<td>Perf. asp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aorist</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perf. asp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imp. asp.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>at</th>
<th>ar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present I</td>
<td>Present I (Imp. asp)</td>
<td>Habitual Present (Imp. I asp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect I</td>
<td>Perfect I (Perf. asp)</td>
<td>Habitual Past (Imp. I asp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperfect I</td>
<td>Imperfect I (Imp. asp)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pluperfect I</td>
<td>Pluperfect I (Perf. asp)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.11 VCM Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.SG</th>
<th>M.PL</th>
<th>F.SG</th>
<th>F.PL</th>
<th>AN.SG</th>
<th>AN.PL</th>
<th>INAN.SG</th>
<th>INAN.PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dä</td>
<td>dur</td>
<td>dä</td>
<td>žit</td>
<td>ži/ž</td>
<td>žit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.12 Example of Xinaliq Negative Verb

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>Word</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>qi</td>
<td>qo</td>
<td>vi</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>mä</td>
<td>biqiqovimä</td>
<td>didn’t become</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.13 Past/Nonpast Distinction between Tenses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Šā</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Šā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present I</td>
<td>Perfect I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present II</td>
<td>Perfect II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future II</td>
<td>Pluperfect I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect I</td>
<td>Pluperfect II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perfect II</td>
<td>Irrealis past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Definite past</td>
<td>Indefinite past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Habitual present</td>
<td>Habitual past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.14 Tense-Aspect Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfective aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective aspect</th>
<th>Perfective aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective aspect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-ø</td>
<td>Ù</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-ø</td>
<td>Ù</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>atmä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-atmä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-atmä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-e-sämä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-e-sämä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(q)omä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-(q)omä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-(q)omä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-(q)jošämä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-(q)jošämä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źmä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-(ź)mä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-(ź)mä</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-(ź)sämä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-(ź)sämä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mä</td>
<td>IMPRF.ASP-r(i)-mä*</td>
<td>PERF.ASP-sämä</td>
<td>Neutral past</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armä</td>
<td>NO ASP-armä</td>
<td>No ASP-armä</td>
<td>Habitual present</td>
<td>Habitual past</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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-mā ‘is’

Past tense suffix in indicative: ša-mā ‘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 zi hāki māṣāll im-mā
   I now teacher am-AUX.I.PRES.
   ‘I am a teacher now’

8.2 čuval čeyirl hāyvan-mā
   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 azerbaijāndā-dumā
he azerbaijani-AUX.II.VCM.I.SG
‘He is Azerbaijanian’

8.6  sä mde hündürval čuťon-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  asir murdar ḥāyvani ķir lika 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 baylağw-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 baylağwi-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 čuñon pil at-Ø
how much money have-AUX.III.INTER.
‘How much money do you have?’

8.12 vi kallar ixer miçä fikirdir atmä
your head very dark thoughts exist.AUX.III
‘You have very dark thoughts in your head’ (literally ‘your head has dark thoughts’)

Negation is formed similarly to other auxiliaries. An -i- marker is added to Auxiliary III, as shown in Examples 8.13-8.14.
8.13 ınımki mulli čwa až-i-mā
  wife answer mullah home AUX.III-NEG-AUX.III
‘The wife answered that Mullah is not home’

8.14 ma ʒure yā at? če at-mā
  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 mağa at-mā
  water hot is-AUX.III
‘The water is hot’

8.16 dā mič mič at-mā
  this apple sour is-AUX.III
‘This apple is sour’

8.4 Auxiliary IV

The meaning of Auxiliary IV -qomā- 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 -qomā- 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 -qomā- 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 unk omā
our village above cloud is.AUX.IV
‘There is a cloud above our village’

8.18 dā riši ħayardā qomā
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 midar kāl ov-i-šämā
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 ġe riši ħayardā mičā pilor qomā
this girl beautiful black eye.PL have.AUX.IV
‘This girl has beautiful black eyes’

8.21 hini ṭupor qiyl sirğa qošämā
her ears gold earrings have.AUX.IV.PST
‘In her ears she had gold earrings’ (literally ‘her ears had gold earrings’)

8.22 kalla tomā hināš
head have. AUX.IV he

‘He has a head’ (i.e., ‘he is smart’)

-qomā- with inanimate nouns in the locative:

8.23 vi kallar ičer miča fikirdir atmā
your head.LOC very black thoughts there.are-AUX.IV
‘There are very black thoughts in your head’

8.25 bädrär ķu qomā
bucket.LOC water there.is-AUX.IV
‘There is water in the bucket’
Table 8.1 Auxiliary II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pres.</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>pres.</td>
<td>past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
<td>dumä</td>
<td>dämä</td>
<td>dämä</td>
<td>žimä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dušämä</td>
<td>däšämä</td>
<td>däšämä</td>
<td>žišämä</td>
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<tr>
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<td>durmä</td>
<td>žitmä</td>
<td>žitmä</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>durmä</td>
<td>durmä</td>
<td>žitšämä</td>
<td>žitšämä</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 9

VERB ALIGNMENT AND AGREEMENT

9.1 Verb Alignment

Morphosyntactic verb alignment refers to the system (rules) used to distinguish between arguments of transitive and intransitive verbs in a language, and how the subjects and objects of verbs pattern with respect to one another. In the basic sentence structure, there are three main “players”: verb, subject, and object. Perhaps more accurately, these categories are defined by Comrie (1978) as “semantico-syntactic roles”:

i. The most agent-like argument of a transitive clause
ii. The only argument of an intransitive clause
iii. The patient argument (the less agent-like argument of transitive verbs)

Transitive and intransitive verbs of course differ from one another in their arguments. Intransitive verbs have one core argument, the subject or “only core argument of an intransitive clause”; (ii) above, hereafter referred to as (S). There is generally no controversy concerning subject status in intransitive constructions. Transitive verbs have two core arguments, the subject and direct object; however, they are more accurately referred to as the agent or “most agent-like argument,” hereafter referred to as (A), and the patient, hereafter referred to as (O), corresponding to (i) and (iii) above. Thus, languages can be characterized in terms of A, S, O, and V rather than simply S, O, and V. This allows us to know if we are dealing with transitive or intransitive verbs, providing us with tools of reference for more detailed description of grammatical relations.
Depending on what case markings are used on nouns (and forms that function as nominals), we can differentiate one type of structure from another. The morphological markings that distinguish the roles these arguments play can occur on nouns, pronouns, or verbs (and, incidentally anything that is nominalized, thus on nominalized verbs or adjectives, too). In Xinaliq the marking is on verbs, pronouns and certain types of adjectives (those that are nominalized, that is, function as nominls). Most languages have only two contrastive markers for the three core arguments S, A and O, either using one marking for S and A and another for O, or one marking for S and O and a different one for A, thus treating two arguments the same way and the third distinctly. Other variations in alignment are also possible in the world’s languages. Some alignments are much more common than others. The most common alignment is accusative alignment (nominative-accusative), in which S and A are treated the same and O is treated differently (S=A). Ergative alignment (ergative-absolutive) is less common. In this alignment, S and O are treated the same and A is treated differently (S=O). The case shared by S and O in this alignment is called “absolutive,” while the case that encodes A is called “ergative.” Xinaliq’s morphosyntactic alignment is ergative, as can be seen in Example 9.1.

9.1 pxr-i zi çuxšämä
dog-ERG me.ABS bit
‘The dog bit me’

Ergative in the Xinaliq noun is marked by the suffix -i. In Example 9.1 ‘the dog’ has ergative marking with -i, which indicates ergative-absolutive in this transitive sentence. The paradigm of Xinaliq personal pronouns (Example 9.2) shows ergative marking as well:

9.2 yä ximir ńačin fatkušämä
I. ERG water stone.ABS throw
‘I threw a stone into the water’

9.2 Verb Agreement

Verb agreement in Xinaliq is determined by the noun in the absolutive. The intransitive verb agrees in class and number with the S of the sentence, which is in an absolutive case. The transitive verb agrees with the O of the sentence, the noun that is in the absolutive case in transitive constructions, as can be seen in Examples (9.3-9.10).

9.3 gada çwa ka-Ø-ġ-šä-mä
boy.ABS.CM.M.SG home came-CM.M.SG-came-PST-INDIC
‘The boy came home’

9.4 riši çwa ka-zi-ġ-šä-mä
girl.ABS.CM.F.SG home came-CM.F.SG-came-PST-INDIC
‘The girl came home’

9.5 as csı za-Ø-ği-d-mä
I.DAT brother-ABS.CM.M.SG saw-CM.M.SG-saw-TCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
‘I saw my brother’

9.6 as rıcsı za-zi-ġ-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 biy ḳur-Ø-qin-Ø-ku-d-mä
my.ERG father.ABS.CM.M.SG forget-CM.M.SG-forget-CM.M.SG-forget-VCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
‘I forgot my father’

9.8 yä dädä ḳur-p-qin-s-ku-dä-mä
my-ERG mother.ABS.CM.F.SG forgot-CM.F.SG-forgot-CM.F.SG-VCM.DEF.PST-INDIC
‘I forgot my mother’

9.9 dädū ḥäyäl Ø-yukwar-mä
mother male.child CM.M.SG CM.M.SG-love-INDIC
‘Mother loves her son’

9.10 dādu ḥāyāl ri-ž-ikwar-mā
mother female.child-CM.M.SG love-CM.M.SG-love-INDIC
‘Mother loves her daughter’

There seems to be only one transitive verb (Examples 9.11-9.12) that, instead of agreeing with the noun in the absolutive, agrees with the noun in the ergative case. It seems to function as both a transitive and intransitive verb. As a transitive verb it requires A to be in ergative, but as an intransitive verb it agrees with the S instead of O:

9.11 hım-i xu čka-Ø-ğ-šā-mā
father-ERG.CM.M.SG water.ABS bring-CM.M.SG-bring-PST-INDIC
‘Father brought water’

9.12 dād-i xu čka-zī-ğ-šā-mā
mother-ERG.CM.F.SG water.ABS bring-CM.F.SG-bring-PST-INDIC
‘Mother brought water’
CHAPTER 10

MOTION ORIENTATION MARKERS

Xinaliq has an extensive system of prefixes with directional and spatial connotations. They predominantly occur with verbs of motion. This group of prefixes is often referred to as preverbs. They are attached to the beginning of verbs and generally indicate either (see Table 10.1):

i. Location of the subject in relation to a fixed point on a vertical plane (e.g., above, below, level with)
ii. Direction of the verb (usually indicating approach toward or departure away from a fixed point)

The OD morphemes can be further broken into smaller segments, which can be found in other parts of Xinaliq grammar. If we look at Table 10.2, -al- is consistent in the category of “to,” “approach,” and -a- is consistent in the category of “from,” “departure.” We can assume that the general semantics of -al- indicates the directionality of the movement, specifically “approach.” On the other hand, -a- indicates the movement of “departure.” This leaves us with separate morphemes specifying the direction of the movement, regardless of the orientation.

The rest of the markers attach as prefixes and add information about orientation, specifically about location (i.e., above, below, level with or unspecified), as shown in Table 10.3.
Most of these orientation markers can be seen in other parts of Xinaliq grammar: to form the present II, imperfect II, perfect II, and pluperfect II tenses (see Sec. 7.5.3), or as prefixes to dependent OD demonstrative pronouns (see Chapter 6) and to Auxiliary IV (see Chapter 9). The only inconsistency lies with the demonstrative pronouns, which at times use the marker -ṭ- to indicate “above,” while the motion/orientation morphemes as well as Auxiliary IV and the tenses leave the morpheme for “above” unmarked (Tables 6.3 and 10.1). Also, -ż- 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-ixği -> qil-ixği
   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-ťrıği -> ka-ťrıği
   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-kwatmā
   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  ačığ pänžäralli kulak qal-kwetmā
   open window wind APP.BL-blow
   ‘the wind is blowing through an open window’
   (The wind comes from below toward the speaker.)

10.5  ḥäyäl mde ayağilli a-ćukwi
   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  zi çwa la-cätigämā
   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 zi çwa č-kal-ģisämā
   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  inke sa täräfir tal-tfiyā činā misi täpi gus yärlämişbiqi
   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 ʒibìnilli ačar qal-turviyä toz ąčmiškušämä
boy pocket key APP.BL-take.out door opened
‘A boy who just got a key out of the pocket, opened the door’
(A movement of the key from the pocket was toward the boy, from below him,
because his pocket was below. The boy himself is the point of reference, instead
of the speaker)

10.10 hu pogoču sa ḳu sāčāt ṣuli ḳaŋık toşunqaği maŋal ze-nįjužmä
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 ḥinimḵir čwa ṭal-ḵwi
   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: galvi ‘to smoke’ does not alternate between different OD markers; however, the gal- of galvi most likely started as an OD.AB. Also, qalńri ‘to grow’ most likely started with the OD meaning of growth from below.
Table 10.1 The Orientational/Directional (OD) Verbal Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TO (approach)</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>FROM (depart)</th>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>(a)l</td>
<td>APP.AB.</td>
<td>(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below</td>
<td>q(a)l</td>
<td>APP.BL.</td>
<td>z(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level with</td>
<td>t(a)l</td>
<td>APP.LV.</td>
<td>l(a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>k(a)l</td>
<td>APP.UNS.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.2 Direction Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>To (Approach)</th>
<th>From (Depart)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-al</td>
<td>-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10.3 Orientation Markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position relative to speaker</th>
<th>MARKER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below</td>
<td>q-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>level with</td>
<td>t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unspecified</td>
<td>k-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 10.4 Orientation/Direction Markers Extended

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The verb</th>
<th>With OD marker</th>
<th>The meaning of OD</th>
<th>The meaning of the verb with OD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>al-ği</td>
<td>direction – approaching toward orientation - from above APP.AB.</td>
<td>event is approaching, moving toward, from above to below in the direction of a point of reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>qal-ği</td>
<td>direction – approaching toward orientation - from below APP.BL.</td>
<td>event is approaching, moving toward, from below to above in the direction of a point of reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tal-ği</td>
<td>direction – approaching toward orientation – on the same level APP.LV.</td>
<td>event is approaching, moving toward, on the same horizontal plane as a point of reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kal-ği</td>
<td>direction – approaching toward orientation - unspecified APP.UNS.</td>
<td>event is approaching, moving toward, unspecified relation to a point of reference other than the direction of the movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a-xito</td>
<td>direction – depart orientation - from above DEP.AB.</td>
<td>event is departing, moving away, from above to below from the direction of a fixed point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>za-xito</td>
<td>direction – depart orientation - from below DEP.BL.</td>
<td>event is departing, moving away, from below to above from the direction of a fixed point</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>la-xito</td>
<td>direction – depart orientation – on the same level DEP.LV.</td>
<td>event is departing, moving away, on the same horizontal plane as a point of reference</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 11

WORD ORDER

Some languages have relatively strict word orders, while others can rely on other devices to convey important grammatical information. Some convey grammatical information through inflection (with case marking on nouns or agreement cross-reference marking on verbs) and have flexible word order. That said, most languages have a preferred basic word order which is used most frequently (Comrie, 1981). The neutral word order in Xinaliq is SOV, as seen in Example 11.1 below.

11.1 läqäld-i muzdur-Ø þuv-šä-mä
    man-ERG slave-NOM buy-PST-INDIC
    ‘The man is buying a slave’

Although SOV word order is dominant in Xinaliq, there are a few examples of SVO as well, as in (73).

11.2 rišu za-ɣ-šæ-mæ gada
    girl OD.DB-saw-PST-INDIC boy
    ‘a girl saw a boy’

There are no examples of OVS, OSV, VSO or VOS in the data collected.
REFERENCES


Caponigro, Ivano and Polinsky, Maria. “Almost Everything is Relative in the Caucasus.”


